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A STUDY OF THE QUEENSLAND GRAMMAR SCHOOL MOVEMENT:
ITS ORIGINS AND ITS ROLE
IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF SECONDARY EDUCATION
IN QUEENSLAND BEFORE THE FIRST WORLD WAR

Frederick J. Erickson, B.A.

A thesis submitted to
The University of Sydney
in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the pass degree of
Master of Education

1966
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ABSTRACT

In 1860 the Queensland Parliament passed "The Grammar Schools Act", to confer on all who might desire it, without any distinction whatsoever, the advantages of a regular and liberal course of education. Drawn up by Sir Charles Nicholson, the Act provided that where not less than £1,000 was raised by local subscription or donation, the Government might grant twice the amount to found a Grammar School; and where £250 per year income was guaranteed in fees, the Government would pay a further £500 per year. A Council of seven trustees was to manage the school, four to be appointed by the Government, three to be elected by subscribers. In 1864 the annual subsidy was raised to £1,000, subject to conditions.

Influential factors bearing on the passage of the Act were (a) the English Grammar School tradition; (b) the popular education movement; (c) denominational dissen­sion in New South Wales; and (d) the Sydney Grammar School movement. The Act provided for scholarships and for payment of fees. The planners envisaged secular higher education with a "practical" bias to meet colonial needs, articulated with primary schools and universities.
Early Roman Catholic attempts to found Grammar Schools were rejected by the Government. Ten Grammar Schools were founded: Ipswich Grammar School (1863); Brisbane Grammar School (1869); Brisbane Girls' Grammar School (1875); Toowoomba Grammar School (1876); Maryborough Grammar School (1881); Rockhampton Grammar School (1881); Maryborough Girls' Grammar School (1883); Townsville Grammar School, co-educational (1888); Ipswich Girls' Grammar School (1891); and Rockhampton Girls' Grammar School (1892). These carried the bulk of secondary education in Queensland till 1911.

The Grammar Schools carried out with good success the work for which they were founded—to provide higher education for an academic and economic elite, on a comparatively lavish scale, to produce professional men and community leaders. They proved inadequate in scope and quantity to cope with the rising demand for further education in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Being secular, they were not approved by the Roman Catholic Church. For many, they were too expensive; and thus they incurred charges of social exclusiveness. Labour supporters therefore regarded them with suspicion. Most important, the State found it impossible to introduce popular secondary education on the same financial scale as that to which the Grammar Schools had
been accustomed. Consequently, in the second decade of the twentieth century, the Grammar Schools were supplemented—and might have been replaced—by a more flexible, more economical, articulated, State-controlled, State-directed, and wholly State-provided system of secondary education, based on the State High School and the State Technical College.

Thus the Grammar School movement, its basic concept now largely outmoded, gave way; but the movement enriched State and national resources in providing essential professional men and community leaders, and in creating a wealth of practical experience ultimately beneficial in the extension and development of State education during the twentieth century.
INTRODUCTION

On 13th May, 1859, letters patent creating the Colony of Queensland, and appointing Sir George Bowen its first Governor, were approved by an Order in Council. On 10th July, 1860, a bill providing for the establishment of Grammar Schools was introduced into the Legislative Assembly by Mr. R.G.W. Herbert. It was passed on 1st August, and received assent on 11th September, becoming Act No.7.

The passing of the Act made Queensland one of the foremost Australian States in the field of secondary education. Its framers intended that education of an advanced order, beyond the minimal elementary education of the primary schools, should be available to those who should desire it, and within easy reach of the inhabitants of all the larger centres of the State. They anticipated, too, an early response to the Government's offer of liberal endowment and annual subsidy.

In fact, the people of Queensland were slow to take advantage of the provisions of the Act. In all, ten Grammar Schools were established, the first in Ipswich in 1863. Of these, five were schools for boys only; four were schools for girls only; and the other, the Townsville school, was
co-educational.

After 1882, despite the fact that towns existed in Queensland whose size well justified the existence of a secondary school, and the undoubted fact that the demand for further education was steadily rising, no new Grammar School was established. The dream of the early planners, a Grammar School in each populous centre, State-wide opportunity for further education, a great partnership between a paternal central government and local provision and patronage, did not materialize. Furthermore, it was apparent to advanced thinkers, within twenty years of the passing of the Act, that it could not materialize.

The extension of secondary education in Queensland, when it did arrive, was on a far different footing. At the close of the first decade of the twentieth century, the State accepted responsibility for the direct provision and control of secondary education. In 1912, the first State High Schools were opened, and the question of the role of the Grammar Schools in the new circumstances arose. The question has not yet been answered. Eight Grammar Schools remain to-day, co-existent with the State High Schools and independent schools, having features in common with both, yet not wholly of either world. They are State-subsidized and subject to State inspection, yet not subject to State direction. They are, as Dr. Goodman
says, "curious models of what might have been the form of secondary education in Queensland." Yet the Grammar Schools as a group, though they may have failed to fulfil all the intentions of the originators of the plan, or to meet all current demands for further education, did outstanding work. Bean says of them that they strongly influenced the development of Queensland and exerted an influence far beyond its borders.

The aim of this thesis is: (a) to examine the origins of the Grammar School movement in Queensland, and to place the initial Grammar School legislation in its historical context; to examine the circumstances under which the Grammar Schools Act (1860) was passed, and to assess the aims and intentions of the legislators; (b) to examine work carried out under the provisions of the Grammar Schools Act (1860) and subsequent legislation, and other work done in the development of secondary education in Queensland; (c) to examine the rising demand for further education in Queensland, and the factors contributing to it, that led to the establishment of State High Schools in 1912 and later, and to State

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acceptance of responsibility for provision, control, and direction of secondary education; and (d) to assess the extent to which the aims and intentions of the legislators of the Grammar Schools Act (1860) were realized, and the worth of the contribution made by the Grammar School movement in the development of secondary education in Queensland.

In the main, the period to be covered by the thesis is from 1860 to 1912. Outside this period, examination is necessary in precedent in the Colony of New South Wales, and in the old world. Later than 1912, a brief examination is thought necessary to the year 1921, in which year a full State High School was established in a centre in which a Grammar School already existed.

The period divides itself fairly readily into three sections: The first is from 1860 (the passing of the Act) to the year 1875, a crucial year in the history of Queensland education; the second is the period from the passing of the State Education Act (1875) to the end of the nineteenth century, when the demand for the extension of facilities in secondary education was making itself felt, both in Australia and elsewhere; and finally, the early years of the twentieth century, the years of planning and establishing Queensland State secondary education, State-directed and State-controlled.
CHAPTER I

BEFORE AND AFTER SEPARATION:
THE FIRST PARLIAMENT AND THE
EDUCATION ACTS

SETTLEMENT AND SEPARATION

On the advice of Commissioner J.T. Bigge, the Colonial Office decided to seek places suitable for settlement, at a considerable distance from Sydney, to which intractable convicts might be sent. Governor Brisbane, Governor of New South Wales from 1821 to 1825, believed that such settlements might permit the expansion of free settlement, and that one established to the north of Sydney might relieve pressure on the convict settlement at Port Macquarie.

In 1824, Lieutenant Henry Miller of the 40th Regiment, with a detachment of soldiers and a party of convicts, left Sydney for Moreton Bay. A settlement was established at what is now the site of Redcliffe, and later moved some miles up the Brisbane to the present site of the city of Brisbane.

For fifteen years or so, Moreton Bay was purely a penal settlement. The number of convicts was never great
--approximately 1,100 being the maximum.\(^1\) On May 5th, 1839, all convicts but those deemed indispensible, were withdrawn.\(^2\) Preparations were begun to make the town a centre of free settlement. In 1842 the New South Wales government held the first sales of northern land. In 1843, the first Police Magistrate, Captain J.C. Wickham, was appointed, and a steady increase in population began.

Outside of Brisbane, there had also been little activity. In 1827, Allan Cunningham discovered the rich pasturage of the Darling Downs, and in the following year, the Gap which to-day bears his name. This provided means of access to the coast, although no established port yet existed but the penal colony on the Brisbane River, and this was forbidden territory to free settlers. It was not until 1840 that Patrick Leslie, the first of the squatters to arrive from the south, established himself on the Downs, near the present site of Warwick.

It seems obvious, then, that the year 1839 marks the beginning of the social, economic, and political history of Queensland. The years from 1839 to 1842 are years of "preparation for the requirements which the new state of

\(^1\) Sir Raphael Cilento, *Triumph in the Tropics*, Brisbane: Smith & Patterson Pty. Ltd. (Crown Copyright), 1959, 94.

things would involve". In 1839 the ban on settlement in the north was lifted. In 1840 squatters from the Darling Downs crossed to the Upper Brisbane Valley, and by 1842 were moving out to the Burnett and Mary Rivers. Not until 1842, however, was Brisbane open to them, and not until 1843 was land available there in quantity. This fact was to have repercussions later on. It meant that the squatters owed nothing to Brisbane; as early as 1841 there had been attempts to found a port at Cleveland. 2

By 1845, despite a long continued refusal on the part of the authorities to recognize Brisbane as the chief town or port, its dominating position was becoming clear. Other towns were developing, Ipswich in particular, under squatter influence, holding an important position. Gladstone was settled in 1847. By the end of 1860, one year after separation from New South Wales, the population was only about twenty-eight thousand, more or less concentrated in towns. The rest of the population was scattered in a strip from the Tropic of Capricorn to the border, from the coast to about two hundred and fifty miles inland. Rockhampton was the most northerly port of

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entry, and beyond Keppel Bay was known only as Cook and Flinders had described it. ¹

Separation, it appears, rather took the colonists by surprise. It came about as the result of pressure on the home government, not as a gesture on the part of the New South Wales authorities. ² The person to whom most of the credit must go is Dr. Lang, whose interest in the Moreton Bay settlement was strong. Provision had been made, however, for separation, in "The Australian Colonial Government Bill" which was passed by the House of Commons during the session from February to April 1850. This Act did not provide for self-government, and it was feared that there would be "government from Downing Street through a Legislative Council". ³ Such fears subsequently proved groundless. The provisions of the Act were fortunate for Queensland.

A somewhat singular course adopted by the Home Government was the authorisation of the Governor-General of New South Wales to appoint the first members of the Queensland Legislative Council, with a term of five years, although subsequent appoint-

¹ Our First Half-Century, Brisbane: Govt. Printer, 1909, 16.
ments were to be made by the Governor of Queensland for the term of the members' natural lives.¹

In fact it seems to have been Bowen who made appointments, not Sir William Denison, the Governor of New South Wales; but it was made possible to appoint to responsible positions men of experience who did much to shape the destinies of the new state. Notable among these was Sir Charles Nicholson.

**POLITICAL FORCES**

At the date of separation the political forces at work in the Moreton Bay district were ill-defined, and few persons had had active experience of colonial politics. One of the factors to be borne in mind is the comparative youth of the settlement. The concept of a society dominated and led by gentlemen-pastoralists, which had been proposed and defended by such men as the Macarthurs and W.C. Wentworth, had, by the time Queensland was settled, given way to the squatting movement, and the concept of hereditary aristocracy was strangled in its infancy.

The traditional view of early Queensland politics is that of a squatting party being placed in opposition to

an urban party.

Traditionally they formed two main groups, squatters and townsmen, whose interests were at variance and who fell from the beginning into opposite political camps. At first sight it might appear that such was really the case, but a more detailed examination will show that the real situation differed quite considerably. 1

In refuting this view, Morrison points out that there is little evidence of any organized anti-liberal movement in squatter ranks, the only signs of such unity of ideas apparently having arisen under extreme pressure from an urban group styling itself liberal, and trying to deny the possession of any liberal ideas by any other group. 2 It is important to note that, at first, regionalism divided the squatters. Many were more concerned with advancing the claims of their own particular areas than in forming parties, either to foster universal squatting interests, or to meet a real or fancied political challenge. Once they had established themselves, "they deemed they had earned the right to take up the position of a new squarchy." 3 But though there were men of substance


and education among them, much of their energy during the early years must have been taken up in achieving financial security. "Actually it is doubtful whether the vast majority of legitimate pastoralists ever enjoyed much more than a moderate sufficiency tempered by the constant spectre of insolvency in the recurrent bad seasons." ¹

Another important consideration is the fact that most of the squatters—and most of the townsmen as well—had not been born in New South Wales. "Like the squatters the great part of the town population had come either directly from the United Kingdom or had spent only a very short period in New South Wales." ² The census of 1861 revealed that 16,700 people in the colony had been born in the United Kingdom or Ireland, and only 3,271 in New South Wales. ³ The great bulk of migrants had come direct from the United Kingdom, and mostly by special ships, especially since the year 1852. "Thus most of the population knew the politics of New South Wales only at second hand,

³ Votes and Proceedings, Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1862 first session, 417.
and were never vitally interested in them.-quote A.A. Morrison, Colonial Society 1860-1890 - Queensland: duplicated typescript (copy Oxley Memorial Library), 6. quote

It seems that the most powerful political force in Queensland at the time of separation was liberalism in one or another of its aspects. There had been a Liberal Association in the settlement, which had become almost moribund for a time, but which was revived for the first election. It was especially strong in Fortitude Valley, where Charles Lilley was its candidate. quote A.A. Morrison, Colonial Society 1860-1890 - Queensland: duplicated typescript (copy Oxley Memorial Library), 6. quote

Morrison notes that many of the squatter candidates, for instance J.P. Bell and Coxen, announced their attachment in varying degrees to liberal principles. "Here again we are reminded of England where neither of the parties was entirely hostile to reform, and, in fact, some of the important reforms were passed by Tory governments." quote A.A. Morrison, Colonial Society 1860-1890 - Queensland: duplicated typescript (copy Oxley Memorial Library), 6. quote

Yet liberalism, undoubtedly in Queensland a current of
the main stream of liberalism which included the European
revolutionary movements, British extension of the fran­
chise, social reform and the like, was more a general
spirit than a cohesive political force. "It must be
remembered that the contemporary Liberalism of England
which inspired our political life was based on a strong
manufacturing interest who advocated equalitarian ideals
in their own enlightened self-interest. This interest
found no counterpart in Queensland." And though it
lacked form a little, liberalism in Queensland was
undoubtedly strong. An examination of the list of can-
didates for the first elections in 1860 illustrates this.
"Even the most radical journals of the day could find few
to be described as Conservative, and not one of these was
elected. The others were all described as Liberals, or
at worst Liberal-Conservatives, except for one of the
Fortitude migrants who was described as a Democrat." 2

Lang's three migrant ships--the "Fortitude" among
them--had arrived in 1849. Despite the misunderstandings

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and repudiations accompanying the venture, the new arrivals, all "radicals and members of evangelical churches", mainly skilled workers, settled well. Many went to Fortitude Valley, where their presence accounted for much of the strength of the liberal centre there. Others went to Ipswich, and challenged squatter influence. Congregational Church influence became very strong in Ipswich.

Thus the position in 1859, at the time of separation, was a relatively simple one. The Moreton Bay settlement was a political backwater of New South Wales. According to Coote, the social condition of the people was what might have been expected—"that of a quiet colonial country locality almost unexpectedly aroused to a mild excitement by the prospect of capital, population, and enterprise, long worked for and wished for in vain." The influential citizens were either squatters or the "gentry" of the towns. In Bowen's words, these were "a hard-headed set of English and Scotch merchants and manufacturers". It appears that both squatters and townsmen to some

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3 A.A. Morrison, op. cit., p5.
degree espoused liberal principles. Both fully endorsed Adam Smith's doctrine of the necessity to remove all obstacles which might hinder the individual in his quest for wealth. The first parliament included many squatters, but examination of the votes cast during the first few years shows that there could have been no clear party division. There is not even unanimity among the ministry. Governor Bowen, writing to Newcastle in 1863, declared that the small body of graziers and merchants composing the first parliament had shown "an honest and intelligent zeal for the public welfare." Even "The Brisbane Courier" in 1866 acknowledged that till that time the squatters had shown fairness and had acted in other interests beside their own.

The working men of the day, for the most part, supported the liberals, although at times, even at this stage, they could be articulate on their own behalf; for a deputation of working men greeted Bowen on his arrival

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3 ibid., p600f.
in the colony. The lure of the southern gold-fields had created a shortage of labour generally in Australia, and it seems to be true that many of the working-men remaining in the towns were skilled. The demand for labour led to the importation of "Kanaka" labour, and ultimately to ill-feeling and political strife; but this was not so apparent at the time of separation. It appears, too, that most of the skilled workers in the towns wished to set up their own businesses. "In other words, they accentuated the division of the community into masters and servants, and there was little or no evidence of the growth of a middle class."^2

POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

Problems confronting the new colony were numerous. They included the difficulty of retaining new migrants against the attractions of New South Wales and Victoria and the gold-fields; small and scattered population; lack of finance; lack of political experience; regional pressures; and the lack of a civil service framework.


that in existence being a branch of the New South Wales administration. ¹ The new parliament, however, attacked its difficulties with vigour, and achieved a surprising amount in a short time. It seems that a genuine concern for the public welfare was abroad. The general idea of a parliament, according to contemporary accounts, was a forum where all should meet with an open mind and by free discussion arrive at a just conclusion; party was to be avoided.² And the colony had to build almost completely anew, with "a band of enthusiastic amateurs in its new parliament".³ It was led, fortunately, by two men of remarkable calibre—the Governor, Sir George Ferguson Bowen, and the Premier, R.G.W. Herbert.⁴ To these should be added the name of a third man, whose influence and experience, especially in the field of colonial education, were vast: Sir Charles Nicholson, President of the Legislative Council. The most controversial issues confronting the new parliament were property problems,

⁴ ibid.
not social difficulties. The real issues lay between country and town properties; and a corollary of this was the vexed question of cheap labour.

Difficulties notwithstanding, other factors made possible swift achievement, particularly in fields where the pressure of property struggle was not felt. Animosities of the old world, and even of the older colonies, had not the same force in the new colony. The first parliament was able to pass, almost without opposition, two thoroughly liberal education acts. Queensland, as Scott observes, was the only state of the six which did not pass through the probationary period of government under a Legislative Council before full rights of representative government were conceded. Thus there was little time or opportunity for vested interests, particularly that of ecclesiastical conservatism, to become entrenched. The swing towards secular liberalism is even more strongly manifest in the act which terminated State aid to religion, passed by the first Queensland parliament.

Letters patent creating the Colony of Queensland

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and appointing Sir George Ferguson Bowen its first Governor, were approved by an Order in Council dated 13th May, 1859. 1 Another order was made on 6th June, giving the Governor power to make laws, and to provide for the administration of justice. 2 The first parliament met for the first time on 22nd May, 1860. The twenty-six members of the Legislative Assembly were elected, but the members of the Legislative Council were nominees of the Governor. Two appointments outstanding in their wisdom made by the Governor have been previously mentioned. Of the two, the appointment of Herbert to lead the first ministry might seem the more surprising; for Herbert was a young man of twenty-eight. He lacked colonial experience, having come to Australia as Bowen's private secretary. But Herbert had a brilliant academic record, and--more important--had been private secretary to Gladstone. He had a thorough knowledge of British parliamentary practice. 3 Events in Queensland, and his subsequent career in England proved Herbert to be eminently capable. The work of Sir Charles Nicholson in Australia was well recognized, and his

2 ibid.
appointment can have provoked little adverse criticism.

THE EDUCATION ACTS OF 1860

The two education acts were among the first passed by the new parliament, one dealing with primary education, the other with secondary. This work is concerned in the main with the second of these, the "Grammar Schools Act 1860", its implications and implementation; but neither of the acts can be considered in isolation. The term "secondary education" properly belongs to the twentieth century, and it betokens a concept of public education which began to emerge, in British communities at least, only as the Nineteenth Century drew to a close. As a phrase in general use today, "secondary education" assumes that primary education of some kind has been made available as a definable first stage in a longer sequence of schooling.¹

There exists also, perhaps, the implication of further stages to follow. Notwithstanding the viewpoint largely accepted in the nineteenth century and earlier, which saw grammar school education as education of a different sort, and not as a distinct stage, there was in 1860 a clear attempt, in terms of scholarship provision, to link elementary education with grammar school education, and grammar school education with university education.

Moreover, many of the principles implicit in the "Grammar Schools Act" were hammered out on the anvil of elementary education provision and control in New South Wales during the preceding half-century or so. Behind this lies the educational precedent of the old world, stemming mainly from England, but with Scottish influence and Irish example also strong.

The Grammar Schools Bill was introduced into the Legislative Assembly by Herbert, and had its first reading on 10th July, 1860. Being passed, it received assent on 11th September, and became Act No.7.\(^1\) The preamble to the Act stated that the purpose of the Act was to confer "on all classes and denominations of Her Majesty's subjects resident in the said Colony without any distinction whatsoever the advantages of a regular and liberal course of education". It was provided that where £1,000 or more was raised by donation or subscription, a subsidy might be paid by the Government of not more than twice the sum raised locally. Seven trustees were to be appointed from among local residents, four of whom were to be appointed by the Governor, and three by the donor or by a majority of persons who had subscribed £5. The period of appointment was three years, and the trustees were empowered to

\(^1\)See Appendix A.
make regulations for the discipline and good government of the schools. A significant provision, although one which was in no case implemented, was that whenever the said donor or not less than three subscribers towards any such School shall from any cause whatever become incapable of acting as heretofore provided in respect of the election of Trustees the right of election of any Trustee or Trustees shall be vested in that municipality which shall be nearest to such schools.¹

An annual sum of £500 might then be paid to each school. However, of this sum it was lawful for the Governor to retain and reserve not more than ten per cent for providing one or more Scholarships or Exhibitions of an annual value to be determined by the Governor in Council at any British or Australian University and such Scholarships or Exhibitions shall be open to the pupils of all the Grammar Schools established under the provisions of this Act provided that such Scholarships or Exhibitions shall only be obtained after public competitive examination.

It was further provided that a permanent endowment of land might be made to each school, the revenues from which might in time render unnecessary the annual grant of £500.

At the time it was passed, the Act was a progressive measure, and represented the first attempt by an Australian colonial government to make provision for

¹ See Appendix A, Clause 2.
² See Appendix A, Clause 4.
secondary education for all those who might desire it. It might well be considered the first step in the long road leading from the concept of secondary or "higher" education as the preserve of an élite, to the concept of secondary education as a universal right, and on to the goal of secondary education as a universal obligation.

The Grammar Schools Bill received earlier publicity than its primary counterpart. Governor Bowen, in his speech opening the first parliament, said:

I recommend you to examine carefully the system and condition of Primary Education in the colony, with a view to its improvement and extension. The Bill which will be submitted to you during this Session for the establishment of a Public Grammar or High School, with a fixed number of exhibitions to the Universities of the mother-country, to be competed for eventually by the more advanced students, appears to meet an urgent need.

This called forth some critical comment. Charles Lilley, destined to play a major role over many years in the development of education in Queensland, remarked that while he had no objection to the Grammar School proposal, he thought that the consideration of primary education should have come first. The "Courier" commented that all the government thought of doing was to introduce a bill for the establishment of a Public Grammar School,

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1 The Moreton Bay Courier, 31st May 1860.
2 ibid.
with exhibitions to the Universities; and inquired what provision was to be made for the younger branches of the rising generation.¹

There was without doubt justification for sharp criticism; for the educational state of affairs in the colony was not bright, particularly where government provision was concerned. Coote describes the system as follows:

The educational system, inherited by the colony from New South Wales, was, to a small extent, on what was called the National system, under a Board incorporated by the Act, 11 Vic., No. 48, the preamble whereof recited the desirability of "establishing schools to be conducted under Lord Stanley's system of National education." The regulations issued by the Board were not very voluminous; the books directed to be used seem to have been similar to those of the Irish National Schools, including four sets of Scripture lessons, and lessons on the truths of Christianity; and for reading these, or for direct religious instruction by ministers of religion, one hour each day was directed to be set apart. I find no reference to matters special to Australia, to whose geographical and physical characteristics it appears to have been thought unnecessary to refer. The expenses of the National schools were defrayed partly by the State, and partly by school fees and subscriptions, the striking peculiarity in this part of the arrangement being the miserable stipends paid to the teachers. Working contemporaneously with this system, was a denominational one, in which the teachers' salaries were supplemented by the State, but the teacher seems to have been more at the discretion of the authorities of the denomination under whose supervision the school immediately was,

¹ The Moreton Bay Courier, 31st May 1860.
provided a certain degree of efficiency were kept up.¹ 

Coote remarks that the National system had not received much public favour; ² but it had had poor trial in the district.

The return of the number of schools shown in 1860 is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SCHOOLS</th>
<th>PUPILS</th>
<th>GOVERNMENT CONTRIBUTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Drayton</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National School</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>£130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nth. and Sth. Brisbane, Kangaroo Point and The Valley</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Roman Catholic</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>£122/10/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Church of England</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>£192/10/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 private schools</td>
<td>445</td>
<td>£--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ipswich</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Church of England</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>£87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Roman Catholic</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>£70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 private schools</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>£--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darling Downs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Church of England</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>£52/10/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 private schools</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>£--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maryborough</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Church of England</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>£52/10/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Roman Catholic</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>£26/5/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL PUPILS AT PUBLIC SCHOOLS</td>
<td>819</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL PUPILS AT PRIVATE SCHOOLS</td>
<td>698</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGGREGATE</td>
<td>1,517</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL GOVERNMENT CONTRIBUTION</td>
<td>£733/5/-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

² ibid.
³ Votes and Proceedings, Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1860, 938.
Thus a total number of 1,517 pupils were enrolled in the colony's schools, at a time when the population was 25,020. The total government contribution to education was £733/5/-.

The new Parliament soon displayed its interest in education, both in passing two acts, and in making increased amounts available. £2,500 was voted for National Education (i.e., elementary education) in 1860.

Act No. 6 of the first Queensland Parliament was an act to provide for "primary education" in Queensland. The use of the term "primary" is in itself significant, implying the possible existence of further stages. The Act dissolved the Board of National Education, which had been created by Bowen to carry on the work of National Education between the date of separation and the passing of the Act. The lands of the Board of National Education were vested in a new Board of General Education, created for the purpose of superintending the formation and management of primary schools within the Colony of Queensland. The Chairman of the Board was to be a Minister of the Crown.

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2 Votes and Proceedings, Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1861, 652.
Probably the most important provision of the Act was that rules and bye-laws framed under its authority were to be "in all respects in accordance with the spirit of the national system of education as hitherto carried on in the colony of New South Wales," except as otherwise provided. Assistance might be given to any school that conformed and fulfilled requirements. In view of the prevailing state of affairs, it is hard to see how assistance to denominational schools could have been entirely withheld if a complete breakdown were to be avoided; but aid to denominational schools was always minimal during the early years.

Another provision of the Act made it lawful for the Board to set apart from the funds in its disposal a proportion not exceeding five per cent of the whole annual amount for the purpose of granting exhibitions at some one or other of the grammar schools of the colony to "such scholars in any primary schools as shall have been proved by competitive examination to be entitled thereto." 

The importance of this provision is far-reaching.

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2 ibid.
It meant that the framers of the legislation must have visualized a point of contact between primary and grammar school education. In fact, it was thirteen years or so before the first State scholarships were offered and taken up, and for years after that the point of contact was not clearly defined. Overlapping and consequent waste of public money were frequently adversely criticized in later years. But the provision was the beginning of the Scholarship examination which dominated primary education in Queensland during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and for sixty years in the twentieth. And it was the same Scholarship examination which determined the point of commencement of the ensuing phase of secondary education. Significantly, too, it was the Scholarship system which, in the closing years of the nineteenth century, indirectly re-opened the channel of subsidy of public moneys to denominational education—a state of affairs which was certainly never intended by the legislators of 1860. Further, considered in conjunction with that provision of the "Grammar Schools Act" permitting the granting of University exhibitions, it meant the recognition of the right of opportunity of the academically able to secondary education, and of the academically brilliant few to the best education the
Empire could offer. A new élite was to exist in the colony, one based on intelligence, as well as the existing élite of social position and financial means.

A further Act merits attention. "The State Aid Discontinuance Act" received assent on 7th August 1860. Grants from the revenue in aid of religion ceased, except to those ministers already receiving salaries, and these were few.

In a sense, the State Aid Bill paved the way for the Education Bill. Parliament, having committed itself to withhold support from the churches, could scarcely turn round and give them assistance to enable them to conduct schools. There could therefore be no question of continuing the New South Wales system of two boards - the National and the Denominational respectively. Aside from this consideration, Queensland had the events in New South Wales to guide it. Some of the bitterness of the struggle there had spread to the northern districts, and many were conscious of the futility of the New South Wales compromise. It was, then, not unexpected that Queensland should seek to avoid a repetition of earlier dissension and mistakes.¹

Parliamentary reporting by "The Moreton Bay Courier" for 1860 is fairly detailed, and is, in the absence of published parliamentary debates for the year, historically important. Its editorial comments express the prevailing spirit of liberalism. On 26th June, for example, there appeared an editorial strongly opposing State aid to

¹E.R. Wyeth, Education in Queensland, A.C.E.R. Research Series No. 67; Melbourne: Australian Council for Educational Research, (no date), 82.
religion.

On 14th July, 1860, the second reading of the primary education bill was reported. Captain O'Connell, who had introduced the bill in the Legislative Council, remarked that it was fortunate for the Colony that there were no pre-existing educational systems of long standing; for present religious difficulties were thus much easier to meet. There were, he continued, few public schools established within the Colony, and these received but a comparatively small contribution from the general revenue. It is worthy of note that he quoted from the Report of the Commission that inquired into education in New South Wales during 1854–5.¹

On the same occasion Sir Charles Nicholson spoke at considerable length. Wyeth points out that it was most unusual for the President of the Council to debate any question.² The fact that the bill had been introduced first in the Council is also unusual, although pressure of business was pleaded. There is, however, "a far more reasonable hypothesis. There was in Parliament only one man with any experience in educational matters."³ It is

¹ The Moreton Bay Courier, 14th July 1860.
³ ibid., p82.
far more likely that the Government wished Nicholson to speak first on what might have been a controversial piece of legislation.

In speaking to the bill, Nicholson displayed a wide general knowledge of education, and of colonial problems in particular. He quoted from both overseas and New South Wales sources. Some of the points brought forward have historical significance. The "police" view of popular education, frequently held at the time, is put forward by Nicholson as one of the reasons for the bill; for he remarks on the "dangerous character of an uneducated multitude in possession of political power".¹ There was, he continued, a general desire amongst members of the Legislature, to devise some great practical scheme of education. The bill then before the house would have to be considered in connexion with the bill to provide for the establishment of a grammar school.² This might reasonably be interpreted as envisaging grammar school education as synonymous with secondary education. Opposition to the bill was slight, and the motion passed without division.³

¹ The Moreton Bay Courier, 14th July 1860.
² ibid.
³ ibid.
The remarks of the Colonial Secretary, R.G.W. Herbert, in moving the second reading of the Grammar Schools Bill in the Legislative Assembly on 17th July 1860 appear to give some confirmation to the interpretation given above. Herbert said that education might be considered under three headings--primary, grammar school, and collegiate. He continued that the primary education bill--then being considered by the Council--would make adequate provision for imparting fundamental instruction, at a cheap rate, to all classes of youth, without distinction of creed or religious profession. The bill he had introduced into the Assembly was intended to provide for "a higher order of instruction", of a useful and thoroughly practical character, by establishing grammar schools easily accessible to the colonial youth of all denominations throughout the country. The phrase "a higher order of instruction" is not clearly defined, and can be interpreted on historical grounds as implying education of a different sort, education that was something more than the elementary instruction, basically the "three Rs", for which the State might hold itself responsible; such an education, in fact, as the English

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1 The Moreton Bay Courier, 19th July 1860.
2 ibid.
grammar schools provided, and which Herbert himself had had. It seems unlikely, however, that legislators, with an eye to the Colony's relatively slim finances, would commit the Government to providing alternative forms of education, notwithstanding the payment of higher fees for attendance at a grammar school. The experience in New South Wales of dual or multiple provision on denominational grounds must have been known to many of the members of Parliament.

It is noteworthy, too, that stress is laid on the "practical" nature of the education to be provided, which was to meet the needs of colonial youth. Classical or purely academic training would have little value in a colonial context. Herbert felt that collegiate education was not yet necessary or advisable, and that it would not compensate for the cost. ¹ The "Courier's" report continued:

It was desirable that the instruction to be afforded in the grammar schools should be afforded at a cheap rate, so that as many as possible might avail themselves of it, and that it should be such as would best qualify the youth of the colony for discharging the duties that would devolve upon them in after life. He did not think it would be necessary to furnish a classical education of a high order, as the middle classes would not take advantage of it. It had been found in England, where grammar schools were established for the

¹ The Moreton Bay Courier, 19th July 1860.
education of the children of the middle classes, that classical instruction did not suit the wishes of the people; and where much attention was bestowed by the teachers, in imparting classical knowledge, the number of scholars diminished, and the general usefulness of the schools was much impaired in consequence. There was no necessity in this country for high classical attainments; and the long time needed for acquiring them would be thrown away. At the same time he did not wish to speak slightly of classical education in itself. He had derived much benefit from it himself; but though for all practical purposes, where it was useful in one case, it was entirely the reverse in others. He thought it would be sufficient to provide a sound English education in the grammar schools to be established under the bill before the house - a knowledge of history, arithmetic, geography, and some modern language, like the French. He did not desire, however, that there should be no means of acquiring a classical education.¹

Herbert gave it as his opinion that there should be at least one school in the Colony offering a sound classical education; for the Colony was then suffering from a want of good schools where a liberal and cheap education could be obtained. There were many parents in Brisbane who would send their children to such schools if they were established.²

In an obvious reference to Sydney Grammar School—a clue to the worth of colonial experience—Herbert said that he considered it better to establish a number of cheap schools throughout the Colony, than one expensive

¹ The Moreton Bay Courier, 19th July 1860.
² Ibid.
school, that would be accessible to only a few. He did not see that because they were cheap they need not be good. However, he advised against economizing in so important a matter. ¹ His next remarks, however, seem to show that the legislators had the endowed, wealthy, independent grammar schools of England in mind.

It was moreover provided that at a certain time the yearly grants from the treasury should cease, and the schools be enabled to become self-supporting. ² With this view, it was proposed to endow each school with certain lands, the revenue from which would render government grants unnecessary; and would enable the schools to give higher prizes, to get the best teachers, and to furnish the youth with the best education. ³

It was mentioned that the system of land endowments had been tried in Canada without great success, but that under better auspices it might function better in Queensland.

Herbert went on to say:

The hon. baronet who presided over the other house, and who had devoted much of his time to the study of the education question, had afforded the government much valuable advice in drawing up this bill; and he had expressed himself strongly in favour of the principle of land endowments. ⁴

¹ The Moreton Bay Courier, 19th July 1860.
² See Appendix A, Clauses 5, 6, 7.
³ The Moreton Bay Courier, 19th July 1860.
⁴ ibid.
It seems clear, then, that Herbert and the legislators generally viewed grammar school education as a public necessity, as a field for government encouragement and support; but not a field for government interference and absolute direction. Having indicated the means by which it was hoped to give the grammar schools financial independence, he went on to say that he did not think it would be prudent to lay down stringent rules for their management. These would best devolve on the trustees.

Herbert's reference to the contribution made by Sir Charles Nicholson is important; for it proves beyond doubt that Nicholson was in fact the guiding force behind both the education acts. Nicholson's work will be discussed in a later chapter.

On 2nd August 1860, Captain O'Connell moved the second reading of the Grammar Schools Bill in the Legislative Council. His words bear various interpretations. The bill was, he said, merely a sequel to the Primary Education Bill. This in itself might seem to imply provision of a further stage of education—that is,

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1 See Appendix A, Clause 8.
2 The Moreton Bay Courier, 19th July 1860.
3 The Moreton Bay Courier, 4th August 1860.
secondary education. O'Connell goes on to say that the bill was designed to give to those who might desire it a higher education than could be afforded by the primary schools.\(^1\) Once again the term "higher education" is not defined. It might be pointed out, however, that the term "High School" was known to the legislators, and the model of the Edinburgh High School was more than once pointed out. And O'Connell's next words lay stress on the foundational nature of the proposed primary schools. It was of the greatest importance, he said, that a system of this kind (that is, a Grammar School system) should be established on a broad and permanent foundation, and therefore it was not difficult to perceive that the creation of primary schools, such as were contemplated under the other bill, would be found extremely useful in carrying out the great objects then proposed to be accomplished.\(^2\) It seems certain, then, that the primary schools and the grammar schools were regarded as being sequential, not as alternatives.

O'Connell's speech also gives some insight into the kind of school government the legislators intended. The appointment of trustees, he said, was to be the conjoint

\(^1\) The Moreton Bay Courier, 4th August 1860.

\(^2\) Ibid.
act of the government and the donors. These trustees, who would have the management of the funds, would retire periodically in order to allow of new blood being infused into the system, in the same way as had been provided for in the Primary Education Bill.¹

Dr. John Dunmore Lang was present in the Queensland Legislative Assembly when Herbert moved the second reading of the Grammar Schools Bill. His observations and comments were published, first in "The Empire", and later in Lang's own book. The Colonial Secretary, he wrote,

moved the second reading of a bill for the establishment of grammar schools throughout this colony; which, I may observe, embodies a plan somewhat similar to the one I had sketched out in a series of resolutions, which was some time on the notice paper of our House of Assembly shortly before the late prorogation of Parliament. A short debate ensued, in which the principle of the bill was assented to most cordially on all sides, while a few short but sensible speeches were made, suggesting improvements, and stating objections to one or two of the details. In the course of his speech, the Colonial Secretary observed that the Sydney Grammar School had proved a failure; which he ascribed to the too high pitch and mediaeval character of the education it gave. If he had imputed the failure rather to the expenditure of 29,000 l. on the building, with an endowment of 1500 l. a year (which he rightly thought excessive and unnecessary), and 18 l. a year from each pupil or student notwithstanding, I should have been more inclined to join with him.²

¹The Moreton Bay Courier, 4th August 1860.
²John Dunmore Lang, Queensland, Australia, London: Edward Stanford, 1861, 289.
Elsewhere, writing about the two education acts, Lang has this to say:

These, I have no hesitation in saying, are admirable arrangements, and they will no doubt ensure the advancement, not merely of primary education, but of education of a much higher order, throughout the colony. Under these arrangements, there will be a primary school, partially endowed by the state, for the common branches of an English education, in every small centre of population throughout the territory; and in every town with a population of from 2000 to 4000 souls there will, in due time, be a grammar school for superior education, under popular management, and much better endowed than nine-tenths of the grammar schools of Scotland.¹

The views of Governor Bowen are expressed in his prorogation speech to Parliament of 18th September, 1860:

The all-important interests of religion and education have received a full share of your careful consideration. The much-vexed question of grants in aid of public worship has been set at rest in accordance with the feelings of a large proportion of our population. Primary education has been provided for upon the general principles of that comprehensive system which experience has proved to be peculiarly adapted to meet the requirements of our colonial communities; at the same time, education of a more advanced order will shortly, under the provisions of the Grammar Schools Act, be placed within easy reach of the inhabitants of all the more populous districts.²

It seems, then, that the legislators were confident of popular support for both measures, and anticipated a ready response to the government's offer of subsidy.

¹ John Dunmore Lang, Queensland, Australia, London: Edward Stanford, 1861, 294.
CHAPTER II

PRECEDENT IN EDUCATION: THE OLD WORLD

THE FORCE OF PRECEDENT

Sir Philip Morris, writing on "The English Tradition in Education", has this to say:

the educational arrangements of a society are only one manifestation of its social convictions and ideals. The development of its educational arrangements can only be appreciated if it is seen, not merely as one aspect of general social development, but rather as part of the very texture of society throughout the period.¹

Francis Anderson, during the second decade of the twentieth century, wrote:

The whole history of educational development in Australia from the earliest beginning shows the application of ideas and methods which we share with the mother country. We have the same qualities and the same defects of the qualities. Sometimes we are a little ahead, sometimes a little behind, England in readiness to receive new ideas and to apply them systematically. But in the main, our educational development has taken place on British lines. The first settlers brought with them the English mind and temperament. The Australians of to-day are morally, intellectually, and politically in all essentials one with the parent stock.²

Appreciation, therefore, of the significance of "The Grammar Schools Act" is not possible without an examination of the trends, traditions, and philosophies that underlie its passing. The first, and most obvious question, is: "What is a Grammar School?" A full answer to this question would involve examination of an educational tradition that leads back to the medieval church, and beyond. This in turn would involve examination of many other issues along the way—the nature and purpose of education itself, and the question of who shall be educated; the philosophies of the ages and their effects; the control of education, the relationship between church and state, the intervention of secular government in education; the provision of popular education, as a charitable benefaction, as a right, and as an obligation; finance; and so on. In the colonial setting, one must assess the strength of old-world traditions and their validity in the new context; the local moderating influences—geographical, social, religious, and so on; and the emergence, particularly in New South Wales and Queensland, of a new concept of the grammar school, together with the attempt to translate theory into practice. Full treatment of the grammar school tradition, particularly in its English setting, lies largely beyond
the scope of this work. However, some treatment is considered necessary, prior to a consideration of the grammar school tradition in Australia before 1860, this leading in turn to the passing of "The Grammar Schools Act". It will be found that certain modifications of the English tradition are manifest in the concept of the grammar school to be founded in Queensland under the Act, and these can be accounted for only by reference to conditions and developments in colonial Australia--particularly in New South Wales--prior to 1860.

ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND: THE TRADITIONAL GRAMMAR SCHOOL

From the time that Christianity was first established in Britain, schools were established by Papal authority. The first grammar school was opened "as an adjunct to Canterbury Cathedral at the end of the sixth century".\(^1\) This was followed by the opening of schools in other ecclesiastical centres, both big and small. All clergy were expected to provide education freely for the people, and the practice of licensing lay teachers, which persisted for centuries, was followed.\(^2\)

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2 ibid.
Generally speaking, medieval education was highly bookish in character, and prior to the rise of the universities in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, its principal content was the liberal arts. The trivium (grammar, rhetoric and logic) came prior to the more advanced quadrivium (arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music).

Throughout the middle ages education was under the complete control of the church, although attempts were made by secular rulers from time to time to interfere in schools and universities. These attempts represented merely one aspect of the long-continued struggle between the claims of the church to spiritual superiority and the pretensions of kings and princes to dominance in secular matters. Similar struggles took place in more recent times, when political power had passed from absolute monarchial authority to elective democratic authority,

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2 ibid., p157.
4 R. Freeman Butts, op. cit., p172.
and these have persisted to the present day.

Butts records, too, even in the middle ages, the adumbration of two educational trends, largely as a result of the emergence of a wealthy—and, consequently, more powerful—middle class. One was an impetus given to vernacular schools, which might afford middle class children a "practical" education, for it taught the rudiments of reading and writing as a preparation for engaging in commercial and legal affairs. The other was a new interest by the middle class in the Latin schools, for through them could they gain social and intellectual access to the company of the upper classes. Awareness of this dualism is apparent in Herbert's speech on the second reading of the Grammar Schools Bill in the Queensland Legislative Assembly in 1860,¹ and its effect has been felt from the middle ages up to the twentieth century.

The Renaissance in England saw the extension of two other forces in education. The first of these, the principle of voluntaryism, can be traced through the Reformation to the eighteenth century, when it was accepted almost without contradiction, to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, when it formed a focal point of

¹The Moreton Bay Courier, 19th July 1860.
dissension, and was embraced at different times by parties having little other common ground. The waning strength of voluntaryism is reflected in the education acts of 1860 in Queensland, which imply the principle of State participation through partnership. During the Renaissance, wealthy individuals or groups contributed funds for the foundation of schools, these foundations being more truly the origin of the modern English "public" school than the medieval chantry school, established with a pure religious motive. The first of them was Winchester, founded in 1382 by William of Wykham, and the second Eton, in 1440, under Henry VI. With foundations largely secular, these schools came very largely under secular influence. They had—as did most of their counterparts in later centuries—a corporate existence independent of the control of the church, and because of this, their teachers were not directly responsible to the church authorities. Boards of trustees were established, and in some cases these included representatives of the merchant or craft guilds.

The second influence, the force of which has had its


2 ibid.
impact up to our own day, was that of Humanism. Butts mentions three rival claims on the intellectual loyalties of men—religion, science, and Humanism; and of these, Humanism was the one most championed most vigorously by educators.¹ Strong claims were advanced that classical Latin should be substituted for medieval Latin in the schools and universities. In some cases the aims prevailed; in others schools were re-founded; and in others again, new schools were established. Humanistic learning flourished.

Humanism, however, went further than this. As Butts defines it, the aims of Humanistic education were to produce a broadly educated person possessing a well-rounded personality, capable of assuming leadership in church or state. He should be at home in the field of classical knowledge, and yet be an effective man of action and citizen. He should possess a wide range of accomplishments, be able to express himself in poetry, song, and dance. He should exhibit good health and physical dexterity. With all these he should be a Christian gentleman with all the social graces.²

² Ibid.
Butts observes, however, that the aims of the Humanists outstripped their ability to devise a curriculum.

Humanist influence became strong in England in the late fifteenth century, and found its way into both old and new schools. It profoundly influenced the public school ideal, but chiefly it established the tradition that no person might be counted as truly educated who had not been trained in the classics.¹ The force of this tradition was strong— one might even say dominant— in grammar school education down to the middle and late nineteenth centuries, and its effects are not inconsiderable in the twentieth. For a lucid and sincere defence of the tradition one need go no further than Bowen's speech on the occasion of the official opening of the Ipswich Grammar School.² The traditional grammar school was not a grammar school in name only. The main emphasis in its teaching lay very heavily on the classics— "on grammar, composition, versifying, and rhetoric".³ Indeed, under the terms of their foundations, grammar schools were incompetent to teach anything else.


² See Appendix E.

In 1805 Lord Chancellor Eldon decided that "a grammar school must teach 'grammar'--i.e. the classical languages--and nothing else. Any addition to the curriculum would involve a mis-application of the school's endowments."¹ This judgment was not overset until the passing of the "Grammar Schools Act" in England in 1840.

The Reformation in England ended the dualism in authority--spiritual and temporal--of the preceding centuries, and formally constituted the English monarch head of both Church and State. Theoretically, if not greatly in practice, a considerable change was effected in control of those schools that survived the Reformation; for Henry VIII dissolved the teaching, preaching, and contemplative orders, and in so doing forced the closure of many schools. After the Reformation, the State, personified in the absolute monarch, held the power to control the schools through the Church. So it was that the reformers in Britain, Anglican and Presbyterian both, assumed the control that had once belonged to the Church of Rome. It was claimed that Church and State were one. In Scotland, the Presbyterians worked out a logical system of education, and the

Kirk had undisputed authority over educational foundations of all kinds. Parish schools were an integral part of ecclesiastical discipline.¹ As early as 1560 the Scottish Parliament recommended that schools be set up in every parish, and the law required it in 1646; but the strength of the upper classes prevented the realization of this for many years.² The English provision, however, lacked the coherence and comprehensiveness of the Scottish; and, notwithstanding restriction of teaching rights to sound Anglicans, nominal episcopal control, and regulation by visitation injunctions, the Established Church never moulded a national system of education.³

All Protestant rulers, however, issued edicts concerning education; the Oath of Supremacy was required of teachers in 1562; supervision of grammar schools was given to the bishops. In 1662 the Act of Uniformity restricted teachers to Anglicans, and required them to hold a licence from church officials.⁴ But the Tudors

³ Marjorie Cruickshank, op. cit., pl.
⁴ R. Freeman Butts, op. cit., p209.
actually welcomed and strengthened Church control of schools as a means of eliminating religious disunity and of restoring uniformity. 1 So that, in fact, the schools remained wholly ecclesiastical institutions, being subject to ecclesiastical law and no other. 2 This ecclesiastical control, though modified in some respects, was largely acknowledged and accepted throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when Britain's colonies--including Australia--were first being settled.

Puritans, in defiance of these laws, set up secret schools, the so-called "Dissenters' Academies". 3 The curricula of these and of others of their type later established strengthened a trend already observed in English education--the trend towards the provision of a "practical" as opposed to a classical education.

If there was change at this time in the control of education, there was also some change in the education itself. Among the Protestant reformers there was some tendency towards providing education among the common

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2 ibid., p4.
people. It was felt that opportunity should be presented to the lower as well as the upper classes, but that the two classes should receive different kinds of education. Generally the effect was to crystallize the distinction between a vernacular elementary education for the lower classes, and a classical secondary education for the upper classes. The rigid idea of a stratified society that made this view possible, and even logical, did not begin to blur until the industrial revolution had broken down much of the old economic order based on the dominance of the landed gentry, and created new social and economic groupings.

Henry VIII’s closure of the medieval church foundations brought about a considerable depression in education during the sixteenth century. Attempts to fill the gap thus created were haphazard and unsystematic. The State itself made little effort. Such work as was achieved was effected by voluntary effort, and though the poor and lower classes generally did not greatly benefit, there was considerable interest in a classical secondary education in the Humanistic tradition. Some estimates state that as many as five hundred new grammar schools were

established at this time. Once again the main stimulus came from wealthy middle classes desiring to improve their social status, and the schools drew their clientele from the more well-to-do classes.¹ There was, notwithstanding, a genuine desire to give free instruction to poor children. Archbishop Cranmer, for example, made a plea that poor boys be admitted to Canterbury School.² Again, Rugby School, founded in 1567 by Lawrence Sherriff, citizen and grocer of the City of London, was intended to be a free grammar school for local boys.³ Other grammar schools have a similar history.

During the seventeenth century, political and religious cleavage split the nation in two. This deep rift persisted until the nineteenth century, embittered national life, and brought religious discord into nineteenth century education. Men differed profoundly on the question of religious teaching, and Anglican claims to control the schools became a major issue in the conflict between the Establishment and Nonconformity.⁴

² Ibid.
The dissension showed itself most strongly in the field of elementary education, and delayed the extension of popular education. So far as the grammar schools were concerned, the pattern already established held good at least until the first half of the nineteenth century, when, under the influence of Dr. Arnold and others, the spirit of grammar school education was improved and its content modified. Control of the grammar schools remained basically the same; mainly, nominally at least, under the Established Church. Judges notes that the continuing connexion between the grammar and public schools of old foundation on the one hand, and the Established Church on the other, was slight.¹ In fact the legal obligation to hold a teaching licence was not finally abolished until the passing of the Endowed Schools Act in 1869, although it was often not enforced.²

Arnold's example consisted in making his school, Rugby, where he became Headmaster in 1827, a community founded on, and working out, the Christian view of life. He accepted the school institutions existing when he took office—the prefect system, the games, the classical

curriculum, and the chapel—-but transformed them by his attitude and leadership. His prefects became his lieutenants. Games became an important factor in the moral health of the school. Arnold taught classics, but significantly, he added mathematics, French, and history. Most important, he made the school chapel the focal point of school life, a basic formative influence, a personal contact with the boys. ¹

The direct influence of Dr. Arnold's work on English secondary education is widely known. It has been publicised in "Tom Brown's Schooldays" and in numerous works on education and social history. Wymer writes of him:

During his lifetime he moulded at Rugby a system that appealed to the new middle class of society as well as to a large section of the old aristocracy. Now Rugby was to become the pattern of the modern public school in the same way as, hitherto, Winchester had been the pattern for the old.

The year before his death Cheltenham College was founded, and in the two decades to follow many other new schools—Marlborough, Wellington, Rossall and Clifton, to name but a few—were to follow. Yet all were in accordance with the Rugby traditions.²

The influence extended, too, well beyond the newly founded schools. Many of the older schools, such as

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¹ C.E.W. Bean, Here, My Son, Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1950, 53.
² Norman Wymer, Dr Arnold of Rugby, London: Robert Hale Ltd., 1953, 197.
Sherborne, Haileybury, Repton and Uppingham revised their organization, presentation, and methods. Even Winchester felt the impact of the new outlook. 1 Within thirty years of the death of Dr. Arnold, his influence was felt in some way or another in every public school in England. Another point, too, should not be overlooked.

The fact that Arnold was a liberal evangelical churchman and keen on inter-denominational relations strengthened the school of thought which favoured unsectarian Christian teaching as a basis for religious instruction in schools attended by pupils drawn from a variety of religious bodies. 2

His attitude helped to keep the "religious difficulty" out of the secondary schools.

The method by which many of the new schools were founded at this time is worth examining. Most were established by subscriptions, the subscribers being known as the proprietors. Their shares were afterwards handed over to a council when the school obtained its charter or final constitution. 3 There is an interesting parallel here between this method of founding and the method proposed in the founding of the Queensland Grammar Schools.

1 Norman Wymer, Dr Arnold of Rugby, London: Robert Hale Ltd., 1953, 197.
3 C.E.W. Bean, Here, My Son, Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1950, 54.
Thus there grew up in the middle years of the nineteenth century a large group of schools of classical education mainly for boarders and therefore almost exclusively for the wealthier class; and to these - including the nine famous "great schools" or "great public schools" (Eton, Harrow, Winchester, Westminster, Charterhouse, Rugby, Shrewsbury, St. Paul's and Merchant Taylors') - the term "public schools" came to be exclusively applied. To be educated there was a passport to the upper middle class; and so keen was the distinction that middle-class families now drew between themselves and the retail tradesmen and humbler folk from among whom they had mostly emerged, that the grammar schools, in which tradesmen's and shopkeepers' sons formed most of the pupils, were now largely - though never wholly - shunned by the well-to-do.¹

The general recovery of the older schools, and the reformation of their governments, was begun by the Endowed Schools Act of 1869. This was, of course, nine years later than the passing of the Queensland Grammar Schools Act. But Bean notes that the middle classes in Australia were unaware of the contempt with which many of the old grammar schools were coming to be regarded, and that that mood never reached Australia. The term for what the British now called "public schools" remained "grammar schools" in Australia.²

Thus the image of the English grammar school probably held by the framers of the legislation providing for

¹ C.E.W. Bean, Here, My Son, Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1950, 54f.
² ibid., p55.
Grammar Schools in Queensland in 1860, was of a school enjoying a separate corporate existence, its affairs managed by a council or board; controlled or at least strongly influenced by the Established Church, and probably having a clergyman as its headmaster; of ancient foundation or comparatively recent origin; endowed, and probably receiving income from such sources; providing mainly or exclusively for boarders; presenting a classical curriculum with an increasingly important modern side; charging fees, catering mainly for a social and economic elite, but frequently offering scholarships for brilliant boys of humble origins; having as its aim the Humanistic ideal of education tempered by the ideal of the Christian gentleman in the Arnold tradition.

Although the impact of colonial conditions did most to modify this image, the Scottish influence must not be overlooked, particularly in the precedent of the Royal High School in Edinburgh. The concept of popular education, it has been pointed out, had received early acceptance in Scotland, and this had been extended to create opportunities for further education for able students. There were influential Scots in Queensland, and in the first Parliament. But the main channel of influence probably came through the experience of Charles Nicholson, who was a graduate of Edinburgh University. The influence
of Dr. Lang was strong, as well, in many spheres of activity.

**POPULAR EDUCATION**

The question of popular education at the elementary level does not affect to any extent the model of the English grammar school with which the framers of "The Grammar Schools Act" in Queensland were familiar. Popular education at the secondary level need hardly be considered in the English scene at this period. However, "The Grammar Schools Act" does represent a serious attempt by a colonial government to provide national—though not universal—secondary education. Consequently some examination of the English precedent in popular education, although it applies almost exclusively to elementary education, must be undertaken.

The movement to provide popular education in England may be traced as far back as the history of English education may be followed; for the medieval church itself, under papal injunction, made some attempt to provide education for the sons of poor men as well as for the rich. Universal popular elementary education, however, does not appear in England until the end of the nineteenth century, and not then until the appearance of national education, with which it is to-day inseparably
linked. The story of universal popular secondary education leads well into the twentieth century, both in England and in Australia; and this largely lies beyond the scope of this work. The Queensland legislators of 1860, however, intended that "The Grammar Schools Act" should make available education of a higher order to all who should desire it, and there appears to be little English precedent for this, although there is a considerable Scottish tradition. The circumstances under which the Act was passed show it to be, in most respects, a logical extension of that system of National Education developed in New South Wales from the model imposed on Ireland by the British Government in elementary or primary education, and adopted in Queensland after separation from the older colony. The first secondary school established under the principles implicit in the New South Wales system was the Sydney Grammar School, which in very many respects provided the model for the Queensland Grammar Schools.

Medieval popular education, what there was of it, was based on motives that were almost exclusively religious. After the Reformation, the religious motive remained, but the emphasis shifted from the study of Latin and Greek to study of the vernacular. Protestantism, it has been said, is the religion of a
Book; and the aim was then to enable every person to read the Bible. In 1698 the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge formed schools with such an aim. 1

Generally speaking, eighteenth century England accepted without question a stratified society, with very little fluidity. The century marked the development from the monarchial regime of the preceding century towards the system of government by the people; but during the transition government was carried on by the aristocracy, in the interests of the aristocracy. 2 At the opening of the century the State was recognised as a corporate body. This concept was, as the century progressed, replaced by the concept of the state as a community, an aggregate of individuals. It was the necessity for defining the attitude of the State towards a multitude of sentient, rational beings that caused both Whigs and Tories to readjust their policies, and thus was born a spirit of liberalism that affected much of the legislation of the following century. 3 The increasing recognition of the

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importance of the individual was accompanied by a rising humanitarianism that was reflected in the move to provide popular education.

During the early years of the eighteenth century, religion and philanthropy were the impelling motives in the foundation of a network of charity schools which were geared to the needs of a stable society. It was generally felt that popular education, if conferred, should be a benefaction extended from an enlightened ruling class to a lower class perpetually restricted in its duties, its opportunities, and its wealth. Such education should be under religious auspices—and by this was understood to mean the control of the Established Church. Further, it should be restricted to elementary education. Thus popular education as then envisaged would fulfill the religious aim of enabling all to read the revealed word of God in the vernacular, and the philanthropic one of ameliorating the lot of the poor man, of making him contented with his circumstances. It was cheap education. It was by no means an attempt to provide an educational ladder of opportunity, or channels for social advancement. The key to this was held by the grammar schools, and even

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the nineteenth century did not permit greatly widened access to these. In 1808 Bell said: "Parents will always be found to educate at their own expense to fill the stations which require higher qualifications."¹ So it was that a division was established in English education: on the one hand a social and (increasingly) a financial élite, who were able to demand and pay for the education they desired; and on the other, those who were "not only powerless to demand it but also frequently unwilling to accept it."²

The grammar schools and public schools of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries had little contact with the rising popular education movement, and less interest.

So long as the implicit policy in educational development was to restrict the education of the masses to a rudimentary elementary education and to prevent elementary schools from developing a secondary stage - and this was the case until the end of the nineteenth century - there was naturally no field of common endeavour or of common problems.³

Not until the final quarter of the nineteenth century is much heard of the demand for the extension of facilities

² Ibid.
³ Ibid., p48.
for secondary education to those who cannot afford to pay for it.

In addition to the religious and philanthropic motives that gave rise to the popular education movement, two others must be recognized. The first of these is the economic motive, which was manifest principally in vocational or trade training. To some extent the economic motive had been evident for many years in English education. Butts notes that economic factors were at work in the attempts of the middle classes to widen the scope of vernacular education so that it would meet more adequately their commercial needs. But provision for trade training for the poor was instituted early. The Statute of Artificers was passed in 1562 and the Poor Law in 1601. The Puritans advocated the extension of vocational training into the schools.

The incorporation of vocational studies into the schools is one of the most important events of modern education, though it raised one of the most violent of all educational controversies, namely, the role of liberal versus vocational studies.

This conflict is to some degree apparent throughout the

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2 ibid., p228.
3 ibid., p228.
nineteenth century, and is explicit in the speech made by Herbert to the Queensland Legislative Assembly when he moved the second reading of the Grammar Schools Bill. It is intensified later in the century when the technical education movement gained impetus in response to popular demand, and ultimately, through this movement in Queensland, the door was opened to full State provision, direction and control of secondary education.

The other motive mentioned is the political motive. Many of the philosophers whose teachings during the eighteenth century helped give rise to the French Revolutionary movement, demanded universal education. Projects for "education - universal, compulsory, gratuitous, and secular" were much debated in the National Assembly during the French Revolution. Although reaction to the new philosophical ideas of the eighteenth century was not so violent in England as on the Continent, it was nevertheless strong. Reforms were made, and more would have followed had not the events of the French Revolution convinced the aristocracy that political and social reforms were a national menace. Following the

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conservative reaction that accompanied the Napoleonic Wars, the pressure became more urgent. The common man was becoming politically troublesome, and the idea that popular education was beneficial in that it fostered political serenity was commonly held.

During the nineteenth century the spirit of the times impressed the need for reform on Tory and Whig alike, and the common man progressively gained political power and responsibility. It thus became obvious that the nation's future political stability was inseparably bound up with the question of popular education. Just such a view was expressed by Sir Charles Nicholson speaking in support of the primary school bill during July 1860, in the Queensland Legislative Council. Moreover, the demand for popular education from the lower classes themselves was rising, and the idea of education as a charitable benefaction was passing away. In the manifesto of the London Chartists, in 1837, education is represented as a right, not a charity. And the year of the Chartist fiasco, 1848, was a crucial one in European history, and an important one in the history of education,

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1 The Moreton Bay Courier, 14th July 1860.
both in England and in New South Wales. In that year Sir George Bowen, future first Governor of Queensland, was in Vienna, and saw for himself the bitterness of the insurrection and the strength of the forces involved.

Notwithstanding the complexity of the motives, before the middle of the nineteenth century the right of the citizen to elementary education was generally acknowledged. The question now was how to achieve this. Traditionally the Established Church held the right to control education; "and the Anglican claim to control the schools became a paramount issue in the conflict between the Establishment and Nonconformity."¹ However, the Established Church "had lost the chance to use the State in partnership to adopt a forward doctrine of national responsibility for popular instruction. As far as public law was concerned, education was now nobody's or everybody's business."² The unfortunate fact was that the Establishment, instead of using its unique position in the country to develop, in conjunction with the State, a tradition of public responsibility for education, had acted in ways that were largely restrictive, in order to


ensure that religious teaching remained under the care of orthodox instruction. And an obvious recognition of the open field lay in the fact that since the earliest years of the century there had existed two parallel societies for the spread of popular education, one of them subscribing to Anglican doctrine, the other non-sectarian.

Dissenters, it has been pointed out, had operated schools at various levels for many years. Some of their academies had achieved a standard of excellence that even the universities could not match. However, only in the Sunday School movement did the dissenting churches ever attempt large-scale provision of popular education under their own control. Anglican elementary schools were hopelessly inadequate in numbers to meet the situation. The demand was becoming pressing, and it seemed that only State intervention would fulfil it; for only the State had the resources and power to do so.

The difficulty was to define the role of the State in relation to education. The position was confused and complex. Sects, parties and pressure groups within parties opposed, accepted, or partly opposed and partly

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accepted State intervention. Groups often supported each other for reasons that were in themselves contradictory, or opposed each other on basically identical grounds. The Chartists, for example, whose influence in Australia, through such men as Parkes and Lilley, was strong, claimed education as a right; yet a meeting of working men at Burnley in 1847 spurned the efforts of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education, claiming that its aim was to create passive slaves. ¹ The laissez-faire of Adam Smith had gone beyond the economic field, and had invaded the political field. ² Much of the liberalism of the century is based on it, and it gave rise to much of the extreme voluntaryism in education at the time. Yet Linz states that the destinies of liberalism and national education were inextricably interwoven, since without liberalism such an educational scheme would not have developed. ³

The truth of the matter seems to be that in few spheres of religious or political thought was there unity.


Liberalism of the nineteenth century was a tremendously diverse and largely empirical movement, a trend of thought, not a well-integrated political party, and its influence was everywhere. Whigs and Tories both had been compelled by the political climate to institute reforms. The Roman Catholic Church, usually well organised and therefore disproportionately strong, lacked the hierarchical structure in England until the middle of the century. The Dissenters were divided, and their views ranged from extreme to moderate. The prevalent philosophy of laissez-faire appealed particularly to many of them, who had played an important part in building England's industrial and commercial supremacy. But the real heart of the conflict lay within the Established Church, which included what was probably the most powerful conservative force in the land.

During the eighteenth century the Established Church had suffered a decline. "The Church, like the Civil Service, was at this time a mere 'out-relief department of the British aristocracy.'" During the early years of


the nineteenth century the members of the Oxford Movement, the Tractarians, attempted to restore the Church to its former dignity and influence, including the control of education. Doctrinal differences split the Church. The controversy is clearly seen when attempts were made in 1835 and 1838 to introduce a kind of Board of Education. In 1839 the Whig government launched their plans for state control, providing for a Committee of Privy Councillors to distribute grants, inspection of participating schools, and a non-sectarian State normal school. The new state policy came at the very climax of the Anglican revival, and provoked fierce denunciations from the Tractarians.

Tractarian opposition continued for many years, both in England and Australia. In England the Evangelicals wanted co-operation with the state. The Tractarians, led by Archdeacons Denison and Manning, the dominant group in the National Society, stood for exclusive clerical control of the schools, but were willing to accept state aid.

3 ibid., p5.
The Tractarians were, in fact, one of three main groups prepared to press their own point of view. The second group, the dissenting Voluntaryists, advocated Voluntaryism entire. The third, including the Chartists, was a Radical group, who wanted a national system of secular education, controlled and directed by the state. This group gained important recruits, men like Cobden, who were not so much opposed to religious instruction inside the schools as repelled by religious wrangling outside. Much of the support for this group came from the working class, who naturally suffered most of the effects of the struggle. All three groups had their counterparts in Australia, and there were many shades of intermediate opinion between the extremes.

In the face of such a position it was inevitable that any solution must be a compromise; and the middle years of the century saw many efforts to find an acceptable answer. Such, then, was the situation in England before Queensland's separation from New South Wales. Several dates, however, stand out. In 1833 the British Parliament voted an annual grant for education, with few strings attached. In 1839 a Select Committee of the

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Privy Council was set up to superintend the expenditure of the sums voted, and to inspect grant-aided schools. Most significant, perhaps, was the year 1846. In that year the Minutes of the Committee of Council made a decisive change in the relationship of the State to the schools.\(^1\) The pupil-teacher system, which broke up the old monitory system, was established. Under the terms of payment of stipends to pupil-teachers, inspection was prescribed to ensure competence. The State thereby declared itself vitally interested in "the qualifications of schoolmasters, the selection and training of teachers, the school curriculum, and the method of classroom organization."\(^2\)

Prior to these developments in England, there had been instituted in Ireland a system of school administra-
tion which was to have considerable effect on educational thought and development in Australia. In September, 1831, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, Lord Stanley, had set up a Board of Commissioners for National Education. Local administration was left to the "patron" who had originally sponsored the school and established connexion


\(^2\)ibid.
with the Board.

The essential feature of these schools was the attempt to bring together children of all sects for a general, literary education which, while Christian in spirit, was undenominational; facilities were provided for the separate religious instruction of the children of each sect. To achieve these ends the Board of Commissioners had developed a body of literary and moral knowledge in an elaborate system of textbooks, Christian in content, but free of dogma.¹

CHAPTER III

PRECEDENT IN EDUCATION: AUSTRALIA

A NEW GRAMMAR SCHOOL CONCEPT

The type of grammar school proposed for Queensland under the terms of the 1860 Act had many features in common with the grammar school of the old country. It was to have a separate corporate existence; its affairs were to be managed by a council—but a council with a difference; the council would have a high degree of autonomy; the school was to be endowed with lands, the income from which, it was hoped, would in time supplement fees and make subsidy unnecessary; it was to operate on a district basis, as did many of the English grammar schools; it would receive day boys and boarders; it would charge fees, but would admit scholarship winners. There were, however, significant differences, and these differences can be explained only by reference to colonial conditions and events. Examination shows that all the innovations and modifications of the English prototype can be shown to be the outcome of colonial experience. The main differences are: that the schools were to provide higher education at a cheap rate for all who should desire it; that they were to be part of a
system—an articulated system established on a statutory basis in conjunction with the primary schools; that each school was to receive a foundational grant to supplement a stipulated local contribution, and an annual subsidy, from the government; that the council was to be partly appointed by the government and partly elected by local subscribers, thus representing a partnership between central authority and local interests; that the curriculum was to have a "practical" bias, as befitted colonial requirements; and—probably most significant of all—that the schools were to be at least non-denominational. It is most likely, though the point is not explicit, that they were intended to be purely secular; for the preamble to the Act and the Act itself make scant reference to religion. The key words are "for the encouragement of learning", and "without any distinction whatsoever".¹ The whole concept must be viewed as an extension of that line of educational development which produced the National Education system of primary education in New South Wales and Queensland, and which, further developed, gave rise to the system of State High Schools existing to-day in all Australian States.

¹ See Appendix A.
From the very early years of settlement in New South Wales it had become obvious that governmental financial support for education was inevitable. The British Government of the day might concern itself not at all with the education of the lower orders—or any other orders, in fact; but the colonial governors of New South Wales soon found that education was a problem that obtruded itself upon their attention, however unwilling they might be to face it. Actually, the naval governors were much concerned with education as a social problem, and were forced to resort to irregular expedients to meet it. They were not concerned to assert the supremacy of either Church or State. The Church, being represented only by official chaplains, was not in a position to protest, even if its understood privileges had been seriously disputed. In fact, they were not, though whether or not the Church of England was ever the Established Church in Australia has been a matter of legal dispute ever since the foundation of the colony. The fact remains that it assumed privilege,

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2 ibid., p6.
received monetary aid, and associated itself with education, without serious challenge until after Macquarie's term as governor. Until then, too, educational arrangements were haphazard and sketchy.

Macquarie himself had desired to render education "co-extensive with the population",¹ but the first real attempt to create a "system" of education in New South Wales was that of Archdeacon T.H. Scott. Bigge had recommended an extension of education in the colony in order to counteract the influence of parents.

This insistence on the duty of the State to engage itself in furthering the welfare of these people, who were so definitely charges upon its solicitude, was probably the first suggestion of the futility of the doctrine of laissez-faire as applied to Australian education.²

Following the Commissioner's report, the home government was persuaded to establish a Church and School Corporation. Letters patent creating the Corporation were dated 9th March, 1826.³

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The foundation stone of Scott's pedagogic edifice was the indissoluble union of Established Church and education, and to support the whole were to be granted "one-seventh part in extent and value of all the lands in each and every such county, to be thenceforward called and known by the name of the Clergy and School Estate, of such county...." Griffiths writes of the scheme:

From the safe vantage-ground of the mid-twentieth century, one does not know whether to wonder more at the energy and enthusiasm of Scott or at the quixotry of its manifestation - for it would be evident to any impartial observer, that the experiment was doomed to failure.

Yet the venture had its historical significance, and pointed several lessons for the colonists. The prime cause of the failure of the scheme was lack of funds, and the futility of placing immediate reliance on income from land endowments in an undeveloped colony was forcefully underlined. Thomas Mitchell, who was given the task of surveying the lands, tartly remarked that under ideal circumstances, the job might take twenty-four years.

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3ibid., p32.

For the land to begin producing such profits as were required to support a scheme such as Scott's, might have taken a century. This lesson, it seems, was not forgotten when land endowments were proposed for the Queensland Grammar Schools. From December 1826, when the home government refused to advance money to the Corporation, failure was inevitable.

Even if plentiful finance had been available, it is doubtful that the project could have survived. The Corporation was merely a channel for the distribution of moneys appropriated from the colonial revenue. As soon as it became obvious that a considerable part of this was being used for the furtherance of the religious activities of the Church of England alone, there were immediate and bitter objections from both the Roman Catholic and the Dissenting Churches.

In 1833 the charter of the Corporation was revoked, and the fact had double significance.

Not only did it strike a severe blow at the control the Church had traditionally exercised over education, but it demonstrated that the problems associated with national education, an essentially

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nineteenth-century phenomenon, were not to be solved by reverting to a solution that had served for earlier centuries in a Europe that was, socially and religiously, very different from the colony of New South Wales.

Whether it liked it or not, the government was obliged to take a hand; but the scheme had left "a legacy of mistrust of denominational exclusiveness" which had its effect during the years to follow.

Despite its impracticability, however, Scott's scheme had considerable nobility of conception. The Statutes of the Corporation stated:

There shall be established -
1. Infant and Parochial Schools.
2. Grammar Schools.
3. Collegiate.
4. Male and Female Orphan Schools.
5. Native Black Schools.
6. Evening Schools for Young Men.

1. Mechanics' Institutions, as the increasing wants of the colony may require.
2. A school shall be established at Black Town, or in ... other place, for the children of the Blacks, to be received under five years of age only.

Here, surely, is manifest a humanitarian breadth of vision that cannot reflect anything but credit.

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3 ibid., p39.
Moreover, Scott dreamed, years in advance of his time, of "the education of the poorer children being continued beyond the primary schools with Government support".  

There is the sadness of frustrated idealism in his last report to Governor Darling:

I had been very desirous of establishing one good grammar school in the colony for boarders, but as the funds set aside for schools could only be applied to the support of the indigent, I did not feel that, as a visitor, I could exclude a child from these benefits, were he otherwise deserving of it, because the parents were humble or immoral. But the upper classes objected to send their children to this school, urging as a reason that they would be contaminated by such an association....I could not assent to the establishment of a public school on such a system of exclusiveness; I left it to the latter persons to select their own schools from private establishments, of which in Sydney there are many....

Following the failure of a Free Grammar School movement at Norfolk Plains in Tasmania, Scott drew up for Sir George Arthur, Lieutenant-Governor of Tasmania, a detailed scheme for a "King's Grammar School" to be established at New Norfolk. The buildings and part of

1 C.E.W. Bean, Here, My Son, Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1950, 25.


the masters' salaries were to be provided by the Government; but the project failed within a year or two.

The years from 1833 to 1848 are years of discord. Following the collapse of the Corporation, Governor Bourke, a liberal, proposed as a solution the adoption of the Irish National System. The suggestion met with implacable opposition, led by Bishop Broughton, first Bishop of Australia. An appointee of the Tory government, formerly of the household of the Duke of Wellington, Broughton made no secret of his Tractarian sympathies. Bourke's proposal failed, and under the stress of the same adverse forces, so did also a second attempt to introduce National Education, by Governor Gipps; and a third, by the Legislative Council Committee on Education under the leadership of Robert Lowe. In spite of this, there seems little doubt "that beneath the troubled surface the current of public opinion was setting towards an educational system managed and financed by the State."¹ Robert Lowe pointed out to Gipps, in December 1844, that "the bigoted clamour against the general system has not been raised by the

people, but solely by the Clergy.".  

1848: THE TWO BOARDS

In 1848 Governor FitzRoy, only two years after the departure of Gipps, set up two boards, a National Board, and a Denominational Board. The latter took over an existing body of schools, largely under clerical supervision. Its duties thence consisted in distribution of funds, and in arbitrating as best it might among the jealous recipients. The National Board had little but a dedicated body of supporters, among them Robert Lowe, W.A. Duncan, Dr. Lang (who until a visit to Dublin had opposed the system), J.H. Plunkett, G.W. Rusden, and Charles Nicholson.

Austin suggests three reasons for FitzRoy's success in setting up a National Board where Gipps had failed. First, difficulty of squatter occupancy had been resolved, and the political climate was now more serene; second, he created a compromise in the dual system; and third, he had the personal ability to mix well and appreciate the colonial situation. Moreover, the excellent publicity given the movement by Lowe and Duncan


2 ibid., p45f.
must have won new supporters. Foster, however, points out that the New South Wales Act of 1842 gave the colony twenty-four elected members in a Council of thirty-six; and that Broughton had declined to accept a seat on the grounds that a prelate of the Church of England should not belong to a body composed for the greater part of elected members. In the absence of the Governor and the Lord Bishop, freer speeches, more illustrative of popular thought, were made. "That national education was approved only four years after the new Council opened is evidence of the power which this champion of denominational education wielded in the old one."

Both Plunkett and Nicholson were members of the first National Board. The energetic initial work of Rusden in promoting and publicising the movement, and the excellent educational leadership of William Wilkins, the first headmaster of the Model School of the National Board, did much to set the National schools on a sound footing. Rusden's work in publicity was carried on with

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3 ibid., p285.
great effect by Henry Parkes in "The Empire". It is
noteworthy that Parkes—probably because his own educa-
tion was fragmentary—always advocated systematic educa-
tion and sound training for teachers.¹ He maintained a
lifelong interest in vocational schools, adult education
and technical colleges;² and he advocated the estab-
lishment (possibly under Lang's influence) of colonial
grammar schools on the model of the Edinburgh High
School.³

Despite difficulties and setbacks, there was contin-
ued advance made until the reorganization imposed by
legislation nearly twenty years later; and the dual
system was the one in force at the time of Queensland's
separation from New South Wales.

The Queensland Education Act of 1860 providing for
primary schools made it clear that primary education was
to be carried on in accordance with the spirit of the
national system of education as it had been carried on in
New South Wales. Therefore the regulations of the

³ ibid., p227.
National Board are of some interest. The principles implicit in them will be found to have been applied in large measure also to the Grammar Schools Act. The New South Wales National Board issued its regulations on 10th May, 1848. These were modelled on the regulations issued by the National Board of Ireland.¹

The regulations provided that no more than two-thirds of the cost of a school building be paid by the Board; the remaining one-third had to be raised by local effort. In submitting plans the local patrons were required to make provision for a separate classroom and this was to be used for religious instruction. After the initial costs had been met the Board was no longer responsible for any expenses incurred.

Concerning the attendance and religious instruction, the regulations ordered that children attend a competent number of hours per day and that one day in each week or part of a day be set apart for the religious instruction of the children. This instruction was to be given by the pastors of the different churches, and if arrangements were made for reading the Scriptures, parents could arrange for their children to absent themselves if they desired. The only books used were those published by the Commissioners for National Education of Ireland, except where special permission was granted by the Board.

Concerning teachers, the Board reserved the right to appoint or dismiss, subject to recommendations from the local patrons. "A teacher," the regulations stated, "should be imbued with a spirit of peace, of obedience to the law, and loyalty to the sovereign; and should not only possess the art of communicating knowledge, but be capable of moulding the mind of youth, and of giving the power which education confers, a useful direction." To ensure

a high standard a model school was proposed, and in an endeavour to induce good types of persons to become teachers the Board offered a minimum salary which could be supplemented by fees and by annual gratuities to deserving teachers if their conduct were favourable.

In the matter of inspection, the Board ordered that all clergymen of the district be permitted to visit but not interfere with the schools. Visitors were to be treated with courtesy and be allowed to see any records they wished, and at the conclusion of their visit enter such remarks as they considered necessary in the Visitors' Book. The patrons could allow other gentlemen similar privileges. Superintendents were later to be appointed to make frequent visits to schools and receive monthly reports from the teachers.

Finally, the Board required that the principles of Christian love, temperance and forbearance be inculcated in all schools and ordered that a copy of a lesson detailed by them be hung prominently in the classroom.¹

THE 1855 REPORT

General dissatisfaction with the dual system led to a demand for investigation. On 1st August, 1852, Charles Cowper moved successfully in the Legislative Council to have a Select Committee appointed "to enquire and report whether any measures can be adopted for improving the means of education and for diffusing its benefits more extensively through the Colony".²

² ibid., p31.
The Commissioners, William Wilkins, Samuel Turton, and Henry Levinge, delivered their final report on 6th December, 1855. The comments on the conditions generally are scathing. Section 47 sets out in brief the views of the Commissioners:

It may be well briefly to recapitulate here the principal points contained in the preceding portion of this report. In general terms, then, the schools are badly situated and ill-adapted for the purpose; in bad repair and insufficiently provided with the means of carrying on the instruction of the pupils. The number of children attending school is small, the average daily attendance still less. The payments made by the children are unsatisfactory. Their attainments in every branch of knowledge, and especially in religious subjects, are very small. In most of the schools the discipline is lax; but, in a considerable number, the children are clean and orderly; local supervision and assistance are entirely neglected. Such is the general character of the schools throughout the Colony.¹

Paradoxically, in spite of the fact that the controversy in education had for twenty years centred round the teaching of scriptural knowledge, it was found that more attention had been devoted to the subject in National Schools than in Denominational Schools.² The point, it seems, was not lost on those responsible for the Queensland legislation of 1860. The weakness of the

² ibid., p33.
dual system was also pointed out:

**Rival Systems.** Although some educationalists have pointed to the competition of systems as a great good, our experience has failed to detect a single benefit arising from it, while the evils it produces are obvious and extensive....The rivalry of systems tends to divide, and consequently weaken every endeavour for the promotion of education.¹

The inadequacy of teachers and teaching received attention:

It is incumbent upon the state to create, as it were, a higher order of teachers, who, in their turn, should raise the business of education to its proper rank among the other liberal professions. Teachers of the lowest rank should receive at least £200 per annum, together with a respectable dwelling house; and the higher classes a salary proportionately large.²

Probably the most telling criticism and the most significant recommendation, lay in this comment on the lack of system:

**Lack of System.** All the recent legislative measures on educational matters, appear to have no connection with each other, whence it happens, that with all the requisite materials for forming a comprehensive system, the colony possesses no system of education at all, in the proper sense of the word. Primary education is divided into two great sections, repugnant, if not hostile, to each other in spirit, and independent of each other in every respect. With these, secondary education, as given in the projected Grammar schools, is wholly


² ibid., p99.
unconnected, and there appears to be no security that the latter will harmonize with the higher education imparted by the University. This piecemeal character of the means of education is a serious defect. There should be but one system, specially adapted to the wants of the community, and controlled and administered by one managing body. In comparison to the advantages of this plan, all other reforms are of little importance.

The influence of William Wilkins is strongly evident in this recommendation. His views are set out in the Final Report from the Commissioners. The existing institutions, he said, should be brought together "in one system, in which education, commencing in the primary schools shall be successively improved in the Grammar schools... until it receives its greatest extension and development in the University." 2 Austin remarks that Wilkin's concept of an articulated, national system of education was shared by very few men in mid-nineteenth century Australia. 3 It can, therefore, hardly be coincidence that five years later an attempt was made, in the Queensland education legislation of 1860, to provide a statutory basis for an articulated system of education.


3 ibid.
It must be remembered that, although the Grammar Schools to be created under this legislation were to have considerable autonomy, yet their councils were to include four government nominees of a total of seven. The time of fully centralized control of secondary education had not yet arrived; other lessons had still to be learnt.

The New South Wales National Board adopted prompt remedial measures in 1854—an inspection system, importation of well-qualified teachers, and payment of teachers by classification. The Denominational Board, it appears, was concerned, but regarded itself more as a distributive channel for finance than a directive body; and this too, had its lesson to teach. For in Queensland, a single board, the Board of National Education, was set up by Bowen, and replaced within months, under the terms of the Act, by the Board of General Education.

EARLY ATTEMPTS TO PROVIDE SECONDARY EDUCATION

In the field of what to-day would be considered secondary education, there had also been some effort. When Scott's educational bubble burst, few, if any, had ideas of providing facilities for higher education for those who could not well pay for it. It proved, as it happened, a difficult task to provide such facilities for those who could. In fact, to provide minimal elementary
education under the prevailing conditions was a major task, and would have been difficult enough even had there been sufficient finance and a universal willingness to co-operate. Nevertheless, some demand for higher education existed, and attempts were made, mainly in the main cities, to meet it. Scott, in his final report to Governor Darling, in 1829, refers to the existence of private schools.¹

Griffith's comment on the higher education of the period is apt:

From the time when "gentlemen" first began to have adolescent sons in the colony, there was some demand for secondary and higher education; but till the end of the period dealt with in this volume, that demand was very limited. Enthusiasts began secondary schools, a School of Arts, and the University of Sydney; a few people supported them with fervour; but not one can be said to have flourished until the eighteen-seventies at least. There was not enough concentration of intelligent people of sufficient income; there were recurrent depressions and the gold rushes; primary education was too scarce, or too elementary, or too formal; there were always denominational difficulties and the distrust caused by this. The history of the years from 1815 to 1880 is therefore mostly of secondary schools begun by enthusiastic teachers or clergymen, or by a corporate body, prospering briefly, struggling for some years, dying out.²


² ibid., p173.
The exclusiveness that Scott deplores, in evidence among the "gentry" of the infant colony, is an extension of the eighteenth century attitude that viewed higher education as the privilege of an élite. The colonial élite tended to maintain connexion with the home country, and to send their sons there to be educated. Their aim was to preserve intact, or with minimum modification, the values of British society.¹ W.C. Wentworth is an excellent example of a man so nurtured and educated; and his views on higher education are best illustrated by referring to the proposals of the committee on which he served in helping to frame the Constitution Bill, as late as the middle of the nineteenth century. The idea of hereditary titles is postulated. This would lay the foundation of an aristocracy which, from their fortune, birth, leisure, and the superior education their advantages would superinduce, would soon supply elements for the formation of an upper house.² The pedigree of the political ideas of pastoral conservatives of that time is to be found in the eighteenth century, the age of Burke, rather than the nineteenth; it was a generation

which divided the landed interest from their liberal opponents of the town of Sydney.\(^1\)

In Wentworth's defence, however, it must be noted that he defended the right of any man to graduate into the colonial "aristocracy" by ability and education. And while the attitude of exclusion that Scott encountered was not consistently maintained,

the background of secondary education in New South Wales for the next fifty years was the general assumption that those children received secondary education whose parents were prepared, and in a position, to pay for it. This assumption was shared by the Government which, under changing forms of administration, concerned itself entirely with elementary education.\(^2\)

Neither Bishop Broughton nor Governor Bourke seems to have thought of continuing the education of poorer children beyond primary level with the support of government funds.\(^3\) Broughton proposed two schools (The King's School, Sydney, and The King's School, Parramatta); but intended them to be grammar schools in the contemporary English sense. Their purpose was to give a good

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classical, scientific, and religious education to the sons of parents in the middle and higher ranks of society. 1

Secondary education, in this sense, had two chief characteristics. First, within its milieu of religious education, it was predominantly academic. The founder of the King's School looked forward to the day when the colony would have its own university; the grammar school would provide the path to that university. The second, and perhaps more significant, characteristic was that such a school was designed to serve and reproduce a social as well as an intellectual elite. This purpose, so far as Bishop Broughton was concerned, was explicit; he advanced it as one of his arguments in claiming Government subsidy for the school. 2

Broughton's contention was that the community would benefit because from the schools would come the future legislators, magistrates, and other public functionaries. 3

The King's School, Sydney, closed on the death of its Headmaster, Rev. George Innes, and Bourke declined to re-open it.

By 1840 there had been firmly established in New South Wales three schools which can be regarded as the pioneers of secondary education in Australia. These schools were The King's School, Parramatta; Lang's

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2 Ibid.

Australian College; and Sydney College. The second of these has considerable significance in the path of educational development leading to the Queensland grammar school legislation; but the third is more important than either of the others.

The influence of Dr. John Dunmore Lang in Australian affairs generally, and in education in particular, is profound. Born in 1799, brought up in Ayrshire, he came from a background that blended sincere religious belief, hard work, simplicity, democratic thought, independence. The Scottish people of Lang's background held the right to choose their own ministry. In 1823, having graduated from Glasgow University, Lang came to Australia.²

"Intelligent but almost blindly impulsive, unflinchingly courageous, indefatigable, self-sufficient, aggressive and intolerant,"³ he embarked on a series of ventures, many having a crusading flavour, with visionary zeal, yet remaining within the limits of possible practical attainment. Even in Scott's day he had "established for

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³Sir Raphael Cilento, Triumph in the Tropics, Brisbane: Smith & Patterson Pty. Ltd. (Crown Copyright), 1959, 100.
himself a reputation as a dangerous controversialist"¹, and he bitterly opposed the idea of a monopolistic Established Church. At a later stage of his career he renounced, and subsequently denounced, State aid to religion and its corollary, denominationalism in education; but he supported vigorously the principle of official aid and encouragement for National Education on a non-denominational basis. In 1830, however, he sought and received a State grant of £3,500 to establish his College.

Lang's principal objective in Australia had always been the promotion of a colonial middle class. It was to this end that he had founded his Australian College and had experimented in immigration schemes. He discovered, as he considered, in the United States a middle class which ruled supreme. He attributed its success to the freedom accorded it to develop its characteristic institutions. One essential requirement of this freedom was the absence of any privileged non-government body, such as an Established Church, which might hamper middle-class development in the interests of a powerful and conservative minority. Accordingly, he declared, the middle classes in New South Wales should see that no aid was given to any denomination, for that might lead to reactionary influence being applied. And, furthermore, education must not become a monopoly of vested religious bodies, for that would be tantamount to setting up all the evils of an Establishment.²

Cable notes that Lang's conversion in educational


policy did not take place until 1837, and it was not until 1840 that his American experiences caused him to formulate a general philosophy of colonial religion and education. ¹

Among the points proposed and settled by Lang with Lord Goderich, Secretary of State for the Colonies, in 1831, were the following:

1. That the contemplated institution should comprehend at its outset: (i) an English department, for English, English Composition, etc.; (ii) a Mercantile department, for Writing, Arithmetic, Bookkeeping, etc.; (iii) a Classical department, for the Latin and Greek languages; and (iv) a Mathematical and Physical department, for Mathematics and such branches of Natural Philosophy as it should be found expedient to cultivate.

2. That each of these departments should be under the management of a separate master, to be appointed on the recommendation of the Universities of Edinburgh or Glasgow.

3. That each of these masters should have a small permanent salary from the funds of the institution, a free house, and fees from the pupils.

4. That the institution should be accessible to persons of all denominations, and no attempt whatever made to proselytize; but that instruction should be afforded, at stated times, in the principles and duties of the Christian religion, to those pupils whose parents or guardians should not object to their receiving it.

5. That the institution should, in the first

instance, be under the general superintendence of the writer.¹

Two points of interest emerge. The first is the breadth of the proposed range of studies, much greater than that offered by the traditional grammar schools of the period. Notwithstanding the intention to engage in elementary instruction as well, Lang seems to be in this in advance of his time. The second point is the attempt to introduce the principle of "common Christianity". Lang hoped that the College would, in time, achieve University status—hence the choice of the title "College".

The proposed institution is intended at the outset to combine a system of elementary education, with a gradually extending provision for education in the higher branches of literature, philosophy, and science. This arrangement will continue in operation till the institution is sufficiently advanced, and the system of education to be pursued in it, sufficiently matured, to admit of the gradual disjunction of the School and College Departments, by the appointment of assistant masters for the elementary classes.²

The Australian College was closed during the depression years 1841–46. Re-opened, it struggled on till 1856, when it finally closed.


² ibid., pl82.
The collapse of the institution is not part of the present study; but, while it was in its dying throes, Lang, on 27th September, 1843, tabled a plan in the New South Wales Legislative Council—the first attempt in the new body to effect educational change. This plan preceded by perhaps fifteen years the one that Lang referred to in his account of the second reading of the Grammar Schools Bill in the Queensland Legislative Assembly. It bears, however, more than a passing resemblance to the educational state of affairs envisaged by the Queensland legislators of 1860. Under Lang's plan, aid was to be entirely withdrawn from denominational schools, and Government primary and grammar schools were to be built. In each town of 2,000 persons a grammar school, financed by the District Council, was to give instruction in Latin, Greek, Mathematics, Natural History and Natural Philosophy. The teacher was to receive a dwelling, a salary of not more than £100 per year, and the opportunity to collect a fee of 10/- per quarter from each student.

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2 John Dunmore Lang, Queensland, Australia, London: Edward Stanford, 1861, 289.

3 William Foster, loc. cit.
opposition, and because the District Councils Bill was not yet passed, Lang withdrew the resolutions.

In 1855 Governor Denison also made an attempt to decentralize education on a district basis. Had it succeeded, Lang may have seen fit to press his plan for grammar schools, but the Select Committee on Education of the Legislative Council declined to support Denison's Bill. It is interesting to note, however, that Clause 2 of the Grammar Schools Act in Queensland provides for a possible link between the schools and municipal bodies.¹

THE SYDNEY GRAMMAR SCHOOL

The story of Sydney College is part of a greater story that goes back as far as Scott's day, and forward to provide the essential experience that immediately precedes the passing of the Queensland Grammar Schools Act. It is a story of three schools, each having a separate existence, but all essentially progressive stages of a single developing line of educational endeavour. The three schools are Sydney Free Grammar School (1825–6); Sydney College (1835–48); and Sydney Grammar School (1857 to the present day). They stand apart from other schools in the colony; for they were neither in the

¹ See Appendix A.
hands of private individuals, nor under the auspices of any church.

The Sydney Free Grammar School was the co-operative product of subscriptions from interested citizens of Sydney.

In 1825 with the increased and increasing number of free settlers, many of them well to do, a group of civil officials and military officers and free settlers founded the Sydney Public Free Grammar School with the vigorous quarrelsome Laurence Henry Halloran as Headmaster. The school was not really free; subscribers had the right to present pupils. But its funds were small and the trustees wished to accumulate funds for the erection of a building rather than pay adequate salaries to masters. Within a year Halloran had resigned, and was in gaol for debt. The school closed.¹

The proposed aims and organization of the school as set out by Halloran are as follows:

it is my earnest wish...to perpetuate in Sydney the benefits of a liberal education, and to place them within the reach of the middle class of society, who, from the present unavoidably expensive charges for instruction in the higher branches of literature, are, in great measure, precluded from affording a participation of them to their children. With this view I beg to submit to the candid consideration of the Government and of the public, the following, I conceive, plain and feasible propositions, for the foundation and endowment of a Public Grammar School, in Sydney...

That thirty free scholars only be admitted (each nominated by a Governor who is to pay £50 for the right to nominate a scholar for life, the money thus received being used for building the school). That the headmaster be allowed to receive twenty scholars on his own terms, and for his

¹ The Sydneian, 1957, p24.
exclusive advantage.¹

The next school, Sydney College, was founded as a Joint Stock Company. At their initial meeting in August 1828, the trustees resolved to consider:

To raise, for the establishment of this institution, the sum of ten thousand pounds sterling, in two hundred shares of £50 each, with which it is proposed to erect the buildings required.

That each share shall entitle the holder thereof to the right of having one boy at the school at a time, for the period of twelve years.

That the institution shall be available to all parties of whatever religious persuasion.

That no religious book be used by authority in the institution, except the Bible and Testament, without note or comment.

That each trustee, in addition to the original cost of his share or shares, shall pay £5 sterling annually, for each boy in the institution in his name.

That the branches of education to be taught in this institution, for the present be as follows: English, Latin and Greek Languages, Writing, Arithmetic, and the different branches of Mathematics.²

The change in name to Sydney College was made partly, it seems, because in the meantime some private schools, including Cape's, had been called by their owners Sydney Grammar School. The annual cost per boy to a shareholder was raised to £7; fees for other boys were from £12 to £14 per year. In 1837 land was formally granted to the

² ibid., pl79.
College trustees "for the promotion in the Colony of Science, Literature and Art".  

The tried and respected William Timothy Cape, who has an honourable place in the story of education in New South Wales, was appointed Headmaster, and the College opened in 1835. Cape brought with him sixty boys, who had been pupils at his own private 'Sydney Grammar School'....

Sydney College was undenominational; but the day commenced with prayers. Cape was a strong Churchman. The College flourished for some years and came to be described as the principal educational establishment for the upper and middle classes. But by 1840 the severe financial depression of the Colony had led to a decline in enrolments. Cape, annoyed because the College governors preferred to spend money on buildings rather than on salaries, resigned in 1842. He was succeeded by Thomas Henry Braim, a Cambridge man, who had been Headmaster of the Episcopalian Grammar School, Hobart Town, Van Diemen's Land.  

The reason for resignation given by both Halloran and Cape emphasized what private and independent schools have found on numerous occasions—that fees from pupils can do little more than cover the running costs and salaries of a school. Braim expressed his awareness of the weakness of Sydney College when he wrote, "We have a strange anomaly, a college without the slightest endowment". The College closed in 1847.

The events that ensued are described in "The

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1 The Sydneian, 1957, p25.

2 ibid.

3 ibid., p26.
The closing of Sydney College was a melancholy event. At that time King's was in temporary decline, and the Australian College was soon to come to an end. The situation appeared serious to thinking men, for here was a growing colony which had thrown off its leg-irons and which was urging towards responsible government, but which was neglecting the education of its citizens and future leaders. Wentworth and those associated with him had no wish to see New South Wales a democracy. The rulers under the new constitution should, they thought, be men of property and of education. But they wanted also to provide in the Colony the education necessary for leadership, and they did not want to deny it to anyone. Therefore, when the Proprietors of the Sydney College in 1849 presented a petition to the Legislative Council seeking the conversion of their school into a University, the proposal was championed and probably initiated by Wentworth. The University Incorporation Act was passed; and in October 1852 the University began in an impressive ceremony in what is now the Big Schoolroom. In law the College was not yet extinct. It was merely temporarily closed.

In September 1853 the Legislature passed an Act authorising the transaction by which the College transferred its land and other assets to the University. Sydney College had at last come to an end. The University of Sydney was established in College Street, with three Professors and twenty-four students. This sounds impressive. But much had yet to be accomplished. Tertiary education was established in name, and the State had just entered the field of primary education by adopting the Irish National system, as it was called; but the few secondary schools, mostly Church supported, were not flourishing. Parkes, apostle of democracy and popular education, insisted that New South Wales was trying to run before it could walk. According to an editorial in Parkes' paper the Empire, Dr. Woolley was engaged in drumming declensions and conjugations.

1 The Sydneian, 1957, p26f.
into the heads of his students, hardly the task of a Professor of Classics. The *Sydney Morning Herald* agreed:

'That the present efficient working of that institution, the University of Sydney, has been much impeded by the non-existence of a Grammar School which should prepare students for its higher courses has for some time been a matter of common observation.'

The movement gained strength. The Colony shared with other countries the quickening demand of the nineteenth century for universal education. But here, unlike England, there were no long-established institutions in which the young plant could grow. There was no Established Church. Neither the Church of England nor any other denomination could maintain and sufficiently expand its existing schools without aid. The fate of Sydney College and other attempts showed how necessary it was for the success of a public school that its income should be assured. There had been no great endowments. No Colonist had given a fortune to found a school. Effective backing by the Government was necessary. Thus when Parkes, in October 1854, presented a petition to the Legislative Council it was signed by three hundred and fifteen persons, representing a varied and important cross section of the community.

The petition reads as follows:

A Petition from certain inhabitants of the City of Sydney and others praying the adoption of measures for the erection of a Grammar or High School, presented to the Legislative Council.

Your petitioners are impressed with the conviction that provision is required for raising the character of the earlier instruction bestowed on the youth of the colony, both as respects those who do not, and those who do, intend to follow up their studies at the University, the progress and usefulness of which are at present manifestly retarded for want of efficient preparatory training. Your petitioners respectfully submit that, by erection of a Grammar or High School, and by the engagement of first-rate masters, with partial endowment,

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1 *The Sydneian*, 1957, p27f.
supplemented by liberal fees, to be contributed by parents, the youth of Sydney might be at once raised to an equality, in point of education, with those of English cities, a nursery provided for our University, a model afforded to other schools, and a new stimulus given to our progress in all that constitutes intellectual, moral and national greatness. Your petitioners pray that your Honourable House will adopt such measures as may appear best adapted to accomplish the object now indicated.1

The petitioners ask for a "Grammar or High School". The term "High School" was evidence of Scottish influence, springing from a "fondness for the Edinburgh High School."2 But the term was not one in wide use in New South Wales. The account given in "The Sydneian" continues:

This petition was referred to the Committee on Education of which Cowper was Chairman, which the Council had appointed two months earlier. The Committee now had a concrete proposal before it, and on 21st November its report was issued. There is a sense of urgency in this report, which shews an awareness of the need for action and an intention to avoid the mistakes of the past. This urgency overrode the only real opposition in the Committee, namely that of two witnesses Canon Walsh (Church of England) and Archdeacon McEnroe (Roman Catholic), who maintained that the Government should increase its subsidies to Church Schools and not create an undenominational, and therefore godless, institution to compete with them. Similar opposition had been expressed in eloquent controversy at the time the University was established. The majority of the

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2 The Sydneian, 1957, p.29.
Committee however approved the proposal; and the Legislature adopted it, anxious to avoid sectional and sectarian divisions in education, and confident in a society where the home still ordinarily gave children religious training. Thus the Grammar School Act was passed in 1854.¹

The views of Sir Charles Nicholson expressed before the Committee (unfortunately and obviously mis-reported) are important:

I consider intermediate schools, schools intermediate between primary schools and the University, are objects of the greatest importance to the well-being of the colony and indispensable in completing the educational machinery of the country....In speaking of the want that at present prevails in this colony, of schools of this class, I would not wish to disparage the enterprise of private individuals, teachers who have carried on schools in this colony, many of them are respectable and useful persons; but I do not believe that without the intervention of the state, without assistance being furnished by the state, schools of the character I am now speaking of cannot be called into existence and maintained.²

Nicholson's meaning is clear enough. (It is suggested that "cannot" in the final sentence should read "can".) He went on to suggest the amount of £20,000 as a building fund and £1,500 per year.

Cape's evidence confirms the necessity for a reliable income, which would free the school from the hazards

¹The Sydneian, 1957, p28f.
of economic depression, bad seasons, and so on. Both Cape and Nicholson stressed the necessity for the employment of competent teachers.  

The Act to Incorporate and Partially Endow the Sydney Grammar School was passed late in 1854. As might have been expected, from the circumstances of its enactment, it bore a close resemblance to the Act to Incorporate the University of Sydney, passed in 1850; and, in turn, the Queensland Grammar Schools Act, 1860, is also a part of the same legislative pattern. An examination of the preamble to the three Acts illustrates the closeness of the relationship:

(a) Extract from "An Act to Incorporate the University of Sydney":

Whereas it is deemed expedient, for the better advancement of religion and morality, and the promotion of useful knowledge, to hold forth to all classes and denominations of Her Majesty's subjects resident in the colony of New South Wales, without any distinctions whatsoever, an encouragement for pursuing a regular and liberal course of education. Be it therefore enacted...  

(b) Extract from "An Act to Incorporate and Partially Endow the Sydney Grammar School":

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2 ibid., p195.
Whereas it is deemed expedient for the better advancement of religion and morality, and the promotion of useful knowledge, to establish in Sydney a Public School, for conferring on all classes and denominations of Her Majesty's subjects resident in the colony of New South Wales, without any distinction whatsoever, the advantages of a regular and liberal course of education: be it enacted....

(c) Extract from "An Act to Provide for the Establishment of Grammar Schools in Queensland":

Whereas it is expedient for the encouragement of learning that public Grammar Schools should be established in the Colony of Queensland for conferring on all classes and denominations of Her Majesty's subjects resident in the said Colony without any distinction whatsoever the advantages of a regular and liberal course of education be it therefore enacted....

The Queensland Grammar Schools Act omits the words "for the better advancement of religion and morality". It contains no clause implying non-denominationalism in worship, nor any denominational safeguard clause, such as Clause 12 of the Sydney Grammar School Act. It would seem, then, that the Act is a tacit, though unobtrusive, acceptance of the secular solution to the religious difficulty. This would not have been possible in the primary


2 See Appendix A.

education Act; for all but one of the primary schools in existence in Queensland at separation were denominational.

The Sydney Grammar School Act provided that the affairs of the school were to be managed by a Board of Trustees, twelve in number. These were to be the Chief Justice or other Judge of the Supreme Court, Colonial Secretary, Attorney-General, Provost of the University of Sydney, Speaker of the Legislative Council, and Principal Classical Professor of the University, together with six laymen not holding office under the Government. A building fund of £20,000 and annual endowment of £1,500 were to be granted. Reasonable fees were to be charged for instruction. The Trustees were to make regulations and submit them to the Legislative Council for approval. The Governor was the Visitor to the School.¹

Clause 12, previously mentioned, dealing with religion, reads as follows:

12. No religious test shall be administered to any person to entitle him to be admitted as a pupil in the said school, or to hold any office therein: Provided always, that this enactment shall not be deemed to prevent the making of Regulations for securing the due attendance of the pupils, for divine worship, at such Church or Chapel as shall be approved by their parents or guardians

respectively.

This clause, coupled with the fact that the various churches were denied overt representation on the Board of Trustees, makes it plain that the authorities were determined to avoid any grounds for religious controversy. And this intention is confirmed in the substance of a letter from the trustees to Charles Nicholson and four other gentlemen requesting that they act as a Committee to appoint masters to the new school:

...Masters should not be in Holy Orders; and the Trustees have resolved that all the Masters shall be laymen; and that any Master taking Holy Orders, or officiating as a public Minister of Religion, shall thereby vacate his office....

The similarity between the wording of this, and the wording of Clause 26 of the Regulations of the Ipswich Grammar School, Gazetted in 1864, is striking:

26. As the benefits of the school are equally designed for persons professing every variety of religious creed, all regular masters employed in the school shall be laymen, and any such master taking holy orders, or officiating as a public minister of religion, shall immediately resign his office.

The same letter from the trustees to the selection committee makes clear some of the aims of the school. It was the aim of the trustees, the letter stated, to

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1 Votes & Proceedings, N.S.W. Legislative Assembly, 1856-7, vol. II, 84.
assimilate as far as was practicable, the teaching and discipline of the school to those adopted in the great public schools at home. The strength of the Arnold tradition is emphasized:

...In the words of the late Dr. Arnold, written on an occasion similar to the present, 'We require for our purpose gentlemen, scholars, men of ability and character, to become, as it were, the parents of the education of a country rapidly rising into greatness, qualified to assist in laying the foundation of all good and noble principles, and to induce our youth to submit to the discipline of education for the sake of its ultimate fruits....'

Another letter from the trustees, addressed to the Colonial Secretary, sheds further light on these aims. The letter is signed by the Honorary Secretary, John Woolley, who was Principal of the Sydney University. The number and qualifications of the Masters, and the organization of the school, states the letter, must be determined by the distinctive character of the education which it is intended to provide.

The distinctive character of a Grammar or High School is, that it furnishes a superior general, not a professional education; its object is not to prepare its scholars for any determinate occupation, but to communicate such information, and such intellectual training, as may best assist them in the subsequent acquisition of special knowledge, and in the efficient discharge of their social and public duties.

\[1\] Votes & Proceedings, N.S.W. Legislative Assembly, 1856-7, vol. II, 84f.
For such a purpose, the proper subjects of instruction are not merely those which convey information practically useful in daily life, but also those which are best adapted to discipline the mental and moral faculties of boys between the ages of ten and sixteen years.\footnote{Votes & Proceedings, N.S.W. Legislative Assembly, 1856–7, vol. II, 82.}

The subjects to be taught were English, French, German, Latin and Greek; Ancient and Modern History; Historical and Physical Geography; Arithmetic and Mathematics; Natural Science; Writing; Drawing; and Gymnastics. The trustees noted their unwillingness to recommend the adoption of an age limit, and in view of the prevailing conditions of elementary education this is not surprising. However, they thought the candidate should not be under ten, and he should be prepared in reading, writing from dictation, and the rudiments of arithmetic.\footnote{ibid.}

The letter illustrates that the school was not intended to give purely—or even predominantly—classical education, although no doubt this rated highly in the process of "intellectual training". In fact, the letter reflects to a considerable extent the prevailing popular idea that education should be "practical"; for it states that studies will be "not merely those which convey information practically useful in daily life".
A lecture delivered by Woolley in 1860 makes explicit the popular viewpoint:

...The boast of our own age is its practical tendency. The nineteenth century has two watchwords, or rather two formulas for one. The cry of our fathers was 'the general diffusion of knowledge'; ours is its 'utilization'.

Herbert, it has been noted, in moving the second reading of the Queensland Grammar Schools Bill, emphasized the "practical" nature of the education to be offered. The course of studies at Sydney Grammar School, however, cannot have accorded too precisely with popular notions; for Lang notes Herbert's criticism that it was too medieval in character.

The Sydney Grammar School opened in 1857, in the old Sydney College premises recently vacated by the University, which were purchased for £12,000. There were 110 pupils. However, despite the generous foundational grant and subsidy, and the fact that enrolments had risen to 210 by 1859, it seems that there was a good deal of dissatisfaction; for on 13th September, 1859, a Select Committee of the Legislative Assembly was

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2 The Moreton Bay Courier, 19th July 1860.
3 John Dunmore Lang, Queensland, Australia, London: Edward Stanford, 1861, 289.
appointed to "inquire into the working of the Sydney Grammar School". The Committee included Dr. Lang, Messrs. Plunkett, Cape, Parkes, Windeyer, and others. The Report was delivered on 25th May, 1860, and, together with the record of evidence tendered, makes interesting reading. In more than one instance a valid criticism of the Sydney Grammar School venture was remembered with profit in the framing of the Queensland Grammar Schools Bill, which was enacted within six months of the tabling of the Report.

The Committee found that the fee of £18 payable by pupils, to include every branch of education in the school, was as low as was consistent with efficient management, and was not too high, as had been suggested. The report goes on to say:

The object of the Legislature in founding the school, your Committee apprehend, was to furnish those capable of receiving it, the highest kind of education which the school system could afford, an education not only superior to any that could be obtained in the primary schools of the State, but one which should at once fit its pupils for the intelligent discharge of the duties of a commercial or professional life, or fit them for a more advanced course of academical instruction in the halls of the University. Whilst, therefore, it is the duty of the State to afford every facility for obtaining the advantages of the school to all capable of appreciating its teaching, it would not be

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1 Votes & Proceedings, N.S.W. Legislative Assembly, 1859-60, vol. IV, 89.
advisable to lower the fees at the risk of impairing the standard of education. To do so would manifestly defeat the object of the Legislature. Not only would the Institution be destroyed as a National High School, but its usefulness as one which should raise the standard of education throughout the schools of the country would be impaired.¹

....yet your Committee are of opinion that the usefulness of the school would be much increased if it could be made more accessible to the superior children of those possessing but limited means.²

The Committee recommended addition to the endowment payable to the school, for the purpose of founding fifty exhibitions. These were to be available only through competitive examination, and would entitle the holders to free education at the school. It was estimated that £1,000 per year would cover the cost of the exhibitions, and this "would be sufficient to afford all boys really likely to benefit by the highest education the means of acquiring it."³

In a country where the highest offices of the State are open to all, where the franchise gives the mass of the people so large a discretion in the choice of the representative, your Committee feel that it becomes the more imperative to give every facility to the clever and ambitious youth for obtaining that high and intellectual training, which is the best safeguard of constitutional

² ibid.
³ ibid.
liberty in a country where, by the wisdom of the Legislature, democratic institutions have been largely introduced.¹

The Committee reported that the general management of the Sydney Grammar School was efficient, and worthy of public confidence.

Dr. Lang registered objection to the report, although he agreed with its general conclusions; for he claimed that the school had realized neither the objects of its founders nor the reasonable expectations of the public. There had been large expenditure—nearly £30,000 initially and £1,500 per year—with results, either present or prospective, singularly inadequate.

...It has entirely failed to afford a superior education to the youth of the middle classes at a reasonable cost; and it can in no respect serve as a model school for superior education for the other towns of the Colony, as it would be quite unwarrantable, even if it were practicable, to incur a similar expenditure for the same purpose in any of these towns.²

In Dr. Lang's opinion, the fatal mistake had arisen from the Trustees' having taken as their model, not such an institution as the High School of Edinburgh, "but the few celebrated old established endowed schools of England, which, from their princely endowments and their

²ibid., p95.
aristocratic character, could in no respect form a proper model for a young country like New South Wales.\(^1\)

The views of Dr. Woolley have considerable interest. His suggestion was that the projected scholarships should be attached to the primary schools of the Colony, and should be awarded after examination. However, a few should be attached to the Grammar School, to keep up literary competition. Woolley also drew attention again to the importance of adequate endowments. He referred to the report of the Indian Commission, to papers published by some Scottish professors, and to experience in England. Without endowments, he stressed, it was absolutely impossible to keep up a high tone of education. A first-class education could never pay its own way.\(^2\)

On 20th October, 1859, the Committee examined Sir Charles Nicholson. Nicholson had been a member of the Board of Trustees since the foundation of the school. In his evidence he showed himself to be in favour of the proposed free exhibitions. These, he said, would increase the usefulness and popularity of the institution, whilst the intentions of the original promoters would be

\(^1\)Votes & Proceedings, N.S.W. Legislative Assembly, 1859–60, vol. IV, 95.

\(^2\)Ibid., pl06.
thoroughly realized. This intention was not so much to cheapen education as to establish a high standard of instruction. Nicholson urged an increase in the existing number of scholarships, from fifteen to fifty, and the institution of tolerably strict examinations for these.

...The aim should be to enable any boy, however humble his station, if he had moderate capacity and was emulous of literary distinction, to elevate himself; and by exhibitions of this kind he might pass through all the grades in the school, and then seek admission to the University.¹

Nicholson might well have been speaking of the Queensland legislation of 1860.

Significantly, Nicholson and Woolley agree on the matter of attaching scholarships to the primary schools. Nicholson's evidence continues:

...I should like to see them connected with the primary schools; for instance, two or more for the National Schools, as well as to such other schools as may be considered entitled to the privilege. I would throw them open to the whole world, and let there be public examinations, also open to the whole world.²

His views are essentially democratic: "...I should like to see the sons of the wealthy competing with the sons of the laboring man."³

²ibid., pl26.
³ibid., pl26.
An important clue to the attitude of the Trustees lies in Nicholson's replies to questions by Plunkett and Windeyer. It was made clear that there was no intention to provide, as in the system of the National Schools, for religious education. The education offered was to be purely secular.¹

The Committee's report, and the evidence tendered to the Committee, illustrate some significant points. It seems clear that there was at this stage among many influential members of parliament in New South Wales acceptance and acknowledgment of a State duty to offer higher education to all capable of appreciating it, not merely to those capable of paying for it. However, it was obvious that Sydney Grammar School was inaccessible to many, by reason of distance or inability to pay; that existing scholarships were inadequate; and that a sufficient endowment was essential if a school were to be effective. It also became apparent that the Trustees of the Sydney Grammar School—if not the legislators who produced the Grammar School Act—had accepted the secular, as distinct from the non-denominational or common Christianity solution, to the religious problem.

It would be true, then, to say that the principles underlying the Queensland Grammar Schools Act of 1860 originated in the educational precedent of the old world, particularly in England and Scotland; they were adumbrated in their colonial form, in part, in Scott's idealistic dream, in the Free Grammar School and Sydney College movement, in the work of Lang and the Australian College, and in the increasing acceptance of National Education in New South Wales. They were given clarity of definition in the Sydney Grammar School Act of 1854 and the Report of 1855; and they received definitive shape and form in the heat of the Sydney Grammar School inquiry of 1859.

CHURCH AND STATE IN EDUCATION

One principle however, the principle of state financial support for education, has never in Australia been seriously questioned. "Political, geographical, and demographic"\textsuperscript{1} circumstances rendered it an economic necessity from the beginning. It received some official recognition as early as Bligh's day.\textsuperscript{2} The difficulty

\textsuperscript{1}George Nadel, Australia's Colonial Culture, Melbourne: F.W. Cheshire, 1957, 274.

has always been in defining the role of the state, and
the core of the controversy has always been religion.
Reference has been made to Cruickshank's analysis of the
English situation, showing three main groups exerting
pressure: the dissenting Voluntaryists, the Established
Church party, and the Radical secularists.¹ At one end
of the scale, the Voluntaryists rejected both state
support and control; at the other end, the Radicals
demanded both. Fogarty's analysis of the Australian
situation shows an interesting contrast:

Fogarty, whose analysis of this trend is very
detailed, has shown that by the middle of the cen­
tury there were not two, but three, competing educa­
tional philosophies in Australia. At the one
extreme were the denominationalists, each of whom
was seeking for his own sect separate schools in
which to provide a religious education based upon
the particular tenets of his own church; at the
centre were the Nationalists (and supporters of
other general systems), prepared to forgo the full
measure of their own tenets in favour of a selection
of beliefs common to all Christians; at the other
extreme were the secularists, who avoided the reli­
gious difficulty by excluding religion from educa­
tion. Each group sought nothing less than exclusive
state sanction for its own system.²

All parties, in fact, sought the support of the state.
Fogarty interprets the struggle as part of a general

¹Marjorie Cruickshank, Church and State in English

²A.G. Austin, George William Rusden and National
Education in Australia 1849–1862, Melbourne: Melbourne
trend of liberal reform which, once started, could not be arrested.

Seen in this light, the education Acts of the last part of the nineteenth century may be regarded as the climax of a general movement towards religious freedom and equality in education which began with the legislation of Bourke and Gipps in the thirties and ended with that of Stephen and Griffith in the seventies.¹

The progression is from denominationalism to a non-dogmatic, non-sectarian viewpoint, and from this to outright secularism, with the reactionary forces of ecclesiastical conservatism fighting heroically, but steadily losing ground.

Austin's analysis of the situation in New South Wales in the 1860s may be taken to have approximate, if not exact, relevance to Queensland:

By the 1860s, therefore, it was possible to count all the non-Anglican Protestant sects on the side of a unified State system of Education - though here and there, of course, a particular congregation asserted its Protestantism by opposing the decisions of its Synod or Conference. Collectively, these sects accounted for about 21 per cent of the population of New South Wales, while the Roman Catholics, the opponents of a State system, accounted for about 28 per cent of the population - a sufficiently balanced state of the parties to make the Anglican attitude the key to the whole situation.²

Rayner comments on the Anglican Church:

...the Church of England, more than any other denomination, was slow to adapt itself to Australian conditions: its privileged place in English life had made it unnecessary for it in the Old Country to have to struggle against heavily adverse conditions as the Non-Conformist Churches, and also the Roman Catholic Church in many parts of the world, had done; the pioneering conditions in a colonial environment were strange to it, and some of its leaders were not suited to this quite different atmosphere.¹

As in England, doctrinal differences had divided the colonial Anglican Church:

By the end of the 1840s Catholic leanings in the Church of England had definitely become equated with anti-liberalism. The Tractarian ties of several of the higher clergy in New South Wales seemed to imply that the emphasis upon the social primacy of the Church, as insisted upon by Broughton, was not, in fact, consonant with political and social advancement.²

A major struggle took place over church government, ending in victory for the Evangelical rebels, laymen and clergy. Education was a secondary issue, but the bitterness of the struggle led to a state of affairs in which "most of the laity, and some of the clergy, drew away from their bishops' educational policy and took up a


position almost indistinguishable from that of the other Protestant sects." ¹ In 1866 Parkes was able to affirm:

From the first, the lay members of the English Church did not warmly sympathize with the heated feelings of their clergy; and in the course of time, the clergymen themselves, for the most part, withdrew from the conflict and accepted the new system.²

And this was more than enough to turn the tide.

Probably the greatest formative influence to emerge from the Churches in the line of educational development leading to the Queensland Grammar Schools was that of Dr. Lang. Much of his work has been mentioned earlier. It remains to point out that Lang was associated with education almost from the time of his arrival in the colony, and his interest included all levels of education. In the 1820s, following the collapse of the Free Grammar School, he made common cause with its supporters, and helped to form Sydney College,³ having probably written its prospectus.⁴ Becoming convinced of the futility of establishing without endowment, he went to

² ibid., pl17.
⁴ ibid., 1, 109.
England to try to obtain official financial aid for his own proposed school. The success of his mission, and his valiant attempt to maintain his Australian College, are well known.

The principle of local control of education, as exemplified in the Scottish parochial educational organization, in American education generally, and later in the Queensland Grammar Schools, was consistently proposed and defended by Lang. This is evident in his attempt in 1843—previously mentioned—to inaugurate a system of primary and grammar schools controlled by District Councils. Another attempt to establish grammar schools, made during the 1850s, has also been mentioned. It is noteworthy that Lang’s objection to the lavish foundational grant and subsidy to the Sydney Grammar School was based on the fact that such aid would not be possible on a colony-wide basis.

An interesting point is that Lang also proposed to introduce the principle of local control and initiative in the field of tertiary education, perhaps in hopes of obtaining belated aid for his beloved College. Lang describes his scheme:

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When at the instance of Mr. W. C. Wentworth a bill for the establishment of a university in New South Wales, professedly on the plan of the university of London, was under the consideration of the legislative council in 1850 (second reading August 30), I earnestly recommended to the council the adoption of the excellent American precedent, suggesting that a grant of £700 a year should be guaranteed for three years certain to any college having an establishment of four professors of suitable qualifications and affording a certain fixed curriculum of education; and that, at the end of this probationary period, the grant should be reduced to £500 a year if the number of students should be under fifty, or augmented to a maximum of £1000 if it exceeded one hundred. The adoption of this suggestion would have given an immediate stimulus to academical education throughout the colony; but it was not adopted. There would have been within a few years a college in vigorous operation in every large town in the colony, affording a curriculum of instruction prescribed by the state under the supervision of the university. Whether these colleges might be denominational or otherwise, what right would the state have to inquire?¹

The strength of ecclesiastical reaction in Queensland was not felt until after the legislation of 1860 was safely enacted. Liberalism, it has been noted, was strong in the Moreton Bay area. The Non-conformist Churches, notably the Congregational Church, were strong and articulate, and most of them contained a large proportion of liberal sympathisers and active supporters; but neither the Church of England nor the Roman Catholic Church had had the opportunity to organize. The appointment of the

first Roman Catholic Bishop, James Quinn, was made on 14th April 1859, but he did not reach Brisbane until 10th May 1861.¹ The appointment of the first Anglican Bishop, Edward Wyndham Tufnell, was published in the "London Gazette" of 7th June, 1859, in the same proclamation as that of Sir George Bowen.

...Her Majesty has been pleased to constitute the said new Colony to be a Bishop's See and Diocese, to be called the Bishopric of Brisbane, and to appoint Reverend Edward Wyndham Tufnel, D.D., to be ordained and consecrated Bishop of the said See.² Tufnell was enthroned in Brisbane on Tuesday 4th September 1860, a few days after his arrival;³ but he was too late to organize opposition to the acts dealing with education, or to the act providing for discontinuance of state aid to religion. Shortly after his arrival, the "Courier" published its typically liberal comment:

...there is a general disinclination on the part of the public to view favourably the assumption by the Bishop of the title and dignity set forth in the letters patent. In appointing Colonial Bishops the British government have always acted upon the fiction that the State-church of the mother country is everywhere existent, and that territorial authority and a lordly title are as easily conferred


²Queensland Centenary, ed. A.H. Smout, Brisbane: Penrod Publishers, 1959, 57. (There seems to have been some confusion concerning the spelling, "Tufnel" or "Tufnell".)

³The Moreton Bay Courier, 4th September 1860.
Circumstances, then, were favourable for the passage of the education acts of 1860. Implementation was another story, and the two bishops were soon in the thick of the fray.

There can be no doubt that the leadership in drawing up the two acts dealing with education was provided by Sir Charles Nicholson. All available evidence points to this conclusion. Herbert himself acknowledged as much in a speech to the Legislative Assembly; but, even were this not so, it is only necessary to consider that Nicholson alone had had any depth of experience in colonial education. His understanding and experience, in fact, were in all probability not matched by that of any other person in the land. He had fought for National Education in New South Wales, and served on the first Board. He had been G.W. Rusden's employer, and, considering Rusden's family background, probably did much to mould Rusden's views. It is more than likely that it was Nicholson who invited Rusden to take the post of agent to publicise National Education.

1 The Moreton Bay Courier, 15th September 1860.
2 The Moreton Bay Courier, 19th July 1860.
There is ample evidence that Nicholson was repelled by sectarian strife, and came to accept the secular solution in education and the voluntary solution in church government. While a warden at St. Mark's, Alexandria (now Darling Point), he opposed the Bishop in the Russel affair, and endorsed the sentiments of a meeting of parishioners which declared that the proceedings themselves were inconsistent with the voluntary and liberal nature of the Colonial Church. In his inaugural address to Sydney University, Nicholson stressed—as also did Woolley—the need for the comprehensive character of the new university and the exclusion of sectarian and dogmatic theology. In 1853, he wrote to G.W. Rusden:

I almost feel disposed at times to abandon the efforts in which for so many years I have been engaged, in promoting that greatest of all God's gifts, education....Our National schools are still the objects of the same misrepresentation and opposition on the part of the Church of England. The University has been made equally the subject of the same railings - night after night have I been compelled to sit and listen to declamations about godless institutions, and every attempt made to promote education upon sound and the only practicable principles, denounced by men who have never done the slightest thing themselves in the

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establishment of educational means in any shape.¹

Nicholson served on Lowe's Committee of 1844. He was one of the first trustees of Sydney Grammar School, and held the office of Chairman. He helped establish Sydney University, and was its second Chancellor. He secured for the University the first Royal charter to be granted conferring parity of status with the English universities on a colonial university. He was knighted in 1852 for his services to education, and—at a time when the knighthood was the common token of honour for colonials—created a baronet in 1859. And education was only one of many activities in which Nicholson was actively interested. His story remains to be told. Only when it is told in full will one of the great men in Australia's history be given due recognition.

CHAPTER IV

1860-1875: DEFINING THE COURSE

THE PRIMARY BACKGROUND AND
THE RELIGIOUS STRUGGLE

Governor Bowen's speech on the occasion of the close of the first session of the first Queensland Parliament, delivered to both Houses, included the following passage:

The all-important interests of Religion and Education have received a full share of your careful consideration. The much vexed question of Grants in aid of Public Worship has been set at rest, in accordance with the feelings of a large-proportion of our population. Primary Education has been provided for upon the general principles of that comprehensive system, which experience has proved to be peculiarly adapted to meet the requirements of our Colonial communities; at the same time, Education of a more advanced order will shortly, under the provisions of the Grammar Schools Act, be placed within easy reach of the inhabitants of all the more populous districts.¹

Bowen's optimistic expectations concerning the provision of grammar schools proved ill founded, for only two were founded within ten years; and "the general principles of that comprehensive system" were shortly to be subjected to a determined onslaught. There were only three National schools in Queensland in 1860, and only

one of these was in operation. Of the remaining schools, four were Roman Catholic, with an enrolment of 354 pupils, and six were Church of England, with 539 pupils. The National school had 78 pupils, and the other 698 children attending school were enrolled at private schools. This is a reminder that, despite government contributions, fees were payable at all schools, both primary and secondary, and the principle of fee-paying was generally accepted. The right of the private schoolmaster to make a reasonable living was respected. This, in fact, was one of the reasons given by the Committee of inquiry into the working of the Sydney Grammar School for not recommending the lowering of fees of that institution. Sir Charles Nicholson agreed with this.¹

The idea of free education was not new. It had been widely debated since French Revolutionary days, but at the time of Queensland's achieving self-government it had small acceptance in the Colony. The payment of fees for tuition was, in fact, one of the points common to the National primary schools and the projected grammar schools; and, just as the government contribution was not expected to cover all salaries and maintenance costs,

¹Votes & Proceedings, N.S.W. Legislative Assembly, 1859-60, vol. IV, 125.
neither was the initial grant intended to cover all establishment costs. In fact, the stipulated local contribution had to be produced before the government coffers were stirred. Thus the onus was thrown on to local effort to prove demand in terms of contributory finance, in both primary and secondary fields. Where the one existed without the other, no assistance was forthcoming from the government. In fact, the government had not advanced, on the whole, beyond the point of recognizing a duty to meet a proved demand, although even this, in the field of secondary education, placed Queensland in the educational forefront of the time. It was the right of the citizen to demand education, and the duty of the state to assist him in obtaining it. There was as yet little thought of providing even elementary education free of cost; and less of regarding it as an obligation or creating a demand where one ought to exist. Such concepts were still in the future; some quite near, others (especially in secondary and tertiary education) as much as a century away.

The immediate concern in Queensland was the extension within her own territory of the religious strife that had plagued the educational affairs of New South Wales and elsewhere. Since existing secondary provision was in 1860 either negligible or non-existent, the main
battle area lay in primary education. For, in Queensland as elsewhere, the initial proving ground for advance in educational thought was, for the most part, in elementary education. Application to higher education usually followed more or less as a matter of course, though often after lapse of time. Limited exception to this was made possible in Queensland by the circumstances under which self-government was achieved; for the provision made for secondary education was many steps further along the road to secular education than the provision for primary education. One other distinction between the two provisions is important, for it affected the later course of education in the colony. All state-aided primary schools, following New South Wales precedent, were responsible to a board, though in the older colony the two boards still existed. Herein, however, lay the seeds of the centralized system. Even in 1860 the system was responsive to manipulation by the Government. All members of the Board were Government appointees. The Grammar Schools, however, were to be responsible to their local boards of trustees. They were, in fact, to be decentralized, and there was no specific central authority to whom the local councils would be responsible.

The need for elementary education in Queensland in 1860 was great, the demand for higher education being
correspondingly small. The population was about 25,000; enrolled school pupils were about 1,500. The Census Report for 1861 showed that 9,227 persons (30.69%) could neither read nor write; 3,680 (12.24%) could read, but not write. The uneducated therefore were 12,907, representing 42.93% of the whole population.¹ And ignorance breeds ignorance, as the Board was soon to discover.

Rayner observes that the history of Queensland education in the early years of the colony was largely the story of the attempt to replace Church schools by National schools as the predominant type of educational institution.² The detailed story of the struggle is not part of the present study insofar as it concerns primary education; but the struggle spilled over into the secondary field, where the liberal forces held a strong, though not unassailable, position.

The Board of General Education was created, as the Act stated, "for the purpose of superintending the formation and management of primary schools". In theory it

¹Votes & Proceedings, Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1862, 1st Session, 403.

was independent; there was no stipulation made by the Act in the matter of appointments to the Board, except that the Chairman should be a Minister of the Crown. In practice, one or more Ministers were among the members. The Board administered an annual grant, assisted in building vested schools, selected and paid teachers, and considered applications for aid for non-vested schools.\(^1\) The Act required the Board to operate in accordance with the spirit of National education, as previously carried on in New South Wales, and at the outset it declared its policy in publishing its regulations. These were compiled with the advice of Sir Charles Nicholson, from those of New South Wales.\(^2\)

The regulations differ in two important points from those of New South Wales. The first was that religious instruction could be given by ministers of religion but only before or after school, or during the midday recess. New South Wales provided for it during school hours.

The second also dealt with religious instruction. Whereas in the older Colony a separate room had to be set apart for it, no such provision was made in Queensland. This omission was made at the suggestion of Sir Charles Nicholson, since the clergy had failed to make use of the opportunity for religious instruction in New South Wales. Nevertheless, the Denominational supporters found in the failure to provide special rooms, evidence of

\(^1\)E.R. Wyeth, Education in Queensland, A.C.E.R. Research Series No. 67; Melbourne: Australian Council for Educational Research, (no date), 83.

\(^2\)ibid., p86.
the departure by the Board from the spirit of the
New South Wales system.¹

The intentions of the Government are clearly
conveyed by the Act and the Board's regulations. Rayner
expresses it thus:

The aim of these provisions of the Act for aid to
Church schools seems to have been to assist them to
carry on until National schools could be built in
numbers, and it was doubtless contemplated that when
a whole system of National Schools was constructed,
they would become so popular with the people the
denominational schools would fade away. This
impression is strengthened by the fact that in the
first set of regulations issued by the Board of
General Education, the Non-Vested schools to be
assisted were stated to be those already in exis-
tence, and no mention was made of assistance to
Church schools which might subsequently be built.²

The conditions laid down were, it is obvious, aimed
at making things difficult or impossible for the
Denominational schools. The Roman Catholic patrons
rejected the regulations and the aid; but Bishop Tufnell
made applications on several occasions. All but one were
refused, on various grounds; and this was interpreted as
an attempt to prevent all Denominational schools from
receiving aid. One reason given by the Board was that

¹E.R. Wyeth, Education in Queensland, A.C.E.R.
Research Series No. 67; Melbourne: Australian Council
for Educational Research, (no date), 86.

²Keith Rayner, The Attitude and Influence of the
Churches in Queensland on Matters of Social and Political
Importance (1859-1914), typescript, 1951, 33.
Denominational schools should be assisted only when there existed no possibility of their competing with the vested schools.

Tufnell at once organized determined opposition, and sympathisers were able to have a Select Committee appointed to investigate the Board's activities. The Committee's report read:

(1) That the allegations contained in such Petition have been fully substantiated by the evidence.
(2) That the Board of General Education have misconstrued the intentions and spirit of the Legislature in supposing that the Primary School Education Act, as framed, precluded them granting assistance to Primary Schools, belonging to Denominational bodies, who are desirous of submitting those schools to the supervision and inspection of the Board, and of conforming to their rules and by-laws.

This apparent Denominational victory was rebuffed by the Legislative Assembly's rejection of the report, although a Legislative Council resolution addressed to the Governor expressed opinion that the Denominational schools had suffered unmerited hardship. The Governor took no action.

The Board's report for 1861 contained reference to Bishop Tufnell, and the passage was rejected by the Colonial Secretary. The majority of the Board (four of

\textsuperscript{1}E.R. Wyeth, \textit{Education in Queensland}, A.C.E.R. Research Series No. 67; Melbourne: Australian Council for Educational Research, (no date), 90f.
six) were dismissed. The other two had previously resigned. The new Board submitted the same report, without the offending passage; but on motion from Parliament, it was again included. The passage in question referred to the Select Committee's investigation, and reveals Tufnell's intentions:

...But in the course of the enquiry it became manifest from the evidence of the Bishop, that His Lordship's aim in originating and preparing the petition, was not the redress of any grievance, but to obtain, by attacking the Board's administration, the revival of the Denominational System under the appellation of Non-vested Schools. Had we sanctioned the design of His Lordship in re-introducing sectarian education, such a violation on our part of the Act of Parliament under which our office was constituted would justly entitle us to the censure of the Legislature which framed the Bill in accordance with the National System as hitherto carried on in New South Wales.

The Denominationalist campaign continued with petitions, lobbying, press publicity, and public meetings. Tempers ran high, invective was fierce. The tempo accelerated as the 1860 elections drew near, but the vote left representation much as it had been. However, in October 1863, a concession by the Board concerning the hours of religious teaching gave some ground to the Denominationalists. Of this Wyeth observes:

Obviously the Board's decision was contrary to

1 Votes & Proceedings, Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1862, 1st Session, 257f.
the spirit of the 1860 Act and to decisions by earlier Boards. The whole effect of the change could scarcely have been foreseen, as a later attempt by the Board of 1873 to observe the original regulations caused the members a great deal of trouble. Dr. Tufnell had secured a concession that he was not prepared to give up readily. The Roman Catholics, too, were quick to seize the opportunity offered by the Board's ruling, and many of their schools received aid during the next sixteen years.  

A new attack in 1864 was led by an extraordinary alliance between the Roman Catholic Bishop, James Quinn, and Bishop Tufnell. Quinn had the solid support of his flock, but Tufnell's action had the effect, unfortunate for him, of aggravating the existing disagreement within the Church of England, and driving many practising Anglicans to open union with the National Education party. Public meetings were at the least stormy, some degenerated into public brawls, and in some certain proceedings were questionable. At the height of the turmoil a change in regulations was announced by the Board. Paragraph 2 originally read:

In the following Regulations, the term 'non-vested' is applied to Schools which are already in existence, and which are provided and maintained at the sole cost of the promoters.  

The effect of the change (the omission of the words

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2 Ibid., p103.
"which are already in existence") meant a widened application of Board's funds to Denominational schools. Shortly afterwards, a meeting of Church of England leaders discussed the advisability of seeking further change, and the result showed Tufnell how narrow was his supporting majority.¹ Further attempts proved abortive, and with these gains the Denominationalists had to be content. Following the lead of the Church of England, the Roman Catholic Church accepted aid for its schools, though Quinn believed that it could not last. He advised the Sisters of Mercy to accept it when it was given, but not to place reliance on it. They were to put it aside against the day when all aid should be withdrawn.² By 1881 only eight Roman Catholic schools in Queensland were conducted by lay teachers; the remaining forty-four were in the hands of religious teachers.³

Meanwhile, despite concessions made to the Denominationalists, the Board of General Education had made some progress in its appointed work. It chose its


³ ibid., p244.
first inspector, Randall Macdonnell, a teacher with experience in Ireland and in New South Wales. In 1860 it appointed its first pupil teachers. It built the Normal School in Brisbane, and appointed a fine teacher, John Rendall, to take charge. At the beginning of 1861 it had four schools, with 493 pupils. At the end of the year there were eleven schools with 1,368 pupils. The 1863 report shows eighteen schools, with 3,204 pupils. J.G. Anderson, M.A. (Aberdeen), was appointed district or travelling inspector. And the Board was reaping a harvest of experience. The same 1863 report criticizes the rule requiring local contribution of one-third of the cost of school buildings, furniture and apparatus:

A three years experience of this rule has proved, that however desirable it may be that persons interested in the establishment of a school should be made to pay a large proportion of the cost thereof, its stringent enforcement has acted, and would continue to act as a hindrance to the foundation of well appointed schools in districts where a newly settled population may be sufficiently burdened by contributing the fees which form part of the teachers' support. We therefore propose to modify the regulation above referred to in such a manner as will enable us, with the liberal assistance of the Legislature, to build permanent school houses in localities where at present rent is granted by the Board for the use of temporary premises, or where no provision even of this temporary character has been made.¹

¹Votes & Proceedings, Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1864, 429.
This expressed desire to lighten the burden of establishment costs is significant. It implies an increasing desire to make education universally available, regardless of capacity to pay, and an increasing willingness on the part of the Government to bear the cost of education. A further step in this direction is evident in the 1867 report:

"...however desirable it might have been in prosperous times, to throw the responsibility of initiating schools on the localities where they were required, and thus to secure not only a quota of the cost of the necessary buildings, but also the co-operation of the persons mainly interested in their establishment; a strict adherence to such a rule under the altered circumstances of the Colony, must materially impede, if not entirely prevent the diffusion of the means of education in those very places where it is most urgently needed, viz., in rural districts where a scattered and struggling population offers no inducement to the enterprise of even the poorest and least ambitious of private school keepers.

Under these circumstances it may shortly become a question whether in certain cases the whole cost of founding schools ought not to be defrayed out of the sum voted by Parliament for Primary Education."

More significant yet is the following observation, made in reference to a decrease in the average income of principal teachers despite an increase in the number of schools:

"This fact is deserving of notice, not only in the

\[1\text{Votes & Proceedings, Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1868-69, 568f.}\]
interest of the persons whose emoluments are seriously curtailed, but also because it seems to indicate a growing idea that the education in the Primary Schools ought to be obtainable, as a matter of right, without any payment at all.¹

The question of the payment of fees at primary schools was freely discussed. Three main objections to the principle were raised. Firstly, it resulted in irregular attendance. Secondly, some parents, unable to pay, would not accept as a charity the offer of free education. Thirdly, other parents, able to pay, obtained free education through false declarations. The Board warned that abolition of fees meant increased salary costs, and that some stigma might attach to free schools.²

The early 1860s had been a lean time, but the discovery of Gympie gold afforded the Colony some economic relief. There was accordingly a more kindly reception to the idea of greater educational expenses. In December 1869, the Board of General Education received the following letter from the Colonial Secretary's Office:

¹Votes & Proceedings, Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1868-69, 570.
GENTLEMEN,

In directing your attention to that portion of the Speech delivered by His Excellency the Governor, in proroguing the last Session of Parliament, in which His Excellency stated that on and after the 1st January, 1870, public education in the Primary Schools of this Colony should be free to every child in Queensland, I am instructed to request that you will be good enough to take the necessary steps to give effect to this announcement.

I have, &c.,

H.M. MASSIE,
Under Colonial Secretary.

The estimate for primary education rose from £21,000 for 1870 to £30,000 for 1871. Thus Queensland became the first Australian Colony to achieve free education. Secular primary education was not far away, and compulsory education was to follow.

THE FIRST TWO GRAMMAR SCHOOLS:
FOUNDATION

In the absence of existing secondary schools in Queensland in 1860, the situation depended, so far as government aid was concerned, on interpretation and implementation of The Grammar Schools Act. The Church of England does not appear to have made any move in this, its attention being taken up with the other question of aid to its primary schools. Not until 1878 did Synod direct its attention to higher education, and not until

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1 Votes & Proceedings, Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1870, 3rd Session, 729.
1895 was the first Church of England secondary school opened. One reason for this might have been a shortage of funds in the Anglican Church. Rayner points out that all Churches were poor; but that Anglicans in particular, accustomed as they were to endowments and ample incomes for the Church in England, were disinclined to give freely.¹

No such traditions trammelled the colonial Roman Catholic Church, with its largely Irish membership. Bishop Quinn did not arrive in Brisbane until May 1861; but with characteristic Catholic concern for the education of his flock, he brought with him a number of teachers or "professors", and he set to work with vigour.

Within six months he could state that he had lodged £3,000 in the Union Bank in Brisbane for the establishment of a Grammar School and he urged that a suitable site be granted in North Brisbane. He also lodged £2,000 in the Bank of Australasia in Ipswich for a similar purpose and urged a site be granted in South Ipswich.²

Protestant reaction in the press (notably in "The Daily Guardian") was vociferous and immediate. The course of the wordy warfare need not be traced here; but the


Bishop's applications made it imperative for the Government to state its policy. Quinn's application in Brisbane was dated 22nd June 1861. On Wednesday, 17th July, 1861, a question was asked in the Legislative Assembly:

Mr. Raff asked the Honorable the Colonial Secretary, (1.) Is it the case that the Grammar Schools Act admits of the establishment of these schools on Denominational or Sectarian principles. (2.) If so, is it the intention of the Government to introduce this session any measure to amend the Act of last Session in this respect.

The Answer to which Question, having been ordered, on motion of Mr. O'Sullivan, to be printed in the Votes and Proceedings, is as follows:—

"The Government are advised that the Grammar Schools Act requires that schools receiving aid under its provisions should have no Denominational character, but should be on a footing similar to the National System. They do not, therefore, propose to amend the Act." 

The Executive Council informed Bishop Quinn that the intention of the Act was to establish Grammar Schools on strictly unsectarian principles; and that, owing to the limited funds, the Government had decided to withhold assistance in cases where the amount of the original subscription exceeded £1,000. Quinn went ahead to make preparations for the opening of the school, but the

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1 Votes & Proceedings, Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1873, 981.

2 Votes & Proceedings, Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1861, 177.
project came to nothing. ¹

The Government's refusal to grant aid made it clear to Quinn that he would not, at that time, be able to establish a grammar school under the terms of the Act, and under his own patronage or that of his Church. On their part, the Government seem to have been satisfied of the sufficiency of the existing legislation, both primary and secondary; for a motion by Charles Lilley on 1st July 1862 to appoint a Commission was defeated. Lilley moved that Commissioners be appointed to investigate various systems of education receiving state support in Great Britain, America, Continental Europe, and the Colonies, with a view to the establishment of general education, concerning both common schools and educational institutions of a higher class, "upon a just and permanent basis within this Colony". ² The motion was lost by eight votes to fourteen, Herbert, Mackenzie, Macalister and Raff all voting against it.

The second move to found a school was made in Ipswich, where the Roman Catholic community raised the required £1,000, and a public meeting was called for 20th


² Votes & Proceedings, Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1862, 1st Session, 111.
August 1861.

The trouble exploded when Mr. Pettigrew put forward a resolution that the Mayor, members of each religious denomination, Messrs. Panton, F.A. Forbes, C.F. Chubb, A. Macalister, Dr. Challinor, W.M. Smith, B. Cribb, plus Mr. O'Sullivan, Mr. Johnston, Mr. Gorry, Mr. Ranken, Mr. Reeve, Mr. Illidge and Mr. Aland be appointed a committee to make preparation for the establishment of a Grammar School. Mr. O'Sullivan opposed the proposal, stressing that the Roman Catholics who had been the real driving force behind the movement had only three representatives, whilst the Church of England had three, the Presbyterians, Baptists, Wesleyans and Independents each had two.

Thus the two big Churches (Roman Catholic and Church of England) had only six representatives, whilst the other denominations had eight, which Mr. O'Sullivan thought totally unfair and most sectarian. Mr. O'Sullivan then proposed an amendment to the effect that Messrs. Forbes, Panton, Challinor, O'Malley, Murphy, O'Sullivan and Thorn should constitute the committee. The motion was defeated and the meeting ended in turmoil - brawling taking place in the back seats.

Mr. O'Sullivan had made an ominous statement towards the end of his speech when he said, that as he saw it, the Act imposed no limit upon the number of schools to be established in any district and that if the Roman Catholics obtained a school, then other denominations could go and do likewise. He also inferred that if the Roman Catholics could not get their own way, then they would withdraw their support.¹

Sectarian feelings were now thoroughly roused, and violence was not confined to words. At another meeting a week later, a crisis was reached with the departure of the Roman Catholic element, money and all. However, the

movement had been initiated. Despite the secession of many Roman Catholic supporters (or, possibly, because of it) there could now be no going back. At a subsequent meeting a number of gentlemen were appointed to collect contributions. These were the Mayor, the Ministers of each religious denomination, Messrs. Panton, Johnston, Ranken, Reeve, Illidge, Aland, Forbes, Chubb, Macalister, Smith, B. Cribb and Dr. Challinor.¹

By October 1861, over £750 had been collected, and by March 1862, only £40 more was required. Application was made to the Treasurer, and on 25th March 1862, the first Trustees were elected. These were A. Macalister, B. Cribb, and G. Thorn. The Governor-in-Council appointed the other four. These were John Panton, Frederick Forbes, Henry Challinor and Christopher Gorry. Gorry had been one of the original subscribers to the Roman Catholic fund, and his appointment was obviously an attempt on the part of the Government to constitute the Board on something of a representative basis, in keeping with the spirit of the Act. Gorry, however, almost immediately resigned, and drew upon himself and his Church the following comment in the "Queensland

Here is a respectable citizen honoured with an appointment by the Government, for the sake of satisfying his religionists, but in steps his Bishop and tells him he must resign forthwith, because it does not agree with his lordship's notions; and accordingly in this nineteenth century we find this piece of clerical tyranny given full effect by the most abject submission on the part of Mr. Gorry.¹

Ipswich Grammar School opened in 1863, and a year's experience of administration there demonstrated to the Trustees and the Government that the £500 per year provided under the terms of the Act was not sufficient. Herbert, therefore, on 28th April 1864, introduced into the Legislative Assembly "A Bill to Amend the Grammar Schools Act of 1860".² The Governor, however, transmitted a message to the Legislative Assembly, and Herbert's Bill was, on his own motion, discharged. The Governor's message read:

In accordance with the provisions of the 54th clause of the 'Constitution Act,' the Governor recommends the Legislative Assembly to make provision for the further endowment of Grammar Schools out of the Consolidated Revenue.³

The House considered His Excellency's message. It

² Votes & Proceedings, Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1864, 15.
³ ibid., p21.
was resolved to accept the recommendation, and a Bill was again brought in. This on being passed became The Grammar Schools Act Amendment Act of 1864.\(^1\) Its main effect was to raise the yearly subsidy payable when conditions were satisfactorily met from £500 to £1,000.

Clause 3 of this Act was probably an attempt to have the local right to elect trustees pass in time from individuals to municipal councils. This would have depended on the interpretation of the word "subscriber" as "original subscriber". In fact, this interpretation was ultimately rejected, although the point was debatable. The Royal Commission of 1874, which included such legal minds as Lilley and Griffith, did accept the "original subscriber" interpretation. Clause XXX of their report includes the following:

\[\ldots\text{and that so long as three of the subscribers to the foundation of any school shall survive, the subscribers shall elect three of the seven trustees of that school; but that ultimately the nomination of three of the seven trustees shall vest in the municipality nearest to the school.}\]

The point, however, was still doubtful fifteen years later, and warranted the passing of another Amendment Act, in 1891.\(^3\) This rejected the "original subscriber"

\(^1\)See Appendix B.

\(^2\)Votes & Proceedings, Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1875, vol. II, 121.

\(^3\)See Appendix C.
interpretation, and made it permissible for any subscriber of £5 to vote in the election of three of the seven trustees in each council.

The 1864 Bill passed through the Legislative Assembly without difficulty, but was returned from the Legislative Council with a number of amendments, one of which was of the utmost importance. In introducing the Bill in the Legislative Council, the Hon. J. Bramston said that fees paid by pupils at Ipswich Grammar School had been found totally insufficient. The object of the Grammar Schools Act, he also made clear, was to provide "education for boys of all ages, without favor to any particular sect". The chief of the Legislative Council amendments, however, can hardly be interpreted as other than a further Denominational attack, although a more subtle one, upon the original legislation. It was in accordance with an interpretation promoted by Bishop Quinn, and expressed by O'Sullivan, in 1861.

The Legislative Council amendment, by the omission of the words "it shall be lawful", and certain minor other alterations of the text in Clause 2, would have rendered it obligatory for the Government to provide aid in every

2 ibid., p271.
application that met the stated conditions. The Government would thus be deprived of discretionary power. Such an amendment would have constituted a direct subversion of the spirit of the original legislation. (It should be pointed out that Sir Charles Nicholson had in 1862 returned to England to settle there permanently.)

The main amendment to the Bill was rejected by the Legislative Assembly, although it agreed to others. On 10th August 1864 Herbert moved that the following message be transmitted to the Legislative Council:

Mr. President,
The Legislative Assembly having had under consideration the Legislative Council's Amendments in the "Grammar Schools Act Amendment Bill," disagree to the amendments in the original Clause 1, because the effect of such Amendments would be to compel the Government to grant aid to any number of schools that might be established in the same district, although such schools might not be required; and they are therefore injurious to the cause of education, and contrary to the spirit of the "Grammar Schools Act of 1860," which was intended to provide each district with one school, open to all religious denominations; and agree to the remaining Amendments in the other parts of the Bill.

The Legislative Council, in return, insisted that "they do not deem the effects of these Amendments likely to be injurious to the cause of Education". The

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1 Votes & Proceedings, Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1864, 167.
2 ibid., p172.
Legislative Assembly, however, was adamant, and asserted that the Council's action was an infringement of the Assembly's privileges concerning money matters; whereupon the Council withdrew its objections. The Bill received assent on 6th September 1864.

Two points in the debate on the 1864 Bill are interesting. First, Bramston's statement that Grammar School education was for boys "of all ages" illustrates that there was no real consensus of opinion on what the schools were expected to do. The second point is more significant. Mr. Douglas suggested inspection of the Grammar Schools by representatives of the Board. This would appear to be early evidence of the growing idea that the Grammar Schools should be held accountable for expenditure of public moneys. In response to Mr. Douglas, the Attorney-General, Ratcliffe Pring, a barrister, differed on this point as to the propriety of allowing the Board to interfere in any way with the Grammar Schools. The education afforded at the Grammar Schools was of a different class altogether to that provided by the National schools; that obtained at Grammar Schools might be termed a species of collegiate education, and

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1 Votes & Proceedings, Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1864, 194.
therefore there was no analogy between the two. This, while not specifically rejecting the idea of inspection, postulated an idea that was later maintained by the Grammar Schools themselves: that the Board of General Education, which was created to superintend primary education, was not a competent body to inspect Grammar Schools, which were not, in any case, responsible to it. The same attitude later applied to the Department of Public Instruction.

It is possible that Douglas saw in his suggestion a possible channel for government aid for Denominational schools; for on 22nd August 1865 the Legislative Assembly had notice of motion by him. The motion, which was later withdrawn, was that a sum of money be allowed for inspecting primary schools not under the Education Act of 1860, and for granting gratuities to them "according to efficiency and ascertained results".

As early as 1864 a subscription list, headed by A.J. Hockings, M.L.A., had been opened to found a Grammar School in Brisbane. In March 1865, a meeting of

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2 Votes & Proceedings, Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1865, 211.
supporters was held, and a committee consisting of Dr. Hobbs, L.A. Bernays, W. Brookes, E. Goertz, E. Wight, and S. Davies was appointed. In October 1867, a meeting, presided over by His Excellency Col. O'Connell in the Town Hall, resolved to ask the Government for a sum of money in order to erect buildings. The committee appointed consisted of Charles Lilley, A.J. Hockings, T.B. Stephens, L.A. Bernays, W. Brookes, A.B. Pritchard, and J.C. Heussler. The sum in hand then was £2,048.

The move provoked Bishop Quinn to action. In the same month he also lodged an application for assistance. In support of his claim, he stated that he had placed £1,000 in the Joint Stock Bank, and was prepared to comply with the requirements of the Act. The following letters tell the story:

Brisbane, 18th October 1867.

DEAR SIR,

In sending you the accompanying letter, I think it right to apprise you that I was the first in this colony to attempt to put the Grammar Schools Act in operation, having addressed, on 22nd June, 1861, to the Colonial Secretary for the time being, a proposal such as I now send you, to establish a public Grammar School in Brisbane.

Reasons which I venture to hope no longer exist prevented the Act from being carried out in my favor. I now renew my application with the fullest confidence in the upright intentions and

impartiality of the present Government. I trust too
that during the time that has elapsed since the date
of my former application, my conduct has proved to
the satisfaction of the Government and the public
that I seek no undue advantage for the body to which
I belong, and that I am willing to advocate for
every other religious denomination the privileges I
claim for my own.

I should abstain from troubling the Government
on this question during the present financial
depression were it not that it is about to be brought
under their notice by other parties. Being the first
applicant, and having complied with all the require­
ments of the Grammar Schools Act, I believe my claim
for aid under it to be prior to that of all others.
My present application, as you will perceive, is but
for the minimum sum which the Act allows, and this
cannot materially affect the finances of the colony.

I am by no means opposed to those who seek to
establish a second Grammar School in Brisbane; on
the contrary, I think a second would be desirable,
and I shall give all the aid I can to its founda­
tion, and hope for a reciprocal kindly feeling on
the part of its promoters.

Originally, I suggested the desirability of
three or four such institutions which need not
necessarily be in the same district - one to belong
to the Anglican body, one to the Roman Catholics,
and two to other religious denominations; such a
course would be similar to that adopted a few years
ago by the Government of New South Wales in promot­
ing the establishment of four denominational
colleges for the members of the Church of England,
Roman Catholics, Presbyterians, and Wesleyans
respectively. This precedent is worthy of imita­
tion, not merely on account of its marked success in
satisfying the wishes of the different religious
denominations and promoting a kindly feeling among
the members of the institutions themselves. Having
resided for some months of the present year in one
of these, St. John's College, I have had an
opportunity of observing the very friendly relations
which subsist between the members of the Anglican
and Roman Catholic Colleges, the only two yet in operation.

The system I speak of would have the additional advantage of forming the basis of a University, which might be called into existence, whenever the Government thought it desirable, by erecting into a University Board the heads and some of the professors of such institutions, together with other men of science and letters outside them, all being duly qualified.

This is the principle on which the best modern Universities are formed, such as the London University, the Albert University in Ireland, and the University of Belgium.

I have, &c.,
JAMES QUINN.

The Honorable The Colonial Secretary, &c.


Colonial Secretary's Office,
Brisbane, 14th November, 1867.

MY LORD BISHOP,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's letter, under date 18th ultimo, wherein you intimate your having deposited in the Joint Stock Bank, in Brisbane, the sum of one thousand pounds, for the purpose of establishing a public Grammar School, in terms of the Act 24 Vic., No. 7.

Viewing this intimation in the light of an application for the assistance the Government has in its power to extend for the purposes and on the conditions prescribed by the Act quoted, and having so placed the matter before His Excellency the Governor in Council, I have the honor to state the Government is not at present prepared to take the action you desire. I would direct your Lordship's attention to the very explicit wording of the Act, which, in its preamble, asserts its object to be the "conferring on all classes and denominations, without any distinction whatever, the advantages of

\[1\] Votes & Proceedings, Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1873, 981.
a regular and liberal course of education," thus exhibiting its freedom from all sectarian bias or principle. In the opinion of the Government, the Act contemplates united action on the part of all denominations ere its provisions can be extended, or the advantages accruing can be obtained. It is the clear opinion of the Government that an application, emanating as the one submitted by your Lordship, from one denomination, cannot be dealt with under the Act, as it affords *prima facie* evidence that sectarian views and sectarian principles will be a distinguishing characteristic of the "course of education" in any school so founded. The Government readily accords to your Lordship its full credence in the disinterested motives which have prompted the application; but at the same time, is compelled to avow its responsibility for the proper administration of the law, according to its spirit as well as its tenor. To extend to the Roman Catholic body exclusively the provisions and benefits of an Act designed for the advantage of the community at large, "without any distinction whatever," would, in the opinion of the Government, be a perversion of the law. For these reasons it has been decided that the movement originating with your Lordship - for the establishment of a Grammar School in Brisbane, cannot be recognised in the manner prescribed by the Grammar Schools Act.

The Government will be prepared to deal differently with any application that may be deemed in harmony with the real object of the Grammar Schools Act; but no assistance can be given unless that object is unquestionably secured. Such will be the course adopted with an application submitted almost simultaneously by persons of various denominations with similar object. It is considered that by the absence of any evidence of intention to include the members of the Roman Catholic Church, and some other denominations, in the benefits sought to be secured, this other application is equally repugnant to law. It is thus far exclusive, though its promoters represent numerous sections of the community, and do not belong to the one denomination.

The powers of assistance conferred upon the Government are limited by law. Public funds may be appropriated to double the amount raised by private subscriptions and donations. Your Lordship's claim would thus amount to only £2,000 - which sum, added
to that deposited in the bank, would, in the opinion of the Government, be totally inadequate to meet the requirements of the case. To the absence of contributions must be attributed the difficulty of obtaining assistance, and the consequent smallness of the amounts raised in support of Grammar Schools. It is evident that while any one denomination limits its exertions to appeals to its own members, its success will be small. The Grammar Schools Act contemplates unanimity of action among "all denominations" without any distinction whatever; and it is only where such unanimity exists that any claim can be made for the application of its provisions. It is the hope of the Government that all classes and sects will combine in action for the establishment of one Grammar School for Brisbane District which shall be open to all - in which Protestant and Roman Catholic, and every religious denomination, may have equal footing, and may equally reap the benefits which the Legislature intended should be placed within the reach of all. To any movement having such an object in view the Government will accord its ready and constant support; but, as I have before explained to your Lordship, the applications now under consideration fall wide of the mark, and the Government is unable to do more than suggest their withdrawal, with a view of their replacement by one that may be dealt with in strict conformity with Law.

I have, &c.,
A.H. PALMER,
Colonial Secretary.

The Right Reverend Dr. Quinn, Roman Catholic Bishop.1

In his reply to Palmer's letter, Dr. Quinn wrote on 20th November 1867:

...A donor cannot represent all or even a plurality of denominations. It also appears from the foregoing, and from clause 2, that it is not in the power of a donor, even though he should so desire, to frustrate the object of the Act, which provides for its own administration by seven trustees, the majority of

1Votes & Proceedings, Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1873, 98lf.
whom are to be selected and appointed by the Governor in Council. My right, therefore, to the privilege conferred by the Act on a donor of one thousand pounds or upwards is indisputable.

This privilege consists in the power of nominating three of the seven trustees, the Governor in Council nominating the other four. Such power would enable me, through my nominees, to exclude hostile religious teaching, to exercise control over the appointment of the professors, and, I hope, to secure for Catholic boarders a separate residence, where they might learn the doctrines and practice of their religion while they attended lectures on indifferent subjects in the common halls. In offering to accept such an institution for the education of Catholic youth, till the Catholic body could provide a more suitable one, I went to the utmost extent to which it is lawful for me to go, without placing myself in opposition to the principles of my own Church. In refusing to recognise my claim as a donor of the Brisbane Grammar School, the Government have also refused to allow the educational advantages of that institution to be shared by Catholic students in the only form in which they could avail themselves of them.

Under these circumstances, I hope the Government and Parliament will see the justice of making such alterations in the Grammar Schools Act, as will enable the Catholics of this colony to have an institution in accordance with their own principles, to which Catholic students from all parts of Queensland may be sent to reside and learn the rudiments of a liberal education.¹

No doubt Bishop Quinn expected that, if his application had been accepted, the Government would have included among its nominees a member of the Roman Catholic Church; for this would have been in keeping with the Government's stated policy, and precedent had been

¹Votes & Proceedings, Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1873, 982f.
set in appointing the trustees to Ipswich Grammar School. With four Roman Catholic members in a council of seven, Quinn would have had virtual control of the school. Furthermore, Quinn made it clear that he would accept even these conditions, not as the best solution to the education problem, but as a temporary compromise, to be discarded when other facilities, under the complete control of the Roman Catholic Church, could be provided. Such facilities had already been provided for girls. Finally, it was clear that the Roman Catholic Church would not support a grammar school founded on any basis other than the one Quinn desired. It is small wonder, then, that despite what Palmer had said in his letter to the Bishop, that the other application was accepted.

On 25th January 1868 a meeting of subscribers at the Town Hall chose L.A. Bernays, W. Brookes and R. MacDonnell as the first elective trustees of the Brisbane Grammar School. The Government appointees were T.B. Stephens, C. Lilley, A.B. Pritchard, and K.I. O'Doherty.\(^1\)

Wyeth says concerning Quinn's application:

"...There is no reasonable doubt that Bishop Quinn was perfectly justified in making application and in expecting a grant. Such a development can scarcely have been foreseen by the early legislators. Nothing

in the Act forbade any body of people, denominational or otherwise, from requesting aid in building a Grammar school, and the Government found itself in a delicate position.¹

It is rather difficult to see just why the position "can scarcely have been foreseen by the early legislators". There is sufficient precedent in Australia for the diversion of public moneys to denominational education, both in primary and in secondary education. The struggle in New South Wales has been mentioned. Both The King's School, Parramatta, and Lang's Australian College received grants. If this were not adequate precedent, then the example of Victoria was before them. There, in 1853, the Government decided to enable the Churches to establish their own Grammar Schools, and voted £20,000 for that purpose. Later, another £15,500 was also granted. The money was divided according to the number of adherents of the various Churches.²

It is, in fact, not unreasonable to infer that the Grammar Schools Act was designed to prevent the success of just such applications as Quinn's, although it is so worded as to avoid deliberately raising sectarian

¹E.R. Wyeth, Education in Queensland, A.C.E.R. Research Series No. 67; Melbourne: Australian Council for Educational Research, (no date), 111.
opposition. The intention of the legislators was made clear before the Act was passed, and the spirit and the intention of the Act—which was to create National Grammar Schools—were consistently maintained afterwards. So far as Quinn's applications were concerned, however, there seems to have been some shifting of ground on the financial issue; but, so far as the Act itself is concerned, Palmer's letter makes the Government's position abundantly clear.

Quinn's attempt of 1867 appears to have been the last by the Denominationalists to secure aid under the terms of the Grammar Schools Act. The Roman Catholic Church thenceforth placed almost complete reliance on its dedicated teaching orders. It was the first Church in Queensland to undertake secondary education. Bishop Quinn had brought out five Sisters of Mercy, and in 1863 this order opened All Hallows School in Brisbane. It quickly established a fine reputation. The Christian Brothers entered the field in 1875, establishing a secondary school which was transferred to Gregory Terrace in 1880.

Brisbane Grammar School, the second founded under the terms of The Grammar Schools Act, was opened in 1869. The third was not established until 1875; and the slowness of the response was beginning to cause unease to some of the Colony's leaders.
CHAPTER V

1870–1875: A ROYAL COMMISSION AND THE EDUCATION ACT

DEVELOPMENTS IN PRIMARY EDUCATION

The years from 1870 to 1880 were vital ones in education for the eastern mainland colonies of Australia, and events in Queensland were part of a larger movement that led to the passing of Education Acts, in 1872 in Victoria, 1875 in Queensland, and 1880 in New South Wales.

Between 1872 and 1893 the six Australian colonies passed education Acts which committed them to the establishment of national systems of education entirely supported by central government funds, and under Ministerial control. As education remained a State responsibility after Federation these colonial Acts (popularly known as the "free, compulsory and secular" Acts) still constitute the legal bases of the centralized, State systems of education in this country, and therefore determine the type of education given to eight out of ten Australian children.

Attempts have been made to account for the growth of this "secular" frame of mind. Austin points out the influence of "agnosticism, voluntaryism and liberalism", in addition to sectarian conflict.² A hardening in

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  ² ibid., pl67.
Catholic opposition to liberalism, manifest in the effects of the "Syllabus of Errors" of 1864, created its corresponding opposition, and the position was aggravated by the promulgation of the doctrine of Papal Infallibility in 1870. But the real essence of the pattern of education legislation of the period is a tacit acceptance of economic necessity.

This is the essential aspect of the "secular" Acts; the terms "free, compulsory and secular" are not, despite their popular appeal, the essential features of this legislation. They are provocative and important terms, and must be examined carefully, but they are not the essence of the decisions taken by the colonial Parliaments after 1870. In every colony, theoretical and practical considerations combined to convince the legislatures that the State should see to the education of its children, and that the State alone was capable of doing this, for neither the local communities, nor the Churches, nor the existing boards of education appeared to be capable of discharging this national duty; even in the two most populous colonies, where these boards were most efficient, it was clear that honorary, part-time commissioners authorized to subsidize the provision of schools lacked both the legislative authority and the financial resources to provide an adequate school system. Despite the brave (and equivocal) statements in their annual reports it is obvious that they were, at best, educating half the children of school age, and that the denominational schools to whom they were distributing aid were diminishing in number and contracting upon the cities almost as rapidly as the population was increasing and moving into the interior. It is little wonder that the constitutional basis of each "secular" Act was a decision to place education in the hands of a department of State under a Minister of the Crown.1

The story of events in Queensland from 1870 to 1875 is told in some detail by Wyeth.\(^1\) It concerns for the most part primary education, but illustrates advances in educational thought that were in later years to have their effect on the State's secondary education. There was, however, one development—the establishment of the scholarship system—which was of the greatest importance in the Grammar School story.

The 1870s opened with the introduction of free primary education in Queensland in schools under the Board's control (except in provisional schools), and parents were quick to take advantage of the easier conditions. The results were overcrowding of schools and shortage of teachers, but the Board's report for 1871 notes: "The objection that when education was to be had for nothing it would not be valued has certainly not been sustained."\(^2\)

There is in the same report evidence of the increasing concern for the inalienable right of the child to education, regardless of the condition or wishes of its

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\(^1\) E.R. Wyeth, Education in Queensland, A.C.E.R. Research Series No. 67; Melbourne: Australian Council for Educational Research, (no date), Chapters VII–X.

\(^2\) Votes & Proceedings, Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1872, 545.
parents; and of an increasing awareness that far too many children were receiving far too little education, or none at all.

With regard to those parents who do not send their children to school at all, or who send them so seldom that it is almost impossible for them to learn anything - while their bad example exercises a prejudicial effect on the regular scholars - the question still awaits solution as to whether it would not be desirable to secure for the rising generation the full advantage of the existing system of education beyond the power of improvident parents to deprive them of it.

Most significant from the point of view of the present study is the appearance of early evidence that the Board, notwithstanding its sole statutory charge to superintend primary education, was interesting itself in further education; and that the idea of free secondary education was being entertained and indirectly postulated. It would seem, too, that there was some demand for further education, and that the sluggish response to the requirements of the Grammar Schools Act was disquieting:

Although entrusted specially with the duty of supplying primary education, the Board have never considered it necessary that the labors of their teachers should be confined to reading, writing, and arithmetic, even with the addition of a little English grammar and geography. On the contrary, in the absence of any provision for a gratuitous education of a more advanced grade, they have always

1Votes & Proceedings, Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1872, 544.
looked with favor on the establishment of classes for higher subjects, when they could be conducted without neglecting the others. Accordingly Drawing, Vocal music, English History, the elements of Geometry, Algebra, and of the Latin, French, and German languages, are taught to many of the male pupils attending the Normal and a few other primary schools, while the girls also receive lessons in French, and Drawing, and Instrumental music; and it is certain that a regular system of secondary education, for girls as well as boys, might easily be engrafted on the primary schools in the larger towns of the Colony by the addition in each case of two or three class rooms, and the appointment of one or more extra teachers, subject, like the ordinary staff, to systematic inspection.

To the educational reformers of the 1870s, it had become obvious, as Austin points out, that only a centralized system involving departmental responsibility could meet the expanding needs of the Colony, and it was doubtful that the Grammar Schools could satisfy all requirements. There is a hint that the Grammar Schools should be subject to inspection—as indeed they were at a later date—and responsible to central authority. However, although universal primary education was deemed desirable, there seems to have been no desire to promote universal secondary education. There was, in fact, some expressed fear at the time of what was termed "over-education".

The year 1873 saw a further step taken towards

\[\text{1}^\text{Votes & Proceedings, Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1872, 546.}\]
secular education. A Board circular read as follows:

The attention of the Board having been directed to the fact that some of the teachers in their employment are in the habit of giving special religious instruction in non-vested schools, it is resolved that in future the practice must be discontinued and that no salary will be paid to any teacher who gives such instruction.¹

The 1860s had seen a steady rise in the fortunes of the Denominationalists. By 1871, all teachers in the Church of England schools were being paid by the Board, and Roman Catholic schools were also granted the same concessions.² However, faced with the continued necessity to charge fees when education in the Board schools was free, they had raised opposition to what was essentially a progressive measure. Forced to accept the new conditions of 1873, the Roman Catholics fell further back on their own resources; but the Church of England schools, one by one, went out of existence.

THE 1873 BILL

Towards the end of the 1873 sittings, A.H. Palmer introduced in the Legislative Assembly an Education Bill


which was, in fact, the work of Charles Lilley. It seems that the introduction of the bill was a compromise move between the opposing parties. With organised Denomina-
tional opposition it was defeated by one vote, but certain of its provisions are noteworthy, not to say remarkable. One wonders what might have been the result for Queensland had the bill been passed.

The proposed bill would have repealed the Education Act of 1860, the Grammar Schools Act of 1860, and the Grammar Schools Act Amendment Act of 1864. It would have created a Queensland Education Department, under a Minister of Education, who was to be a member of the Legislative Assembly or the Legislative Council. This department was to have the whole management of State Education, whereas the Board had been responsible for primary education only. Clause 8 provided as follows:

State education shall be directed to the intellectual moral and physical training of the students and to the formation of habits of self-
culture. It shall also be -
Free of charge for tuition in the University and the schools
Compulsory on children under fourteen years of age not attending other efficient schools
Religious where parents shall not expressly forbid it but in all respects of such a character that all Christians may receive

1 Votes & Proceedings, Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1875, vol. II, 418.
it without offence and without prejudice
to the conscientious convictions of any
parent
Industrial or technological
Scientific
Classical and
Professional
The object of this Act is more especially to secure
to every child a competent degree of elementary
instruction and the power of intelligent industry. ¹

The bill provided for a University to be called
Queensland University; and all primary schools, grammar
schools, technological and professional schools, colleges,
and educational institutions belonging to the Queensland
Education Department were to form "subordinate and auxiliary parts of the University."² Lilley, it may be noted
in passing, had studied at University College, London, in
1848 and 1849;³ and no doubt the organizational precept
of the University of London is reflected in the foregoing
clause.

Clauses 21 and 22 provided for the voluntary
incorporation of the existing Grammar Schools in the
Departmental framework:

21. The existing grammar schools may with the assent

¹ Votes & Proceedings, Queensland Legislative
Assembly, 1875, vol. II, 418f.
² ibid., p419.
³ A.A. Morrison, "Charles Lilley," Journal and
Proceedings of the Royal Australian Historical Society,
vol. XLV part 1, May 1959, 4.
of a majority of the subscribers or donors present at any public meeting convened by advertisement in the Ipswich or Brisbane newspapers be surrendered to the Department and shall thenceforth become part of the University.\footnote{Votes & Proceedings, Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1875, vol. II, 419.}

Their lands and properties would then be vested in the Department.

Lilley was one of the founders of the Brisbane Grammar School, and was aware of the shortcomings of the basis for establishing such schools. He saw clearly enough what others saw in later years, that the best means of promoting secondary education was through the agency of the Education Department. Clause 23 provides:

The Department shall establish new grammar schools or colleges or make provision for doing the work of such schools or colleges in such other places as Parliament shall approve...

The same clause continues, revealing again the influence of the University of London:

\ldots A grammar school or any part thereof may be raised to the rank of a College where the general results of the teaching therein justify such promotion.

Lilley was aware that the education then received by most pupils of the existing Grammar Schools was fragmentary.

\footnote{ibid.}
\footnote{ibid.}
This state of affairs was brought out in evidence in the 1874 inquiry. Clause 25, it would seem, is aimed at eliminating this. It provides that no student should be admitted unless there were a written guarantee provided, that he should remain until the age of seventeen. This was to be enforceable by summons and fine. The Government, however, deleted the clause.\(^1\)

Other clauses provided that a primary school, where justified, might be raised to Grammar School status; that the compulsory leaving age be fourteen (the Government changed this to twelve); and (laudable aspiration) that all first-class teachers were to have taken degrees by the end of 1878.

It has been mentioned that Lilley's bill was defeated by one vote. Among the reasons for its rejection, Denominationalist opposition must rank high, for the bill provided for the cessation of aid to non-vested schools. The Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches had opposed free education in the first place, but, having been forced to accept it, would not in any case accept the "common Christianity" condition of the bill. The usual petitions of protest were organized.

\(^1\) *Votes & Proceedings, Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1875, vol. II, 419.*
Perhaps Lilley's concept was too radically centralized, not to say authoritarian, for the prevailing spirit of the Colony, but even this would not have caused the defeat of the bill had there been a wider public willingness to accept the financial burden of further education. Bernays gives it as his opinion that a major factor contributing to Lilley's fall from power in 1870 was that he introduced free education.\textsuperscript{1} The petition from Ipswich, presented by R. Cribb on 25th June 1873, protesting against the Education Bill, made it clear that some, if not all, Dissenters based their disagreement on financial grounds.\textsuperscript{2} Those who would use the University, it was contended, would be those who could afford to pay for it. Similar objections were raised to "providing free education in the Grammar Schools, except to such children as may be promoted from the Primary Schools, on account of superior attainments".\textsuperscript{3} Expenses would rise, and the expected cut in taxation would not be made.

The force of this objection is reflected in a draft bill handed to reporters by A.H. Palmer after addressing

\textsuperscript{1} C.A. Bernays, Queensland Politics during Sixty Years (1859-1919), Brisbane: Govt. Printer, (no date), 54.

\textsuperscript{2} Votes & Proceedings, Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1873, 985.

\textsuperscript{3} ibid.
a meeting in Rockhampton in September 1873. This was similar to Lilley's Bill, but certain important modifications were made.

...All grammar schools shall be maintained by such fees to be paid by all students attending the same as the regulations to be made under this Act may direct and by such funds as herein otherwise provided.¹

Palmer's draft bill provided for scholarships to the Grammar Schools and the universities. Provision was made for school boards, the duties of which would include making recommendations for the granting of Grammar School scholarships.

THE ROYAL COMMISSION

Education, it was clear, was now like an aching tooth; something had to be done. To clear the way, Griffiths introduced a bill on 16th April 1874, to terminate all aid to non-vested schools by 31st December 1876.² Its virtual rejection by the Legislative Council led to an outburst of opposition and criticism. Therefore, on 10th August 1874, Letters Patent were issued to appoint a Royal Commission "to inquire into the management and working of the whole of the Educational

¹ Votes & Proceedings, Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1875, vol. II, 421.
² ibid., p423.
Institutions of our said Colony, which are maintained or supported at the public expense". The members of the Commission were His Honor Mr. Justice Lilley, Chairman; the Hon. S.W. Griffith, Attorney-General; John Douglas; C.S. Mein; Dr. Prentice; and A.J. Hockings. T. Harlin, Headmaster of the Brisbane Grammar School, was appointed Secretary. Heavy demands were made on the Brisbane Grammar School staff; the second master, D. Cameron, became Special Commissioner to visit Victoria.

All the Commissioners named were opponents of the Denominational system, and on these grounds two others declined to join the Commission. The two were W.H. Walsh (Anglican) and Dr. O'Doherty (Roman Catholic). Walsh declared, "Altogether the impression has been created that the Commission was appointed simply to work out predetermined ends....." Be this as it may, much of the evidence is valuable in revealing the state of educational affairs in Queensland at the time. The Commission examined thirty-five witnesses; seventeen of these were from the Board of Education, primary schools or secondary

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1 Votes & Proceedings, Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1875, vol. II, 89.

schools; nine were representatives of churches; most of the rest were connected with the professions or with industry. Inevitably, of course, the Denominationalist arguments were aired. So far as secondary education is concerned, the desire for Denominational colleges was more than once expressed, notably by the Presbyterians. The desire was, however, for a means of training entrants to the Church Ministry; the existing Grammar Schools, and the legislation on which they were founded, were not attacked from this quarter, although minor criticisms were made.

The evidence of the Grammar School representatives, particularly the Headmasters, sheds light on the organization and facilities of Ipswich Grammar School and Brisbane Grammar School. The most striking fact, however, concerning the Grammar Schools, is the apparent confusion in the minds of politicians, public, and educators alike as to the nature and purpose of Grammar School education. After fourteen years it was obvious that the colony had not developed an articulated system of education, and the fact had lately been highlighted by the recent provision of government scholarships.

One of the most outspoken critics on the subject of Grammar Schools was A.R. Campbell, a Board Inspector. Campbell had taught in France, in Canada, and in Australia.
For five years he had taught at Ipswich Grammar School, and had been second master there. He gave it as his opinion that the two existing Grammar Schools embraced the function of both primary and secondary schools.\footnote{Votes & Proceedings, Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1875, vol. II, 191.}

Campbell's views on the nature of secondary education are also set out in his Inspectorial report for the year, and are interesting enough to be worth quoting. He suggests three classes of schools, lower, middle, and upper or higher. Of the last he writes:

The higher grade schools could carry the education of the pupils so far as may be deemed necessary in a scheme of public education. But it may be asked, why grammar schools should not be substituted for these higher grade schools. I reply that these schools are designed to be finishing schools, having a thoroughly practical tendency, while grammar schools worthy of the name are preliminary schools having a theoretical tendency—they are designed to prepare pupils for a higher and more extended course of study. Public schools and grammar schools can only be regarded as kindred institutions, each with a definite object in view, and each founded upon a distinct basis. The limit of public school teaching is, in my opinion, what every intelligent child ought to know, that he may perform well in after life the part of a good citizen. Beyond this a system of general education is impossible, and it would be undesirable even if it were possible. On the other hand, no limit can be set to the range of studies in a system of special education: it may embrace the whole of human science. Owing to the peculiar circumstances of the colony, and the comparatively small number of wealthy families in it, children attending our grammar schools seldom go through a systematic, uniform, and lengthened course
of study. Very few of the pupils of these institutions are sufficiently advanced on leaving them to be able to enter with profit on a course of university training. Many of them are too old when they enter, and there is a lack of correspondence between their ages and stages of advancement. After struggling for a year or two to overcome the disadvantages of their position, the majority of such boys are withdrawn from school, and too frequently enter upon the duties of life with an inferior education. I am of opinion that, while every town of any size may furnish enough of boys and girls to form a very fair higher grade public school, there is not now in the whole colony material sufficient to form one first-class grammar school. That is to say - we could not here fulfil three essential conditions: where are we now to collect a sufficient number of boys of suitable ages, whose attainments are compatible with their years, and of whom a fair proportion are destined to continue their studies until they acquire a really superior education?

In an appendix to his evidence to the Commission, Campbell writes:

"The true basis of grammar school education appears to me to be quite distinct from that of the education imparted in the public schools. Grammar schools have never occupied an intermediate place between the primary schools and the universities. They are the nurseries of the universities. The standard at which they aim is theoretical and incomplete, rather than practical and complete, like that in the public schools. The classical languages must always form the basis of the teaching in the grammar schools, if the distinctive character of these is to be maintained... There might certainly be an advantage gained by reducing the two classes of schools to a common basis - the teaching of English and mathematics. In this case, classical studies would be regarded as of secondary importance, and their teaching might be put off until the child"

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had received what is now called a fair English education. In this way a complete and uniform system of education might perhaps be framed where the primary schools would be the nurseries of the secondary schools. The effect would be that a more thorough practical training would be given, though a high standard of culture or scholarship might never be attained. The grammar schools would thus merge into high schools. The change would have one advantage: it would be possible thereby to make proper provision for the higher education of girls on a common basis with that of boys.

The Rev. Edward Griffith, in evidence, quoted from resolutions of the Congregational Church: the system of education, he said, should be one and free, including primary and secondary education, under one Board, in order to utilize the full educational power available, and in the interests of economy. He gave as Congregational opinion that "primary and secondary schools should be under one Board, but we feel that they should not be rival schools (as we fear has been the case on some occasions), and that the standard of the one should not approach too closely to the standard of the other".

Protestant Church representatives, other than Anglicans, generally disapproved of non-vested schools. Bishop Quinn, naturally enough, supported them, and

1 Votes & Proceedings, Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1875, vol. II, 413.
2 ibid., p242.
3 ibid., p242.
attacked in turn free education, compulsory education, and secular education.

The Commission's report embodies a number of observations and recommendations concerning secondary education:

With regard to secondary education, it is to be observed that a large proportion of the cost of the existing Grammar Schools is borne by the State. We recommend a further extension of the system; and advise that no fee be charged hereafter for admission to any educational institution, of whatever rank, established by the State. But, if it be feared that the adoption of this recommendation would involve too heavy a charge on the finances of the colony, we suggest that whatever educational advantages be offered in the schools, should be severally attainable as rewards for merit in the next inferior grades; and that those who fail to reach the standard fixed for gaining such rewards, should not (if capable of passing the entrance examination hereafter referred to) be debarred from availing themselves, at their own cost, of the higher education.  

With reference to secular education, the Commission's report stated:

...the State is neither entitled nor required to undertake the teaching of the distinctive doctrines of any sect or to contribute funds for that purpose.

The Commission concurred with the expressed opinion of the Victorian Education Commission of 1866:


2 ibid.
A separate grant of public money to any one religious sect, which other sects were not permitted to have, would involve a distinct recognition of that sect by the State, and would be a violation of the non-sectarian principles on which the Constitution of this colony is founded.¹

A significant recommendation made by the Commission was that courses tending towards technical or trade education be introduced:

....a great part of the work now being done in the State schools, especially in the large towns, is of such a character as to fit children for employment in the Civil Service, in banks, and in mercantile houses, rather than for the more practical occupations of life. We therefore recommend for the older children in attendance at the primary schools, a course of technical instruction having an elementary scientific basis; and that admission to such course should be gained by passing an examination, with credit, in so much of the rudiments of education as may fairly be mastered by children of twelve years of age.²

The Commission was also concerned to determine the relative positions of the primary schools and the Grammar Schools in the colony, with reference to the proposed enlarged framework of State control:

The point of junction between the primary and secondary schools of the colony has not yet been determined. If, however, it be assumed that there is to be a systematic scheme of education, it will follow that the secondary schools must carry on

² ibid., p117.
their proper work from the point at which primary education ought to end, and must not be required, as they are at present, to supply instruction to children whose proper place is in a primary or preparatory school. We recommend that no child be permitted to enter State-aided or State-supported secondary schools otherwise than by examination; and that the examination for entrance to the secondary schools should be in the same subjects as may be prescribed as scholarship subjects for children in the primary schools.¹

A scheme for the granting of scholarships was proposed.

The Commission's report included a section dealing solely with secondary education.² It briefly appraised the work of the two existing grammar schools, and made certain recommendations. The most important of these are set out as follows:

....that the secondary schools should, in future, be subjected to inspection.

....that the subjects to be studied in the secondary schools should be defined by competent authority, and that the order in which they should occupy the attention of the pupils, as well as the periods of time to be devoted to them, in turn, should be fixed by regulation.

....that the secondary schools of the colony be fully equipped for the work of secondary education

....that, due allowance being made for the physiological difficulties of the question, secondary schools be provided for girls as well as for boys

²See Appendix F.
that a "real school" curriculum be arranged, as in Germany, for all the pupils of the secondary schools that desire to devote their chief attention to practical science; and a "gymnasium" curriculum for all who seek a more exclusively literary education.

The report also noted that the secondary schools would never do the educational work of which they were capable until they became component parts of a system vitalised by the controlling influence of a University. ¹

Two important dissensions are noted. The first of these, reproduced in part, was subscribed by Charles Lilley and John Douglas:

Clauses XI and XXX.—We dissent from the recommendations in these clauses that local contributions should be required towards the erection or foundation of primary or secondary schools. It seems to us that the spread of schools over the country wherever they may be needed is a matter of national, and not of local concern, and where they are most urgently required in the form of primary schools, either from ignorance or poverty, the inhabitants of the locality are least likely to be interested or moved towards their establishment, or to be able to contribute funds for that purpose. It is not a question of good faith on the part of the inhabitants, but of necessity to the public interests. In this colony it has been recognized as the duty of the State to give Primary instruction free, and to contribute largely — the actual amount being nearly one-half of the entire expenditure — for Secondary education. The principle of free education is that it is the interest, as well as the duty, of the State to educate the whole people, and that such education should be of the most practical, useful, and elevating character.

within the resources of the community to command; and that, being provided by State expenditure, it should be shared equally by all citizens who have the capacity and desire to take advantage of the provision made for them and who will accept it on a national basis. The effect of fully and faithfully carrying out the principle, will be that the aggregate wealth of the community will be largely increased, more equally diffused by equalising individual resource with opportunity, the capacity to use and enjoy it enlarged, and directed to worthy ends, and the foundation of the State widened and its stability ensured. In short, when it has once become the admitted duty of the State to educate the people, the obligation cannot fall short of opening to them the best and highest instruction that the national funds enable the State to provide. Free education is in no sense a gift to the people, it is the expenditure in a particular form by persons whom they authorise, of a portion of the public moneys for the common benefit of the people from whom it is taken in the shape of taxation. Inasmuch as the national strength is greater than that of any mere locality, the effort is easier, and the burden not so great - or, at least, more easily borne....

The same reasons hold with equal force for the establishment of a University...We are sure there would be no ultimate sacrifice, but that we should reap a thousand-fold.

In this remarkable document, perhaps better than anywhere else, are demonstrated that sureness of apprehension of a problem and clarity of vision that made Lilley the leading educational thinker of his time in the Colony. By this time, unfortunately, he no longer held political

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1 Votes & Proceedings, Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1875, vol. II, 123ff.
2 ibid., pl24.
power in the Legislative Assembly. It fell to Griffith to present the Education Bill in 1875, and it reflects the views expressed by him and Charles Prentice in joint dissension:

FREE EDUCATION IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS. - We dissent from the recommendations of the Commission that the system of free education should be extended beyond the primary schools...

It appears to us that the true ground upon which the State may be called upon to provide elementary education for all classes of children is, that it is for the advantage of the State that all its citizens should receive such instruction as will enable them intelligently to perform their duties in after life, and that such advantage being common to the whole community, and the opportunity of receiving instruction being, so far as practicable, afforded to all, the revenues of the State may properly be applied for the purpose.

But the same reasons are not applicable in the case of secondary education, which partakes somewhat of the character of a luxury, and cannot, under any circumstances, be brought within the reach of more than a limited number of children residing in or near large centres of population, and which moreover does not seem to us to be in itself so necessary or highly advantageous to the welfare of the whole community that the State should be called upon to do more than assist those whose parents or friends are prepared to take some part of the expense upon themselves, or who have shown, by their proficiency in the primary schools, that they are deserving of further education as a reward of merit.\(^1\)

THE EDUCATION ACT OF 1875

It is ironic to reflect that the validity of Lilley's ideas was to be recognised by the State, thirty years

\(^1\) Votes & Proceedings, Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1875, vol. II, 125.
later, and made the basis for action. For the time being, at least in higher education, they were disregarded. Griffith's Education Act of 1875, as it finally received assent, paid scant attention to secondary education. It contained little that was unexpected. It provided for a Department of Public Instruction under a Minister, and for free, secular and compulsory primary education. It prescribed subjects for primary schools. These were, in fact, so limiting, that it was found necessary to widen the scope in 1897, and again, for religious instruction, in 1910. There was provision for school boards, though these were never created. It terminated aid to non-vested schools as from 31st December 1880. But it mentioned secondary education not at all, and left the Grammar Schools Act of 1860, together with the Amendment Act of 1864, undisturbed. Only in Clause 14 was there any discretionary loophole:

It shall be lawful for the Minister from time to time to make provision for the establishment of training schools rural schools night schools and such other State schools as may be authorized by the regulations and deemed expedient.

Originally Griffith's bill did contain clauses relating to the Grammar Schools and secondary education. Part 4 of the bill had provided that existing Grammar School property might be conveyed to the corporation with the consent of the subscribers. The Minister was then
obliged to maintain these schools, and any prizes founded therein. It was provided that new Grammar Schools should be established from time to time at such places as should be deemed expedient; but—and the condition revealed the attitude of the Government to further education—no Grammar School was to be established until the sum of not less than one thousand pounds had been raised by subscription or donation and paid to the Minister to be applied towards the purpose of establishing the new school. This sum, said Griffith in the Legislative Assembly, would be supplemented sufficiently to build a satisfactory school. The bill also made provision for scholarships to the Grammar Schools.

With reference to the scholarships, Griffith observed that, whereas at that time the two systems (primary and Grammar) were in competition to a certain extent, it was desirable to bring them more into harmony, so that the primary school system might cease at the point where the Grammar School system began. Thus loss of expert teaching power at the Grammar Schools would be avoided. 2

A further clause provided that all Grammar Schools

1 Queensland Parliamentary Debates, vol. XIX, 1875, 1094.
2 ibid., p1095.
receiving any aid from the Consolidated Revenue should be periodically examined by a competent inspector duly appointed for that purpose by the Minister. Griffith said that there had been some disappointment with the Grammar Schools, and there had been no means of getting to know really what work was done there.¹

All parts of the bill dealing with Grammar School education were deleted by the Legislative Council. This action severely curtailed what was already a cautious implementation of the Commission's recommendations. Debates reveal a conservative frame of mind generally. There is some regret expressed for the Denominational system. There is little evidence of willingness to accept the principle of free or universal secondary education. In fact, there was some feeling that free education at the Grammar Schools would be an infringement, of the rights of those who were prepared to pay for such education. The official reason tendered for the rejection, however, was:

Because it is not desirable that all educational institutions, receiving aid from the State, should form part of one complete system.²

This was unfortunate; for the prescriptive clause dealing

¹ Queensland Parliamentary Debates, vol. XIX, 1875, 1096.
² ibid., pl289.
with primary school education was included to prevent overlapping on what would otherwise have been Grammar School preserves; and access to these was now denied the State. Liberal tendencies already existing in the primary schools were inhibited; and many pupils who might otherwise have benefited were cut off from even the beginnings of a wider education.

THE STATE SCHOLARSHIPS

The omission from the 1875 Act of provision for scholarships to secondary schools was surprising; for their provision had occupied some time and thought in both houses since 1871. The 1875 Education Act repealed the 1860 Education Act under the terms of which the scholarships had been offered. The Legislative Council deleted the clauses of the bill on which it was proposed to base the granting of further scholarships; and the whole question was left, so to speak, in the air. Yet the absence of specific statutory authority did not prevent the Government from offering scholarships, and this fact is probably a good indication of the popularity they held in the eyes of the public. Few things, if any, have exercised more influence over education in Queensland than the State Scholarship system.

The story of the scholarships in Queensland goes
back to 1860, and the immediate precedent for them lies in the Sydney Grammar School movement. It has been previously mentioned that a provision of the Education Act of 1860 made it lawful for the Board of General Education to reserve a sum of not more than five per cent of the whole of their funds for the purpose of granting scholarships at "some one or other of the grammar schools of the colony". Competitive examinations were stipulated. From the first the scholarships were Grammar School scholarships. Apart from competitive examination, no conditions were laid down by legislation.

There seems to be no evidence of spontaneous action on the part of the Board of General Education to make use of the scholarship provisions of the 1860 Act. The Trustees of the Ipswich Grammar School, however, early recognized the value of scholarships in a school, and made provision for them in the school's regulations. Clause 27 lays down conditions for such scholarships, and mentions some already established by the generosity of private donors. Scholarships were to be tenable for one year unless the founder otherwise ordained, and competitive exams in three age groups were to be held. The


examiners were to be the Headmaster, the Mathematics Master, and two outsiders appointed by the Trustees. There was also an attempt made to have the Ipswich Municipal Council establish a scholarship, a move that was defeated by a blend of sectarianism and materialism. ¹

Obviously large-scale or generous scholarship provision was beyond the means of the two schools founded in the 1860s. In 1865, £100 was expended on five scholarships at Ipswich Grammar School, and £35 in continuing two of these in the following year. In 1869, £12/12/- was spent on one scholarship in the newly established Brisbane Grammar School. ²

It was during 1869 that the decision was taken to introduce free primary education, and the political leadership for the advance was that of Charles Lilley. Visualising at least a partial extension of free education to secondary education, Lilley (a Trustee and a founder of Brisbane Grammar School) late in 1870 introduced "A Bill to provide Scholarship Endowments for the Queensland Grammar Schools", but this was discharged

² Votes & Proceedings, Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1870, 3rd Session, 81.
on his own motion.¹

In 1871, Lilley attempted to introduce a similar bill—the "Grammar Schools Scholarships Endowments Bill". This was stopped by prorogation.² Its purpose was to augment the endowments payable under the 1860 Grammar Schools Act and the 1864 Amendment Act. The Bill proposed that scholarships to the value of £12 should be attached to all grammar schools, and paid by warrant from the general revenue. A minimum age of ten years was stipulated. An examination was to be held in the first week of February, and the numbers of scholarships would be restricted to one-sixth of the previous year's enrolments.

After the failure of the 1870 and the 1871 bills, Lilley's next attempt exceeded considerably his previous aim, and provided for free education from primary to tertiary level. This was in the Education Bill of 1873, which Lilley drafted, but which was introduced by Palmer on 3rd June.³ The reaction to this, as manifest in Palmer's draft bill, which he made public in September

¹ Votes & Proceedings, Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1870, 3rd Session, 111.
² Votes & Proceedings, Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1871, 1st Session, 181.
of the same year, has been mentioned. Palmer made the payment of fees obligatory for "all students", but provided for scholarships of three years duration to be won in competitive examination. An age limit was provided for, but not specified. 1

Meanwhile, efforts had been made to evoke action under the scholarship provisions of the 1860 Education Act. On 23rd March 1871, Dr. Challinor, on behalf of the Trustees of Ipswich Grammar School, applied for a grant of money to provide two exhibitions to be competed for by boys in the primary schools in the Ipswich district. In reply, the Board of General Education informed the Trustees that when the Inspector could report two eligible candidates in schools in the Ipswich district, it would offer the option of entering the Grammar School, and would pay for their instruction there. It appears that no such boys were found. 2

On 13th May 1873, in reply to a further letter, the Board said that the Inspector would select two or more boys if the parents would guarantee their staying for two years. Before action was taken, however, another letter

1 Votes & Proceedings, Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1875, vol. II, 421.
was received by the Board, this time from Brisbane Grammar School, dealing with the same subject. The Headmaster, Thomas Harlin, had in fact as early as 1870 in his Annual Report referred to the desirability of establishing Board scholarships; but in 1873, in the face of a serious financial crisis, he had again promoted the idea:

....I also drew the Treasurer's attention to the fact that under the late General Education Act, the Board of General Education had the power of sending deserving pupils as exhibitioners to the Grammar Schools; and suggested to him that the Board should be asked to give effect to that provision of the Act. In consequence of this suggestion, the Honorary Treasurer waited on Mr. Palmer, who was then the Chairman of the Board of Education; and orders were immediately given that Primary School exhibitions to the Grammar Schools should be awarded by public examination; which orders were followed, shortly afterwards, by the announcement that the Board of Education intended to give exhibitions to the Grammar Schools as annual prizes to the boys in attendance at the Primary Schools of the colony.

On 2nd July 1873, therefore, the Board notified that it was decided to hold examinations after the mid-winter vacation. This examination was duly held, and the results were published early in August. The examiners were Thomas Harlin and Samuel Griffith. The Board's letter to Griffith stated that it was not proposed to

1 The Brisbane Courier, 1st March 1876.
place a limit on the scholarships. The decision would be based on the examiners' reports.\textsuperscript{1}

Twelve of the twenty-three Brisbane candidates, and five of the twenty-one Ipswich candidates were successful. In September, a special examination was held for a Gympie candidate, one Magnus Jensen, who also was successful. There were, however, imperfections in the examination system employed in this first scholarship examination; for regulations were prepared, and published in thirteen Queensland newspapers.\textsuperscript{2} But it is clear that "the State Scholarship examination began as a result of the requests of the Grammar School Trustees".\textsuperscript{3}

The first scholarship examination was a hurried affair; the decision to hold the examination was made only three weeks before it was held. Less than a fortnight's notice was given to candidates and their parents. It seems, too, that different examinations were set in each Grammar School.\textsuperscript{4}

The Board report for 1873 describes the granting of

\textsuperscript{1} Queensland Parliamentary Papers, 1951–52, vol. I, 646.
\textsuperscript{2} ibid., p647.
\textsuperscript{3} ibid., p647.
\textsuperscript{4} ibid., p647.
the first scholarships:

In accordance with the provision contained in the ninth clause of "The Education Act of 1860," it was announced, in the month of July, that exhibitions to the Grammar Schools would be granted to deserving pupils of the primary schools, such exhibitions to consist of payment of the Grammar School tuition fees for three years. The result was that twenty-three candidates presented themselves for examination in Brisbane, twenty-one in Ipswich, and one at Gympie. Of these nineteen were successful in obtaining the necessary number of marks, but not more than thirteen availed themselves of their success. In view of the fact that only one pupil of a country school came forward as a candidate, it was resolved that, from the 1st of January, 1874, the value of an exhibition should be fifty pounds per annum, the difference between that amount and the Grammar School tuition fee being intended to assist in defraying the cost of residence. The number of candidates nominated under this new regulation, in December, 1873, was eighty-two, and of these twenty-three were successful in obtaining the requisite number of marks.¹

Of the eighty-two candidates, thirty-nine were from outside the Grammar School centres of Brisbane and Ipswich; of these nine were successful.

In his report of inspection for 1873, dated March 1874, J.G. Anderson commented on the scholarship examinations. They would, he said, give the opportunity to test the efficiency of instruction given to one class of boys in twenty-four schools of the colony. A high standard was required, he said, but the results were not

unsatisfactory.

...The influence of these scholarships on Primary Schools promises to be very wholesome, for they must afford a stimulus to teachers and pupils. So long as the test is confined to subjects provided by the routine of a Primary School, the teacher cannot be led away from his usual and proper duties; for, to prepare a candidate for the competition, he simply requires to make him a good fourth-class boy....

However, there is an ominous hint of that subservience to the Departmental machine that characterized the later years of the nineteenth century—particularly under the influence of Anderson and Ewart:

...On the other hand, it is to be feared that lads, who would otherwise have become pupil teachers, and ultimately teachers, will be lost to the service....

After thirteen years, the first steps were being taken to define a point of contact between the primary schools and the Grammar Schools.

The Grammar Schools welcomed the scholarships. In evidence before the 1874 commission, the Headmaster of Brisbane Grammar School said that, although the announcement of the scholarships had resulted in the withdrawal of some boys of primary school age, it had improved the reputation and increased the attraction of the school.

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1 Votes & Proceedings, Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1874, vol. II, 316.

2 ibid.
The feeling had existed that little was to be gained in the way of tuition by sending boys to Grammar Schools. 1

Scholarships of £50 per year were generous beyond the limit that many were prepared to pay, and reaction from the Legislative Council was swift. A message was transmitted to the Legislative Assembly on 8th April 1874. The message stated that in the opinion of the Council, the recent action of the Board of Education in granting scholarships of £50 to scholars of primary schools was inadvisable, and should not be continued. 2

On 1st July 1874, on the motion of Griffith, the Legislative Assembly concurred. 3 However, scholarship examinations were again held in December 1874, eighteen candidates out of sixty being successful. Twenty-eight candidates of the sixty were from centres outside of Brisbane and Ipswich, and nine of these gained scholarships; so that, in these cases at least, there was justification for an ample allowance. Nearly £1,500 was expended on scholarships in 1874 on the thirty-two holders from 1873--twenty-eight at Brisbane Grammar

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3 ibid., p335.
School, and four at Ipswich Grammar School.¹

The year 1874 was the year of the Royal Commission, and it has been pointed out that the scholarships received their share of attention. The Commission's recommendations concerning free secondary education have been quoted. Anticipating the probable rejection of the recommendation, the report included in its suggested alternative, the continuation of the scholarship provisions. It gave opinion, however, that the value of these should be limited to the amount of the fees, if any, charged in the secondary schools. The maximum age limit of scholarship winners should be twelve, and the age of admission to the secondary schools should be raised to the same minimum limit, except in the case of candidates who obtained, at an earlier age, fifty per cent of the marks awarded at a scholarship examination.²

The Education Act of 1875, unlike the Education Act of 1860 which it replaced, made no provision for Grammar School scholarships. It has been pointed out that such provisions had been included by the Assembly, but were rejected by the Council. Here, then, the matter might

²Ibid., p118.
have dropped, had public opinion so permitted. The Department's report of 1875 continues the story:

The Board did not intend to hold examinations for Grammar School Scholarships this year, and on the 21st October, they announced that, "no provision having been made, either by the Legislature in the new Education Act, or by the Government in the Parliamentary Estimates, for further exhibitions to Grammar Schools," they were unable to do so. On the 17th November, however, the Board intimated by public advertisement that the Government had expressed their desire that the examinations should be held as usual, and that the names of the successful candidates should be reported to the Government, to enable them to take such action as might be deemed desirable....It had been notified by the Government that the value of the scholarships would be the amount of instruction fees charged in each case by the Grammar Schools, together with reasonable travelling expenses once a-year..... ....It is gratifying to be able to state that the reports on the Primary School scholars received from the Grammar Schools have been almost uniformly favorable and that in many instances the boys have distinguished themselves.¹

The Government, it appears, was content to proceed without statutory basis for its action; and from this time to the middle of the twentieth century, the story of the State Scholarships is inseparable from the story of the development of secondary education in Queensland.

¹ Votes & Proceedings, Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1876, vol. II, 826.
CHAPTER VI

THE GRAMMAR SCHOOLS

THE NEW ORDER OF THINGS

After the passing of the Education Act of 1875, the Queensland Government created a Department of Public Instruction, which, under a single Minister, set about implementing the main provisions of the Act—free and secular education. Compulsory education, although provided for, was not enforced for another twenty-five years. Complete Government control and direction was still, as it had been since 1860, restricted to primary education. Little advantage was taken of the loophole in Clause 14 of the Act for many years. In 1896, J.G. Anderson, the Under Secretary, was able to write, "Our Education Act provided for a sound elementary education, and has been interpreted as excluding everything beyond." The Grammar Schools Act of 1860 and the Grammar Schools Act Amendment Act of 1864 remained in force, still the only specific basis in law for government-aided secondary education. Had the 1875 Act been passed as the

Legislative Assembly framed it, the course of secondary education in Queensland might have been very different. There were only two Grammar Schools in the colony at the time; and the proposed legislation would have made it possible for the Government to acquire and run these, if the schools themselves should consent. And there seems to have been little doubt that the schools themselves would not have objected at that stage of their existence. The Commission of 1874, which included men who knew the position well enough, observed:

It is hardly probable that there would be much difficulty in inducing the subscribers to the Grammar Schools of Ipswich, Brisbane, and Toowoomba to consent to the transfer of such rights and interests as may be vested in them to the central educational authority of the colony....

The secondary section of the 1875 Bill was defeated in the Legislative Council by a narrow margin, and it seems likely that the Legislative Assembly conceded the point as a matter of political expediency. But the 1875 opportunity to take the lead in providing secondary education, made possible by the work and influence of Lilley, and so nearly seized, was not to come again during the nineteenth century. Interest in education, sustained at a relatively high level for fifteen years,

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1 Votes & Proceedings, Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1875, vol. II, 121.
declined after the passing of the Act, although sporadic efforts were made to have the government take the initiative in the secondary field. Ministerial leadership in education, later in the century, was not stronger than political necessity required, and the Department erected itself into a monolithic authoritarian structure which regarded Grammar School education as a separate entity, removed from the scope of its own activity. There were also economic pressures on the government. But a considerable contributory factor was that the Grammar Schools, which increased in number to ten, became in themselves vested interests, and were reluctant to relinquish their independence. In 1891 W.O. Hodgkinson, Secretary for Public Instruction, remarked that the Grammar Schools aimed at the attainment of an education which made them very jealous of inspection even by the best officers of the Department.¹

The first Grammar School was Ipswich Grammar School, which opened in 1863. Brisbane Grammar School opened in 1869, and Brisbane Girls' Grammar School in 1875. Toowoomba Grammar School followed in 1877. In 1881 the Maryborough schools and the Rockhampton schools opened;

Townsville Grammar School was established in 1888; and in 1893 Ipswich Girls' Grammar School, the last to be founded, first accepted pupils.

THE SCHOOLS: IPSWICH GRAMMAR SCHOOL

Ipswich Grammar School was opened on 25th September, 1863, by Sir George Bowen. The report published in "The Queensland Times" on 18th September states:

"...It will be conducted as nearly as possible upon the plan of the best public schools of the Mother Country: and the education imparted will be of such a nature as to prepare the pupils for the University, the Public Service, and Professional and Mercantile life."

The School's Rules and Regulations were approved by the Governor with the advice of the Executive Council on 23rd February 1864, and no doubt reflected closely the policy of the Government. The regulations prohibited the application of any religious test for admission as a pupil, or to any office in the school. Fees were to be three guineas a quarter for day pupils, and fifteen guineas for boarders. An entrance examination was provided for, tests to be made in reading, writing, and

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2 Queensland Government Gazettes, 1864, 190.
the rudiments of arithmetic. Studies and staffing were regulated as follows:

24. The subjects of study shall be:
   (1.) The English, French, German, Latin, and Greek languages.
   (2.) Mathematics.
   (3.) Ancient and modern history.
   (4.) Historical and physical geography.
   (5.) Writing.
   (6.) Drawing.
   (7.) For the fifth and sixth forms, or upper school, natural science, and the elements of jurisprudence and logic.
   (8.) The whole school shall be drilled and trained in gymnastics.

25. For carrying out this cause of education and training, there shall be the following Masters in the school:
   (1.) A Head Master, who shall also be the principal classical and general teacher, and shall exercise a general superintendence over the work of the school.
   (2.) A Mathematical Master.
   (3.) Assistant general masters (as occasion may require.
   (4.) Occasional masters for modern languages, drawing, writing, and drill and gymnastics.

The first Headmaster, selected from twelve candidates, was Mr. Stuart Hawthorne, M.A. (Sydney). Originally from Belfast, Ireland, Hawthorne had been educated by the Rev. James Fullerton, and had graduated with the degree of Bachelor of Arts at Sydney University in 1859. He had taught at Sydney Grammar School, and at the time of his acceptance by the Ipswich Grammar School, he was Master of College Hall, Glebe, "an institution in

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1 Queensland Government Gazettes, 1864, 191.
connection with and under the Sydney University, for the residence of students for the preparation of gentlemen for matriculation." ¹ He was highly recommended by Dr. Woolley and his professional colleagues, and the Headmaster of Sydney Grammar School. His salary was £400 per year, plus a residence, a capitation fee of £2 up to the first 100 pupils, and profits from the boarding establishment. ²

The School began with eighteen pupils, and four members of staff, whose salaries ranged from £250 to £50 per year. The lowest salary was paid to Sergeant Coote, drill instructor. There was difficulty in procuring a good Mathematics teacher. Eventually Sir Charles Nicholson, then in England, engaged Mr. Thomas Harlin, M.A., A Fellow of St. Peter's College, Cambridge. Harlin resigned in 1868 to become first Headmaster of Brisbane Grammar School. Mr. John Macrae, M.A., was chosen to replace him. Later in the year, when Hawthorne also resigned, Macrae was appointed Headmaster. ³

Enrolments during these years were not high. They

² ibid.
³ ibid., p29f.
rose to 79 in 1865, but declined to 49 in 1868. Competition from the Brisbane Grammar School then caused numbers to remain low, but by 1874-5, average attendance was 74.¹

In 1875 Mr. Donald Cameron, M.A., formerly second master of Brisbane Grammar School, succeeded Macrae. An able man, Cameron had been selected by the Royal Commission of 1874 to investigate educational conditions in Victoria. In 1901, he became the first inspector of the Queensland Grammar Schools. Under his guidance the School survived economic adversity, and produced some fine scholars. Perhaps the best known of these is John Bradfield.

From 1901 to 1907, Mr. C.A. Flint was Headmaster of Ipswich Grammar School. A Master of Arts of Sydney University, Flint had formerly been Headmaster of Cooerwell Academy in New South Wales. He was followed in 1908 by Mr. B.G. Lawrance, M.A., a graduate of Cambridge; and from 1915 to 1945 Mr. R.A. Kerr, M.A., B.Sc., was Headmaster.

**BRISBANE GIRLS' GRAMMAR SCHOOL**

Brisbane Girls' Grammar School was opened on 15th March 1875, about 60 pupils being enrolled. The Trustees

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for the Girls' School were also the Trustees of the Boys' School. The School began in a two-storied building in George Street, Mrs. O'Connor being the first Headmistress. In 1876 the enrolment was 65, the average being 61. In the same year the first State scholarship holders, three in number, attended the school. By 1877 the School had moved to Wickham Terrace, and at the end of 1877 the first Sydney Senior and Junior Public Examinations were taken, the School quickly establishing a reputation for scholarship.¹

At the end of 1876 Mrs. O'Connor resigned, and founded a rival school, Callander House, next door, and the average attendance for 1877 fell to 37. However, by 1881 it had climbed to 79. Succeeding Headmistresses were Miss Cargill from 1877 to 1878; Miss M. Mackinlay till December 1881; Miss S. Beanland from 1882 to 1889; Miss Pells, 1889 to 1895; Miss E.A. Fewings from 1896 to 1899; Miss M.A. Wilkinson from 1900 to 1912; Miss M. Williams from 1912 to 1914; Miss Walker from 1914 to 1915; and Miss M.A. Mackay from 1915.²

In June 1882, the Girls' School was separated from

¹ Magazine of the Brisbane Girls' Grammar School, May 1925, pages not numbered.
the Boys', and in that year for the first time the full Government subsidy of £1,000 was paid. In the same year the Trustees decided to build anew on the present site. The foundation stone was laid by Charles Lilley on 28th February 1883, and at the beginning of 1884 the School opened in its present building.  

TOOWOOMBA GRAMMAR SCHOOL

Moves to establish the Toowoomba Grammar School were made about the beginning of 1874. At the time population was sparse, the district having scarcely 3,000 inhabitants. However, the subscription lists filled rapidly, both pastoralists and town dwellers responding liberally until the total amounted to over £2,700. The Government matched this with a contribution of over £5,300, and granted a loan of £2,000 to pay salaries.  

On 8th May 1874 subscribers elected the first Trustees. A building tender was accepted in April 1875, and on 5th August the foundation stone was laid by Charles Lilley. From twenty-seven applications received

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2 Toowoomba Grammar School Magazine, November 1926, 4.
3 ibid.
the Trustees selected as Headmaster Mr. John Mackintosh, M.A. (Edinburgh), and the School opened on 1st February 1877. The buildings, designed in "Domestic Gothic Style", stood in spacious grounds forty acres in extent. The Second Master was J.B. Thallon, B.A. (Sydney), and the Third Master G.A. Taylor of Battersea Training College.¹

Two years after the School opened Mackintosh was killed in a fall from his horse when riding up the Range. After a few months Mr. L. Stephenson, B.A., came from Sydney Grammar School to take the Headmastership in 1879. In 1882 he returned to Sydney Grammar School, and Mr. A. M. Nesbitt, M.A., became Headmaster. In 1887 he was succeeded by Mr. A.J. Boyd, who held office till 1890. Mr. C.C. Corfe, B.A., was Headmaster from 1890 till 1900, and Mr. W.A. Purves, M.A., from 1900 till 1910. Purves was succeeded by George Petty Barbour, M.A., who served the School well till 1926.

Although Toowoomba Grammar School never received more than a few of the State scholarship holders, it had some distinguished "old boys". Among these were A.G. Stephens of "The Red Page", and Eric Partridge.

¹Toowoomba Grammar School Magazine, November 1926, 7.
THE MARYBOROUGH GRAMMAR SCHOOLS

Both of the Maryborough Grammar Schools owe their beginning to the foresight of Mr. R.M. Hyne, Mayor of Maryborough, who in 1878 called a public meeting which inaugurated the movement for the establishment of a Grammar School. The original idea was for the establishment of a Boys' School only, and a committee was formed to further the project. However, after the foundation of the Boys' School was laid, the Trustees decided to proceed with the establishment of a Girls' School, and in 1881 made application for a site. The site chosen was opposite that of the Boys' School.

The Boys' School was opened on September 5th, 1881, under the Headmastership of Mr. James Murdoch, M.A., whose qualifications are elsewhere mentioned. Twenty-four boys attended. Permission having been given for the girls to attend, twenty-seven were enrolled, and three classrooms were used for girls' classes until the end of 1882. The first Headmistress was Miss Budgett.

By 1882 there were nearly forty boys at the school. One candidate was presented for the Sydney Junior Examination in 1882, and others in succeeding years. In 1885 there were four Senior candidates. Enrolment at the School was then a little over fifty. Murdoch left the School early in that year, and his successor,
Mr. Vaughan, arrived in October. Fresh from England, he made favourable comparison between the work of the Maryborough School, and the work of similar English schools, with which he was familiar. In 1890, James Thomson, M.A., who had been at the School since 1882, became Headmaster; and he was succeeded, in 1910, by J.T. Noble Wallace, B.A., who had been at the School since 1888, and had served under both Vaughan and Thomson. The School had a good academic record, and it served its community well. In 1911, Hon. B.B. Moreton was able to remark that, looking at the last report of the Minister, he saw that the Grammar School had given free instruction to more boys than any other school in Queensland.¹

The Girls' School transferred to its own premises at the beginning of 1883, the Headmistress (from England) being Miss Caroline Darling. The next Headmistress, Miss M.A. Martin, left in 1892, and was replaced by Miss Millicent Wilkinson (1893 to 1900). Miss Wilkinson left to become Headmistress of Brisbane Girls' Grammar School, and was succeeded by Miss E.E. Bourne. In 1912 Miss E.M. Morgan, who had been First Mistress for twelve

years, was appointed Headmistress.

Maryborough Girls' Grammar School also enjoyed a good reputation for scholarship. During the years to 1910, candidates from the School won the Senior Fairfax Prize four times, and the Junior Fairfax Prize six times, in the Sydney University Public Examinations. In addition, thirty gold medals for first place in individual subjects were won.  

THE ROCKHAMPTON GRAMMAR SCHOOLS

As early as 1870 in Rockhampton there was some thought of founding a Grammar School. In that year, through the representations of Captain R.M. Hunter and Charles Lilley, a piece of land adjoining the Town Hall reserve was set aside as a reserve for a Grammar School. Its area, about one and a half acres, would seem to modern eyes to be inadequate for a secondary school. The present School site of the Boys' School, on the highest part of the Athelstane Range, has about twenty acres.

In 1872 funds were collected for the erection of a

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1 The Magazine of the Girls' Grammar School, Maryborough, Jubilee Number 1933, 9.

2 A Brief History of Rockhampton Boys' Grammar School, Rockhampton: Record Printing Co. Ltd., (no date).
detached building in the grounds of the William Street Primary School, and a "Grammar School class", under the charge of a teacher selected for the purpose by the Department of Public Instruction, was taught there until 1876. Then "the scheme was recognised as a failure".¹ It seems likely, however, that the reason for the closure of the class was in the narrow prescriptions of the 1875 Act.

An agitation for permanent establishment led to the formation of a Committee, and in May 1873 correspondence from the Under-Colonial Secretary was submitted to a meeting. This stated that "amending legislation was being introduced which would have the effect of making easier the establishment of a secondary school".² The legislation was not passed, and nothing was done for some years.

In 1878, public meetings were called, and another Committee formed. It was resolved to start one school, with two departments, one for boys, and one for girls. Progress was made, despite some opposition, notably from teachers in the State schools. Subscriptions were

¹ A Brief History of Rockhampton Boys' Grammar School, Rockhampton: Record Printing Co. Ltd., (no date).

² ibid.
received, and in 1879 £4,000 was granted by the Government.

The School opened in 1881, with 27 girls and 26 boys. The Headmaster was Mr. John Wheatcroft, M.A., of St. John's College, Cambridge. Second Master was Mr. W.J. Anderson, M.A., of the Queen's University, Ireland. The position of Headmistress was filled by Miss Ina Tweedie, who later married Mr. Wheatcroft. However, the grant to the Girls' School in Brisbane, which had been taken as a precedent for claims for assistance by both Maryborough and Rockhampton, was withdrawn. Separate Girls' Schools were erected in Brisbane and Maryborough, and it was felt that steps should be taken in Rockhampton to similar ends. However, opposition was encountered. Times were not so good, and, it seems, there was a strong opinion that higher education was thrown away on girls. The Trustees declined to persist, and the girls' department closed. A return to an order made by the Legislative Assembly in 1885 shows that in 1884 there were 28 boys and 20 girls at the School. The girls' department closed at the end of 1885.

1 A Brief History of Rockhampton Boys' Grammar School, Rockhampton: Record Printing Co. Ltd., (no date).

2 ibid.

Wheatcroft served the School as Headmaster from 1881 to 1906. He was followed by F.W. Wheatley, 1907 to 1912. H.A. Kellow succeeded Wheatley in 1912. A Master of Arts of Glasgow University with first class honours in English and Moral Philosophy, Kellow (like Wheatcroft) served as Headmaster for over twenty years. Rockhampton Grammar School has had remarkably few Headmasters.

Rockhampton Girls' Grammar School was not finally established until 1892. In 1893 there were 50 girls at the School, and 40 boys at the Boys' School.\(^1\) A unique feature of the Girls' School was that a kindergarten was established in connexion with it, to feed the middle and upper schools. Headmistress of the School when it reopened was Miss Downs.

**TOWNSVILLE GRAMMAR SCHOOL**

In 1887, "in view of the outcry of the expense of always having to send boys South for the completion of their education",\(^2\) the Government agreed to the establishment of a Grammar School in North Queensland. Townsville Grammar School received its first pupils on

\(^1\) Votes & Proceedings, Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1893, vol. I, 231.

16th April, 1888. The new Headmaster, Mr. C.H. Hodges, M.A. (Oxon.), formerly of Rugby, was unable to take up duties until 1889. Mr. E.F. Upward, M.A., a Cambridge graduate, took the position of interim Headmaster, and ushered the School into existence. Upward returned to England in 1889. When the School began 23 boys were enrolled, and another ten had been entered by the end of the year.¹

Hodges was Headmaster from 1888 to 1900, vital formative years in the School's history. During most of this time he had as Senior Master Mr. W.A. Purves, B.A., who in 1900 became Headmaster of Toowoomba Grammar School. In 1893 the first girls were enrolled at the School, and from this time onwards the School was co-educational. The early years were difficult, the School never receiving more than a few State scholarship holders. Attendances were not more than about fifty. In 1900 Hodges left Townsville to become Headmaster of "Shore".

The next Headmaster, Mr. F.T. Miller, M.A., came from Rockhampton Grammar School. Like his predecessor, he faced difficulties. In 1903, the "Leonta" cyclone laid the school buildings in ruins. The cost of

Restoration was estimated at nearly £2,500, a considerable sum in those days, especially in view of the state of the School's finances before the disaster. On loan money, rebuilding was completed by 1904, but at the end of that year the controversy over the Government endowment caused the resignation of Miller and his staff.¹

The new Headmaster, Mr. P.F. Rowland, had been educated at University College School and St. Paul's School, London. He had obtained an open scholarship at Hertford College, Oxford, and graduated in classical honours. Before coming to Townsville he had been Second Master of Rockhampton Grammar School. He was Headmaster of Townsville Grammar School from 1905 to 1938, and during that time exerted strong influence, not only in the School and the education world, but elsewhere also, through contributed articles to various publications. He came to accept and promote co-education, and the limitation which previously restricted the number of girls at the School to six was removed. By 1906 average attendances were up to 60.25.²

²ibid., p20.
IPSWICH GIRLS' GRAMMAR SCHOOL

The last school to be established under the provisions of The Grammar Schools Act of 1860 was Ipswich Girls' Grammar School. The first move, it appears, was made in 1877, when the Trustees of Ipswich Grammar School passed a resolution that the Secretary for Public Instruction be requested to place upon the supplementary estimates the sum of £500 for the purpose of establishing a Girls' Grammar School "in connection with our present Institution". There was, however, no result. Ten years later, in August 1887, Mr. Donald Cameron, Headmaster of Ipswich Grammar School, mentioned to Mr. T.B. Cribb that it would be good to have a girls' school. Moneys were collected, and Government assistance received. On 10th March, 1891, the Foundation Stone was laid by Sir Arthur Hunter Palmer, K.C.M.G., the Acting Governor.

The buildings were completed by the beginning of 1892, and in February the School opened without ceremony. There were 31 pupils on the opening day, and 48 by the end of the year. The Headmistress was Fanny E. Hunt, B. Sc. (Sydney), and the assistants included Maud

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1 Ipswich Girls' Grammar School Jubilee Souvenir 1892-1942: 1942, 6.
2 ibid.
3 ibid., p9.
Connell, M.A. (Melbourne). Miss Hunt remained until 1902, and was succeeded by Miss Connell (1902 to 1905). The position of Headmistress was then filled by Helen F. White, M.A.

The public examination record of Ipswich Girls' Grammar School is a fine one. In the year the School was opened, one pupil took the Junior Examination, and gained seven As. In 1893 three passed the Senior Examination, and five the Junior. In the years from 1893 to 1910, candidates from the School won the Senior Fairfax Medal four times, and the Junior Fairfax Medal seven times. In addition, ten medals for individual subjects in the Senior and eleven in the Junior were won.
CHAPTER VII

THE BRISBANE GRAMMAR SCHOOL: A CASE STUDY

BEGINNINGS

The foundation stone of the Brisbane Grammar School was laid on Saturday 29th February, 1868, by H.R.H. Prince Alfred (afterwards Duke of Edinburgh), in the presence of about a thousand people. The School was formally opened on 1st February, 1869.\(^1\)

The site of the School at first fronted Roma Street and Upper Albert Street; but in 1880 it was moved to the present position in Gregory Terrace. Sir Charles Lilley laid the foundation stone of the new building.\(^2\)

HEADMASTERS AND SECOND MASTERS

The first Headmaster of Brisbane Grammar School was Thomas Harlin, M.A., a Cambridge graduate. Harlin was a brilliant Mathematics teacher, and was secretary of the Royal Commission of 1874. After his resignation in 1875, he became Second Master of Church of England Grammar


\(^2\)ibid., p7.
Harlin was followed by Reginald Heber-Roe, M.A. (Oxford). He was a mathematical scholar of Balliol College, Oxford, where he took first class honours in Mathematical Moderations in 1871 and in the final honour school in 1872, as well as honours in Classical Moderations in 1871 and second class honours in Literae Humaniores in 1874. Roe exercised profound influence on education in Queensland. For thirty-three years he was Headmaster of Brisbane Grammar School, and for forty years he was a leading figure in Queensland education. He succeeded D. Ewart in 1909 as Inspector-General of the Department of Public Instruction, and he became as well Inspector of Grammar Schools. Under his guidance the first High Schools were established in Queensland in 1912. Roe was one of those who helped to establish the University of Queensland, and he in time held the office of Vice-Chancellor. One cannot fail to be impressed by the character and personality of the man, as well as by his work. During the years of his Headmastership of Brisbane Grammar School, it was openly acknowledged to be the leading educational institution in the State, and one of

the best schools in Australia. There seems little doubt
that the work carried on there went beyond what might
to-day be considered the limits of the secondary curric-
ulum, in certain fields of study. The fact that Roe, and
not a Departmental officer, was appointed to follow
Ewart, speaks volumes. Press reports of the period--
including those of the socialist "The Boomerang"--hold
him in high esteem. The picture that emerges is that of
a man astute and capable; scholarly and idealistic, but
practical; sympathetic; articulate, and at times
outspoken; and progressive. Flexibility was one of his
outstanding qualities; for notwithstanding the nature of
his own education and background, he was a convinced
democrat, and did not hesitate to revise his outlook and
opinions.

Roe was succeeded by F.S.N. Bousfield, M.A., as
Headmaster of Brisbane Grammar School. Bousfield had
been educated at Winchester, and at Lincoln College,
Oxford, where he won a Classical Scholarship. He took
honours in Classical Moderations and a first class degree
in the final honour school of Literae Humaniores, gaining
his M.A. in 1880. In 1888 he was appointed Second and
Senior Classical Master at Brisbane Grammar School. In
1906 he succeeded Roe as House Master, and as Headmaster
in 1909. ¹

Other men who held the position of Second Master at Brisbane Grammar School were Donald Cameron, M.A. (Edinburgh), later Headmaster of Ipswich Grammar School, then Inspector of Grammar Schools; William Crompton, M.A. (Sydney), from 1875 to 1885; and James Murdoch, M.A. (Aberdeen, Cambridge, Paris and Gottingen) from 1885 to 1888. Crompton, a classical scholar and a barrister, later entered the State Civil Service. ²

The career of James Murdoch is worth noting. He was a remarkable classical scholar. In thirty-two examinations in four universities, he headed the lists in thirty. He had paid for his own university education, his sole financial aid, so report had it, being £1 from his father. Before coming to Brisbane Grammar School, he had been Headmaster of the Maryborough Grammar School. At a later stage, he joined W. Lane's socialistic experiment in Paraguay. Afterwards he became Professor of English Literature at the University of Tokio, and later still Professor of Oriental Languages at the R.A.M.C. at Duntroon, and the University of Sydney. ³

² ibid., p15.
³ ibid., p15.
Stuart Stephenson, who followed Bousfield as Second Master (and later as Headmaster), had been educated at Kingswood and at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, where he won an open Mathematical Scholarship. He took his B.A. with Mathematical Honours in 1889, and his M.A. in 1893. 1

With such men as these to guide its destinies, and a steady stream of scholarship boys (of whom it received the lion's share) to swell its student numbers, it is small wonder that the academic record of Brisbane Grammar School during the nineteenth century is remarkable.

SCHOOL GOVERNMENT

As provided in the Act, the affairs of the Brisbane Grammar School were managed by a Board of seven trustees, three elected by subscribers, and four appointed by the Government. It is noteworthy that the Boards of Trustees of Brisbane Grammar School and of Brisbane Girls' Grammar School, though nominally distinct, were in practice identical. The list of Trustees contains the names of many distinguished and influential men of the Colony and State, including Cabinet Ministers. The following trustees served on the Boards prior to the First World War:

Abbott, H.P.
Anderson, J.G., M.A.
Beattie, F., M.L.A.
Box, Hon. W.D., M.L.C.
Bramston, Rt. Hon. Sir John, P.C.,
  G.C.M.G.
Brookes, Hon. W., M.L.C.
Byram, W.J.
Chapman, R.M.
Chubb, Hon. C.E., Q.C., A.G. (after-
  afterwards Mr. Justice Chubb).
Cockle, Hon. Sir J., C.J., M.A., F.R.S.
Crouch, E.R.
Douglas, Hon. John, M.L.A.
Edwards, Hon. R., M.P.
Forrest, Hon. E.B., M.L.C.
Forrest, J.
Gibson, Major J.L., M.D.
Griffith, Rt. Hon. Sir S.W., P.C.,
  G.C.M.G., LL.D., M.A., C.J.
Hart F.W.
Haymen, M.G.
Jensen, Hon. M., M.L.C.
Kingsbury, J.J., M.A.
Lilley, Hon. Sir C., C.J.
Lilley, E.M., K.C.
Macartney, Hon. E.H., M.L.A.
Macdonnell, R., M.A.
Mein, Hon. C.S., M.L.C., M.A.
  (afterwards Mr. Justice Mein).
Nelson, W.M.
O'Doherty, Hon. Dr. K.I., M.L.C.
Oxley, H.J.
Palmer, Hon. Sir A.H., K.C.M.G.
Plant, Lt.-Col. C.F., F.R.A.S.
Pritchard, A.B.
Scott, Hon. J., M.L.A.
Stephens, Hon. T.B., M.L.A.
Stewart, A.
Stodart, J., M.L.A.
Thomson, Dr. J.
Woolcock, John L., B.A. 1

Under the Act, Trustees were empowered to make regulations. Those concerning Brisbane Grammar School were first gazetted in 1870, and are here reproduced in full:

BRISBANE GRAMMAR SCHOOL.

Rules and Regulations adopted at a Special Meeting of the Board of Trustees, held on Friday, 8th April, 1870, and ordered to be submitted for the approval of the Governor in Council.

THOMAS HARLIN,
Honorary Secretary to the Board.

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RULES AND REGULATIONS.

1. The regular meetings of the Board of Trustees shall be held on the last Friday of each month; and at all meetings of the Board three members shall form a quorum.

2. The Head Master of the school for the time being shall be Honorary Secretary to the Board.

3. The trustees shall, at their first regular meeting in each year, elect one of their number as Chairman, and another of their number as Treasurer for the current year. And the corporate seal of the Board shall be placed in charge of the Secretary, and shall not be affixed to any document except by order of the Board.

4. The duty of the Chairman shall be to preside, if present, at all meetings of the Board, and to act as returning officer at all meetings of those qualified to take part in elections of the three Donors' (to building fund) Trustees.

5. Meetings for the election of the three Donors' Trustees shall be held not less than fourteen days prior to the legal date, as shown from time to time by the Government Gazette of the colony, for the appointment of new trustees, and shall be summoned
by circulars issued, by order of the existing Board, not less than fourteen days prior to the date fixed for the election of the three Donors' Trustees as aforesaid. And in the event of the death or resignation of any trustee, the remaining members of the Board shall agree, at their next regular meeting, on the name of a new trustee; and such name shall be forthwith submitted for the approval of the Governor in Council.

6. Special meetings of the Board may be summoned at any time by order of the Chairman, or by request of any two members of the Board addressed to the Chairman, and covering memorandum of the business, for discussion of which they wish the special meeting called.

7. A general school account shall be kept at such bank, doing business in Brisbane, as the Board may from time to time appoint; and salaries to masters, and all payments on account of working the school shall be made by cheques, drawn only by order of the Board, signed by the Treasurer, and countersigned by the Chairman or another member of the Board.

8. The school hours shall be from 9.30 a.m. till 12.30 p.m.; and from 2 p.m. till 4 p.m.

9. The whole holidays shall be:
   (a.) Every Saturday throughout the year.
   (b.) Foundation day - the last day of February; St. Patrick’s Day, St. George’s Day, the Queen’s Birthday, the Prince of Wales’s Birthday, St. Andrew’s Day, and Separation Day.

10. The vacations shall be:
    (a.) Six weeks at Midsummer.
    (b.) One week at Easter.
    (c.) Two weeks at Midwinter.

11. The minimum age of pupils shall be eight years; and no boy shall be received as a pupil who cannot read and write, and who cannot work examples in simple addition and subtraction.

12. The school fees for each school-quarter shall be as follow:-
I. In the case of Day Pupils—
   (a.) For each boy over twelve years of age...
   £4 4s.
   (b.) For each boy under twelve years of age...
   £3 3s.
   The term "twelve years of age" being taken to mean "twelve years of age on the first day of a school-quarter."

II. In the case of Boarders—
   (c.) For each boarder or weekly boarder...
   £14 14s.
   The term "boarder" being taken to mean "a pupil living with any person appointed by the Board of Trustees to provide a home for boys sent to the school from a distance, or not residing under the roof of their parents or guardians."
   (d.) For each day boarder, in addition to school fee...
   £2 12s. 6d.

13. In the case of two members of the same family attending the school, a reduction of 10s. 6d. each; and in the case of three members or more, a reduction of £1 1s. each; shall be made from the fees specified in Rule 12.

14. All school fees shall be paid in advance to the Treasurer, who shall issue orders authorising the Head Master to admit the holders as pupils during the term for which their payments shall have been made.

15. All the boys attending the school shall be required to learn Latin, and either French or German.

16. Drill shall be taught; and no boy shall absent himself from the drill lessons except with the permission of the Head Master.

17. There shall be two examinations, and one distribution of prizes in each school year.

18. The work of the school shall be selected from the following list of subjects:

   I. In the Lower School—
      The English, Latin, and French languages; Australian, political, and the elements of physical geography; arithmetic, mental arithmetic, and the elements of algebra and
geometry; writing and drawing; the elements of natural history; vocal music.

II. In the Upper School-
   The English, Latin, Greek, French, and German languages; political and physical geography; history; arithmetic, mental arithmetic, and mathematics; the elements of natural and physical science; the elements of logic and political economy; drawing; vocal music.

19. The power of expulsion shall be vested in the Head Master, but shall not be used without prior consultation of the Board of Trustees.

20. The Governor of the Colony shall be the Visitor of the School.

   T.B. STEPHENS, Chairman.

   THOMAS HARLIN, Honorary Secretary.

Amendments or revisions of the regulations were gazetted in the years 1872, 1876, 1879, 1883, 1886, 1889, and 1900. Many of the changes in administration and control thus shown are of secondary importance, but changes in subjects lists are meaningful. The following diagram sets out in tabular form the subjects prescribed by the regulations. In 1870 and 1872 separate prescriptions are made for the Upper School and the Lower School. In all cases the regulations stated that the work of the school was to be selected from the subjects list. It was at no time laid down that all boys should take all subjects, and probably never so intended; for some specific requirements were laid down.

1 Queensland Government Gazettes, 1870, 606f.
<table>
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<th>SUBJECT</th>
<th>1870</th>
<th>1872</th>
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The 1870 and 1872 regulations provided that all boys attending the school should be required to learn Latin, and either French or German. This requirement, the only one then made in academic work, laid the foundations of that emphasis on language study that characterized the early work of the Brisbane Grammar School—and, indeed, all the Grammar Schools. The only other compulsory requirement concerned drill.

The 1876 regulations were framed to cover both Brisbane Grammar School and Brisbane Girls' Grammar School; for during the foundational years of the Girls' School the Headmaster of Brisbane Grammar School had responsibility for both schools. Significant developments for the Boys' division included the introduction of the Modern School, and the provision for science laboratories:

24. For the purposes of instruction, the Boys' Division shall comprise three divisions, namely:—
(1.) The Upper School, consisting of Forms VI., V., and IV.
(2.) The Modern School, consisting of Forms Modern V. and IV. And
(3.) The Lower School, consisting of Forms III., II., and I.

All boys in the Upper School must learn Latin and Greek, and either French or German.
All boys in the Modern School must learn French or German.
All boys in the Lower School must learn Latin, and either French or German.
No boy shall be allowed to join the Modern School unless he shall be sufficiently advanced to be admitted into Form IV.
25. A laboratory shall be provided in which practical chemistry shall be taught to advanced boys.¹

Language study was thus at this time extended to include compulsory Greek in the Upper School. It is noteworthy that boys were required to pass through the academic Lower School before being permitted to enter the Modern School.

The amended regulations of 1879 and 1883 left these arrangements basically unchanged. In 1883 gymnastics was introduced, and—together with drill—made compulsory.

Some relaxation of the rigid language requirement in the Upper School was made in 1886, when the following amendment of Clause 23 was gazetted:

All boys in the Upper School must learn Latin, and, unless specially exempted, Greek, and either French or German.²

The emphasis, however, remained on language study, all boys being required to learn one or more foreign languages.

In 1889 the Modern School was extended. Clause 32 of the Regulations gazetted in that year reads as follows:

32. For the purposes of instruction, the School shall comprise three divisions, namely:—
   (1.) The Upper School, consisting of Forms VI., V., and IV.;

¹ Queensland Government Gazettes, 1876, 1346.
² Queensland Government Gazettes, 1886, 105.
(2.) The Lower School, consisting of Forms III., II., and I.
(3.) The Modern School, consisting of Forms Modern V., IV., III., II., and I.

All boys in the Upper School must learn Latin and Greek, and either French or German; Conversational French or German may be substituted for Greek with the consent of the Head Master.

All boys in the Lower School must learn Latin, and either French or German.

All boys in the Modern School must learn French or German.¹

In effect the new regulations meant that boys in the Modern School—presumably largely boys of lower ability—need not study Latin; and the specific mention of conversational French and German implied that the study of these as "living" rather than as "dead" languages was now receiving attention.

So far as the Upper and Lower Schools were concerned the arrangements already in force held until the end of the period under consideration. In the Modern School, an important change was made in 1900, when the following amendment was gazetted:

33. For the purposes of instruction, the School shall comprise three divisions, namely:—
(1) The Upper School, consisting of Forms VI., V., and IV.;
(2) The Lower School, consisting of Forms III., II., and I.;
(3) The Modern School, consisting of Forms Modern V., IV., III., II., and I.

¹Queensland Government Gazettes, 1889, 69.
All boys in the Upper School must learn Latin and Greek, and either French or German; Conversational French or German may be substituted for Greek with the consent of the Head Master.

All boys in the Lower School must learn Latin and either French or German.

The work of the Modern School shall be framed to meet the requirements of commercial life and of the Public Service Examinations.¹

This, considered against the traditional concept of the Grammar School, was the greatest change of all. It meant that a boy could now go through the Brisbane Grammar School without being obliged to undertake—at least, so far as the regulations were concerned—the study of any foreign language. It is noteworthy that Modern School studies officially proceeded only as far as Form V. Notwithstanding this, one boy in the Modern School is shown in the December Prize List of 1910 as being in Form VI.

The relaxation in foreign language studies did not apply to the main stream of endeavour at Brisbane Grammar School. Before the First World War the only compulsory studies were those of foreign languages. Not even English and mathematics were so governed by regulation.

SCHOOL STATISTICS

At a time when graduate teachers were far from common in Queensland, Brisbane Grammar School attracted,

¹Queensland Government Gazettes, 1900, 1493.
and in many cases held for years, the services of well qualified men. There were, admittedly, those whose stay at the school was short; but there was also a core of able men who made teaching at the school their life's work. The following figures and comments, drawn from the Register of the Brisbane Grammar School, show the degree qualifications and the length of service of all permanent academic staff appointed to the school from 1868 to 1914:
<table>
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<tr>
<th>APPOINTED</th>
<th>DEGREES</th>
<th>SERVICE IN YEARS</th>
<th>COMMENTS</th>
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</tr>
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<td>Music &amp; Drawing</td>
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<td>½</td>
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<th>COMMENTS</th>
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The following figures, taken from the Brisbane Grammar School December Prize Lists available from 1875 to the end of the period under consideration give some picture of the class-room organization of the school. By 1876, it seems clear, a cohesive organization had emerged, and reference to external examinations would have done much to set objective standards. It is obvious, however, that these figures can be taken only as a general guide, and not as an absolute reference on which to estimate attainments. It seems, for example, that in 1894 it was found expedient to reduce the number of forms, and from that time till the year 1910 there is no Form II in the school. From 1911, there is no Form I, and Form II re-appears.

In the following table, the following abbreviations are used:

SC = Special Classes
UM = Upper Modern
LM = Lower Modern.
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</table>

**NOTES:**
Underlining indicates group divided into two or more divisions.
1910 Form V classified "Queensland Junior".
1896 Form VI includes one girl, E.E. Bourne.
For the most part, where a figure in the foregoing table is shown as including two or more class groups, it appears that these groups were of roughly equal attainments; and in fact in the years before 1897 the division was usually made on an alphabetical basis. There are, however, some exceptions to this. From 1911 to the end of the table the division in Forms VI and V was so made as to form Upper and Lower groups in both Forms. There must have been some stratification in the Modern School; for provision for such division is made in the regulations. However, from its inception in 1877 until the year 1888, only one Modern School Form is mentioned in the December Prize Lists. After 1888 distinction is made between Upper and Lower Modern School Forms. This follows the change in regulations. From 1899, further distinctions are made, undoubtedly on attainments. The following figures show the development of the Modern School from 1899:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>UPPER MODERN</th>
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<th>TOTAL</th>
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Further figures, also drawn from the December Prize Lists, pertain to the Special Classes earlier mentioned. It was always the policy of Brisbane Grammar School to endeavour to assist its students—particularly those who had been some time in the school—to meet the examination requirements of various professions. In the following analysis of Special Classes totals shown earlier, the following abbreviations are used:

- M = Matriculation
- L = Law
- CS = Civil Service
- P = Pharmacy
- B = Bank
- D = Dentistry
- R = Railway
- A = Army
- E = Engineering
- AG = Agriculture
- SW = Special Work

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<th>M</th>
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</table>
Two further tables have interest. The following figures, drawn from the Brisbane Grammar School Register, deal with admissions made in 1875 and every fifth year thereafter till 1910. Though selective, the figures indicate that most admissions were made at the age of thirteen or fourteen; and that most boys stayed at the school for two or three years. Evidence suggests that in many cases in which the date of leaving is not recorded, the boy in question attended the school for only a short time—in some cases a matter of weeks or even days. The Register before 1875 has some obvious deficiencies, and therefore no figures are included for 1870.
<table>
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<th>AGE AT ADMISSION</th>
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<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>- - - 4 10 44 29 18 7 2 2 - - 1 117</td>
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</table>

*(NR = Not Recorded)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR ADMITTED</th>
<th>DEPARTURES</th>
<th>YEAR OF LEAVING: ADMISSION YEAR PLUS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td></td>
<td>0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 NR* TOTAL</td>
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<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>2 4 12 4 2 4 1 - - 1 1 31</td>
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<td>1910</td>
<td>26 33 24 14 17 2 1 - - - - 117</td>
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</table>

*(NR = Not Recorded)
The years from 1869 to 1876 were years of difficulty and misunderstanding. The task confronting Harlin on his arrival must have been considerable. The Headmaster's report for 1869 mentions the difficulty of classifying close on ninety boys, with a staff that was, in Harlin's opinion, too small. The method of classifying the boys, the basis on which the work of the school rested, shows Harlin's adherence to traditional models: it was made first on attainments in Latin, and second on attainments in English and arithmetic. However Harlin, like Roe, who followed him, did his best to promote the cause of science:

...Some of our older boys are now ready to profit from the study of the elementary truths of natural and physical science. But it is hopeless to attempt the task of teaching science, while we are without a room in which to deliver science lectures; and, without a single model or article of furniture necessary for scientific teaching....

In his first report Harlin spoke at some length on attainments of the boys enrolled at the school, and on the course of work he proposed to follow. Knowledge of arithmetic, he noted, was neither so extensive nor so accurate as it should have been, and a systematic course

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1Brisbane Grammar School Headmaster's Report for 1869.
of mental arithmetic had been begun in the three upper forms. Geometry he regarded as very important, although he had discarded the elements of Euclid as a general school text. The teaching of English would be that of grammar first, then of analysis, and lastly, of the history of the rise and progress of the English language. To this the senior forms would add, each year, the critical study of a play of Shakespeare, a book of Milton, or a selection from the writings of some other English classic. The three upper forms were to study portions of English history; and Harlin remarked that if he had known of a suitable text of Australian history, he would have had it studied in every form.

Latin, it appears, had received at least a fair share of attention:

...On the whole, however, progress in Latin has been creditable; and as we are now engaged in maturing a graduated course of Latin teaching, of which each portion will extend over a definite portion of time, I have every confidence that the knowledge of Latin which our boys will acquire, will be thorough, so far as it goes....

Greek, an optional subject, was being studied by only a few boys, but French was a prominent part of the school course. Harlin had permitted a few boys in the Lower School to learn German, but wished to confine the

1Brisbane Grammar School Headmaster's Report for 1869.
subject to the Upper School. Writing lessons were given only in the Lower School, and there was no time for ornamental penmanship. The teaching of book-keeping had begun, and one member of the staff was devoting a good deal of his time to the subject.

Discipline appears to have been a considerable problem in the early years. Harlin referred to the difficulty of having to deal with senior boys drawn from many quarters, and subjecting them to new treatment and new discipline at an age when change of this kind was trying and irksome. There existed neither school tone nor school tradition to strengthen the hand of the school authorities.

...I hold that the influence of the senior boys ought to be felt all through a public school - that the senior boys ought to act as the assistants of the masters in the maintenance of order, and, by virtue of their seniority, to have the privilege of exemption from corporal punishment, which, on the other hand, their more developed intelligence and self-respect ought to guard them against ever deserving. But boys who are to stand in this kind of relation to the masters of a public school must be subjected at an early age, to its influences and its tone; and must rise, by dint of desert, to a place in its highest form.

Harlin mentions sparing use of the cane; but fights were frequent. Harlin's solution was to permit supervised

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1Brisbane Grammar School Headmaster's Report for 1869.
combat, after proper application. "The Queensland Express" approved his methods:

With Mr. HARLIN'S method of dealing with his boys we entirely coincide. The system of trusting to their sense of honour as much as possible is one which has been attended with the greatest success in the schools in England where it has been adopted. DR. ARNOLD and his successors at Rugby carried the principle to its utmost limit and with results that are universally appreciated. To instil a strong sense of personal honour into the boys of the rising generation, to teach them to feel the responsibility of their actions at an early age, is surely not the least valuable, not the least important portion of their early training.¹

When one considers the misunderstandings, frustrations, and recriminations of the final year of Harlin's Headmastership, the validity of much of his earlier judgement is clear. For much of the trouble was without doubt due to a lack of understanding in the colony of the kind of education that a Grammar School should give.

Harlin saw the need to define the position of the Grammar Schools. The education they provided, he maintained, must have a clear beginning, and must lead to a definite goal which should also serve as an objective criterion on which to evaluate attainments. During the first year of his Headmastership an approach was made to the University of London, and Harlin was able to report receiving a

¹The Queensland Express, 1st March 1870: clipping included in bound volume of Brisbane Grammar School Annual Reports 1869–1914.
letter informing him of a resolution of the University Senate:

That the Head Master of the Brisbane Grammar School be informed that the Senate will be ready to entertain any application promoted by the Governor of Queensland, for instituting examinations for Matriculation, and for Degrees in Arts and Science in that colony.¹

At the same time attempts were reported to have the same facilities from the Universities of Sydney and Melbourne made available in the colony.

From the first the question of fees and finances is prominent in the considerations and worries of Brisbane Grammar School. In 1869, the first year of the school's operation, the Government was much concerned with the question of free primary education; and this was in fact introduced in 1870, with some impact upon the shaky financial structure of the new Grammar School. The subject of education fees was, therefore, in the public mind; and there was some pressure of opinion that those charged by the Grammar Schools should be reduced, or even abolished. At the beginning of 1869 there had been published in the Brisbane newspapers letters complaining of high fees at the Brisbane Grammar School. Harlin's reply is given in his report for the year:

¹Brisbane Grammar School Headmaster's Report for 1869.
....I avail myself of this opportunity to state that the average school-fee has been under £11 10s. - to which sum there must be added the cost of text-books and materials - the amount of which, I believe, has in no case been more than £2. I have obtained the prospectuses of the Grammar School at Sydney; and of the Church of England Grammar School - the Scotch College - and Wesley College, at Melbourne; and find that with the exception of the Sydney Grammar School -(which enjoys an endowment of £1500 per annum, whilst our endowment, at present, is only £500 per annum) - the cost of education here is considerably less than at any of the institutions named....The boarding rates, in nearly every case, are very much higher than ours - in fact so high, in the case of senior boys, as to be practically beyond the reach of men of moderate means. I feel, therefore, that both in respect of charges and in respect of extent of school course, the Brisbane Grammar School compares favourably with each of the schools named. At the same time, I am aware that our fees are sufficiently high to place our school beyond the reach of many who would be glad to have their sons educated here.¹

Harlin's opinion appears to have been that payment of fees was contrary to the spirit of the Act: for in the following year he had this to say:

...But the preamble of the Grammar Schools Act sets forth the expediency of establishing Grammar Schools for the benefit of all classes of Her Majesty's subjects in this colony; and if I read the Act aright it is for this object that the Grammar Schools are assisted by large grants of money from the public purse. And I venture to think that if the fees charged here are prohibitive in the case of a single member of the community, it is expedient to reconsider the matter, and to devise some plan by which his boys may be enabled to take their seats on our benches. I know it is held by some persons - I believe it is held by those to whom the colony owes

¹Brisbane Grammar School Headmaster's Report for 1869.
- I will not say the boon, but at all events the gift - of free education in the Primary Schools, that it is the duty of the State to provide the essential rudiments of education for the rising generation wholly at the public expense; but as regards the Grammar Schools, inasmuch as their proper work is of a different character, the individuals who avail themselves of their advantages must be prepared to make direct payments of part of the cost of supporting them. For myself, I have some difficulty in seeing where the line is to be drawn between what is an essential necessary in education, and what is only an ornament or a luxury; nay, more, I feel that there are many subjects of study which common consent may regard as educational luxuries to-day, but which this, or any other community may demand as educational necessaries to-morrow.\(^1\)

This appears to be an oblique reference to Lilley, who is credited with having introduced free primary education; but the tone of Harlin's address implies that there was, even at this early stage, a difference of opinion between him and influential Trustees on matters of educational philosophy.

The establishment of free primary State education complicated the task of defining the position of the Grammar Schools, especially in view of the fact that Brisbane Grammar School, in accepting pupils from the age of eight, found itself to some degree in competition with the State primary schools. In 1871 Harlin complained of "the anomalies and the waste of labour which seem, just

\(^{1}\)Brisbane Grammar School Headmaster's Report for 1870.
now, to be inherent in the present dual system of public education".¹ These should, he maintained, be removed by a comprehensive Act of Parliament, either by making the grants to Grammar Schools directly proportionate to the number of pupils whom they attracted; or by introducing a scheme of scholarships, such as Lilley had brought forward during the last session of the Legislative Assembly. The parents' ability to pay comparatively high fees should not be the title of admission to the secondary schools of the colony.² In 1872 the average quarterly enrolment had fallen to 70, and Harlin offered further comment:

...I am unable to estimate to what extent this decline in the popularity of the school has been due to our failure to meet the requirements of the parents of boys throughout the colony; but I am inclined to believe that it may be explained, in some degree, by the fact that our position has been misunderstood, and that the school has been regarded as a school for those who can, as distinguished from those who cannot, afford to pay the fees charged.³

Herein are laid the seeds of those charges of social exclusiveness that were brought so bitterly against the Grammar Schools late in the century. There are grounds

¹Brisbane Grammar School Headmaster's Report for 1870.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.
for believing, however, that the first point raised by Harlin—that of failure to meet parents' requirements—was of more immediate consequence than Harlin supposed, and that many did not view with favour an education so strongly biased in favour of language study.

Harlin's proposed solution to the problem of articulation with the primary schools—put forward as early as 1870—was to establish educational districts throughout the State, each with its circle of primary schools surrounding its single secondary or Grammar School. The former would provide plain and practical training, and also prepare for matriculation to the Grammar Schools at the age of twelve or thirteen those who were to stay at school until the age of sixteen. This would eliminate the difficulty experienced by the Grammar Schools of receiving boys at different stages of progress. Harlin acknowledged, however, the pressing necessity for an economic solution; and during the early 1870s, several unsuccessful attempts were made in Parliament (by Lilley in particular) to provide just such a solution. Harlin referred to the problem again in his report for 1873:

....But I feel now, as I have felt always, that it would be very desirable to draw up a systematic course of Grammar School study, extending over five years; to test new boys by formal examination, in order to determine the rank in school that ought to be assigned to them on their entrance; and lastly
to require that every boy should pass a creditable examination in the subjects of work prescribed for any given year, in order to entitle himself to promotion to the work of the year next in order. Now the plan of classification we have hitherto carried out could be adapted, without much difficulty, to such a system as I have just indicated. It would be useless, however, to attempt to carry out such an organisation of this school, so long as our functions are, in part, the functions of primary school teachers, and, in part, the functions of grammar school teachers. But it is generally admitted, now-a-days, that the whole cost of the Queensland grammar schools must be borne ere long by the State; and so soon as Legislative sanction shall have been given to that anticipation, I think that the course of study in the Grammar School should be carefully thought out; that boys entering the lowest forms should be expected to rise to the work prescribed for the highest forms in five years; and that all promotions should be won by examination, and by examination only....

Meanwhile the finances of Brisbane Grammar School were at a low ebb. Various economies were practised, and the services of a secretary were dispensed with. However, a move to reduce the number of masters from five to four was rejected by Harlin on the grounds of impaired efficiency. He suggested as an alternative that his salary be reduced by ten per cent, and both the second and the third masters accepted a similar reduction. It was agreed that reimbursement would be made when practicable;

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1 Brisbane Grammar School Headmaster's Report for 1873.
2 The Brisbane Courier, 1st March 1876.
and the moneys in question were refunded in August 1874. In 1873, however, the position appeared bleak. The crisis was aggravated by a number of adverse factors. Time had been too short to permit growth of strong school tradition and patronage. Circumstances were unsettled, and there was yet no clear acceptance and understanding of the role of the school. Nor were there successes in public examinations for reference in creating school prestige and reputation.

At the darkest hour the decline was arrested by the establishment of the State scholarships. (The story of this, and of Harlin's part in it, is told in Chapter V.) Eight scholarship holders arrived at the school in August 1873. Early in 1874 Harlin said of them:

...I have great pleasure in stating that those 8 Primary School scholars were better prepared for entering on a course of Grammar School study than any equal number of new boys ever before sent to us. We were, of course, obliged to place them in our lowest forms for Latin and modern languages; but we were able to classify them at once in our upper school for English and mathematics....

The effect of the scholarships was immediate. In 1876 Harlin referred to the arrival of the first scholars:

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1 Handwritten marginal note in bound volume of Brisbane Grammar School Annual Reports 1869–1914.

2 Brisbane Grammar School Headmaster's Report for 1873.
...and before the end of the same year, the attendance here had risen from under seventy to over ninety. The same rate of prosperity has continued since....

It was, in effect, publicly proclaimed that a Grammar School education was a worthwhile thing: for the Board of General Education was prepared to send to the Grammar Schools the brightest and best of its primary scholars, and pay them the princely scholarship allowance of £50 per year. Hitherto, as Harlin stated in evidence to the Royal Commission of 1874, the feeling had existed that little was to be gained in the way of tuition by sending boys to the Grammar Schools. By 1874 the Brisbane Grammar School had twenty-eight State scholars; and from then until the last decade of the century its finances were secure. The fees requirement, however, with its attendant ills, remained.

The academic work of the first few years was fragmentary, and there was little to show to the world by way of achievement. There were few changes noted in 1870. Object lessons were introduced for the smaller boys; the study of German was limited to the Upper School; and more

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1 The Brisbane Courier, 1st March 1876.
2 Votes & Proceedings, Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1875, II, 281.
3 ibid.
prominence was given to drawing and writing. Harlin again deplored the lack of science laboratories and facilities, and made suggestions whereby the defect might be remedied. Little was possible, however, for some time. In his report for 1872 Harlin stated that the main subjects of study had been Latin, mathematics, and English; but that the time had arrived for science to be introduced into the school:

....As regards the rudiments of science, I am quite ready to admit that no boy of average ability ought to be allowed to reach the age of fifteen or sixteen without some knowledge of botany, chemistry, and physics. But up to the present time, the work of disciplining and preparing the minds of our boys has been almost as much as we have found ourselves either able or in a position to attempt; and it is only now, at the termination of the fourth year of the school's existence, that I feel justified in reporting to the trustees that the study of chemistry and physics may form a portion of the regular work of the upper forms, not only with advantage to the public character of the school, but also without interfering with the thorough grounding of our boys in English, Latin, mathematics, and one of the modern languages, which is not only the most important portion of our daily work, but is also the portion on which the reputation of the school, as a training place for after life, must always mainly depend.....I now propose, subject to the sanction of the trustees, to give the teaching of science a recognised place even in our lowest form....

Nothing, perhaps, illustrates better the degree of emphasis placed on various subjects at Brisbane Grammar

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1Brisbane Grammar School Headmaster's Report for 1872.
School at this time than the home study and exercise preparation time-table prepared by Harlin in 1872. The main points of this time-table are given below:

**Upper School, Forms V, IV: 11½ hours per week, including 2 hours on Saturday for drawing maps, as follows:**

- Latin 45 minutes per night
- Mathematics 15 minutes per night
- English 30 minutes per night
- French or German 90 minutes per week
- Chemistry 30 minutes per week

**Remove, Form III: 11 hours per week, including 2 hours on Saturday for drawing maps, as follows:**

- Latin 45 minutes per night
- Mathematics 15 minutes per night
- English 30 minutes per night
- French or German 60 minutes per week
- Zoology 30 minutes per week

**Lower School, Form II: 7½ hours per week, as follows:**

- Latin 30 minutes per night
- Arithmetic 15 minutes per night
- English 30 minutes per night
- French or German 60 minutes per week
- Botany 15 minutes per week

**Lower School, Form I: 6½ hours per week, as follows:**

- Latin 20 minutes per night
- Arithmetic 15 minutes per night
- English 25 minutes per night
- French or German 60 minutes per week
- Botany 15 minutes per week

It will be seen that only in Form I is more time devoted

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1 Brisbane Grammar School Headmaster's Report for 1872.
to English than to Latin; while in Forms IV and V, the preparation time devoted to Latin is nearly half the time devoted to all other subjects.

During 1872 drill was accorded four half-hour periods per week; and during the same year one candidate --the first from the school--entered for the Melbourne matriculation.

In 1875 (Report for 1874) Harlin noted increased attention given to science; object lessons were given to the smaller boys, and physics, chemistry and botany were taught to the older boys. Friday afternoon was set aside for science teaching throughout the Upper School. And for the first time, a class of twelve boys was engaged in studying Greek.

1874 was the year of the Royal Commission, and the fact that Harlin held the position of Secretary to the Commission imposed upon him the "necessity of keeping absolute silence on general educational subjects".¹

Four of the Trustees were members of the Commission. Harlin's report for the year emphasises the growing demand for reference to external examinations as a measure of school attainment standards:

¹Brisbane Grammar School Headmaster's Report for 1874.
...It has been the wish for the last year or two, both of the trustees and of the masters of the school, that the senior boys of each year should learn to look forward to presenting themselves at the close of their school life for the Melbourne matriculation examinations. Hitherto, however, there have been considerable difficulties in the way of realising this wish, the chief of which has been that the range of the work we have been doing here has been only gradually rising to the standard required by the Melbourne University authorities. But this year, I have the pleasure of stating that six of the senior boys in attendance have expressed to me their desire to present themselves for the Melbourne matriculation examination of next February.

There had been, however, some delay in hearing from Melbourne, Harlin went on; and inquiries concerning the Sydney examinations were to be made.

The year 1875 was a trying and anxious one for the Brisbane Grammar School. There was, it seems, mounting dissatisfaction; and in August Harlin and Crompton were asked by the Trustees to furnish a report upon the state of the School, and to submit a scheme in writing to the Trustees for the future organization of the school work. On August 30th, a "condemnatory resolution" was passed by the Trustees on the state of the school: "The Head Master to be responsible for more efficient management of

1Brisbane Grammar School Headmaster's Report for 1874.
2Handwritten marginal note in bound volume of Brisbane Grammar School Annual Reports 1869-1914.
the School in future & for the efficiency of masters in their various duties."¹ On December 17th Harlin's resignation of the previous day was accepted by the Trustees. It was decided to advertise in the English papers for a new Headmaster, final selection being left to Dean Stanley.

Harlin's Foundation Day address delivered on 29th February, 1876, contained much personal explanation, and there is some recrimination. The official report preserved in the Brisbane Grammar School's bound volume omits much of this; but "The Brisbane Courier" for Wednesday, 1st March, 1876 contains a full report.

The full pros and cons of the position are perhaps not clear after the lapse of so many years; but some of the basic causes of disagreement emerge clearly enough and are meaningful for this study.

Harlin referred to an article that had appeared in "The Brisbane Courier" on Saturday, 18th December, 1876, the day after the acceptance of his resignation:

....But the public of the colony were told, a few weeks ago, that the "school was then admittedly" - whatever admittedly may have been meant to convey - "in a state requiring immediate and thorough reform;" and I should have been foolish indeed if, ignoring the old proverb about giving a dog a bad

¹Handwritten marginal note in bound volume of Brisbane Grammar School Annual Reports 1869-1914.
name, I had flattered myself that a statement of this kind could have been put into circulation without injuriously affecting the number of pupils in attendance. I trust, however, that my address of to-day will show that the claims of the school to public confidence were as high at the end of last December, and are as high now, as they have ever been at any previous periods of its history.¹

Harlin placed responsibility for the article on one of the Trustees, whom he did not name; and the bitterness of his reference reveals some depth of personal enmity. "The Brisbane Courier" of 2nd March 1876 states that the reference was a "pointed and unmistakable allusion to Mr. Bernays", but denies that Harlin's imputation is correct.

There seems little reason to doubt that a basic contributory cause of dissension was some failure on the part of the Trustees—and of the public generally—to appreciate the true position in which the school was placed; but this could not have been, as Harlin claimed, the sole reason:

...So far as I can discover, the sole excuse for the treatment I had been receiving was to be found in the existence of a vague feeling that in a school which has had not only to make its own standard, but also to vary and adapt its standard, from time to time, to the attainments of boys whose school life has been short, the results anticipated at the end of an exceptional year of work were not likely to be so good as, under ordinary circumstances, the

¹Brisbane Grammar School Headmaster's Report for 1875.
trustees and the public would have had a right to expect. My zeal and diligence had never been questioned....

Harlin referred to the circumstances that had hindered the work and progress of the school. In the first place, the average school life was too short for real benefit to accrue:

...with few exceptions, the school-life of the boys under my charge at the end of last December had not extended to three years. In fact, the average school-life of the whole of the boys then on the roll was not quite two years....

Again, early admissions caused loss of teaching power:

....Over and over again, on occasions like the present, I have pointed out that, if the Grammar Schools of the Colony are to fulfil their true mission, they should not be asked to add to their proper functions the training of little boys, for whom, if they are to attend Grammar Schools at all, there ought to be, in each school, a properly organised junior department. But I, for one, have always protested against the waste of teaching power involved in having any work of a primary school character attempted in a grammar school. Again, and again, I have urged from this platform the advisability of determining the proper point of junction between the primary and secondary schools of the colony, and of guarding the entrance to the latter by a suitable examination.

During 1875, the Girls' division of the school had first accepted pupils, and Harlin had been given responsibility for both the Girls' and the Boys' divisions.

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1 The Brisbane Courier, 1st March 1876.
2 ibid.
3 Brisbane Grammar School Headmaster's Report for 1875.
Establishment difficulties in connexion with this must have been not inconsiderable. The Lady Principal of the Girls' division, Mrs. O'Connor, had made a number of accusations against Harlin, and thus aggravated a difficult position. Spheres of authority had been ill-defined, and the fact that senior masters had had to be made available to the Girls' division had complicated time-table arrangements. The resignation of two masters of a staff of five during the year (including that of the Second Master, Mr. Cameron, who became Headmaster of Ipswich Grammar School), had had considerable impact. Some of the Trustees had opposed the introduction of science lessons. Epidemics (scarlatina and measles) had caused much loss of time among both boys and staff.

Worst of all, probably, there was no evidence that Harlin could produce by reference to external examinations to prove the worth of school attainments. Harlin was acutely aware of this lack:

...and you all know that it has been my constant effort, ever since the opening of the school, to enter into relations with Universities, so that, sooner or later, the work done by the masters might be tested by competent external examination...1

To cap all this came the Trustees' censure, which Harlin considered unmerited. He therefore tendered his

1The Brisbane Courier, 1st March 1876.
resignation, but stated that he would prefer to continue to the end of 1876 in order to see the first public examination candidates through their course. He also expressed a wish to have the school inspected by a competent person, unconnected with Queensland, early in the year. This inspector would then report on the school's organization and tone, and on the attainments of the boys.¹ Harlin, it seems clear, was confident of the worth of his own efforts. The Trustees, however, merely accepted the resignation, and sought a new Headmaster.

"The Brisbane Courier" of 2nd March 1876 alleges that Harlin lacked judgment. The charges against him were, in any case, it continued, vague and not widely known; and the force of his reply to them was not merited. No doubt there is truth in this. The bitterness of parts of Harlin's address, and his public appeal to the Governor, must have made the occasion an uncomfortable one. There is evidence, too, that Harlin was a difficult man to work with; and this must have been known to the Trustees of Brisbane Grammar School before he became Headmaster; for Harlin had taught for some time at Ipswich Grammar School. In Brisbane, it appears, his relations with Charles Lilley became strained; and few

¹The Brisbane Courier, 1st March 1876.
men wielded more influence than Lilley in Queensland at that time. On an earlier occasion Harlin, feeling himself insulted and unfairly treated, had tendered, and later withdrawn, his resignation. In 1876, there is no doubt, he considered himself the victim of injustice. His departure brought to an end the first phase of the existence of Brisbane Grammar School.

THE HEADMASTERSHIP OF
REGINALD HEBER ROE

Dr. Bean writes as follows:

To Brisbane Grammar School, then six years old, with a tradition of trust between masters and boys already set by its first head, Thomas Harlin, there came in 1876, almost straight from Oxford a young Balliol scholar and "blue", Reginald Heber Roe, selected by Dean Stanley. Classic, mathematician, himself only seven years earlier "Head Grecian" at Christ's Hospital, he came at twenty-six, determined to build a corporate life in his school.

Until Roe's arrival C.S. Mein--one of the Trustees--acted as Headmaster. Roe's first report, delivered on Foundation Day--February 1877--does much to vindicate the work of his predecessor; and the results of the first public examinations clinched the matter.

....the school may be congratulated upon having passed through a period of severe trial in a manner which reflects the greatest credit upon all concerned. The discipline and moral tone established

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1 C.E.W. Bean, Here, My Son, Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1950, 120.
by the late Head Master must have been excellent, when an interregnum of several months and a change of headship could be borne without the appearance, as far as I can observe, of the least symptom of demoralization either in discipline (sic) or work....

...You will see that at Sydney we passed all the boys that we sent in, 24 in all; that these boys gained 123 passes between them, an average of over five for each boy - a better result than that obtained by any other school....

These figures, continued Roe, required some explanation:

...being diffident of ourselves we put our whole strength, fifth form and fourth form alike, into the Junior Examination, a fact which accounts a good deal for the comparatively large number of passes obtained in Greek and Latin. We must remember that our competitors in New South Wales, at least those of the Sydney Grammar School, were not in the same position as ourselves: their sixth form who would have passed the Junior last year, were engaged, as I hope ours will be this year, in the lists of the Senior Examination and the University Matriculation, so that whatever successes we may have gained have been only partial; we have beaten, to use a cricketing metaphor, their second eleven...

...The strong points about this year's results are, firstly, the success of all the candidates, and the high average of passes won by each boy, which shows that the general training of the school has been thoroughly good, and by no means confined to the better boys alone; and, secondly, the comparative success of our boys in the higher subjects, French, German, Greek, and Latin: a result which I attribute greatly to the excellent regulations of the Trustees, by which the study of at least two of

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1Brisbane Grammar School Headmaster's Report for 1876.

2ibid.

3ibid.
these languages has hitherto been made compulsory...

It is worth noting, in passing, that these words imply that Roe, when he took up his Headmastership, supported the traditional concept which regarded language studies as the corner-stone of a Grammar School education. Roe's report continued:

Turning to the Melbourne matriculation, I may remark that the work here was of distinctly a higher class than at Sydney, and that here we were competing against the Senior boys from the Victorian Schools. Nine out of eleven of our boys passed, and passed well - gaining between them eighteen credits. Byrnes again distinguished himself as being one of the only four mentioned as having passed with credit; and we may notice that he obtains credit in six subjects, four being the number required for this honourable mention. Of our other boys, three obtained three credits each, thus very nearly gaining a place amongst the chosen few....In reporting to you the returns of both these examinations, it is right that I should state that I feel I am recording to you the issue of the labours of other men - labours long and earnest - of which I was fortunate enough to arrive in time to share the fruits....

Roe noted that it was not practicable to prepare boys for both Sydney and Melbourne matriculation. It had therefore been decided to prepare in future for the Sydney Senior examinations, partly because the Sydney Senior formed a more natural sequel to the Sydney Junior,

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1Brisbane Grammar School Headmaster's Report for 1876.

2ibid.
and partly because its choice of subjects and method of awarding certificates gave more opening to the boys of the new Modern School to distinguish themselves than did the Melbourne matriculation.

The Modern School had been instituted by Regulations promulgated in 1876; and to Roe must go the credit for its introduction. His report for 1876 deals with the matter thus:

It is absolutely impossible for the general teaching of the school to be efficient, if each boy is to pick and choose what subjects he will learn and what he will neglect; and therefore the Trustees, recognising at the same time the different views that exist as to the nature of the best education, have resolved that parents must choose between one of two broad divisions. When a boy has passed through the elementary training of the Lower School, which is the same for all, his parents may then choose whether he shall finish his education in the classical or in the modern division. In the Classical Division he will be trained in the Classics, Mathematics, History, English, Modern Languages, and Physical Science; and, in my opinion, for the average boy this side of the School still affords the best education that we can give. Having tried personally Classics, Mathematics, and Science, I have no hesitation in giving it as my opinion, that for teaching a man to express his own thoughts, and to analyse accurately the meaning of others, for enabling him to reason out nicely balanced problems, and above all for storing his mind with beautiful pictures and beautiful thoughts, there is no instrument of education like the classics, when properly taught, and when a fairly high standard in them is reached. At the same time it would be monstrous to deny the claims of Science, Mathematics, Modern Languages, and English to an important place in every boys' (sic) education; and a very liberal allowance is made for these subjects in the programme of the work of the upper School.

In the Modern School a boy must drop his
Classics, and Mathematics, Science, Drawing, and Mapping, occupy more of his time. At present he can learn only one Modern Language, either French or German; but if the public will only give us more support, and by increasing our numbers enable us to add to our staff, no doubt arrangements would be made by which it would be possible for the boys of this branch to learn both French and German. The object of this branch is to enable those boys who have a real distaste for the classics, to employ their time more profitably than they would in the upper school; and also to meet the wants of those parents who think that too much time is given, in the ordinary school course, to Latin and Greek. This division into two branches, Classical and Modern, is the same as that which exists in many of the schools of England, notably Cheltenham College; and it is one which has just been adopted, with provisions almost identical with our own, by the largest school in Victoria, the Scotch College, Melbourne.\(^1\)

Chemistry, Roe reported, was being taught to all the Upper School for about three hours per week. About six boys could work in the small school laboratory, and these got about five hours. The head form of the Lower School was doing elementary botany.

Another development during the year was the awarding of scholarships within the school, with the specific intention of retaining boys at the school to form the nucleus of a Form VI; so that, Roe said,

I have every hope that, when I next appear before you, I shall be in a position to report that we are giving an education more nearly equal to that of the best English Schools than I can venture to call ours

\(^1\)Brisbane Grammar School Headmaster's Report for 1876.
In the following year Roe reported a rise in the level of mathematics study in the school. Concerning the general education offered by the school, he had this to say:

"...the strong point of the education of this Grammar School is the general culture which it gives....As it is, a boy of ordinary industry and intelligence cannot pass through our classes without obtaining a fair training in mathematics and in the methods of scientific enquiry, and a fair knowledge in at least one subject in natural science, besides that culture in general history and ancient and modern literature which, by expanding the horizon of his thoughts, enables him in after life to enter the better into the feelings and motives of his fellows, and stimulates him to action by the sense of community with the great deeds of the past which it creates."2

However, Roe went on, it could not be repeated too often that very little could be done in a year; and of the 120 boys enrolled when he had arrived in the colony eighteen months earlier, only 35 remained. He deplored the lack of a university in Queensland, and frequently urged its establishment:

"...I am hardly at present an advocate of free secondary education, but I am distinctly an advocate for putting the highest education free of cost within the reach of any boy who has sufficient

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1 Brisbane Grammar School Headmaster's Report for 1876.
2 Brisbane Grammar School Headmaster's Report for 1877.
brains and energy to win it. We have here at present a system which gives elementary education gratis to all, and then by a series of prizes the best boys are carried on at the Grammar School to the very threshold of the University. It is absurd to leave them there to get in if they can....

As early as 1878 Roe, although still adhering to the pattern of classical language studies as the basis of education at the school, expressed doubts as to whether these studies were in fact best suited to the colonial environment:

...I have hopes that as the school gets older a truer classical tone will leaven the whole, and that our standard will rise imperceptibly, better and faster work being done in the same allotted time. It must be confessed that the soil of the average Australian boy's mind is not very congenial to the growth of classical idioms and classical ideas....

Two years later Roe returned to the same question, and related it to the Modern School:

I have a few words to say upon the modern school. It was originated, upon my arrival, to meet the wishes of parents, who, destining their sons for business, thought that too much time was spent upon Latin and Greek in the Classical Branch, and desired a larger amount of instruction in Mathematics, Drawing, Modern Languages, and Writing. It was to furnish a commercial, as distinct from a professional, education. For a quick and clever boy I still believe that, for all purposes of life, our classical side gives the best general education; at any rate, if his last six months were spent on

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1Brisbane Grammar School Headmaster's Report for 1877.
2Brisbane Grammar School Headmaster's Report for 1878.
the modern side he could then acquire all the specialties required for business that a school can teach. However, for those who have a dislike to classical studies, or those whose health will not enable them to bear the strain which the multitude of subjects and the width of reading for a classical education involves, I believe the modern side to be the best place.¹

At all times Roe insisted on the value of a sound general education, and refused to allow any marked degree of specialization in his school. "No boy," he stated, "should become a specialist at school, but seek rather to obtain as much general culture as his time will allow."²

For many years, therefore, he declined to permit any marked degree of preparation for the public examinations. Nevertheless, the success that the school achieved in the Sydney examinations during the 1870s brought upon it the charge of cramming. There can be no doubt that Roe was right when he ascribed the successes to the quality of the State scholars in the school:

....On the issue of the lists for the Senior and Junior in Sydney last year, some who wished to account for the prominence there attained by this School attributed it to our having some special form of cramming that is in vogue here. I myself have no hesitation in attributing it to the comparatively complete system of Scholarships established in this colony. The state school Scholars who come to us

¹Brisbane Grammar School Headmaster's Report for 1880.
²Brisbane Grammar School Headmaster's Report for 1878.
each year, are boys of high average ability; they have been well trained in elementary work, are imbued with a strong desire to learn, and infuse unusual energy into all our classes. The best of these are retained with us beyond their three years by the scholarships granted by the Trustees; and finally the Queensland University Exhibitions offer further reward to those who carry their studies into still higher fields. A general spirit of industry is sure to be developed when thus publicly encouraged. Now although the Head Master of the Sydney Grammar School when, declaring in his letter to letter to (sic) the Sydney Morning Herald, that the regular work of his school was not made subservient to success in these public examinations, never, I am sure, for a moment meant to imply that this was the case with us; still others have kindly drawn this inference from his words, and I therefore feel inclined to say something in self-defence.1

Roe was at some pains to point out that the work of the school ranged far beyond the set work of the examination courses. He then referred to the prizes and honours won by pupils and past pupils of the school:

....they are widely enough spread in locality and sufficiently varied in nature to bear me out in my assertion that the work of the school is not based solely upon the line of the Sydney Public Examinations, but that we endeavour to teach honestly, to the best of our power, whatever appears to us most worth learning....2

In 1884 Roe again put forward his views on general and special education:

....We do not allow boys here to devote themselves

1Brisbane Grammar School Headmaster’s Report for 1879.

2ibid.
to special subjects; all of them whether entering for these examinations or not have to-go through the course prepared for general culture. The University, not the School, is the place to specialise, and while a boy is here he should be learning the elements of all those subjects which go to the making of a full man; and his mind is more truly widened, and his interest in the world's knowledge more keenly stimulated by a varied introduction to the elements of the many different branches of knowledge than it can be by one sided application to some special branch. Consequently no boy has been allowed to confine his attention even to the seven subjects he may take up for these examinations, much less to devote his time to a smaller selection from these, and though perhaps, we have lost some distinction through this regulation, I am satisfied that the general effect upon the culture of the boys passing through the school has been improved thereby, and that we are turning out more useful and more cultivated members of the community than we should by the adoption of a narrower course.1

In the 1884 report Roe referred again to the success of the State Scholars. He also made the suggestion that pupil teachers should be given a course of training at Grammar Schools. This idea was brought forward from time to time during the later nineteenth century, and no doubt its implementation would have proved a leavening influence in the Departmental ranks. It was, however, at least tacitly rejected during the nineteenth century, and specifically rejected by the Departmental conference of January 1904.

In 1881 Roe publicly defended the State scholarship
scheme which had been under attack during the year.¹
Not the least value of the scholarships, Roe maintained,
was that they provided a point of contact between the
State schools and the Grammar Schools; and this, of
course, had been the intention of the original planners
of the scheme.

...To sever the connection between the State
Schools and the Grammar Schools, or to impede that
between the Grammar Schools and the University,
would be to deal a heavy blow to Secondary Educa-
tion. If the men bred in this colony are to be
enabled to meet those from other countries without
a sense of inferiority, if we are to produce our
own professional men instead of importing them as
an alien race from abroad, if, finally, we are to
make this colony not an outlandish settlement, from
which men will fly as soon as they have accumulated
sufficient wealth to do so, but a home where we can
live our days in the enjoyment of intellectual
intercourse and refinement, Secondary Education
must be fostered and encouraged by every means in
our power.²

By the early 1880s, there had been established the
general pattern of Brisbane Grammar School education that
was to obtain for the remainder of the century, and into
the next. It was stabilised, in later years, by the
requirements of University examinations, in spite of some
expressed desire from within the school for a modified

¹See Chapter VIII.
²Brisbane Grammar School Headmaster's Report for 1881.
curriculum more in keeping with the spirit of the times. In the 1880s, however, there was reluctance on the part of many parents to have their sons avail themselves of the full educational advantages of the school. Roe's complaint that parents used the school for prestige reasons reflects his growing preoccupation with the true position of the school in the community.

There is one feature of the growth of the school which is not altogether satisfactory. The increase has confined itself to the Lower and Middle Forms, while the numbers in the Higher Forms remain stationary, and in some cases show an actual diminution. This result seems to point to the conclusion that the real love of knowledge and culture for its own sake, without regard to its immediate pecuniary advantages, is still an exotic plant of somewhat slow growth....Many parents in bringing their boys to me do not hesitate to state their object frankly. They find that boys who have been at the Grammar School can more easily obtain good employment, and they desire to have the Grammar School stamp put upon them in the shortest possible time. In a year or eighteen months the boys are expected to be ready to leave school. Now it is impossible to do much for them in that time; two years is the very least period in which we can hope to make any permanent impression upon either their mind or character; and those who would reap the full benefit of the school must be prepared to serve an apprenticeship here of 4 or 5 years. Our best boys are all of them the longer time with us, and I have no complaint to make as far as they are concerned. What is needed is a longer stay of the rank and file who are not going on to the Universities, that they may gain the culture of our higher classes, instead of being content with the elementary training of our Lower School.¹

¹ Brisbane Grammar School Headmaster's Report for 1883.
Perhaps the best exposition of Roe's developing views lies in the signed article he wrote for William Lane's newly formed socialist paper, "The Boomerang". This article is reproduced in full as Appendix G. The views expressed may be with interest compared with those put forward by Governor Bowen at the opening of Ipswich Grammar School, over twenty years earlier (Appendix E). It should not be forgotten that Bowen was himself a fine scholar and an educationist, with experience in university administration, and a continuing interest in all education. The most interesting points of Roe's article are his promotion of expanded further general education, based on the vernacular, in the interests of democratic political efficiency; and his insistence on the highest mental development of the natural leaders. In the first of these—"popular teaching"—the education of the State Schools provided a good foundation, but was not sufficient. There was, however, no need of Latin or Greek, even for many of the most valuable branches of knowledge which were at that time taught in connexion with classical studies. The democratic spirit, Roe concluded,

calls, indeed, for greater equality in the conditions of life, but it seeks to attain this end by offering to all, to the poorest if he will have it, the rich inheritance of the fulness of knowledge.\footnote{See Appendix G.}
In 1877, it will be recalled, he had declared, "I am hardly at present an advocate of free secondary education....". His demand then had been for opportunity for the academically brilliant few. In his article in "The Boomerang" (1887), while he maintains this demand, his conviction is clear that the State should hold itself responsible for widened educational opportunity for all. It is interesting to note that the Chairman of the Board of Trustees for the years from 1877 to 1887 was Charles Lilley; and no doubt his opinions exerted influence on Roe's developing educational thought.

In fact Roe had, in his report for 1885, advocated the modification of the school curriculum for the less able boys.

...We are apt to forget that the object of education is not so much to impart useful facts as to develop the mental powers, and in our endeavour to manufacture the largest possible quantity of goods we run the risk of wearing out the machine. A good memory and industry enable the clever boys to satisfactorily compass the range of Ancient and Modern Languages, History, Geography, English, Mathematics and Science, which the ordinary course of a High School prescribes; but for the slower boys, and even for the average intellect, I think a somewhat less ambitious programme would produce better results in the training of their intellectual powers; and I intend next year, with the consent of the Trustees, to make some remission in the subjects now compulsory in the Upper School. It is the wish of our Chairman, and with it I thoroughly concur, that more effort should be made to teach Modern Languages conversationally. They have been hitherto treated here and indeed almost everywhere mainly as dead languages. Boys can read them and perhaps
write them fairly, but cannot speak them or understand them when spoken; and thus one of their chief values in giving ease of expression and richness of vocabulary has been lost.\textsuperscript{1}

Regulations were duly promulgated, and in the following year fairly satisfactory results were reported. A more important development for this year (1886) was that for the first time in the history of the school the Upper School outnumbered the Lower. The sixth and fifth forms were larger than before, and it had been necessary to make two fourth forms. Roe commented as follows:

These facts are, I hope, a symptom that the desire for the higher branches of knowledge is spreading amongst us; yet we are still very far from realising the ideal condition, when every parent who has the requisite means will feel that he does his child a grievous wrong, if he starts him in life without giving him a real education, one which shall not only have furnished him with the technical science appropriate to his calling, but shall have imbued his mind with an intelligent interest in the world's past history and present condition, and shall have developed his higher nature by the cultivation of his imagination through the medium of poetry and art. Such a condition can only be attained by a prolonged stay at school, nay, rather by the continuation of a boy's studies for some years at a University.\textsuperscript{2}

In 1888 the Trustees further revised the school regulations, and the changes were approved in 1889.

\textsuperscript{1}Brisbane Grammar School Headmaster's Report for 1885.

\textsuperscript{2}Brisbane Grammar School Headmaster's Report for 1886.
These were, as might have been expected, in keeping with Roe's stated views, and at the end of 1888 he made these comments:

The School regulations have been recently revised by the Trustees, and though the sanction of the Governor-in-Council has not yet been received, I do not like to let this occasion go by without referring to a change which, if adopted, will make an important difference in the working of the school classes next year. At present the Modern School begins at the Fourth Form, and boys are only allowed to enter it when they come to us sufficiently advanced in other subjects for that Form, or when they have passed through our Lower School in which Latin is compulsory. Now the Latin that a boy learns during a two years' stay with us is very little more than the Grammar, and though there is a certain amount of mental training to be derived from the study of an inflected language like Latin, even in its elementary stages, I cannot feel that the gain is proportionate to the labour and time it consumes. It is proposed now to let the Modern School begin at the First Form, so that boys on their first entrance into the School may, if their parents wish it, be excused from Latin. The time thus saved will be given to English, both Grammar and Literature, and to Elementary History and Science, and I cannot but think the educational result will be better for backward boys, many of whom come to us from the country, and for those generally whose school career is not going to last for more than two years. The Upper and Lower School courses will remain unaltered, and I have no fear that the quality of our classical studies will deteriorate. It will probably be improved when the learning of Latin and Greek is confined to those who intend to make, as Bacon puts it, a real entrance into those languages. I am not afraid that classical study will be neglected when it becomes voluntary. In the days when it had a monopoly of both School and University, it became stagnant, and had a deadening influence on the minds which it enslaved. In our time, when science, modern languages, and our own literature have successfully asserted their claims, we have done more in the way of exact and critical scholarship, in philology, and in good
translation than all the centuries which preceded us. In recognizing therefore that, for the practical lifework of an ordinary boy, other literary subjects may be more profitably taught at School, we need not be deterred by the apprehension that anything which is good in the old classical system will be lost to us. The Modern School will, I hope and believe, gain much by the change; for the accession of numbers will enable us to have a more systematic course throughout its classes, and the presence of quick and industrious boys, an element in which it has hitherto been deficient, will infuse greater life and vigour into its teaching.1

That the move met with the approval of many in the community is evident. "Bystander", writing in "The Boomerang" of 29th December 1888, commented:

....The colony owes a debt of gratitude to Headmaster Roe for having persistently kept in view the real object of education and for having finally succeeded in making Latin an optional subject. If he and his colleagues would only go a step further and discourage its study as far as possible, excepting so far as it is to be found in the "common phrase tables," they would just so far increase the chances of the living learning that the world wants.

In 1889 Roe reported the success of the new Lower Modern School. Between thirty and forty boys had entered it, and the majority of them had profited more from its lessons than they would have done had the same time been spent on Latin instead of English. There had been, said Roe, a marked improvement in the intelligence of several boys who had previously seemed almost at a standstill.2

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1Brisbane Grammar School Headmaster's Report for 1888.

2Brisbane Grammar School Headmaster's Report for 1889.
In his report for 1891, Roe openly expressed his opinion that classical studies might well be dropped from the Grammar School curriculum; but that public examination and matriculation requirements prevented this.

...a few words of explanation seem to be necessary with regard to the attitude assumed towards the classics in my New Zealand Address. You will perhaps have seen that my deliberate opinion was there given that our higher education would be benefited if the classics were entirely replaced by English Literature and Modern Languages in grammar schools. Many seem to have thought that, for consistency, the study of the classics should have been allowed to sink into insignificance here, or perhaps have been dropped altogether. My contention, however, has been and is, that the schools are not free agents in this matter. Whilst the classics are necessary for entrance into the universities and the learned professions, so long must classical education form a prominent part of the work of grammar schools; and if these schools have to teach the classics, a boy's mind gets the fullest advantage when that teaching is made as thorough as possible, and is carried to the highest attainable standard. There can therefore be no important change, as regards classics, in the school course for the present; when a Queensland University is established it may perhaps by its liberal concessions to new studies render it possible to adopt a course of literary instruction in secondary schools which will be as effective as the classics in training the gifted few and more powerful in awakening the intelligence and sympathy of the main body of scholars.¹

The position as Roe thus represented it was to remain basically unchanged for the remainder of his Headmastership of Brisbane Grammar School.

¹Brisbane Grammar School Headmaster's Report for 1891.
During the 1890's, some comment was made on variations in the standards required for both the Junior and the Senior public examinations of the University of Sydney. In 1890, matriculation requirements were for the first time met by both the Junior and the Senior examinations,¹ so that a separate examination was not necessary. This leads one to wonder at the purpose of the Senior examination, and probably it was the fact that the Junior examination met matriculation requirements that gave rise to a current impression that the work of the Grammar Schools was overlapping that of the University. Roe placed a considerable premium on the worth of these examinations. In his 1891 report he said: "In default of a complete independent examination of the school from top to bottom, it is the main proof of our work, beyond my bare assertions." Yet he continued to stress that remarkably little special teaching was given for any examination, and none that was not extended to all boys entering for that examination: "What I wish to impress upon all is that we do not make it our aim to artificially force a few class-men."² It seems, however, that

¹Brisbane Grammar School Headmaster's Report for 1890.
²Brisbane Grammar School Headmaster's Report for 1891.
the rise in standards was appreciable; and this drew, in 1894, the following comment:

...An especial merit of the Sydney Senior and Junior in the past seemed to me this, that the minimum pass standard was so low as to be within the reach of any boy of average industry, while at the same time there was room for the fullest competition between the better boys for the honours and prizes. The higher classes of the schools therefore could be sent in almost as a whole for the examination, the Sixth form for the senior and the Fifth form for the junior; and I have always encouraged the bottom boys to enter, even with great risk of failure, believing that it is precisely these boys who receive most benefit from the stimulus of competition....They will cease to have this value, if the standard is so raised as to confine the entrance only to picked boys. There seems to be a distinct danger that this will happen, and the falling off in the number of entries from 2100 in 1892 to 1,400 this year seems to me to point to this very undesirable change....

The evils complained of, said Roe in 1895, had been brought about by the stress of competition amongst the schools themselves. These, in their desire to obtain special distinctions as advertisement, had introduced more and more specialization into their teaching, and had asked for changes which had gradually raised the standard until the Junior examination had almost lost its original character. It had become a severe competitive test between the clever rather than a simple introduction of competitive examinations for the young. This opinion,

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1 Brisbane Grammar School Headmaster's Report for 1894.
Roe continued, was shared by almost all the Headmasters of the Queensland Grammar Schools.\(^1\)

In the following year the grievance was again aired:

\[\text{....The able and valuable report which the Under Secretary for Public Instruction in Queensland lately submitted to Parliament, upon the subject of Superior Schools, states that it is the general admission of masters in the State Schools of New South Wales that they find it impossible to prepare their Junior candidates without many extra hours teaching in the evenings and on Saturdays. As the foreign and dead languages are almost entirely neglected in these schools the extra time is apparently given to mathematics, and it will be granted that the necessity for extra instruction in these latter subjects becomes increased in the Grammar Schools where 12 out of 25 hours per week are given to the languages. We have found it necessary to sin for the past few years in this matter, and to ask the Junior candidates to come here for many Saturdays in succession before the examination....The Sydney Junior standard is now far in advance of that of the Oxford and Cambridge Junior a few years ago...}^{2}\]

The matter was still contentious at the end of the century.

An interesting development was recorded in 1896. An increasing number of boys wished to enter for the Civil Service examination. The subjects of this examination were limited in number, and somewhat elementary in kind; yet, inasmuch as the age limits for the competition were

\(^1\) Brisbane Grammar School Headmaster's Report for 1895.

\(^2\) Brisbane Grammar School Headmaster's Report for 1896.
sixteen to twenty-five, some maturity of mind was required for success. Many pupils of the school either could not, or would not, remain at the school until this maturity had been attained.

\[\ldots\text{to meet the wants of those who have passed through the school, and obtained employment in business but wish to continue their courses of study either for the Civil Service examination or further mental improvement, the Trustees have under consideration a proposal for the establishment of evening classes for their further instruction.}\]

These classes were duly established, but ran for only a short time, with limited success. However, the internal Civil Service classes were strong, and the school encouraged them. In 1898 Roe appealed for a liberalisation of the Civil Service examination, and in 1899 was able to report that the school regulations had been revised in order to attract more boys to the Civil Service class. It appears that boys who might have enrolled at the school to prepare for the Civil Service examination in the Modern School, had been deterred by the fact that they would have been obliged by school regulations to study a foreign language—and this, being beyond examination requirements, was deemed unnecessary. Roe noted that it was intended to devote still further time to this

\[\text{\textsuperscript{1}Brisbane Grammar School Headmaster's Report for 1896.}\]
branch of the school. However, in 1896, as Roe had requested, the Civil Service examination requirements were liberalised, two optional subjects now being allowed for credit. This had the effect of giving scope to a better educated class of candidate. In 1900 the Acting Headmaster, F.S.N. Bousfield, reported that the Civil Service class had been a large and successful one.

In 1902 Roe reported that the Junior examination was beginning to climb once more into popularity. However the multiplicity of examinations—public, matriculation, scholarship, and professional entrance—for which the school undertook to prepare its pupils was causing many difficulties. This continued to be a sore point. Bousfield commented on it in 1909, after Roe's resignation. Yet the school continued, as well as might be, to meet the various requirements.

The main issues at stake during the years 1894 to 1909, the final year of Roe's Headmastership, were those of finance (bound up with the State scholarships question), and control. Both of these are dealt with at some length elsewhere in this study.
The years of Bousfield's Headmastership with which this study deals amount only to five; and these years, though important ones in the school's history, did not witness any startling departure from the pattern that had already been set. One gains the impression that Bousfield, though an able Headmaster, was a more conservative man than his predecessor, and perhaps not so articulate. There are, however, some noteworthy developments during these years.

In 1909 Bousfield reported the initiation of a plan to provide some measure of pastoral care:

...I have adopted the plan of placing each new boy, as he arrives, unless he is old enough to take his place in one of the upper Forms, under the particular care of one of the Masters. The actual duties towards each other of Tutor and Pupil are very light; but I hope that they will open the way to specially close relations between individual Masters, and a certain, not too great number, of boys. I am glad to hear already that Pupils have in several cases learned to look upon their Tutor as the proper person to consult in difficulty....

In 1912 Bousfield reported that the school was endeavouring to carry out, in science teaching,

...the method which those whose business it is to know tell us is the best...that, namely, under which the text book plays only a subordinate part

1Brisbane Grammar School Headmaster's Report for 1909.
to the familiar handling of appropriate apparatus and material....

In the Upper School no lessons in physics or chemistry were given outside the laboratories. This policy, it was noted, would involve the school in some expense, but efforts would be made to meet this.

In 1914, the State scholarship became a qualifying, not a competitive, examination. Enrolments at the school rose immediately.

...The School has been steadily increasing for many years, and I do not doubt that under any circumstances there would have been a substantial rise in our numbers; but the sudden addition of more than seventy boys, has no doubt been due to the greater facilities offered by the Government for the attainment of Scholarships. The Government has handsomely acknowledged the difficulties, which its policy caused the Trustees, by undertaking to erect for them the additional accommodation which they considered necessary.

For Brisbane Grammar School, a new phase had begun.

**PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND SPORT**

Curricular physical education and extra-curricular sport from early years played a significant part in the activities of Brisbane Grammar School. From the middle

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1Brisbane Grammar School Headmaster's Report for 1912.

1870s regular reference is made to them in the Annual Headmaster's Reports, coupled, in several instances, with definitions of school policy. In his article "Looking Back", written for "Annals of the Brisbane Grammar School 1869–1922", R.H. Roe wrote:

Modern views on education are laying ever more and more stress on the development of character and physique no less than mental power and examinational knowledge, and it is a great satisfaction to me to remember that my earliest ideals were sound in this direction.¹

Early evidence of Roe's concern for the physical development of his pupils is to be found in his report for 1882:

....The Trustees, I am authorised to state, intend shortly to erect a gymnasium, and we hope to arrange matters so that each boy shall pass through a regular course of gymnastic instruction while in attendance at the school.²

The 1883 report carries on the story:

The proposed Gymnasium is now finished, and next year there will be regular instruction in gymnastics, compulsory on all boys like any other school subject, unless leave of absence be obtained from the Head Master. I believe this will do much to improve the boys' physique, and that its good influence will be felt in every branch of the School games.³

²Brisbane Grammar School Headmaster's Report for 1882.
³Brisbane Grammar School Headmaster's Report for 1883.
Clause 25 of the Brisbane Grammar School Regulations gazetted in 1883 states:

25. Drill and gymnastics shall be taught in the school, and no boy shall be allowed to absent himself from the drill or gymnastic lessons except with the permission of the Head Master.

The implementation of the new policy was reported in 1884:

....A novelty amongst these lessons during the past year has been introduced by the formation of gymnastic classes, so arranged that every boy in the School obtains at least three gymnastic lessons every fortnight under a competent instructor during the regular School hours. I have observed a very marked improvement in the physique of the boys generally since the formation of these classes, and all branches of the School games have benefited by their institution. Very few applications for exemption have been made during the year, and all these upon valid grounds. Every boy in the School has been examined in some six simple test exercises, involving the use of the most important muscles of the body; and each Form has been placed in order of merit upon the marks awarded. Prizes will be given to the head of each Form and the places won by each boy inserted in the Quarterly Report. Next year it is my intention to enter these marks like those won in any other subject in the total which determines a boy's place in the School. We are concerned here, not only with the development of the brain and character, but with that of the body also, and I cannot see why industry and perseverance in improving the baser vessel, upon whose well-being our happiness and usefulness so largely depend, should not rank like other qualities in bringing a boy to the front in his class. It is to my mind a weak point of modern examinations, with which the world is in danger of being over-done, that they do not sufficiently reward the care of physical development and bodily health, and I am glad to show my estimate of its importance by giving gymnastics a mark value in the School course.1

1Brisbane Grammar School Headmaster's Report for 1884.
Gymnastics continued thenceforth to play an important part in physical education at Brisbane Grammar School.

Extra-curricular sport during the early years, it appears, was largely a matter for the enthusiast; but in 1883 an attempt was made, in the formation of a Sports Club, to place the matter on an organized footing. In 1882 Roe reported:

"...in response to my circular urging the establishment of a Sports Club, to include all the school games, more than 150 out of our total of 174 have joined, so that no doubt the depression complained of will be succeeded by a period of unusual vitality."

Roe's prediction proved correct, though it appears that there were those who were slow to part with their subscription money:

The athletic spirit of the School has during the year considerably revived, and I think the Sports Club which was started in February has infused a new life into the games, by supplying us readily with the material necessary to carry them on, and lessening the expense to individual players. Under the old system the burdens fell very heavily upon a few public-spirited leaders, while the majority of the School took but little interest in the sports or the collections which maintained them. If all those boys who had joined the club had paid their subscriptions punctually, it would be in a very flourishing condition; and I perhaps ought to point out to parents the bad moral effects of allowing a boy to acquire the habit of not meeting his engagements regularly, even

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1Brisbane Grammar School Headmaster's Report for 1882.
in small matters. 1

From this time on sport played an increasing role in the school. Perhaps the best exposition of school policy on sport is to be found in the Annual Reports for 1905 and 1908:

....I am fully aware that some people think it would be better for their boy's work, if all these side-interests were omitted from the school life. It would certainly be much easier for the masters if we were freed from the trouble of promoting them; so that it is quite evident that we encourage them from a belief in their educational value. Many people make the mistake of thinking that because a boy is low in his class it is because he has given too much attention to the games. Now so long as we have a system of class marks and examinations, some boys must be low in their class, for others to be above them; and it is quite a mistake to infer that because a boy is low down this is due to excessive interest in school sports. My experience in boys' mental powers leads me to believe that their gradation in the class lists if games were abolished would be very much the same as it is now, and that the amount of mental work done would be very little increased. Like all the good things of life, games and athletic competitions may be misused, but the general tendency of these games is to make boys take a pride in their health and skill; they teach boys to grow public spirited and chivalrous, they make them fresh and light-hearted, instead of selfish and solemn. 2

....We realize to the full that it is our duty as Queensland's largest secondary school to supply a high standard of education in true secondary school work, that is in the languages, mathematics,

1Brisbane Grammar School Headmaster's Report for 1883.

history, and sciences, but at the same time we have always made it our ideal to produce a well built and healthy race of young Queenslanders, alert and keen in all they undertake, imbued with a sense of public responsibilities, and fired with desire for the honour of public service; and this is effected more genuinely in my judgment by a high standard of school sports than by any system of lectures on "civics" that could be devised.¹

Inter-school sporting matches were begun early in the school's history. The first school cricket match against Ipswich Grammar School was played in 1870, and the first against Toowoomba Grammar School in 1878. In 1882 the first match against Maryborough Grammar School was played. Later, matches against Nudgee College and Gregory Terrace (Christian Brothers' schools) were begun. Cricket was always a favourite sport at the school.

In the early days football at Brisbane Grammar School was played under the Victorian rules. In 1886 the first move was made to change to Rugby, and from 1887 till 1919 Rugby Union rules were used. The first match against Ipswich Grammar School was played in 1870, and matches against other schools were later taken up. Football, too, was early and well established at the school.

Rowing as a school sport began about 1880. There

¹Brisbane Grammar School Headmaster's Report for 1908.
being no school club, the boys were accepted on generous terms as members of the Brisbane Rowing Club; but in 1913 funds were raised and a clinker racing four ordered. The school club opened in 1915.

The first recorded athletic sports meeting was in 1871; but the real beginning of the Brisbane Grammar School Annual Athletic Sports was in 1877. From 1878 to 1881, competitors from Ipswich and Toowoomba Grammar Schools also took part, but in 1881 the meeting was again restricted to Brisbane Grammar School boys, and remained so in later years. Inter-school meetings were revived in 1912.

The first regular tennis played in Brisbane was at Brisbane Grammar School, and since 1885 an annual tournament has been held at the school. Matches against other schools are recorded as early as 1883.

The first annual swimming sports were held on Foundation Day, 1889. Before that date there was no pool at which they could be safely held. The sport seems to have been slow to gain popularity, and on at least one occasion (1895) the annual meeting was abandoned for lack of entries. However, the sport established itself, and in 1913 the first inter-school competitions took place.

Extra-curricular gymnastics was strong at Brisbane Grammar School. Inter-school competitions were held from
1905, and Brisbane Grammar School was able to show its strength in this field.

Generally speaking, it seems to be true that extra-curricular sport at Brisbane Grammar School during the years before 1914 was a matter for those who wished to participate; and at no time did it achieve the importance that it was to hold in later years, notably since World War II.

CADET TRAINING

The history of the cadet movement at Brisbane Grammar School is almost as old as that of the school itself. Drill was made compulsory in the first gazetted regulations (1870), and remained so. All three Headmasters to 1914 encouraged the training, and both Roe and Bousfield served actively as officers. The Corps had a fine history before 1914; and the record of past students during the First World War is probably not surpassed by that of any other Australian school.

The first mention of military training in the school is in 1870. Sergeant Grimes was appointed to carry out the duties of a drill master, and in 1870 he organized a rifle company. This remained in existence till 1873.  

The formation of the company was supported by Harlin, who expressed the opinion that a cadet corps should be established at every school.\textsuperscript{1} During 1870 both manual and platoon drill were carried out.

Before Christmas in 1877 a circular was sent to all parents of boys at the school concerning the establishment of a cadet corps. Between forty and fifty favourable replies were received, and a few more expected, at the beginning of the following year. This, it was deemed, was a sufficient number to warrant the establishment of a corps, and an approach was made to the Government.\textsuperscript{2}

The year 1878 saw the establishment of the first volunteer cadet corps, with R.H. Roe and W. Crompton the first officers.

In the winter a cadet company was started some 50 strong, and drill and class-firing have been carried on with fair regularity since its institution. The Grammar School team were successful in winning the challenge bugle for cadets at the rifle meeting in August. I should be glad if parents would give the movement their support by allowing their sons to join. The drill and discipline have in themselves an excellent influence; but, apart from that, I consider that to be a good shot is a worthy object for a boy's ambition, and that the training of eye and nerve required to attain that

\textsuperscript{1}Brisbane Grammar School Headmaster's Report for 1870.

\textsuperscript{2}Brisbane Grammar School Headmaster's Report for 1877.
In 1879 the Corps was reported to be still thriving, having won a company prize for cadets in rifle shooting. In 1882 a "large accession of new members" was received. In 1885 a new feature in the life of the Corps was its attendance at the Easter Encampment. This had been made possible by the holidays at that time of the year. The experience, it appears, was enjoyable; for Roe hoped it would "lead to the despatch of a still larger and more efficient contingent on the next occasion."  

In the next year the Corps again attended the Camp, and also carried out some outpost duty; but the response was not what Roe desired.

....A roll of fifty, and an average attendance of some thirty-six, are much below the strength of the company which this School ought to support; and I trust that parents will realise the importance of teaching their sons while young the duty of voluntary military service, that when grown to manhood they may hereafter swell the ranks of those ready without compulsion to bear part in their country's defence....

This appeal apparently had some effect; for in 1887 some

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1 Brisbane Grammar School Headmaster's Report for 1878.
2 Brisbane Grammar School Headmaster's Report for 1885.
3 Brisbane Grammar School Headmaster's Report for 1886.
fifty-eight were enrolled. Bad weather caused the Easter Camp to be postponed, and school commitments prevented a winter attendance. In 1887, however, the Corps won the newly instituted inter-colonial schools' shooting competition; and this, it was hoped, would heighten the attractive power of the Corps.\(^1\) The opposing schools in this competition were Melbourne Church of England Grammar School, Scotch College, Geelong Grammar School, Sydney Grammar School, and Dunedin High School. In the next year, Colonel Sargood, of Victoria, offered a silver shield for competition in these matches, the conditions being that it should be held permanently by any school that won it on three occasions, of which two must be consecutive years.\(^2\) The shield was won by Brisbane Grammar School in the three years 1888–9–90; and, the trophy having been thus claimed, it appears that the competition lapsed.

Referring to successes in shooting, Roe said in 1888:

\[\ldots\text{I hope that these victories will induce more to join our cadet corps, which has never numbered more than 60. There has been, and still seems to be, a foolish feeling that only the smaller boys ought to be cadets, and that as soon as a boy gets higher up}\]

\(^1\)Brisbane Grammar School Headmaster's Report for 1887.

in the School it behoves him to show his manliness by retiring from the corps; whereas it is really the boys of the Upper School who ought to fill its ranks, for it is they who can handle their rifles efficiently, and who can best understand and profit by the drill. A new uniform is to be introduced next year, of the same type as that worn by the Mounted Infantry; the whole cost will not exceed 30s., one-half of which will be covered by the Government grant. No one need, therefore, be deterred from joining by the fear of expense, and I hope to see a large accession to the numbers of the Company at the opening of the new year.¹

The desired improvement was achieved, during the following year, by a reorganization within the Corps:

New life has been infused into our Cadet Corps by the establishment of a Senior and Junior Company; its members which had never before exceeded 60 have risen to 115, the full number that we are allowed, and the change of uniform has no doubt added to the popularity of the corps....Over sixty cadets went into camp at Easter, in spite of the wet weather, and we have had two very pleasant nights of outpost duty during the year. A bugle band was started amongst the cadets by voluntary subscriptions and gifts....²

The new vigour carried on for several years. In 1890 it was reported that there had been a year of healthy activity, with both companies up to full strength. About eighty officers and cadets went into camp with the defence forces at Lytton; and at the Brisbane Military Tournament the Corps had won first prize for cadets in

¹Brisbane Grammar School Headmaster's Report for 1888.
²Brisbane Grammar School Headmaster's Report for 1889.
physical drill, as well as the open "March Past". Prizes had also been won at the Tenterfield Tournament. In 1891 further prizes were won in similar competition in Tenterfield, and another good year was recorded. Numbers were maintained satisfactorily in 1891, and in 1892 averaged about 110.

In 1893, it was noted, cadet numbers had fallen off; and numbers in 1894 stood at about seventy. No doubt the depressed state of the colony generally was reflected even here. By 1895, however, numbers had risen to about 75, and the increase continued to 80 in the following year. Roe again appealed to parents: "The cadet duties," he stated, "in no way interfere with the class work, and have a bracing influence on a boy's character and body." Again, in 1897, he said:

The corps has furnished a large number of native born officers for the Defence Force, and has a claim for support not only as a useful discipline in a boy's school life, but as a training and recruiting ground in the scheme of national defence.

And in 1897, the Corps received a number of Martini-

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1 Brisbane Grammar School Headmaster's Report for 1890.
3 Brisbane Grammar School Headmaster's Report for 1897.
Enfield carbines. These, it was hoped, would greatly improve the quality of the shooting.

By 1898, enrolments stood at 85, and in 1899 these numbers were maintained. In this year the cost of the uniform was reduced to 10s.; so that there remained few considerations to prevent a boy's joining the Corps. Roe again stated his opinion: "I am certain that it is in all respects beneficial to a boy's school life for him to be enrolled in our cadet corps."\(^1\)

At the end of 1899, a wave of martial ardour--due to conditions in South Africa--had swept the community; and the 1900 report has this to say:

The warlike enthusiasm which seized the community at the end of last, and the beginning of this, year showed itself in the School by a large increase in the numbers of the Cadet Corps, which rose from an average of about 90 last year to an average of over 150 this year. The Old Boys of the School have been well represented in the various Queensland contingents, and have earned their full share of the honour gained by the Australian troops....The large proportion of officers in the South African contingents and in the rest of the Defence Force who received their first military training in the Cadet Corps of this and other Grammar Schools has been specially noted by the Commandant.\(^2\)

This fresh interest in cadets carried on into the following year, when the average numbers during the year

\(^1\)Brisbane Grammar School Headmaster's Report for 1899.
\(^2\)Brisbane Grammar School Headmaster's Report for 1900.
stood at about 150. Of these 103 attended the Lytton Camp in April. The Corps continued to perform well in rifle competitions.

Federation placed the military forces on a new footing, and for some time there was some doubt as to financial support for the Corps. However, the numbers remained firm in 1902, ranging from 121 to 146; and this level was maintained during the following year. Easter Camps continued.

In 1906 new regulations for cadets necessitated the division of the Corps into two companies, one of Senior Cadets and one of Junior Cadets.¹ The move was not well received, and in 1907 was found to be too intricate in practical operation. The formation of two companies of Senior Cadets only partly met the difficulty. A new start was planned for 1908 in the matters of uniform and organization. This, it was hoped, would meet the situation. Numbers in 1907 remained at about 110.

The year 1908 saw a number of changes in the Corps. Organization was limited to a single company, about ninety strong, under the command of Major Gross. The previous organization into two companies, it was noted,

¹Brisbane Grammar School Headmaster's Report for 1906.
had been found too cumbrous. "In the new organization of cadets I have found myself," said Roe,

from pressure of school work, unable to undertake wider administration, and thinking myself to be only blocking the way for others, have obtained leave to retire from cadet work, but as headmaster I shall continue to do all that is in my power to keep up the numbers of the cadets, and maintain their efficiency.

On 15th December 1909, Major Gross died. So Brisbane Grammar School lost, within two years, the services of two highly competent and esteemed officers. Gross had been with the Corps for twenty-four years, and Roe for thirty. To succeed Gross, the Headmaster, F.S.N. Bousfield (who had held a commission with English volunteers) was gazetted Captain to command the company.

On 1st July 1911, compulsory training was introduced. Under the new scheme two complete companies of Senior Cadets were formed from the school, one under the command of the Headmaster. The 1911 Report states that an excellent spirit had been shown by the boys, and competitions for "stripes" had been keen. The change, however, had disorganised the training for the year, and the standard for the time was not as high in shooting. The training of the Junior Cadets attending the school

1 Brisbane Grammar School Headmaster's Report for 1908.
proceeded separately.

From 1903 to 1914, Brisbane Grammar School Cadet Corps competed in the Empire Cup shooting competition, open to teams throughout the Empire. Twice the Corps won the Cup—in 1903 and 1907; on two other occasions the Corps was first in Australia; and on two more, second in Australia. And perhaps not the least of the successes achieved by the Corps was its victory in 1914, when a Brisbane Grammar School Company won the Commonwealth Cadet competition.

In 1914 a company under Lieut. A.S. West won the Commonwealth Cadet competition for the champion cadet company of Australia. The champions of the separate States all met in competition in Brisbane. .... The school became the holders of the A.N.A. Challenge Shield. 1

DRAMA AND MUSIC

There can be little doubt that there was not a great deal of extra-curricular activity at Brisbane Grammar School in fields other than cadets and sport before the First World War. Music in particular was poorly catered for, but there are references to dramatic performances from time to time. This state of affairs was perhaps only to be expected. Staff numbers were not high, and

there is a limit to what busy men can achieve; but there is some evidence that the desire for these activities exceeded the capacity to provide them. Vocal music, for example, is mentioned in the earliest regulations, and remains in the list of prescribed subjects till 1876. The 1876 regulations omit reference to it, and not till 1900 does it reappear. It is not unreasonable to assume that the school was unable to provide the necessary tuition. However, an attempt to reinstate the subject was made in 1890:

A step forward has been made this year by the introduction of vocal music amongst the school subjects; and we have been fortunate enough to secure the services of Mr. Seymour Dicker, so that the public may rest assured that the most will be made of the limited time which we can afford to give him from our school hours. We cannot expect to produce any very highly trained musicians, but we do hope by these singing lessons to train the modulation of the voice for ordinary or public speaking, to spread the love of good music in preference to bad, to store the minds of the boys with a stock of good songs for use in after life....

However, the 1894 report states that a regular staff member, Mr. Cowan, then had charge of all school singing. The services of a specialist, it seems, were not retained.

In the 1890s the annual school entertainment

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1Brisbane Grammar School Headmaster's Report for 1890.
established itself, and was well attended. The purpose of this, Roe stated in 1901, was to stimulate different parts of the school work which were therein represented. The whole was prepared without interference with the ordinary school lessons.

The annual entertainment was by no means confined to musical items and the like. It included gymnastic displays and demonstrations of cadet drill.

Records of dramatic presentation go back as far as 1870, when Brisbane Grammar and Ipswich Grammar School boys combined to present a performance. In the following year "The Trials of Tomkins", part of Molière's "Le Médecin Malgré Lui", and Morton's "The Steeplechase" were presented. From here on mention is made from time to time of further performances.

In 1881 Roe remarked that the austerity of the old Foundation Day was then mitigated with the introduction of a play by Shakespeare. In that year, "Julius Caesar" was performed in the presence of the Governor. Other plays by English dramatists--including Shakespeare, Sheridan, and Goldsmith--were produced in later years.

An interesting development was noted in 1887, in

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keeping with the stated school policy of the time, of fostering the "living" study of foreign languages.

Our Foundation Day, on February 25th, was celebrated by the representation of scenes from Shakespeare's 'Henry VIII.,' Schiller's 'Wilhelm Tell,' and Molière's 'Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme.' The innovation of French and German met with sufficient favour to justify a further attempt next year in this direction; such an exercise being, perhaps, the most effective method of teaching the pronunciation of foreign languages....

Similar efforts were made in later years. Roe observed in 1890 that the progress made in elocution by the boys during the preparation for these plays proved both how necessary and how useful was occasional by-work of this nature.

Such performances, related as they were to the academic work of the school, were undoubtedly beneficial; and it seems true to say that a slender, though fairly consistent, tradition of dramatic endeavour was cultivated at the school during the years to which this study pertains.

SCHOOL PURPOSE AND PUPIL DESTINY

Two considerations so closely linked as to form a

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1 Brisbane Grammar School Headmaster's Report for 1887.
2 Brisbane Grammar School Headmaster's Report for 1890.
unity are the purpose of a school, and the destiny of its pupils; the one being complementary to the other, the second the fulfilment of the first.

There can be little doubt that the intentions of the founders of the Brisbane Grammar School were, in the main, those of the legislators, eight years earlier—to provide a higher education for those who might desire it; and, implicitly, those who also could afford it. There was, of course (as has been pointed out), no unanimity of purpose among those who promoted and passed the Grammar Schools Act of 1860. Herbert's suggestion in 1860 had been that there should be a sound English education, together with a knowledge of history, arithmetic, geography, and some modern language, like the French. In fact the provisions of the first Brisbane Grammar School Regulations conservatively reverted to the classical model. Harlin observed in 1876: "These regulations provide, generally, that a literary training, of which Latin and one modern language shall be the basis, shall be imparted in this school...."¹

Herbert's ideas of 1860 were in part realised when the Modern School was introduced in 1876, and still further when the Lower Modern School came into existence

¹The Brisbane Courier, 1st March 1876.
in 1889. To R.H. Roe must go much of the credit for these innovations; and it is interesting to note that Herbert and Dean Stanley were the men in England who selected Roe for the position of Headmaster of Brisbane Grammar School. The stress laid on language study, however, especially in the academic forms, remained strong throughout the nineteenth century. These forms, Roe reported in 1896, were devoting twelve of their twenty-five hours of school work to the study of languages.

From the first, the activities of the school were directed towards the University Public Examinations and matriculation. Later, numbers of candidates were prepared for professional entrance examinations. Nevertheless, preparation for special examinations was not permitted to interfere with the acquisition of a sound general education.

Whatever adverse criticism may be levelled against the system of public examinations, that it tends to "cram-work" and "pot-hunting" in derogation of vital and enduring culture, this must be said that it undoubtedly affords to an enlightened head master an annual test of the general progress of the school as compared with other institutions of similar grade.

It has been the settled policy of the Grammar School not to prepare any boy specially for these examinations, because it is regarded as the essential function of secondary education to prepare the boy of average ability to take a worthy place in after life. The "counsel of perfection," therefore, is that classes should be sufficiently limited in
number to enable the master to get into intellectual touch with every boy, thus affording scope to his individual aptitudes and encouraging him to persevere by the knowledge that the master really wants him to succeed....

There is some evidence, in fact, that implementation of this policy led, in the late nineteenth century, to a reduction in the quality of examination passes, particularly with the elevation of the Junior pass level; and Roe, although he consistently opposed specialization at secondary level, was forced to make some concessions.

Public examination results, while by no means a final or absolute criterion, do offer some measure of the worth of a school's endeavour; and those of Brisbane Grammar School are undoubtedly meritorious. The Queensland University public examinations were not introduced until 1911. Till then candidates from the school sat for the Sydney University public examinations.

....During those years 203 candidates passed the Senior Public Examination. The Senior University Prize and John West Medal was won eleven times, and on five occasions a B.G.S. boy was proxime accessit. The school won sixty-four medals for separate subjects in the Senior.

Thus boys from the school won the Senior University Prize


2ibid., p40.
on eleven of a possible thirty-five occasions.

During the period 1876-1910 B.G.S. passed 745 candidates in the Sydney Junior Public Examination, winning the Junior University Prize on ten and the prox. acc. on four occasions. There were forty-four medals won for separate subjects in this examination.¹

From 1878 to 1909, the Queensland Government made available each year three University Exhibitions to any University in the Empire, worth £100 per year for three years. At first these were available only to pupils of Grammar Schools, but later were available to pupils of all schools. Fifty-seven of these exhibitions were won by Brisbane Grammar School students.

Although there is ample evidence of the academic success of Brisbane Grammar School students, both in examinations for which they were prepared by the school, and in later University examinations, there is also evidence that the school endeavoured to meet the requirements of those boys who were not academically brilliant, or whose parents did not wish them to prepare for a University course. Such boys, in the main, paid fees, and therefore would come from middle rather than working class homes. The aspirations of such boys would run, in all probability, to such careers as commerce or Civil

Service, rather than to trades.

The 1876 Headmaster's Report acknowledged some public demand for non-classical education, and the Modern School was instituted to meet this demand. As Roe said in 1880, "It was to furnish a commercial, as distinct from a professional, education." The later extension of the Modern School, and subsequent modifications of its curriculum, were also to meet acknowledged public demands, usually in the interests of special education, although the concessional value to slower boys had its importance. It is clear, however, from abundant testimony, that the Brisbane Grammar School, during the period under consideration regarded the conferring of a sound general education as its prime duty.

The interesting point, of course, lies in the change in opinion as to what constituted a sound general education. Harlin viewed it as resting securely on classical studies; and so, at the outset of his Headmastership, did Roe, to a considerable extent. Yet by the 1890s Roe, possibly influenced by the thought of Charles Lilley and William Lane, had come to accept the proposition that a modern sound general education might well have no other language studies than the vernacular and modern languages, or even the vernacular alone; but that due account should be taken of mathematics and the rising
demands of the sciences.

....I have never been a bigoted adherent to the cause of the dead languages as the basis of higher education, and have more than once expressed my belief, that a system could be formed without them from modern literature and mathematics and science, which would ultimately, after some years of upbuilding, so as to mould it into the same systematic thoroughness, produce better intellectual results, even in the ablest minds, as well as in the rank and file; but so long as the Universities and professions make classical knowledge a condition of admission to their ranks - the Schools which are the nurseries of the professions and Universities - must teach the classics...¹

And Roe, classicist himself, well able to appreciate the values of the traditional education, knew that classical studies, if done at all, must be done thoroughly if they were to have worth. Hence it was that, trammelled by the conservative restrictions of University and professional entrance, he was obliged to support a dual concept of general education in his school, and maintain classical studies with far more vigour than might have otherwise been the case. And this in its turn, led to misunderstanding among the community.

We are quite prepared to modify our course of instruction, as occasion demands, and as means allow, but in this matter we cannot act alone, and our work is largely determined by the Universities and professions to which our schools lead, and also by the condition of education in similar schools in other parts of the world. In this matter we cannot

¹Brisbane Grammar School Headmaster's Report for 1902.
stand alone or act with a free hand; we must be content to change slowly.

It is, I fear, a not uncommon mistake for people to imagine that our Grammar School is devoted to Latin and Greek, to the neglect of science and other modern subjects. We certainly endeavour to teach our classics and mathematics thoroughly, as every good secondary school ought, in preparation for the Universities and the professions. But as a matter of fact, out of 240 boys this year, only 44 learn Greek, and about 70 do not learn any Latin. And science is by no means neglected. Chemistry, Physiology, and Geology are thoroughly taught, up to the Senior standard in the Upper School, and the excellent records year after year in the Junior Physiology are a great credit to the master in charge of this subject, - while Physical Geography, the Elements of Physics, and Astronomy, form part of the course in different stages of the school curriculum. Boys going from this School to the Universities have afterwards proved particularly successful in science.\(^2\)

At no time in its history is there any suggestion in the Annual Reports of Brisbane Grammar School that the school should undertake in any respect the function of a technical college. Trade education was never even remotely considered one of its functions. Such suggestions, if made at all, came from outside the school. Preparation for professional entrance and Civil Service examinations was the limit of its special education. Roe, it has been pointed out, even considered

\(^1\)Brisbane Grammar School Headmaster's Report for 1904.

\(^2\)Brisbane Grammar School Headmaster's Report for 1905.
preparation for public examinations—the Senior and the Junior—as special education. Whenever the destiny of the school’s pupils is mentioned, it is nearly always with reference to the professions (via the University, or other channels), the Civil Service, or commerce. For commerce, and for any other occupation, a sound general education was considered adequate. Yet there is, at this stage, little evidence on which to estimate numbers passing into specific occupations. Roe, in 1889, analysed the position thus:

The School to-day completes its twenty-first year of work...it has in the same period passed through its ranks upwards of 900 boys, of whom, speaking from rough statistics, it may be said that about 9 per cent go to the Universities, 8 per cent into solicitors’ offices, 15 per cent into government offices, 35 per cent to banks and mercantile houses, 18 per cent to outdoor life, such as squatting, surveying, and sugar planting, leaving about 15 per cent for various other callings....

The Brisbane Grammar School Register has some comments. These are obviously incomplete, and at best can be taken only as a rough guide to occupations taken up on leaving school, and not as an accurate analysis of full careers. The figures shown are selective, taking those students enrolled at the school in 1875, and every fifth year thereafter till 1910.

1 Brisbane Grammar School Headmaster’s Report for 1889.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OCCUPATION AS SHOWN IN B.G.S. REGISTER</th>
<th>YEAR OF ENROLMENT AT BRISBANE GRAMMAR SCHOOL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1875</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Architecture</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medicine</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Dentistry</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Railway</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industry</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trades, etc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farming</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grazing</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>NOT RECORDED</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Some of those whose occupation is not recorded in the preceding set of figures are shown as having proceeded to another institution of higher education.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION</th>
<th>YEAR OF ENROLMENT AT BRISBANE GRAMMAR SCHOOL</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1875 1880 1885 1890 1895 1900 1905 1910</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Universities</td>
<td>1 2 2 7 5 6 7 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gatton Agr. College</td>
<td>- - - 1 5 1 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School of Mines Ch. Towers</td>
<td>- - - - 1 1 -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawkesbury Agr. College</td>
<td>- - - - 1 - 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical College</td>
<td>- - - - - - - 2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
AFTER 1875

The Royal Commission of 1874 reported as follows:

We find that the Grammar Schools of Ipswich and Brisbane attract a considerable number of very young pupils, whose attainments are of the most meagre character; but that the majority of the pupils, in both the schools, are fit to receive, and are actually receiving the rudiments of a good secondary education. Latin, as being the foundation of the languages of Western Europe, English, and mathematics are the main subjects of study. French and German, also, are taught, and, of late, the rudiments of science. Little attention is paid to Greek, which is not a compulsory subject in either school....

Though the range of the subjects taught is limited, we have no reason to believe that what is attempted is otherwise than well done....

We also recommend that the secondary schools should, in future, be subjected to inspection.¹

The proportion of pupils being educated at the Grammar Schools was small. The following figures give some idea of how slight was the proportion in 1876:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Aggregate</th>
<th>Average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>State and Provisional Schools</td>
<td>30,980</td>
<td>15,757</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonvested Schools</td>
<td>5,866</td>
<td>2,777</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹Votes & Proceedings, Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1875, vol. II, 120.
The Brisbane Grammar Schools in 1876 had average attendances of 121 boys and 61 girls, a total of 182. Ipswich Grammar School's greatest enrolment for the year was 89 boys. So that for the year 1876 about 280 pupils would have represented the total enrolment for all three schools. Toowoomba Grammar School in its first year of operation, 1877, had an average attendance of 50. And one must bear in mind that a fair proportion of these Grammar School pupils were really of primary school age and attainments.

After the passing of the 1875 Act the question of aid to denominational schools did not become a serious issue. Bishop Tufnell had left the Colony in 1874 to live the more peaceful existence of English country life. His successor, Dr. Hale, was quite different in temperament; he did not have the forcefulness of his predecessor, and was not the man to carry on such a struggle.1 The Roman Catholics did not entirely give up the struggle, but the old bitterness had gone. In 1878 Bishop Quinn, in a circular to his clergy, declared that the matter should not become an election issue.2


2ibid., p48.
Catholic energies were thenceforth concentrated on supporting their own schools. Some interest was evoked by the mission of Father Henneberry to give impetus to the work of building Roman Catholic schools. The cessation of aid to Nonvested schools from 1st January 1880 (in accordance with the provisions of the 1875 Act) called forth a strong protest from Bishop Quinn, but it achieved little. Some echoes of the controversy then raging in New South Wales reached Queensland, especially from the attack made by Archbishop Vaughan. The allegations made by him concerning "godless" institutions brought the following comment from R.H. Roe, Headmaster of Brisbane Grammar School:

In New South Wales, during the past twelve months, a somewhat bitter conflict has been raging between the advocates of secular and denominational education, a conflict which has made its influence felt in this colony. To discuss the general merits of the question would be out of my province. I will only say that in education, as in other matters, unity is strength, and that division produces waste of power, pauperising the individuals, and crippling each from want of means....

...I should not have referred to the question had I not heard the cause of denominational schools strongly advocated of late in one or two quarters.

The unfairest point of the discussion in the South was the wholesale charge of immorality that was brought against the present system of secular

\[1\] Votes & Proceedings, Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1880, vol. II, 262.
schools by their opponents. My evidence on this point may be worth having. It has never been my lot to work with a set of boys who, as a whole, were so truthful and tractable, so pure in mind and action, and so earnest in their endeavours to make the most of their opportunities, as are the members of this unsectarian school. ¹

So far as denominational schools were concerned, no government aid was forthcoming until the end of the nineteenth century, when a successful move was made to permit scholarship holders to take them out at schools other than the Grammar Schools. This will be dealt with more fully later in this chapter.

During the later years of the 1870s, the main concern so far as Griffith was concerned, was the problem of articulation. There is evidence that Griffith was eager to find a solution to this problem. During the debates on the 1875 Bill, he stated that one of the desirable features of the granting of Grammar School scholarships was that it might bring the primary schools into harmony with the Grammar Schools, so that the primary school system might cease where the Grammar Schools began. But this was not the complete answer. ² Griffith had been in favour of the State's taking over the Grammar Schools,

²Queensland Parliamentary Debates, vol. XIX, 1875, 1095.
and making State provision for secondary education. When he became Secretary for Public Instruction, he continued to promote this idea. In the Departmental report for 1876, Griffith wrote:

The benefit of these scholarships might, in my opinion, be much increased and extended, if the Grammar schools and State schools formed parts of the same system.¹

In May 1877 Griffith moved to consider a Bill to provide higher education and to provide for a University at the next sitting, but this came to nothing. In April of the following year, however, he moved that the House resolve into Committee of the Whole to consider the matter of University exhibitions. As a result it was resolved to offer three exhibitions, each of £100 per year, tenable for three years, to be awarded after competitive examination, if merited. Residence and age conditions were laid down; subjects were to be prescribed by Governor in Council.²

The value of these exhibitions cannot be calculated. In the first place, they completed the ladder of free education for the academically brilliant few that the

¹Votes & Proceedings, Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1877, vol. II, 980.

1860 legislators had planned. But, more important, they gave to the Grammar Schools, especially in the advanced forms, a purpose and a sense of purpose that had in some measure been lacking. They were to be complementary to the preparation for public examinations that was introduced shortly afterwards. This was the extension to Queensland of the Junior and Senior Examinations of the University of Sydney. The origin of this move was reported in "The Queenslander" of January 1879:

Three years ago, after Mr. Harlin's resignation of the headmastership of the Brisbane Grammar School, and before the arrival of his successor, Mr. Roe, there was a short inter-regnum during which Mr. Mein took charge of the school, and at his request the Sydney University extended its examinations to Brisbane.2

In the first examination at which Queensland candidates were presented, the value of the State scholarship system was immediately apparent. J.G. Anderson, then General Inspector, wrote in his report for 1876:

At the end of 1876, sixty per cent. of the pupils in the four highest classes of the Brisbane Grammar School, were ex-primary school-boys and holders of scholarships; and of the twenty-four lads who passed the Sydney University Junior Examination in 1876 with an amount of credit which seemed to surprise the public of Queensland, and to attract attention

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1 See Appendix A, Clause 4.
in other colonies, no less than seventeen (seventy per cent.) were also boys who, as pupils of the Queensland Primary schools, had gained scholarships. ¹

In the Departmental report for 1877, Griffith elaborated on the point he had made in the preceding report:

The only point of contact at present existing between the Grammar Schools and the State Schools is that afforded by the scholarships, and it is not too much to say that the success of the former, both in point of numbers and otherwise, is to a material extent attributable to the attendance and diligence of the holders of these scholarships. But the full advantages to be derived from our education system will not be attained until the two classes of schools now existing are brought into closer connection, and the work in each is arranged with more reference to the requirements and capabilities of the other - a result which it is difficult, if not impossible, to arrive at so long as the Grammar Schools remain practically independent institutions and not amenable to any real control by the Government.²

In 1878, possibly as a result of Griffith's comments, another move was made to bring the Grammar Schools under the direction of the Government. On 9th May, Mr. Pettigrew moved, pursuant to notice: "That the time has now arrived for the Grammar Schools of the Colony to be brought under the immediate action of the Education Department".³ Debate ensued, and ultimately,

³ibid., p36.
on 30th May, no motion having been made relating to the matter, the House passed to the next Order of the Day. The debate itself, however, brings out some points and highlights some attitudes.

Pettigrew gave a number of reasons for his motion. The first was that the number of subscribers to the foundation of Ipswich Grammar School had dwindled, and only five had voted at the latest election of trustees. (At Ipswich Grammar School, only the original subscribers were held to have voting rights.) Further the Government had no power over trustees; consequently the Grammar Schools were practically in the hands of irresponsible bodies. There was a want of success in the work being done in the schools. There was a change of system with every change of masters, and there was no uniform training between the primary schools and the Grammar Schools, the only point of contact being the State scholarships. Full advantage could be taken of the Grammar Schools only by bringing them into closer connexion, and arranging their work according to respective requirements. This was not possible while the Grammar Schools were not amenable to, and were independent of, the Government. In fact, they were not amenable to the donors who founded them, nor to the Government that provided the annual subsidy, loans, and land; for there was nothing in the Act
to compel a report to donors or anybody else.\(^1\)

Speaking on the motion, Griffith said that the main reasons for wanting Grammar Schools under the Department in 1875 were that the system would then be more economical and that it would be more efficient; but that nothing could be done without the consent of trustees or subscribers. Palmer's retort to this—that the trustees were not likely to assent to such a resolution—would appear to indicate something of a changed attitude since 1874. And here the matter rested.

In 1881, however, the Government were called upon to defend existing gains. On 6th October of that year, Mr. Norton moved that the House was of opinion that, since elementary education was unattainable in many country districts, the annual grant for exhibitions and scholarships was inequitable, and should be discontinued. The motion was defeated, but the voting was uncomfortably close (twenty-one to eighteen).\(^2\) This illustrates perhaps better than anything else the low premium placed by many upon further education.

Speaking against the motion, Griffith said that the

\(^1\) Queensland Parliamentary Debates, vol. XXV, 1878, 161.

value of the scholarships was not confined to the boys who won them. It permeated the whole of the State Schools. In the Grammar Schools, the energy and intelligence of the holders had completely altered the standard of the school teaching; and because of the success of students in winning prizes, Brisbane Grammar School had acquired the reputation of being about the best school in Australia. 1

R.H. Roe mentioned the matter in his Annual Report for 1881, and praised the scholarships. The general industry in all the classes, and the tone of thought running through the school lessons, he said, had been altogether changed since the first arrival of these boys. They were distinguished by qualities of earnestness and independence and steadiness of purpose, such as could not be produced amongst the young without some such system of early competition. Further, he said, there was the stimulus afforded to work in the primary schools; but still another point had significance:

...Boys in the humblest circumstances see thereby, placed within their reach the highest education that this country, or in fact other countries, can give; and if they have in them intellect or character, which entitles them to a higher position than that into which they are born, they set to work with a

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1 Queensland Parliamentary Debates, vol. XXXV, 1881, 867.
vigour which materially influences the forms in which they are placed....I can honestly assert that the majority of the scholarship boys come from a class who could not possibly of themselves have afforded to send them to a Grammar School, much less to an University....The mixture of all classes in the school, where ability and manliness, not birth or wealth, is the sole criterion of distinction, is of the greatest advantage to all concerned.1

Departmental praise of the scholarships was given in the Departmental report for 1885:

The influence of the scholarship system on the working of State schools is important. A strong motive to industry is brought into play, and habits of sustained effort are fostered amongst the elder pupils, whose example influences the younger ones and gives a tone to the school.2

It is obvious, however, that the praise is accorded rather to the scholarship examination itself, as a means of promoting efficiency in the primary schools, than to the validity and worth of the examination in providing access to higher education for a selected few. This is characteristic of a growing departmental attitude that is one of two trends to be observed at this time. The other trend is a growing desire for further education—a desire sometimes explicit, but often inarticulate and helpless in the face of conservatism, apathy, and economic adversity.

1Brisbane Grammar School Headmaster's Report for 1881.

THE DEPARTMENT FACES CRITICISM

In the Australian colonies about this time it is evident that accompanying the growth of the various Departments of Education there is a corresponding increase in many of the undesirable by-products of bureaucratic administration—undue emphasis on departmental discipline; blind uniformity; elevation of concern for the machinery of administration to that point where it became almost an end in itself rather than the means to an end; and loss of human sympathy leading to impersonal harshness. A number of probable reasons for this state of affairs suggest themselves. In the first place, the growing pains associated with the development of a large state enterprise must have been considerable, including the problems of establishing schools in a pioneering environment, determining curricula and standard of attainment, recruiting and training teachers, and coping with ever increasing clerical demands—all largely without precedent. There was the fact that government willingness, and even ability, to pay rarely kept pace with full public demand for education, and the harsh enforcement of stringent conditions was often an economic necessity. Added to this was the fact that public education having ceased, in the main, to be a point of controversy, the Departments were often accorded no
strong or consistent Ministerial leadership, and thus
Departments were left to develop under the influence of
their permanent heads. Austin says of the new Education
Departments:

...By the turn of the century they had had (the
Western Australian Department excepted) about
twenty years in which to show what they could make
of the State's triumph, but in every colony their
critics insisted that they had failed to justify
the trust that had been put in them. Doubtless some
of this criticism was ill-informed and some of it
was petty, but there can be no doubt that the
colonial Education Departments had not only failed
to establish an effective system of national educa-
tion, but that they had tried to escape the
consequences of their short-comings by misrepresen-
tation.

Underlying every weakness in colonial public
education was the failure to create a State system
of secondary education, for not only had this
omission starved the universities of talent, and
condemned any effective scheme of technical educa-
tion to failure, but it had also had a deplorable
effect on the State's own primary schools. Without
a system of State secondary schools it was impos-
sible to recruit an educated class of teachers for
the primary schools, and without an educated class
of primary teachers it was impossible to extend or
liberalize the primary school curriculum.¹

There was some exception in Western Australia, but in all
other colonies,

...where a Ministry was lucky to survive for more
than eighteen months, and where an Inspector-General
was likely to have had twenty or thirty years' experience, stretching back into the Board of Educa-
tion days, Ministers were rarely able to dominate
their departments.²

¹A.G. Austin, Australian Education 1788-1900,
²ibid., p243.
It was unfortunately true that heads of Departments frequently became so enmeshed in administrative toils that they lost touch with the practical business of education and with their teachers, and so failed to give essential leadership. Two men in Queensland are notable in this respect: J.G. Anderson, who became Under Secretary in 1878; and D. Ewart, who became Chief Inspector in 1883, and reached the top rung of the departmental ladder in 1905. Between them, these men dominated Queensland primary education for thirty years. Of the two, Ewart was the more powerful influence, and it is difficult to find a written comment that shows him in favourable light, although evidence suggests that, according to his own views, he was sincere. "Education suffered," says Wyeth, "in the hands of this wily, shrewd, Machiavellian, tough and unapproachable General Inspector, who did much to preserve the legend that the 'best ever' system was to be found in Queensland."¹ Austin writes:

In Queensland... though the Royal Commission of 1888 declared that the Inspector-General and Under Secretary were "unsuccessful administrators of this important department" the Inspector-General (D.I. Ewart) was rewarded with the office of Director of

Education when that position was created in 1905, and continued to mismanage his department, insult his teachers and retard educational progress until his retirement in 1909.¹

Never a friend of the Grammar Schools, Ewart was at times openly critical. And conditions in the Department during the 1880s must have been anything but pleasant. Wyeth writes:

While it must be admitted that at the time there was little criticism anywhere of the Department and its activities and there is scarcely any evidence of unusual discontent within the ranks of the teachers, there must have been considerable dissatisfaction to prompt Griffith's action in 1887 of appointing a Royal Commission to investigate the working of the whole of the Civil Service.²

The proceedings of the Commission and its findings are relevant to the present study only insofar as they reveal the strength of Departmental conservatism and the power of the Departmental heads, without whose sponsorship--or at least acquiescence--the initiation of State-directed secondary education would have been difficult, if not impossible.

The Commission found that the Under Secretary's attention was occupied with too much detail, and that there was too little delegation. He had, therefore, no


²E.R. Wyeth, Education in Queensland, A.C.E.R. Research Series No. 67; Melbourne: Australian Council for Educational Research, (no date), 137.
time to keep abreast of modern developments, to direct
the professional branch, nor to administer in accordance
with modern views.\(^1\) The General Inspector also carried
too much secretarial work.\(^2\)

Although the administration of the Department is
vested in the Minister for Public Instruction, it
seems practically to be in the hands of the Under
Secretary and the General Inspector, as their
recommendations are almost invariably followed.\(\ldots\)
these officers dispense with all advice and assis-
tance in the general administration of the
professional branch of the service.

The reports of the District Inspectors, the Commission
noted, were apparently written to order, and valueless as
an index to any defects or weakness, or as a guide on
which to base improvements.\(^4\)

...there is abundant testimony that the
administration is conducted in an arbitrary,
capricious, and often unfeeling manner, and all in
the name of "the Minister," who seems to be a
convenient medium for the exercise of most
autocratic management.\(\ldots\) On the whole we consider
the administration as at present conducted to be
very detrimental to the best interests of the
service and of the Colony.\(^5\)

The Commission found that in eight and a half years, from
a numerical point of view, the whole staff was changed.

\(^1\)Votes & Proceedings, Queensland Legislative

\(^2\)ibid.

\(^3\)ibid., p280.

\(^4\)ibid., p281.

\(^5\)ibid., p281.
This, it was considered, was in a large measure owing to the prevailing want of system and to the inconsiderate and harsh treatment to which teachers were subjected. ¹ Employment in the Department had come to be looked upon as "a hard servitude"; the General Inspector had exercised his powers in such a manner as to bring the staff "into a frame of mind very little short of rebellion". ²

THE DEPARTMENT AND FURTHER EDUCATION

Examination of Departmental annual reports for the nineteenth century reveals little accord or understanding between the Department and the Grammar Schools. In the main, the two charges levelled—usually implicitly—by the Department at the Grammar Schools are the same as the two points raised by Griffith in the debates of 1881: lack of economy and lack of efficiency—or economy and efficiency as the nineteenth century Department saw it.

The Education Act of 1875 created the Department of Education specifically to superintend the provision of primary education, although it gave some basis in law for

² ibid.
extension beyond this. So far as primary education was concerned, it made clear prescription, and this resulted in the stifling of existing liberal tendencies in the primary schools. As early as 1876, Anderson, then a District Inspector, remarked the Act had cut Latin and Mathematics out of the old curriculum. He saw no reason to regret it. Attainments in these, he said, were never more than an unimportant smattering.¹

From this time to the end of the century there seems to be no evidence of Departmental desire to participate in secondary education on a partnership basis, nor of willingness to participate at all except on grounds of complete control. The 1889 report notes that the Grammar Schools "are not inspected by our School Inspectors, nor do the trustees report to the Education Department".²

Some sizeable requests for building funds had been made of the Government during the year, both for Ipswich Girls' Grammar School and for Rockhampton Girls' Grammar School—for £4,000 in the case of the latter. The report continued:

The Grammar Schools are being carried on

¹Votes & Proceedings, Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1876, vol. II, 836.
²Votes & Proceedings, Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1890, vol. II, 1331.
satisfactorily, and the money contributed by the State allows many children to enjoy the benefit of a higher education who would otherwise be debarred from obtaining it; but in view of the large amounts being annually paid to these schools the question arises whether the time has not arrived when the State should inspect the schools to which it contributes so largely.¹

Ewart's comments in his General Inspector's report for the same year shed light on the attitude of the Department. In 1889 Ewart had been sent to New South Wales, Victoria, and South Australia, to examine the organization of the Departments there. This trip is one of a number of pieces of evidence that the Department was, under the pressure created by the Royal Commission, re-examining its function. So far as secondary education was concerned, Ewart found a system that appealed to him. As a result he suggested the extension of State education into the secondary field--power of control and direction remaining firmly in Departmental hands.

....I think the time has come to consider whether power should not be given to the Department to conduct secondary education, so far at least as to continue the education of the State scholars towards the same points as are at present reached by them at the grammar schools, i.e., the university public examinations and matriculation.²

¹Votes & Proceedings, Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1890, vol. II, 1331.
²ibid., p1387.
Ewart estimated that the State paid then sixteen guineas per year to about 150 scholars. Therefore, he reasoned,

...a sum of about £2,000 a year is available at present rates allowed by Parliament for helping advanced classes in primary schools with advanced teaching (that is, what are called in New South Wales Superior Public Schools), and in part by endowing or assisting a secondary school; and that sum, with the fees from other pupils whose parents have learned to believe in the thoroughness of the education imparted by the Department, would make such a high school self supporting, as in the Sydney High School, which has worked its way into public favour and competes so successfully with the Sydney Grammar School.

It does not appear to me to be judicious - never has done - to hand over the picked children of our schools to the care of establishments over which the State has no control, whose internal organisation is but vaguely known, and the efficiency of whose instruction is measured but by the success of, for the most part, the brightest of the bright scholars taught in them at the State expense, and who would naturally come to the front whether well or ill-taught. I think the Department should carry on the education of its own scholars through their secondary course in its own secondary schools till it lands them in the lap of their proper alma mater, the Queensland University, without which the Queensland education system will be a "most lame and impotent conclusion." 1

THE DEMAND FOR FURTHER EDUCATION

Ewart's report, antagonistic though it is towards the Grammar Schools, does tacitly acknowledge the pressure of a rising demand for further education. This demand, for both secondary and tertiary education, had already in

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1Votes & Proceedings, Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1890, vol. II, 1387.
some respects made itself heard. In 1887 Griffith had presented to Parliament a number of petitions, from various sources, requesting the establishment of a University. Among these the trustees of the Grammar schools were represented.

Less obvious, but effective, was the pressure of the fact that children were remaining longer at school. In 1886, 18.4 per cent of children attending State schools were over the statute age. By 1888 the figure had risen to 19.2 per cent, and by 1891 to 20.1 per cent.

Another indication of the desire for further education lay in the fierceness of competition for Grammar school scholarships. The number of candidates rose year by year, although a high standard was demanded, and teachers presented only those pupils who stood a good chance of success. Even these were obliged to work for long hours every day, well beyond normal school hours. In 1876 there were 89 candidates, and 26 scholarships were won. The figures rose to 140 and 39 by 1880, and after some decline, stood at about the same in 1883. From then the number of candidates rose to 187 in 1888, and to 263 in 1891. In 1891, 128 scholarships were offered, and—for the first time—all scholarships
offered were won.¹ This was the greatest number taken up in any year to this date, and more than fifty more than the number for the preceding year.

As a result, 305 candidates came forward in 1892, no doubt in hopes of taking advantage of what seemed to be a more liberal policy; but depression had enforced economy by then, and only 68 scholarships were offered. It seems obvious, however, that had the scholarship provision been on the same scale as for the preceding year, there would have been no lack of takers.

A further factor offering evidence of a popular desire for further education is the position of the pupil teacher system. In 1886, for example, the surprisingly high number of 866 candidates—268 males and 598 females—sat for the compulsory examinations.

The report for 1887 stated that for some years the number of candidates for admission as pupil teachers had been in excess of requirements.² Many who had passed the first examination, but had not been accepted for employment, had continued their studies, and had sat for the examination of the next class. At the end of 1887 there

were 99 such candidates for the second class examination, and 454 applications for entrance examinations. Of these 156 had been refused examination.

This eagerness to take advantage of such opportunities as were offered for further education in pupil teacher training is no doubt a mitigating factor in what was otherwise one of the most damning criticisms of the 1888 Commission—that from a numerical point of view the whole staff was changed in eight and a half years. However, in view of the prevailing conditions of service, the desire for further education must have been a firm one. No doubt many who qualified themselves had little or no intention of carrying on with a teaching career, and resigned as opportunities offered. The report of the Commission of 1888 notes:

The attraction offered in the shape of extra education at the expense of the State, together with a very liberal salary from the commencement of their service, is no doubt the chief cause why such a supply is always offering....

Even so, the ruling in force from 1st January 1890, that pupil teachers were engaged on condition that their services would cease when the course was finished unless otherwise ordered, reflects little credit on the

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Department. Further employment then depended on qualifications, or the requirements of the service. But pupil teachers were cheap labour, and were available in quantity. The Department used them.

RENEWED INTEREST AND ANOTHER COMMISSION

In the second half of the 1880s, it is obvious, education was again becoming a matter of popular concern, and the desire for further education was becoming pressing. Charles Powers, who succeeded John Donaldson as Minister in 1889, wrote in the annual report that he considered a University desirable; for "our system is undoubtedly incomplete without this boon to enable those young men and women who do well in our State and Grammar schools to continue their studies without leaving the colony." But considerable, more immediate, demands were already being made on State resources in what was, in fact, post-primary education, despite the absence of State High Schools. The following figures, taken from the census report of 1st May 1886, show that the Department was educating in State and Provisional Schools, in

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1 *Votes & Proceedings, Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1890*, vol. II, 1331.

2 *ibid.*, pl340.
every age grouping shown up to the age of twenty, more children than were the Grammar Schools and colleges, the private schools, and the denominational schools put together.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>SCHOLARS ATTENDING</th>
<th>SEX</th>
<th>AGES</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>10-11 11-12 12-13 13-14 14-15 15-20</td>
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<tr>
<td>State Schools</td>
<td>M.</td>
<td>2450 1980 1889 1222 704 392</td>
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<td>F.</td>
<td>2212 1873 1806 1211 704 470</td>
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<td>Provisional Schools</td>
<td>M.</td>
<td>180 141 134 79 56 22</td>
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<td>F.</td>
<td>158 121 119 71 54 29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denominational Schools</td>
<td>M.</td>
<td>265 228 225 161 92 53</td>
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<td>F.</td>
<td>354 328 323 249 219 175</td>
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<tr>
<td>Private Schools</td>
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<td>120 106 103 110 102 184</td>
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<tr>
<td>Grammar Schools and Colleges</td>
<td>M.</td>
<td>7 13 27 64 83 168</td>
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<td></td>
<td>F.</td>
<td>12 10 10 11 24 67</td>
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The question of standards of attainment, of course, is another matter; but it seems not unreasonable to suppose that many of the one thousand or so pupils who had remained at school until the age of fifteen or more in 1886 would have taken advantage of the opportunity of

1 Votes & Proceedings, Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1887, vol. III, 421.
secondary education in a Grammar School or equivalent institution had it been available. There is evidence that payment of fees was an obstacle to some; but no doubt a great number did not live in a Grammar School area. The payment of boarding fees would have been impossible in the vast majority of cases.

Figures available for the year 1886–7 show the extent to which the Grammar Schools were supported by the State. For that year £6,500 was reserved in the estimates for annual endowments, and £2,119 for scholarships. At the end of 1886, 113 scholarship winners were receiving free education at the Grammar Schools, at State expense. Small wonder that such expenditure appeared wildly extravagant to the Departmental mind.

At the end of the decade another petition requesting the establishment of a University was received by the Government. It was signed by sixteen prominent men, including Charles Lilley. 1 Public interest, it seemed, was running high, and a Royal Commission was appointed to inquire into the matter. 2 The Chairman once again was Lilley, and the Commission began sitting in March 1891.


It continued until June of that year. Most of the prominent persons connected with education were examined. The Commission's report made an interesting assessment of many aspects of education in the Colony, and largely forecast the course that development would take—in good time.

The Commission's duty was to find the best means to be adopted, not only to establish a University, but also to render more efficient the system of State education in the Colony. It concerned itself, therefore, with primary and secondary education, as well as with tertiary education. The Commission's report revealed for all to read the weakness of the Grammar School system.

The present system of grammar schools bids fair to become by its great costliness a serious burden if further extended, as it may be almost without limit under our existing law. We have not advised the discontinuance of the present schools, but we think that in future a system of secondary schools more directly controlled as to their foundation and management by the State would be less expensive, and quite as effective in the education of the youth of the Colony.¹

Lilley himself held the opinion that the grammar school system was "cumbersome" and "very expensive".²

Thus the substance of the Departmental objections

²Ibid., p857.
to the Grammar School system was at least to some extent confirmed; but, considering the quality of Departmental administration as it had been revealed by the recent Commission, one can well understand any reluctance on the part of the Grammar School trustees and staffs to allow the schools to fall into Departmental hands at this stage.

Continuing, the Commission's report recommends:

To avoid the expense of multiplied grammar schools under our present system and to extend the benefits of the University to students remote from the seat of the University -

Allow a State school teacher to prepare promising students for matriculation in the University; and, where a grammar school is not established and available, remunerate him for the student so prepared who shall pass. Hold local examinations for matriculation and for degrees for students by whomever or wheresoever they may have been educated.

Economy without loss of efficiency might be secured by a repeal of the present Grammar Schools Acts except as to existing schools. That Secondary State Schools be established, and that fees may be charged for instruction therein. We recommend that there be co-education of the sexes throughout our whole system of schools, including the University.

The recurring problem of articulation again occupied the attention of the Commission:

The step of a pupil from the primary school to the secondary school should be on examination to ascertain whether he is fit to enter the lower class or division of the secondary or grammar school. The

\footnote{Votes & Proceedings, Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1891, vol. III, 825.}
standard of the highest class in the primary school should prepare a pupil for the grammar or secondary school....

All the schools founded or aided by the State shall lead from the lowest to the highest, and into the University;

The loss of power by the overlapping of the courses of instruction in the lower and higher schools should be avoided;

There should be an examination of all the grammar and secondary schools by authority of the University.

An interesting point in the report lies in a rider of dissension by six of the twenty-three Commissioners—a token that the forces of conservatism that had defeated the secondary provisions of the 1875 Act were by no means yet extinct. The six Commissioners did not agree that State Secondary Education should be established. The State, so they held, was bound to provide for minimum education for all to enable all to perform their duties in "after life"; it was not bound to provide beyond this compulsory standard. The secondary State Schools could be of no direct value to the great mass of the community—although the validity of scholarships was admitted.

Evidence from R.H. Roe, Headmaster of Brisbane


2 ibid., p826.

3 ibid., p828ff.
Grammar School--destined to preside over the establishment of the first State High Schools--brought out the point that the imposition of fees tended to create a social distinction. He favoured the extending of the scholarship scheme, and in this D. Cameron, Headmaster of Ipswich Grammar School, concurred.

The evidence of the Under Secretary, J.G. Anderson, together with that of the General Inspector, D. Ewart, makes interesting reading. Anderson, though he protested that he had "no hostile feeling towards the grammar schools", referred to "a few sporadic grammar schools, established at enormous cost, and attended at very great cost indeed....". The Grammar School fees were sixteen guineas per year, and this was the cost of State scholarships; whereas the State, contended Anderson, was able to give as good or nearly as good an education at the maximum of £5 per head, including administration.

...What I wish to do, if possible, is to get this higher education within the reach of every clever or ambitious boy or girl throughout the length and breadth of this land, as it is in Scotland....in

\[1\] Votes & Proceedings, Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1891, vol. III, 839.
\[2\] ibid., p850.
\[3\] ibid., p857.
every State school, where there is a man competent and willing to instruct clever boys in the subjects required for matriculation, I should like to see him free to give that instruction; but, unfortunately, as the law stands at present he cannot do so.¹

In this statement Anderson revealed the gravest weakness of the Grammar School system—the fact that it did not, and as things stood, could not, satisfy public demand. The present system closed the door, Anderson went on, to the clever student in the bush or in towns like Warwick, Dalby, Bundaberg, Bowen, Charters Towers.² In some cases country scholarships had not been taken up because of the cost to parents,³ and only 77.7 per cent of those granted scholarships had taken them up.⁴

A reading of the evidence gives the impression that Ewart was a difficult witness. He maintained that the Grammar School system was expensive. His solution was simple: to bring the University down a bit, and bring the primary school up a bit. There would then be no need for the Grammar Schools.⁵ These were, in any case, he contended, overlapping the University.

² ibid., p857f.
³ ibid., p862.
⁴ ibid., p865.
⁵ ibid., p962.
DEPRESSION

So for the second time in twenty years a Royal Commission headed by Charles Lilley presented the Colony with a lucid report and an enlightened set of recommendations. It is highly probable that the spirit of the times would have led to the implementation of many of these, if not all, and Queensland may have had its University a good fifteen years earlier than was actually the case. But, also for the second time, the Government failed to act on the findings of the Commission. In this case, fate took a hand.

Much apprehension is evident in public utterances during the years 1889-1892 concerning a drift in public finances. Most papers assumed a gloomy air, and everywhere there was a feeling of uneasiness about the Colony's progress. Drastic measures were proposed to arrest the drift, and quite naturally one of the earliest services to suffer was education. Staffs had to be sharply cut, promotions were withheld, admissions to the service were limited, and always in the background was the threat of salary reductions. Despite precautions and a great deal of talk the crash finally came in 1893. This was to prove a black year in the Colony's history. In February, two unprecedented and widespread floods in close proximity caused enormous losses. They were succeeded by a period of drought which broke with a smaller, though still heavy, flood in the south-eastern districts. Any one of the three disasters was in itself almost beyond the capacity of the Colony to bear, and the three in conjunction brought ruin to thousands. Banks failed, and a major depression ensued with its attendant poverty, unemployment, decline in morale, unhappiness and lack of interest in culture. From such a state of affairs recovery could only be slow, and it is against this background that the events of
the final decade of the century must be viewed. 1

Economy measures, it has been mentioned, included the decrease in scholarships to 68 in 1892 from 128 in 1891, and there was further cut to 52 in the following year. The demand, however, did not decline, and made itself explicit in petitions. One, dated 28th July 1894, was forwarded from the Bundaberg district with the signatures of 351 petitioners. The petition claimed:

That at present no provision exists for higher education of children who reside in centres of population outside the sphere of Grammar Schools, to the great detriment of the proper training and up-bringing of the said children. That only the richer class of inhabitants of such centres can afford to defray the cost of board and lodging, with other incidental expenses, for children attending Grammar schools elsewhere, amounting in the aggregate to £100 per child per annum.... the great majority of parents residing in other centres cannot afford to defray the cost of maintaining children away from home.

That the aim of free education by the State should be to benefit the poorer rather than the richer section of the community.

That in most instances the teachers already attached to our State Schools are competent to impart such higher education without increase of cost to the State.

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Other non-Grammar School centres also exerted pressure on the Government.

FINANCIAL PRESSURE ON THE GRAMMAR SCHOOLS

On 23rd August 1894, a Grammar School (Scholarships) Bill was initiated by R. Philp, but was stopped by prorogation without debate. ¹

The bill to amend the Grammar Schools Act, as introduced by Mr. Philp on Thursday, contains only six clauses. General provisions enable the Government to grant grammar school scholarships, tenable for three years, to pupils in the State schools or in any other schools usually inspected by officers of the Department of Public Instruction. Clause 3 provides that examinations are to be held and candidates assigned to the grammar schools they are to attend, also a proviso that the candidates annually assigned to each grammar school shall not exceed one in number for every sum of £50 payable during the year in which the examination shall have been held out of the general revenue of the colony to the trustees of the grammar school, under the provisions of the Principal Act. Clause 4 exempts the holder of a scholarship from payment of any fees. Clause 5 enacts that it shall be lawful for the Minister, in case of a breach of any of the conditions of tenure of a scholarship, to revoke the grant thereof by notification published in the "Government Gazette," and to substitute as holder of such scholarship, for the unexpired portion of the term thereof, a candidate who shall have become qualified at the same examination as the original holder or at any later examination. Clause 6 contains the short title. ²

² The Brisbane Courier, 25th August 1894.
Although it does not emerge clearly from the "Courier's" account, the effect of the Bill would have been that the State would not pay fees to the Grammar Schools on account of State scholars in attendance. Instead, the State would simply nominate the scholars for attendance at a specified Grammar School, at the rate of one for each £50 payable in endowment to that school per year. With the annual endowment at the rate of £1,000 per year, the State could thus nominate twenty scholars per year to each Grammar School, scholarships being tenable for three years. Thus, as from the third year after the implementation of the provisions of the Bill, each Grammar School would be expected, in return for £1,000 annual endowment, to educate sixty scholars per year, without further cost to the State.

The measure provoked a flood of protests; and indeed its passing would almost certainly have meant that the Grammar Schools would have ceased to exist; for it is doubtful that any one of them could have remained solvent. At the time, of course, the colony was suffering an economic depression, and cuts in spending were necessary; but a Bill incorporating such extreme measures reflects little but discredit on those responsible for it. At best it was ill-considered, probable results not having been adequately reckoned. At worst, it might be
interpreted as a deliberate attempt to force the Grammar Schools out of existence; and in view of the undoubted antipathy prevailing between the Departmental permanent heads and the Grammar Schools, this is perhaps not too extreme an interpretation. A perusal of relevant correspondence raises the suspicion that the Bill might have had its source in the Department.\footnote{Votes & Proceedings, Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1894, vol. II, 689ff.} Ewart, in 1890, had expressed the opinion that the Department should be empowered to carry on the education of its own scholars in its own secondary schools;\footnote{Votes & Proceedings, Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1890, vol. II, 1387.} and in 1891, before the Royal Commission, had proposed a scheme under which there would be no further need for Grammar Schools.\footnote{Votes & Proceedings, Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1891, vol. III, 962.}

At all events, reaction from all Grammar School centres was both strong and prompt. The case for the Grammar Schools was comprehensively stated by Sir Samuel Griffith, Chairman of the Brisbane Grammar School Board of Trustees. The Bill was, in effect, he pointed out, a breach of faith.

The schools could not have been established,
nor could the liberal education provided have been afforded, without the aid of the promised endowment, and it was entirely on the faith of the promise of the legislature to give that permanent assistance that the subscribers were induced to find the necessary funds, and that the trustees have made the necessary arrangements for the conduct of the schools.¹

...It is hardly necessary to point out that the efficiency of scholastic institutions such as the Brisbane Grammar Schools cannot be maintained without considerable expense. It would have been impossible to establish, and it would be impossible to maintain them without considerable endowment in addition to the income derived from the fees of pupils. Any attempt to raise the amount of those fees would, especially in the present circumstances of the colony, probably lead to a considerable diminution in the number of the scholars. The propriety of reducing rather than of increasing the amount has indeed been under the consideration of the trustees.

The trustees, after long experience, feel that they cannot too strongly emphasise the fact that in a school in which higher instruction is given and in which competent instructors are employed and paid, the remuneration of their services being at such rates as will secure competent men, there is a minimum cost which cannot be reduced without destroying the usefulness and indeed the essential character of the school.

The proposal made by the Bill now before Parliament, if carried into effect, will be in the first place to cut off the whole income derived from State scholars, which in the present year amounts in the case of boys' school to over £1,600, and in the two preceding years has not been less than that sum. (I am aware that this result will not be completely attained until the end of 1896, when this year's scholarship will expire).

If this were all, the effect on the school would be to reduce its numbers as well as its

income to a very large extent. The standard of instruction would necessarily be lowered with the consequent necessary reduction of the staff. With the aid, however, of the full endowment, the school would still be able to continue its operations as a school of a lower class, it is true, and with a much impaired prestige and efficiency. But this aid would not be available, for £624 of the £1,000 is, as I have already pointed out, absorbed in repayment to the Government.

The Bill, however, goes further and provides that the trustees shall be bound to provide instruction, without fee, for sixty pupils in addition to those for whom fees may be paid. This it would be simply impossible for them to do with the income that would remain at their disposal.

The necessary and inevitable result of attempting to carry this proposal into effect will be to close the school.¹

Philp agreed to receive a deputation from all Grammar Schools on 17th September 1894 to consider the objections of the trustees; and the Bill was subsequently allowed to lapse.

SCHOLARSHIP CHANGES

However, at the end of that year, a change was made in the system of granting State scholarships. A fixed number of scholarships was attached to each Grammar School, regard being had to the population of the district. Holders were required to attend the school nearest to their homes. For half of these scholarships, fees were paid in full; for the rest no fees were paid;

so that, though scholarship numbers rose, their value was halved. At the end of the year, of 234 candidates, 120 were awarded scholarships.

The district scholarships were intended to benefit the struggling country schools, but the move had other significance: financial pressure was being brought to bear on the Grammar Schools through the scholarship system. Though current economic depression seems to have been the initial reason for the move, the prevailing feeling that the Grammar Schools were proving too expensive, and not giving value for money so far as the State was concerned, was no doubt a major consideration. And in 1894 21.8 per cent of the net enrolment in the State Schools were children over the statute age.¹

THE SUPERIOR SCHOOLS MOVEMENT

By 1895, the proportion of children over statute age in State schools had risen to 22.9 per cent.² The steadily rising demand and interest in further education are evident in a number of moves in Parliament. In 1895 O'Connell attempted to bring about the establishment of

Superior State Schools. O'Connell, though a Government member, seems to have made a tactical error in introducing the Bill. It appears that he had been assured of support by the preceding Minister for Public Instruction, and the present incumbent, on grounds of inexperience, was cautious. The Government, although not in active opposition to the measure, by political manoeuvring brought about its failure. It was felt that such a bill should have been introduced by the Government; and, in fact, O'Connell received his most vigorous support from the Opposition, notably the Labour Party. Nevertheless, the debate brought out some interesting points.

The Bill incorporated, said O'Connell, the principle in practice in New South Wales for many years, where it had given a great deal of relief in the shape of higher education at very little cost to the state. If it had been incorporated in the 1875 Act, it would have prevented the large expense now gone to for the Grammar School system. It would reach every class of the community that could afford to keep children at school. It had been objected about three years earlier, O'Connell remarked, that many parents were unable to keep children at school; but this was no reason for withholding opportunity from those able to take
advantage of it. He attacked the idea that it was possible to "over-educate" the people.¹

O'Connell emphasized the expense of the Grammar School system, and the relative cheapness of the State Schools, which also permitted easier access to many more pupils. The Grammar School system, he maintained, was "too expensive and exclusive a system for the colony to extend in the future."² The Grammar School system was "only giving a higher education to a few persons in the chief centres of population."³ The cost of educating a pupil in a State School was £4 1s. 9d. per annum, O'Connell submitted; while, according to Mr. Ewart, the cost in a Grammar School was £40 a year, and as the fees were only £16 16s., that left a balance of £24.⁴

O'Connell's bill was stopped by prorogation; but in the following year he proceeded more diplomatically, by resolution.⁵ As a result reports were called for from the Under Secretary and the General Inspector.

¹ Queensland Parliamentary Debates, vol. LXXIV, 1895, 1519.
² ibid., p1530.
³ ibid., p1531.
⁴ ibid., p1685.
From August to September, 1896, the Under Secretary journeyed in New South Wales, observing and gathering information. He visited Fort St., Cleveland St., and Crown St. Schools, the Superior Public Schools at Armidale and Parramatta, the High School for boys at Ultimo, and the High School for girls in Elizabeth St. He also interviewed Mr. Weigall at Sydney Grammar School.

Anderson's report notes that the Superior Public Schools in New South Wales were empowered to give lessons in the higher branches of education, this being controlled by regulation; whereas the Queensland 1875 Act was prescriptive, and precluded drawing, mathematics, and other advanced subjects. Fifth class in the New South Wales catered for the Sydney Junior Examination, a standard not equalled nor exceeded by Departmental schools in any other Australian colony. High Schools were intended to complete the public school curriculum, or to prepare students for the University.

Anderson's report went on:

...I gather from the tone of the speakers in the Queensland Legislative Assembly that it is a

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2. ibid., p141.
general desire that if higher subjects are added to the programme of work in the State Schools in this colony, it shall be done in such a manner as not to withdraw or to withhold pupils from the State-aided Grammar Schools.\(^1\)

It was noted that in New South Wales the Superior Public Schools had supplied the place of High Schools, and had practically superseded the need of them.

\[\ldots\text{a strong impression almost amounting to conviction has been forced on me that the ingrafting of Grammar School work on our Primary School course would sooner or later involve the languishing and probable decay of the Queensland Grammar Schools in all towns except, perhaps, the capital. Is that end desired or desirable?}^2\]

There were, wrote Anderson, ten Grammar Schools in operation, created by a statute independent of the State Education Act, capable of being multiplied indefinitely. These schools were part of the system of public education, and had to be reckoned with. They were, he said, doing the work for which they were established—the proper work of Grammar Schools, imparting to many of their pupils an advanced education, and fitting students for the professions and for the University.\(^3\) Anderson continued:

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\(^2\) *ibid.*, p151.

\(^3\) *ibid.*, p151.
Our Education Act provided for a sound elementary education, and has been interpreted as excluding everything beyond. But if it is now the will of the people that a higher education shall be given in the primary schools, it can be given.

Anderson acknowledged, however, that there would be some delay; and that funds would be necessary for training teachers. He opposed confining higher education in the primary schools to non-Grammar School areas, and considered it desirable to amend the Act to permit the teaching of mathematics, higher English, science and drawing to those who entered the highest class, and other subjects in the direction of manual training and technical education.

The report prepared by Ewart is not of great importance, and some of it displays a rigid conservatism that no doubt impeded full State entry into secondary education. Ewart disapproved of higher education for all who might desire it. The state, he affirmed, could absorb only a certain amount of educated labour. He supported Anderson's contention that full State provision of secondary education would undermine the Grammar Schools. "Except for the select few who would use them for other than purely scholastic reasons, they would not

get support...."¹ And in this is an implied criticism that the Grammar Schools were supported because they enjoyed social prestige.

Figures quoted by O'Connell during the 1896 debates give some weight to the contention that the Grammar Schools were expensive. These figures were produced by the Secretary for Public Instruction (Dalrymple) during the debates on the estimates, in October 1895. Dalrymple said that the average cost to the State was calculated by dividing the Government endowment by the number of pupils, not including scholarship pupils. Another calculation was made by adding to the endowments the amounts paid on account of scholarships, and then dividing by the total number of pupils, including scholarship pupils:

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<td>Townsville Grammar School</td>
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Considering that pupils who did not hold scholarships paid fees of about sixteen guineas per year, it seems that Ewart's estimate of £40 per year per pupil is not far wide of the mark; but intangibles make the figures misleading. It is difficult to gain a true picture, or a fair comparison of secondary costs with primary costs. The State, for example, did not have to borrow money for capital expenditure on primary schools, and carry a heavy load of interest, as did the Grammar Schools. It did not have to employ a large proportion of highly qualified staff to teach advanced work. In fact, if

1 Queensland Parliamentary Debates, vol. LXXIV, 1895, 1197f.
evidence tendered at the Royal Commission of 1888 were genuine, the Department made conditions for promotion to the more highly paid Class I division so difficult that very few achieved it. In addition, primary school equipment was less expensive; larger classes were manageable, and classes generally more uniform in size and work level. Lower running costs were therefore only to be expected.

The foundation of Departmental policy, in fact, especially under the influence of Ewart, might be said to be economy and centralism. At various times during the late nineteenth century Ewart expressed himself as being opposed to "over-education", free secondary education (except for the gifted scholarship winners, and only then under Departmental auspices), and technical education, though the greatest part of his criticism is implicit. The Grammar Schools, with their local Boards offended his rigidly centralist convictions. On some contentious points Ewart was at times forced into public self-defence; but on no point, probably, was he more out of tune with contemporary thought than on the "over-education" issue.

O'Connell, it has been mentioned, had in the 1895 debates attacked the idea that it was possible to "over-educate" the people; and the notion had, of course, long
before been rejected by Labour sympathisers. Two quotations from Lane's socialist "The Boomerang" illustrate the point:

"...There are amongst our legislators a few who still scoff at the idea of a University and higher education for the masses. We can only reverently bow to those valiant survivors of an intellectual paleozoic age and go on our own way...."¹

"..."Over-education" is a meaningless phrase, and under-education, ill-directed education, is the real bane of a community."²

Both Roe of Brisbane Grammar School and Cameron of Ipswich Grammar School specifically rejected the idea.

In 1896, with reference to the Bill to establish Superior Schools, Roe said:

The question of establishing Superior Schools as part of our State system of education has been prominent in Queensland, and the Report of the Under Secretary, to which allusion has already been made, has placed the public in possession of the facts from which to form a competent conclusion upon this important question. I do not share the fears that have been expressed about the evils of over education. Any men or women, employed or unemployed, are the better for having their minds developed and their characters steadied by the severe training which the attainment of higher knowledge entails. The lack of suitable employment for young men on leaving school probably proceeds from quite other causes than the possession of a disqualifying higher education; and there is no evidence whatever to show that any trades or manual labour callings have any difficulty in obtaining as many apprentices or workers as they can find room

¹ The Boomerang, 31st January 1891.
² The Boomerang, 20th June 1891.
for. The supply of candidates for such employment is regulated by the prospect of making a competent living from them. If the Grammar Schools, therefore, were really a bar to the extension of higher education in the colony, but little mercy should be shown them.¹

And "The Brisbane Courier", in strong support, brought out an editorial on the matter:

The public are much indebted to Mr. Roe for his avowal of dissent from the departmental officials on the danger or possibility of over-education. This, it will be remembered, was the great argument of our Under Secretary and General Inspector against the establishment in Queensland of the system of Superior Schools existing in New South Wales. These schools, it was said, over-educated the people. They unfitted for those common avocations to which in every country the great majority must address themselves. They created an "educated proletariat." We have strenuously combated these assertions. We have held that, irrespective of occupation or position, the better education was a good thing for the people, and that its result would be the elevation of the general community. And now Mr. Roe comes forward on the same side.... Such testimony from such a quarter approaches the decisive. We may add this sentence from the address of Mr. Cameron of the Ipswich Grammar School: "It would be a strange thing if the true way to train a community to honour labour with hand or head were the discouragement and repression of all aspirations after better knowledge and higher culture instead of the encouragement of such desire and the directing of them into profitable channels." May we hope that henceforth the Superior School movement will at least not be blocked by the cry of over-education?²

One wonders what might have been the position with

¹ Brisbane Grammar School Headmaster's Report for 1896.
² The Brisbane Courier, 4th December 1896.
secondary education in Queensland if Ewart had differently exerted his rugged personality.

The State Education Act Amendment Act, which had been introduced by Dalrymple in September 1897, received assent in December of that year. It largely implemented the recommendations of the Under Secretary, and provided a wider curriculum in the primary schools. The Department added to the work of the highest two classes—mainly the sixth—Euclid, algebra, a branch of science, the study of an English classic, and a fuller course of English history. Most significant, although not apparently so at the time, was that Section 2 of the Act conferred discretionary power concerning subjects, just as the 1875 Act had provided discretionary power concerning the establishment of schools; and the two in conjunction gave statutory authority for the establishment of State High Schools in 1912. The 1909 Departmental report reads as follows:

7. A special Act is not necessary for the establishment of High schools. Section 14 of "The State Education Act of 1875" makes it lawful for the Minister to provide for the establishment of training schools, rural schools, night schools, and such other State schools as may be authorised by regulations and deemed expedient.

\[1\text{Votes & Proceedings, Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1898, vol. I, 918.}\]
8. Subsection 2 of section 2 of "The State Education Amendment Act of 1897" provides that the Governor in Council may, from time to time, by regulations, prescribe that any subject or subjects of secular instruction shall be subjects of instruction in State schools.

9. To create State High schools it would, I think, only be necessary for the Governor in Council to frame regulations for the purpose under "The State Education Acts, 1875 to 1900."^{1}

From 1897, then, the Government possessed the authority to create Superior Schools, or full-scale High Schools; but for the time being it declined to permit full State provision of secondary education leading to the standard of the Sydney Junior and Senior public examinations, or to matriculation level. It seems to have been accepted that the establishment of Superior Schools would lead to the decay of the Grammar Schools. The unfortunate example of the New South Wales High Schools was held up, these being taken to be the equivalent of the Queensland Grammar Schools. And of six High Schools established in New South Wales in 1883, and two more in 1884, only four remained open in 1895. But it is doubtful that all the factors contributing to the lack of success of the High Schools were present in strength in the Queensland situation. These factors are brought out in the following passage:

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^{1} Queensland Parliamentary Papers, 1910, vol. II, 484.
The brief and precarious life of half the high schools established between 1880 and 1884 was the result of a complex of immediate causes, but, in the larger perspective, the history of these schools is to be recognized as evidence that, for all the aspirations of the few, there did not yet exist a consistent demand in the community as a whole for secondary education as it was understood at the time...

The immediate causes were not far to seek. In the first place, the Department of Public Instruction itself was hesitant. It was taken for granted that a high school should be large, yet the demand for such schools did not appear to exist. When the first high schools were established, they were housed in borrowed or temporary buildings. Moreover, the Department sought to avoid building up enrolments by "improperly withdrawing senior pupils from Public Schools". An entrance examination was instituted, an examination which proved exacting for many candidates. Parents who could afford to do so preferred to enrol their children at the established schools with their greater prestige and their lack of an entrance examination. For some parents, the high school fees were still an obstacle, despite the institution of a scholarship scheme. Such parents were attracted towards the superior public school which, with its nominal fees, offered pupils the possibility of success at the Junior, the Senior and the Public Service examinations.

Behind these circumstances lay more fundamental issues. These early high schools, in some respects patterned on the Royal Edinburgh High School, provided for an élite - an élite of scholastic ability and interest rather than of social status. They lacked the social appeal of the established schools, yet they were too far removed from the predominantly vocational interests of the general population. Their curriculum, followed by pupils at high pressure under the stimulus of examinations set by the University, offered no special inducements to those parents who wanted a broad, general education for their children.¹

So far as Queensland is concerned, the demand for secondary education is no doubt limited, but the existing facilities could not satisfy what there was. The Grammar Schools, however, unlike the New South Wales High Schools, were not housed in temporary buildings; they were adequately, if not lavishly, endowed. They did not have an entrance examination, and they did not have to compete with established church or independent schools; for these were few, and, in any case, younger. They had social appeal and outstanding academic records. They were, perhaps, removed from the largely vocational interests of the working class; but the absence of an entrance examination ensured a good sprinkling of pupils who were certainly not an élite of scholastic ability and interest. There can be no doubt, however, that the payment of fees constituted a stumbling block to both the Grammar Schools and the High Schools.

Roe's fear, expressed in his Headmaster's Report for 1896, was that Superior Schools, if established, might be free, but inferior:

....Free education is too formidable a rival for any but the strongest institution to face. The main point that has to be considered is whether the education so provided would be the equal of that which it would supplant. Our Grammar Schools were endowed in order to bring within the reach of our colonists a system of education comparable to that of the great public schools which England acknowledges as an important factor in the
upbuilding of her highest national characteristics. If we consider merely the intellectual results I feel assured the Superior Schools would give in name only a very poor substitute for the higher education now found in the Queensland Grammar Schools.1

Roe's fears, however, proved groundless. The State Education Act Amendment Act of 1897 was, as "The Brisbane Courier" pertinently remarked, "a change that binds to nothing."2 The State may have possessed the power to establish such schools and introduce such subjects as it thought fit; but in fact what it did was to implement the meagre recommendations of Anderson and Ewart. And this state of affairs continued until, during the first decade of the twentieth century, the Department felt the impact of strong Ministerial leadership.

THE STATE SCHOLARSHIPS AND GRAMMAR SCHOOL FINANCES

In the Queensland Parliament, meanwhile, the Grammar Schools were receiving their share of attention. In 1896, following the change in the system of granting scholarships, W.H. Groom moved that in certain cases it was desirable for the scholarships to be increased to

1Brisbane Grammar School Headmaster's Report for 1896.

2The Brisbane Courier, 4th October 1897.
enable successful candidates in country districts to take full advantage of their success. The question was passed on 16th December. It seems that the matter of financial difficulty experienced by parents in paying for secondary education was obtruding itself at this stage. In the report of the Department of Public Instruction for 1895 Dalrymple had written:

...But, in the nature of things, the number of children whose circumstances permit them to continue their literary education beyond the primary school must always be small....

Dalrymple envisaged the extension of evening classes, technical colleges, and schools of arts. No doubt such considerations were a factor leading to the passing of the 1897 Act.

Even the winning of a scholarship did not guarantee a secondary education for the candidate. Over the period 1893 to 1897, of 496 scholarships offered, 68 were not taken up. Though the reasons for the rejection of these were no doubt diverse, the debates in the Legislative Assembly make it clear that financial difficulties were responsible in a number of cases. And

2 Ibid., vol. III, 22.
3 Votes & Proceedings, Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1897, vol. II, 1039.
again in 1897, a petition was lodged by Mr. Hamilton concerning difficulties in obtaining secondary education, and praying relief.¹

On 15th July 1897, Groom moved that it was desirable that the value and method of distribution of scholarships be revised by the Department of Public Instruction. The District Scholarship system had revealed some flaws. To fill a school's quota, candidates often had to be taken from far down in the lists. There was no provision for transfer, and no boarding assistance for a scholarship winner from a country area. The motion was passed.

In the same year an interesting question—no doubt prompted by the current concern for Grammar School finances—was raised by Mr. Cribb in the Legislative Assembly. Information was requested regarding land endowments made to Grammar Schools. The reply revealed that three schools had received endowments: Brisbane Grammar School (approximately 22 acres); Brisbane Girls' Grammar School (approximately 19 acres); and Ipswich Grammar School (approximately 162 acres). About five acres was resumed from Brisbane Girls' Grammar School for railway purposes, and about £4,000 paid in compensation. Both Townsville Grammar School and Ipswich Girls' Grammar School had also applied for land endowments; the

former had been told that no public land was available, the latter that it was not then the practice to make land endowments. As all the schools that had received land endowments were in 1901 indebted to the Government for loans, it can hardly be assumed that the endowments were a success. A Brisbane Grammar School report shows the weakness of the scheme. The school had received land valued at £2,000. This had been let at the best rental procurable, but the amount did not cover rates. The school had been unsuccessful in subdivision for building leases, and had not been able to obtain the permission of the Government to sell.

In 1898 the move initiated by Groom to alter the method of awarding scholarships bore results. The Departmental report recorded that in future scholarships would be awarded only to children of ability above ordinary. The holder would be free to attend the school best suiting his circumstances. Help in boarding fees would be given to students lacking means, and

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1 Votes & Proceedings, Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1897, vol. I, 158.
3 Votes & Proceedings, Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1899, 1st Session, 217.
encouragement would be given to students at the Agricultural College at Gatton.\textsuperscript{1} Thus many of the injustices and anomalies of the District Scholarship scheme were eliminated. Henceforth, the Department announced, there would be, instead of 128 scholarships awarded at specific schools, money available for 36 scholarships tenable at any Grammar School; 8 bursaries each entitling the holder to free education at any Grammar School and up to £30 per year allowance for board; 4 bursaries for free board and instruction at Gatton Agricultural College (for students of sixteen to eighteen years of age).\textsuperscript{2}

**THE SCHOLARSHIPS AND DENOMINATIONALISM**

Further moves were made in 1899. On 13th June, Mr. McDonnell (Fortitude Valley) asked the Chief Secretary that competition for Grammar School Scholarships be made open to all boys and girls, no matter where educated; and that successful competitors be allowed to take out their scholarships at any High School or College in Queensland approved by the Secretary for

\textsuperscript{1}Votes & Proceedings, Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1898, I, 917.

\textsuperscript{2}ibid., p917f.
Public Instruction. He received an evasive reply.

GROOM AND GRAMMAR SCHOOL CONTROL

During the second session of 1899, W.H. Groom moved that:

...in the opinion of this House, the time has arrived when the "Grammar Schools Act 1860" and the "Grammar Schools Act Amendment Act of 1864" should be repealed; and that the Grammar Schools established under the provisions of these Acts should form part of the educational system of the Colony, and be placed under the control of the Secretary for Public Instruction as the responsible Minister of the Crown in charge of the Education Department.

The question was passed on 2nd November. The motion appears to call for a decisive step. In fact, as it transpired during the debates, Groom would have been satisfied had three things been accomplished—inspection of the Grammar Schools; more equitable distribution of the endowments; and enlargement of the body electing trustees.

W.H. Groom, while not in the front rank of parliamentary leadership, nevertheless deserves notice and credit for his zealous attention to educational matters during a long parliamentary career. He was not,

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1 Votes & Proceedings, Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1899, 1st Session, 67.
2 Ibid., 2nd Session, vol. I, 55.
perhaps, an educational thinker of the calibre of Lilley; but he was certainly better informed than the vast majority of his fellow parliamentarians on State educational affairs; and he did not hesitate to bring to public notice whatever he deemed worthy of promotion or in need of reform. The Grammar Schools had, in any case, received a good deal of public attention during the 1890s; but in 1899, internal dissension in the Brisbane Girls' Grammar School, leading to the resignation of the Headmistress, had focussed attention on the Grammar Schools' problems generally. A public meeting was called, and a resolution passed; and it was immediately following this that Groom brought up the matter in the Legislative Assembly.

Details of the controversy at Brisbane Girls' Grammar School are of little concern to this study; but the feeling apparently existed that the control of the Grammar Schools was in some way faulty in that it had allowed the situation to develop. The demand, therefore, was for a change in control. The resolution passed by the public meeting was not the one passed by Parliament, and made much heavier demands. "The Brisbane Courier"

1The Brisbane Courier, 27th September 1899.
of 28th September 1899 carried a leader on the topic:

...In moving the resolution, however, Alderman Hall went further, saying that it was now suggested (1) to place the Grammar Schools under the control of the Department of Public Instruction, (2) to broaden the curriculum, and (3) to abolish the present fees for ordinary subjects. It does not appear that anyone took exception to these proposals on Tuesday night. Yet in fact they go further than the resolution to be moved in the House this afternoon by Mr. Groom, which in effect asks only that the Grammar Schools be placed under the Department of Public Instruction. That itself is a step so far-reaching in result as to call for the gravest deliberation.

The article pointed out that the question of control of the Grammar Schools was not, in fact, the most pressing of the current problems. Others were the system of scholarships, the difficulties concerned with the Junior public examination (then held in June, an inconvenient time), and the financial injustice related to inequality of expenditure on the various schools. Another matter requiring consideration, both on economic and educational grounds, was the joint education of the sexes. The question that arose, however, in the light of the present resolution, was that of universal opportunity in secondary education.

...Mr. Hall on Tuesday night, having made the proposal that the Education Department should take over the Grammar Schools, was logically driven to
propose further, that the education there given, at least in ordinary subjects, should be free. Quite likely the same proposal will crop up in the House. Yet it would obviously be unfair to the generality of our citizens, who cannot take advantage of our Grammar Schools, that they should provide education for those who can. Scholarship boys and girls may be regarded as earning the right by the sweat of their brain; that is the encouragement of talent. But the great majority of our Grammar School pupils are the socially select; and it would be monstrous to ask the community to pay for them. Indeed such an arrangement would destroy the schools.1

"The Brisbane Courier" counselled moderation; and although Parliament agreed that transfer of control was desirable, it was never effected.

DENOMINATIONAL SCHOLARSHIPS

A week later, McDonnell again brought up the question he had raised during the first session. On 9th November 1899 he moved in the Legislative Assembly:

...That, in the opinion of this House, it is desirable that the Regulations dealing with Grammar School Scholarships should be so framed as to provide -

(1.) That such Scholarships should be open to the competition of the youth of both sexes irrespective of where educated in the Colony.

(2.) That, if so desired by successful competitors, such Scholarships should be enjoyed at such Schools or Colleges, other than Grammar Schools, as may be approved of by the Department of Public Instruction.2

1 The Brisbane Courier, 28th September 1899.

During the debate, an amendment to restrict the application of scholarships to "State-aided" institutions was defeated by 10 votes to 31.\(^1\) The original question was put and passed by 28 votes to 10.\(^2\)

McDonnell's move has a number of implications. It was primarily, and obviously, a move to allow scholarship winners to take up studies at Roman Catholic schools, and to allow pupils at Roman Catholic primary schools to win scholarships. The increasing success by candidates from Roman Catholic schools in the Sydney University public examinations was pointed out.

McDonnell's words are calculated to appeal to the Labour members, who had strong Roman Catholic support:

...I contend that a scholar who has won this prize should have the option, the right, the absolute freedom to take out that prize at any high school or college he may choose.\(^3\)

McDonnell claimed that the move had no bearing on primary education, which was free. It concerned only secondary education which was "a rather expensive commodity for some people - particularly for the poorer classes in Queensland - to obtain".\(^4\) He dwelt also on

\(^2\) ibid., p284.
\(^3\) Queensland Parliamentary Debates, vol. LXXXIII, 1899, 887.
\(^4\) ibid., p886.
the expense of the Grammar Schools: "...I think it can be contended that, as far as our grammar schools are concerned, we are not getting value nearly in proportion to the large amount of money that is expended on them". ¹

It was pointed out that there was still no control of the Grammar Schools, not even inspection. McDonnell emphasized that the Grammar Schools did not constitute a State system like the primary system; and that, in any case, the scholarships were a reward for meritorious pupils, not a scheme for subsidising schools.

A surprising feature is the strength of the margin of affirmative votes. The amendment by Grimes, who contended that the move was an attempt to revise State aid to religion, was soundly defeated; and this reveals a vastly altered frame of mind from that of twenty-five years earlier. The move broke the Grammar School monopoly on State-aided secondary education, and permitted extension of denominational secondary schools; but, significantly, it also permitted scholarship winners to attend other institutions, such as the School of Mines in Charters Towers, and technical colleges. Petitions of protest were presented, but without avail.

"The Brisbane Courier's" reaction to the measure was immediate and strong opposition. The move, it claimed, was purely to benefit Roman Catholic schools, and had been introduced in such a way that the real issue was obscured.

...The real trouble was that few of the speakers saw any distinction in principle between the two clauses of the motion; and the first being captivating in its innocence, the second was incontinently accepted as an easy corollary. Had the second stood by itself its abruptness might have created alarm, and provoked examination and rejection....

Let your scholarship youth go anywhere as they come from anywhere? That seems simple; but the difference is that when they go they carry the State money with them. The State money is not as before to be at the State's disposal for the benefit of the pupil; it is to be at the pupil's disposal, which means that it is to be at the disposal of the parents or religious guides of the pupil. It is to operate as a subsidy to the private or denominational school which the pupil or his guardians choose. And by so much it lessens the income and efficiency of the State institutions.

This obvious result Mr. McDonnell obscures by a careful selection of examples. For instance, he says, pupils would be at liberty to take out their scholarships at the Technical College or the Agricultural College, or some of the private high schools. His first two instances are themselves State institutions! And when he gets beyond the State he puts the case innocently as private high schools! Other speakers were not so reticent. They avowed the denominationalism involved. But they tried to soften it by spreading. There was talk about this not being necessarily for the Christian Brothers, but for the schools of the Church of England, of the Presbyterian Church, and others. Where are the others? Where, indeed, are the schools other than Roman Catholic schools that have ever raised this question or ever sought this
privilege? There is no use in beating about the bush. This is a purely denominational movement, and a purely Catholic movement. It is the movement of a body that would fain wall its youth off from the rest of society from the opening to the close of their educational course. And it asks the aid of State money in the doing of it....

....Mr. McDonnell has asked for the Catholic scholarships, and thoughtless politicians see no harm in granting it. They will next be asked for the Catholic subsidy; and they will find that in their first concession they have destroyed the ground on which they can refuse the second.¹

INSPECTION OF GRAMMAR SCHOOLS

In September 1900, Dalrymple introduced the Grammar Schools Act Amendment Bill, providing for inspection of Grammar Schools.² With some perspicacity, the Legislative Council inserted an amendment to the effect that all inspectors should be graduates of a British or Australian University,³ and the Bill was passed in December 1900. It appeared that the first step had been taken towards full State control of the Grammar Schools, but this was not to be; and even though now subject to inspection, the Grammar Schools were no more responsible to the Government than they had ever been. The Act was

¹The Brisbane Courier, 13th November 1899.
³ibid., p606f.
passed, however, with little comment and no dissension in the second reading, and without discussion in the third. William Kidston (Rockhampton), one of the few to speak on the measure, said in the Legislative Assembly:

...the Government would have done very much better if they had brought forward a measure to alter the constitution of the grammar schools altogether, and place them entirely under State control as secondary State schools. I have heard many complaints from State school teachers as to the better condition in which teachers in the grammar schools are placed as compared with themselves in the matter of emoluments, holidays, and so on....

I think we should have secondary State schools at which the children of all citizens could obtain a higher education after they had passed a certain standard in the primary schools. It is unmistakable that the existing grammar schools are to a large extent class schools, and I think it is the duty of the Government to destroy that growing character in our grammar schools and establish them on the same democratic principle as the primary schools. If this bill is a preliminary step towards that, I am very glad to see it; but if it is not, the Government are hardly doing their duty in this matter.1

This, as the nineteenth century drew to a close, expressed very fairly an opinion held by many throughout the State.

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1 Queensland Parliamentary Debates, vol. LXXXVI, 1900, 2746.
THE POSITION AND THE PROBLEM

As the twentieth century opened, the Grammar Schools remained the only directly State-aided secondary schools in Queensland, and the only secondary schools founded on a statutory basis. Attempts to found Superior State Schools, and to repeal the Grammar School legislation had failed. Yet the truth of the matter was that the concept of secondary education held forty years before was now becoming an anachronism; and the Grammar Schools, established to provide higher education for those who might desire it—and for the brilliant few who merited free places—could not satisfy the new demands. In fact an implied condition of Grammar School education was the ability to pay for it. While this was in keeping with current practice in 1860, parents being required in the first place to pay for the primary schooling of their children, the greatest difference between the two sets of conditions lay in the fact that primary education, or elementary education, was then regarded as a right and a necessity, to be provided as economically as possible; while higher education was something of a
personal luxury—though in the long run a public necessity—to be provided and paid for in proportion. The 1860 concept was essentially an extension of a traditional viewpoint of the old world. This was, as Gibson says,

"...the conservative tradition in the old style: loyalist, monarchist, rooted in the traditions of British common law, steeped in a sense of public service, expounded by men willing to assume responsibility, for the most part hardworking, with a strong feeling for origins and ancestry, trying to adapt the old pattern to new conditions, in the absence of a fixed elite which kept the pattern in place on its home ground." ¹

In England, the elite were drawn largely from the aristocracy and gentry. In the colonies, the elite were drawn, of necessity, from the economic elite, mainly from the landowners, and the professions. In any case, an adequate education was desirable, and the Grammar Schools were thus intended to produce "men willing to assume responsibility", men like the Colony's leaders—Bowen, Nicholson, Herbert. Higher education was a privilege, not a right.

By the end of the nineteenth century, however, it was evident that a new concept of secondary education was emerging—an idea that secondary education should be

available to all students desiring it, and capable of profiting by it, regardless of capacity to pay. Secondary education had, in fact, lagged one step behind primary. For in 1860 primary education was held to be a right, available on demand; but in 1900 it became an obligation, under enforcement of law: secondary education, in 1860 a privilege, was now deemed a right by many. There can be little doubt that the new viewpoint was a product of the development of democratic thought, itself in turn an extension of nineteenth century liberalism. As such, the new demand for further education was linked with the Labour and trade union movements; yet, though the pressure of the demand made itself felt in various ways, it does not seem to have been insistently promoted in terms of political aims and party slogans. Various reasons can be suggested for this.

In the first place there were, as has been pointed out, confused ideas about education currently expressed, and no doubt many of those desiring further education for their children were not clear in their own minds about the nature and purpose of it, beyond a desire to get on in the world. Against this there was a clear and firm notion held by many in influential positions, that it was possible and undesirable--perhaps even politically
dangerous—to "over-educate" the people. The State education as afforded by the primary schools during the 1890s was held to be good and sufficient. Again, the Labour movement and the unions, which might have constituted themselves the political mouth-piece of the new demand, were very largely concerned with questions of industrial unrest, wages and conditions, and social injustice. And Labour representatives in Parliament were, for years, curiously reluctant to commit themselves as a group.

...As in New South Wales the early 1890s saw Labor men entering Parliament in not inconsiderable numbers. But in Queensland a somewhat different attitude existed. The early Labor members had not entered Parliament to assist in making it work; they were determined not to join in making it work. Thus for almost ten years they refused to accept the position of Opposition, although their numbers exceeded those of the official Opposition. All that time they sat on the cross-benches. But during that period they learnt the techniques of parliamentary action and saw the possibilities, with the result that in 1898 their leader, Thomas Glassey, formally accepted the post as Leader of the Opposition. Anderson Dawson's action in accepting a commission to form a government in 1899— even though he knew it would not last a day—showed that Labor was at last committing itself to assist the parliamentary system to work.

Labour members made their presence felt in supporting or opposing various measures, but so far as education was...
concerned, there were other trammelling circumstances. It has been pointed out that the Labour Party relied heavily on Roman Catholic support. Rayner writes as follows:

...it appears likely that in fact it was true that a large section of the Roman Catholic vote was given to the Labour Party, especially after the early years of that party. But this was the case not because of any plot on the part of Church-leaders, but simply (sic) because the interests of many Roman Catholics happened to coincide in some important respects with the point of view being advocated by Labour.¹

Two factors directed Roman Catholic support towards the Labour Party. First, the Irish section generally were in the lower income group. Second, the Irish-Australians tended—as did the Labour Party also—towards Australian nationalism.² Bearing in mind the Colony's educational and religious history, it is obvious that it would have been difficult for the Labour Party to evolve a coherent policy on education.

A further factor was that the Labour Party—at least during its early years—in its concern for equality and social justice, and its preoccupation with industrial matters, was suspicious of anything savouring of class

²ibid., p186.
privilege. It followed that, although it accepted and supported the principle of universal elementary education, it eyed askance the fields of secondary and tertiary education, these being traditionally the preserve of an economic élite. However, by 1914 Francis Anderson was able to write:

...in all the States, the Labour Party has been educated out of the old jealousy of higher schools and universities as exclusive and privileged institutions for the wealthier classes.¹

It is noteworthy that, as Anderson pointed out, the abolition of the fee system was hastened as soon as the Labour Party began to make itself felt in political life. This, while it does not apply to Queensland primary education, is undoubtedly relevant to secondary education in Queensland.

An exposition of educational thought that represents very fairly the Labour point of view is to be found in "The Boomerang". Though primarily concerned with industrial and political questions, this journal found space time and time again to promote the cause of education, and to urge educational reform. Repeatedly in the years from 1888 to 1891 it recommended the

introduction of compulsory primary education. It vehemently supported the extension of further education (including industrial, technical, secondary and university education) as a matter of national necessity, all to be free to those meriting it.

...We must have the common schools first, just as we must have bread before butter, but free common schools alone are not enough if we would have a truly advanced people come after us. The Grammar Schools should be free and enterable by examination only; and there should also be a university equally free to those proved capable of advancing by its teaching...we must have higher education, free and open and general.\(^1\)

"The Boomerang" recommended the raising of the school leaving age to fourteen or fifteen, and raised opposition to pedantry and harsh teaching, out-moded curricula (including the teaching of Latin), and the domination of the system by examinations (in particular the State scholarship examination). It espoused the cause of Superior Schools. Most bitterly, however, did it attack the concept of higher education as a class privilege; and the payment of fees at the Grammar Schools, raising as it did an economic and social barrier, implicitly branded these schools as institutions dedicated to the perpetuation of this concept. A good deal of ink was

\(^1\)The Boomerang, 26th January 1889.
expended in strongly emotive criticism. An excellent example of such criticism is to be found in the issue of June 20th, 1891, following the publication of the report of the Royal Commission. "The Boomerang" regarded the recommendation that fees be payable in the proposed secondary schools as a compromise on Lilley's part, and as the betrayal of a principle:

The compromise is one repugnant to the whole spirit of democracy. Class distinctions! Class distinctions! Class distinctions! That is what it goes to perpetuate. It makes a man's money the test of his desert; it is an acknowledgment by the State that you must judge a man by what he owns and not by what he is; it is an exemplification of the old doctrine that to him that hath shall be given, and from him that hath not shall be taken away even that he hath. We denounce it, and we ask our readers to denounce it, because it attempts to enforce under the Southern Cross the old-world idea that culture and refinement belong to the "privileged classes," and a life of ignorance and brutality is the natural lot of the masses; because it divides the aristocratic sheep from the proletarian goats as unmistakably as if there was a material wall of brick and mortar between; and because it is degrading to the spirit of Australian thought, and false to the ideal of an Australian nation.¹

There can be little doubt that such criticism as this did much to produce a strong current of opposition to the Grammar Schools during the late nineteenth century. And that such antipathy did exist is beyond

¹The Boomerang, 20th June 1891.
doubt. There is ample evidence of it in the parliamentary debates of the time, and further evidence appears from time to time in the press.

The notion that the Grammar Schools were the preserve of the socially select is not, of course, the only reason for opposition to them. There existed also the idea that the work of the schools was not in harmony with modern requirements, and that the schools received Government subsidies without being accountable to the Government or subject to Government control. Roman Catholics generally were committed to patronise and to support financially their own schools, which received no Government endowment. In any case, many Roman Catholics were, as has been pointed out, adherents of the Labour cause. Again, resentment was to be expected from those who, though desiring further education, were unable to obtain it. Many could not afford the fees; but local interests were also involved here, for a number of increasingly important centres did not boast Grammar School facilities.

A further vein of ill-feeling existed between the Department of Public Instruction and the Grammar Schools, the strength of which was probably far stronger than ever appeared on the surface of things. Its presence,
however, cannot be denied. The Secretary for Public Instruction, W. Stephens, made reference to it—no doubt in honeyed terms—in opening the Conference between Grammar School Heads and Departmental officials in January 1908:

...I am sorry to say that in the past there has been some sort of feeling—perhaps not the best, and perhaps not the worst feeling—between the Grammar schools, the State Schools and the Department. I would like to see that entirely cleared up....

In closing the Conference, Stephens had this to say:

...I feel delighted to think that I have been in some way responsible for bringing the Grammar School Heads and the Department in touch with one another. I am sorry to think—I have often noticed it in the papers—that there was a little ill-feeling between them—not that feeling of trustfulness that there should be....

The attitude of Ewart concerning centralism of control, and further education generally, has already been mentioned. In addition there was, as Roe remarked during the same Conference, "a general feeling of grumbling towards the Grammar Schools as to their expensiveness and inefficiency which a serious attempt to examine into their conditions would possibly have

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1 Records in possession of State Government Archives, Brisbane.

2 Ibid.
removed.¹

In retrospect it seems certain that the basic question was that of expense. W.H. Groom had thrown some light on this during the debates in the House in 1897:

...But you must look at the matter in this light: that if you have high-class institutions like the Brisbane Grammar School you must have a high-class head master, and give him a salary proportionate to his high intellectual attainments and the expense which must have been incurred in qualifying him for his responsible position. If you give him a high salary and pay the second and third masters a proportionate amount you will have very little left out of the £1,000 endowment.²

In this, no doubt, lies the real heart of the problem. There is a wide diversity of ideas on secondary education revealed in the parliamentary debates of the decade. The idea of "over-education" is upheld by some, and scorned by others. Secondary education is seen as the right of all who might desire it, and as a luxury. "Literary" education is alternately attacked and defended. The rival claims of technical and agricultural education are put forward. But the problem that was becoming more pressing as the years went by was

¹Records in possession of State Government Archives, Brisbane.
essentially that secondary education as it had been provided by the Grammar Schools for an academic and economic élite, simply could not be provided on the same scale to meet the new demands. Wide and rapid extension of the Grammar School system was not economically feasible. The onus to initiate a new school was, in any case, on the people desiring the education, and action was thus difficult in a poor area, a newly settled area, or an area of shifting population, such as a mining field. Immediate action was possible only through a centrally directed agency such as the Department of Public Instruction. And the Department could not parallel existing Grammar School conditions—and would not, even if it could. A comparison of salaries illustrates the point. In 1901 the Headmaster of Brisbane Grammar School received £750. The Headmaster of Ipswich Grammar School and the Headmaster of Toowoomba Grammar School each received £400, and the other Headmasters £500. The second master at Brisbane Grammar School received £500, the third £300, and four of the remaining six £200 or more. In the other boys' Grammar Schools, the salaries for second masters ranged
from £235 to £350, and only one third master received less than £200. On the other hand, in 1901 the estimates for the coming year showed the yearly salary of the General Inspector of the Department as £600--less than the amount received by the Headmaster of Brisbane Grammar School. The Senior Inspector was to receive £450, and Inspectors £350 to £430. The Head Teacher of a Class I school was to receive £450. The highest paid assistant in all the service, Class II3, was to receive only £222. In the girls' Grammar Schools salaries were lower, but still compared well. The Headmistresses of the Grammar Schools received respectively £500, £400, £300 and £300 per year. Second mistresses received from £180 to £300 per year.

The problem facing the Queensland State Government at the turn of the century was, in a minor way, the same as that confronting the British Government on a vastly greater scale: the reconciliation of new demands to the capacities of an existing system. If secondary education were to be provided in Queensland as popular

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education, then it must be economically provided, and, if primary experience was worth anything, on the initiative of the State. The obvious agency for such provision was the Department of Public Instruction. But the Grammar Schools had not been planned to provide popular secondary education in the new sense. Moreover, by now, most of them had laid the basis for their own traditions. They had their own influence, and the spirit of their enterprise rendered a willing subjection to an undeniably autocratic Department highly unlikely. Some attitude persisted that the Department, the successor to the Board of General Education, had been created for the purpose of providing primary education, and was therefore not a competent body to assume control of secondary education. However, a popular demand was acknowledged to exist, and had to be met. The Government now held authority in law to establish secondary schools under Departmental auspices, if it so desired; but it was obvious that provision on the same economic scale as that of the Grammar Schools was impossible, even if desirable --although there were not wanting those who challenged this. So far as the Grammar Schools were concerned, it seemed that, a willing reconciliation to circumstances being unlikely, an unwilling one was inevitable.
In fact, this economic difficulty had been apparent for ten years. The turn of the tide had been, it is clear, between 1874 and 1890; for the Commission of 1874 recommended extending the Grammar School system, although under a central authority; while that of 1890 recommended, on grounds of excessive cost, the repeal of the Grammar School legislation, and the inauguration of State secondary schools. Despite this two Grammar Schools were established after 1890; but the foundational work of Ipswich Girls' Grammar School had been accomplished before the Commission's report was released; and Rockhampton Girls' Grammar School had already been in existence as a department of the Boys' School. In fact the Government neglected, in 1888, what might have seemed ten years earlier an excellent opportunity to found a Grammar School in Charters Towers. In November 1888, the Day Dawn P.C. Gold Mining Co. applied for, and was subsequently given, leave to break the surface of portion of the reserve of the Boys' School (a State primary school) on condition that it paid to the Department £1,000 to found a Grammar School scholarship attached to Charters Towers Boys' School. The scholarship was to have an annual value of £50, and the first winner attended Rockhampton Grammar School in
In an earlier day £1,000 might have been used to help found an entire school, not merely to educate one boy.

**THE FIRST GRAMMAR SCHOOL INSPECTION**

Following the Amendment Act of 1900, the first inspection of Grammar Schools took place in 1901. The Inspector, Mr. D. Cameron—for many years Headmaster of Ipswich Grammar School—was appointed on 18th July 1901, and began his inspection a fortnight later. Between the end of July and the middle of October he visited all Grammar Schools. His report is of considerable interest. It is a clear and fairly detailed report, giving an insight into the organization and work of the Grammar Schools as it was at the beginning of the twentieth century. The following figures, drawn from Appendix A to Cameron's report, give some idea of the size and composition of the student enrolment:

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1Votes & Proceedings, Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1890, vol. II, 1318 f.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GRAMMAR SCHOOL</th>
<th>STAFFS</th>
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(Rockhampton Girls' Grammar School had, in addition, 26 pupils enrolled in its Kindergarten.)

Cameron found that all six Headmasters were graduates of Universities, three of Oxford, one of Cambridge, one of Aberdeen, one of Sydney; all had distinctions. Of twenty-four assistants in the Boys' Grammar Schools, fifteen were graduates, and the remainder had teacher training or special qualifications. Among twenty-five lady teachers, there were nine graduates. It was noted that difficulty in finding good

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men arose from the lack of a University in the State. Hitherto, trustees had been able to offer good salaries, and thus attract good staff from other colonies and from the Old Country; but in recent years there had been a tendency to reduce. This indicates that the Grammar Schools were already feeling the financial squeeze that was, during the next few years, to become acute.

It appears that there was more uniformity among the schools than was apparent.

The evils that may arise from reducing grammar school work to a dead uniformity are sometimes spoken of. There is a greater uniformity of subjects, if not of method, in our grammar schools than one might at first look for. The Sydney University, and lately the Queensland Civil Service Board, practically give the law to the advanced work. It is important to boys who wish to undergo a university training, with a view to a profession, to pass the Sydney Senior in certain selected subjects, since this will qualify for admission to the faculties of Law, or Medicine, or Science, or the various departments of Engineering, and obviate the necessity of taking up a previous year in the faculty of Arts. So the Sydney Senior engages the attention of the most advanced pupils who are looking forward to any of the professions. Since success in winning one of the three Queensland Government Exhibitions of £100 a year for three years also depends on one's position in the Sydney Senior, an additional incentive to study in these lines is held out to the abler boys in the schools. Accordingly very much the same routine of work, and the same authors in Latin, French, German, and English are met with in the highest forms. Owing

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to similar considerations the same text-books are found in the classes preparing for the Sydney Junior Examination.¹

There was, however, a modern side in every school, receiving "distinct recognition and attention in all the boys' schools....The schools have of late adapted themselves much more to modern requirements than was wont."²

Figures compiled from Appendix B to Cameron's report give some idea of what subjects were taught in the Grammar Schools, and what proportion of students took these subjects. (No mention is made here of Writing, Drill and Gymnastics, Tots, Precis Writing, or Elementary Science in the form of Object Lessons or Natural History. It is probable that some of these applied only to lower schools, and others are obviously not academic subjects.)

² ibid.
Total numbers in Grammar Schools, excluding Kindergarten: 507 boys and 300 girls, 807 total.

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<th>SUBJECT</th>
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It is obvious that the Grammar Schools were still primarily academic, leading to the Universities, and to professional and business pursuits—although no doubt there were many students whose path in life lay elsewhere.

The Grammar Schools had no tendency towards technical education. Only at Ipswich Grammar School was Manual Training taught, and there only to 6 boys, as a kind of pastime, outside of school hours.

Certain other points concerning subjects are worthy of note. The teaching of Latin was strong, but not so strong as it had been; and Greek, though still a compulsory subject for University exhibitions, had suffered a considerable decline. The study of Modern Languages, notably French, was strong. The figures quoted for Science, however, are deceptive; for the study of Science was neither strong nor uniform. Cameron notes that different branches of science were taking a firm hold, and that in one school only (Toowoomba Grammar School) did Science form no part of the course. There was, however, wide diversity. Botany was the favourite subject with Girls' schools, though Maryborough Girls' Grammar School preferred Physiology. Rockhampton Girls' Grammar School offered only Geology. Ipswich Grammar School combined Physics with Chemistry. In Brisbane, Maryborough and Townsville, Practical Chemistry was taught to a few of the most advanced boys, and in Brisbane astronomy was taught to upper modern boys. Mineralogy was taught to select classes of boys in
Brisbane and Maryborough. ¹

Overall, the quality of the work done was satisfactory.

...I am satisfied, after paying close attention to the work of the schools during my visits, that that work in all the departments of it in which I felt capable of forming a judgement, is of a genuine and thorough character; that the heads of the schools are fully alive to their responsibilities; and that their assistants endeavour to carry out their duties faithfully. ²

Cameron paid some attention to the matter of election of trustees. In this he found a lack of uniformity that is rather surprising, seeing that all schools were founded under the same legislative terms. In both Rockhampton and Ipswich, there were two different bodies of trustees. In Brisbane there were separate elections, but the same men were always elected to both bodies, and the same men appointed by the Government to both. In Maryborough there was only one list of subscribers for both schools. The subscribers met as a single body and appointed the same three trustees for both schools, the Government appointing the other four. Funds were amalgamated, and drawn upon for either school as occasion

²ibid., p1246.
demanded.¹

The quarterly fees for all schools, under the latest approved regulations, were (with one or two minor exceptions) four guineas for day pupils over twelve, and three guineas for day pupils under twelve.²

Conditions of admission to the various schools were found to vary widely. Brisbane Grammar School stipulated a minimum age of eleven, with some facility in reading, writing from dictation, simple addition, and subtraction. All the Girls' schools, and the Boys' schools in Townsville and Maryborough, set a minimum age of eight years. The standard of minimum attainments for entry was much the same in all schools, but was in any case elementary. The Girls' school in Rockhampton only had no conditions for admission but the payment of fees; boys and girls might enter the kindergarten at the age of five, and boys might remain there till the age of nine. This arrangement, Cameron observed, did not appear to be in accordance with the Grammar Schools Act.³

²Ibid., p1248.
³Ibid., p1248.
...It seems necessary that the Secretary of Public Instruction should be given the power, if he does not already possess it, of enforcing compliance with the regulations until such regulations have been amended and the amendments have been sanctioned by Government.¹

Trustees, continued Cameron, should not be unduly interfered with, but still should not be allowed to act as altogether irresponsible bodies. Some amendment of the Act might be necessary.

In his opinion, wrote Cameron, the 1860 Act had never been intended to include the early stages of kindergarten or any course of primary instruction. Although there had been no serious departure from their regulations on the part of the three schools that had introduced junior divisions, it seemed that the lowering of admission standards and fees for junior pupils might lead to a development of Grammar School work in the direction of special primary or preparatory schools. This would not be in accordance with the spirit of the Act, and it might be needful to set minimum admission ages and attainments by enactment.

An important part of Cameron's report deals with admission of State scholars to the Grammar Schools, and possible changes in the Grammar School system.

Before I left Brisbane to enter on my duties, an influential deputation from Queensland State school committees waited upon you in the Education Office and presented a petition praying that the grammar schools should be made of more service to the country by the free admission into them of a much larger number of State scholars than are admitted under the present system, and that those additional scholars should be admitted at no increased cost to the Treasury. I understand that it is your wish that I should deal with the allegations made in the petition in the light of my visits to the schools, and express an opinion on the questions raised....

The petitioners, it appears, were under the impression that the Grammar School staffs were capable of teaching more than double the number then in attendance, and that most of the Grammar Schools in the Colony were not half filled. Their request was, therefore, "That action will be immediately taken whereby the fullest advantages may be gained from the teaching powers of the schools now not fully availed of."

Taking the Boys' schools, Cameron reported, the remarks made by the petitioners would necessarily apply only to the five schools outside Brisbane. The petitioners might have been led to form their impressions by their experience of the very large classes that masters

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2 ibid., pl250.
3 ibid., pl250.
could manage to teach in the State Schools; but secondary school subjects could not be taught successfully to large classes as elementary subjects could. The above schools could not, he added, comfortably accommodate more than a hundred boys each at the outside. More outlay in the way of providing additional class-rooms would also be necessary. At that time, excluding State scholars, the numbers at these Boys' schools were: Ipswich 54; Toowoomba 54; Maryborough 56; Rockhampton 62; Townsville 49. To add twenty more boys per year (i.e., sixty over three years) would necessitate the appointment of at least one more, perhaps two more, masters at each school. And in the main the same conditions applied to the Girls' schools. 1

....But even if it were the case that "most of the grammar schools are not half filled," and that "the present staffs are capable of teaching more than double the number of pupils now attending, without additional cost," and if a very large number to whom the fees would be an obstacle were anxious to enter the grammar schools, and likely to make the best use of the advantages they offer or may be made to offer, it would be out of the question to have a paying minority in the schools with a majority of free pupils. Those who had been paying pupils would probably be just as much entitled to free admission, and then there would be only a limited endowment to carry on with. It would then be necessary for the managers to be in a position

to draw on the resources of the country; and it would be better at once to make the grammar schools, "form part of the national education of the State."  

Cameron agreed that young children should not attend Grammar Schools, but pointed out that it was not likely that trustees would, under the present system, dispense with paying pupils in order to make room for pupils who wished for free admission, however well advanced. "In schools whose incomes are limited," Cameron wrote,  

...ways and means must be a first consideration. The grammar schools, then, could not receive an accession of free pupils on the scale contemplated by the petitioners without further expenditure, an expenditure which would necessitate more Government aid.  

Cameron presumed that it was awareness of this that underlay proposals to revive the old allotment plan for scholarships. This would ensure financial stability, and permit the further acceptance of free pupils. It was, however, unfortunate, that the scholarship question could not be discussed without considering the effect of any arrangement on the income of the Grammar Schools.  

The petitioners urged that the high fees charged in the Grammar Schools debarred a large number of pupils

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2 Ibid., pl251.
from the benefits of a superior education. Probably, observed Cameron, it would be found necessary to reduce the fees in all the schools except Brisbane; and the Grammar Schools should have an understanding with each other in matters of that kind, especially with regard to boarding charges.

Last, Cameron came to the most important question touched upon by the petitioners: whether the Grammar Schools should, or should not, eventually be brought under the direct control of the Department of Public Instruction.

...The trustees of the Northern schools - Townsville and Rockhampton - entertain the strongest objections to giving up control of the schools. I did not introduce the subject afterwards at trustees' meetings, being convinced of the futility of any effort to get light on the matter in that way....

It is fairly clear that the Grammar Schools would not willingly submit themselves to Departmental control.

Cameron's report revealed that any extension of the secondary school opportunities of the State through the Grammar Schools would involve considerable further expenditure. Prevailing economic conditions were such that the State would not, or was not able, to undertake this. Moreover, there is evidence that at this period the main field of Departmental activity was under some criticism.

CHAPTER X

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY OPENS

DEPARTMENTAL DEVELOPMENTS

Interest in the secondary education question had mounted during the 1890s, and it seemed certain, at the close of the nineteenth century, that the Queensland Government would act to bring the Grammar Schools under its own control—that the Act to permit inspection of the Grammar Schools was in fact the first step in this process. In fact, the heightened critical interest in education—not merely secondary education—was not by any means confined to Queensland, nor even to Australia. R.H. Roe during six months leave of absence late in 1900 visited the "chief seats of learning and educational activity" in the mother country. In 1901 he had this to say:

The feature that struck me most in educational matters in England was the great extension of secondary schools throughout the country. Everywhere were to be found new high schools, proprietary or otherwise, new higher board schools, new technical schools, and the older foundations, the great public schools, in spite of additional buildings and improvements, were filled to overflowing. It was evident that there was not only a general increase in the number of those able and willing to bear the expense of secondary education for their children, but also a general advance in the
appreciation set upon such education. It seemed to me that in this respect we were not keeping pace in Queensland with the older world, that a smaller proportion of us are willing to make personal sacrifices to secure the highest possible education for our children, and that we are too much inclined to measure the value of an education with regard only to the opening it is likely to secure a boy in life, instead of determining that, whatever our son's future may be, he shall at least have a well-stored mind and a habit of cultivated thought. It was, on the other hand, a consolation to find that in our methods and in the standard of our work we were reasonably abreast of the times. ... Alongside of the increased interest in educational matters was a growing demand for better organisation, and for some form of inspection as a help in this direction.¹

In New South Wales about the same time, the outspoken comment of Francis Anderson, and the subsequent publication of the Knibbs–Turner Report, had strong effect. In Queensland, however, Government action was inhibited by economic depression:

The years 1901–4 provide two or three events of real interest in education. Queensland, now a State, was experiencing another, if less disastrous, financial depression, and again education was pushed into the background. The events of 1893 were repeated - building was restricted and a policy of retrenchment brought more uncertainty and unhappiness.²

Nevertheless, public interest was maintained:

¹Brisbane Grammar School Headmaster's Report for 1901.

²E.R. Wyeth, Education in Queensland, A.C.E.R. Research Series No. 67; Melbourne: Australian Council for Educational Research, (no date), 156.
One striking feature of newspapers of the time was the space they devoted to educational topics; even important changes in other States were featured. There was considerable criticism of facilities in the home State, and much of it was well founded. Due to the policy of the officers, Anderson and Ewart, Queensland had failed to keep pace with events elsewhere. The chief points of criticism centred round the out-dated syllabus, the training of teachers and the alleged inefficiency of the departmental officials.¹

In response to current criticism, a conference was held in Brisbane in January 1903. Prominent was the Minister for Education, Mr. A.H. Barlow—the first Minister for many years to give strong, consistent leadership to the Department. Barlow's opening address is interesting:

There has been growing up in the public mind for some years past an impression that however good our system may be, it is in some respects not sufficiently practical as regards the future careers of the vast majority of our scholars; that many matters of practical administration may be improved; and that, while not seeking to reduce salaries better results may be obtained for the same or less outlay.

No rash or ill-considered changes will be made in the system, nor will the slightest attempt be made to restrict or curtail the benefits of that education which the State has an obligation to provide, and which every child in the community has a right to expect and to receive.

¹E.R. Wyeth, Education in Queensland, A.C.E.R. Research Series No. 67; Melbourne: Australian Council for Educational Research, (no date), 156.
²Ibid., pl56f.
It was, no doubt, this care to obtain better results "for the same or less outlay" that prompted the financial squeeze on the Grammar Schools that immediately followed; but the immediate concern was with primary education. Members of the conference were the Minister, the Under Secretary (J.G. Anderson), the General Inspector (D. Ewart), the Secretary of the Conference (J. Shirley), the Chief Clerk (J.D. Story), twelve District Inspectors, and six delegates from the Teachers' Association. With the Conference dominated by rigid conservatives such as Anderson and Ewart, together with many of their appointees and immediate inferiors, little was to be expected that might reveal any glaring defect. The system, after all, was largely the creation of Anderson and Ewart. The Conference dealt with a number of motions from various sources; and it is difficult to escape the conclusion that it expended its energies in discussing details, and never arrived at basic issues. The status quo was implicitly defended. However, some progress was made, and a new primary syllabus was issued in 1904, effective in 1905.

So far as secondary and tertiary education was

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1 Queensland Parliamentary Papers, 1904, 277.
concerned, the Conference achieved little. It refused, for example, to urge the Government to establish a training college and a university. Other motions confirmed the Departmental antipathy towards the Grammar Schools, and the idea that if secondary education were to be established, it should be under Departmental auspices. The proposal that

...the present system of granting Grammar School scholarships is detrimental to the true interests of education, and that all children who have passed an examination upon 5th Class work should be admitted to the Grammar Schools free....

was rejected by fifteen votes to four. But a special motion, that "with the view of providing for the efficient teaching of secondary subjects, higher grade schools should be established", was carried by thirteen votes to seven.

The Conference agreed that the Grammar Schools should be used to give secondary education, but did not agree that they should be used to provide technical education. It is noteworthy that at this time technical education was by stages passing into Departmental hands. But the most curious display of devious thought lay in the Conference affirmation of the motion that

1 Queensland Parliamentary Papers, 1904, 280.
2 ibid., p283.
3 ibid., p287.
"the present system of giving scholarships and bursaries is objectionable as affording additional advantages to persons already exceptionally gifted by nature or circumstances". Apparently an attack on class privilege, the motion seems to be a shaft aimed at the Grammar Schools; but the implication that possession of talent was in itself a sufficient gift was indefensible. Ample evidence had been tendered in Parliament to prove that without financial assistance the exploitation of talent was often impossible. The words "or circumstances" remain a mystery. It is possible, however, and kinder, to interpret the Conference's action as being symptomatic of a rising desire for equality of opportunity in secondary education, and a rejection of an out-worn concept of an intellectual élite.

FINANCIAL PRESSURE ON THE GRAMMAR SCHOOLS

The Conference did little to solve the problem of the Grammar Schools, and it is obvious that the Government at this stage committed itself—as Barlow had hinted—to a programme of extracting the maximum of return for outlay. In the process the Grammar Schools

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1 Queensland Parliamentary Papers, 1904, 283.
suffered.

The Estimates for 1904-5 provided endowment for the Grammar Schools at the rate of £500 per year, instead of at the rate of £1,000 per year as previously.

Indignation was State-wide when the news of the reduction was announced and deputations were sent to the Treasurer, Mr. Kidston, including one from the Townsville Grammar School, led by the Hon. R. Philp, M.L.A. In reply, Mr. Kidston said that he sympathized with the schools, especially the Townsville Grammar School, as it was in the worst position. However, all that he could do was to continue the subsidy of £1,000 till the end of 1904.

The following extract from the Queenslander gives some idea of opinion at the time: 'Instead of endeavouring to maintain our place in the van of progress, we are contemplating going back on the wisdom of the legislators of 1860 who foresaw the value of the State Grammar Schools. 'The position of some Grammar Schools when deprived of half the present endowment will be perilous in the extreme; in fact in some cases it will compel the closing down altogether.'

Kidston's views, his expressed lack of sympathy with the Grammar Schools, have been already quoted. The Headmaster of Townsville Grammar School, Mr. Miller, and his staff, resigned.

The harshness of the measure was revealed by the Headmaster of the Brisbane Grammar School in his report for 1905:

The one gloomy point in the present outlook is our future financial position, in consequence of the Government proposal to reduce the endowment from £1,000 to £500 per annum. The school now pays back to the Treasury £586 out of this for interest and redemption of its loan - a loan spent entirely upon the erection of permanent school buildings that will be the property of the nation for continued use in future generations - and this reduction will mean that the future working of the school must be maintained solely by its own fees. Our affairs have not been extravagantly managed, yet by the strictest economy we have hitherto only just managed to pay our way. Grammar school education has undoubtedly cost more per head than primary education because we teach more, just as University education costs more than that at the Grammar schools - but a comparison of our fees with those of kindred institutions in neighbouring States shows that our charges and expenditure are by no means excessive, nor is the State endowment nearly so generous as that to Technical Colleges. If we received pound for pound upon our fees, we could take the whole of our State school scholars (some fifty in number) free, and should still have to receive from the State some £500 per annum more than the £1,000 which has hitherto been annually paid us. Ten thousand pounds a year, the total annual State endowment of secondary education in Queensland, is surely so far from being excessive that most of us would regard it as a paltry sum for a State whose revenues are over £4,000,000, and whose area is larger than that of France, Germany, and Spain combined, to spend for the diffusion of higher education amongst its people; and until it is supplemented by considerable addition for the maintenance of a University, to complete and extend the work which the Grammar schools are doing, this State as a whole will never have that full appreciation of the value of knowledge, nor the means of attaining it, which are both essential for its material and moral development.  

In fact a severe blow had been dealt at all the Grammar Schools. The report for Brisbane Girls' Grammar School stated that the School might have to close altogether, and made the following comment:

"...If secondary education is to be valuable, its teachers must be qualified, and to induce people to qualify for a life career there must be in prospect adequate remuneration and hope of tenure. The item of expense most affected by the reduction of the Grammar schools' endowment is salaries, and means therefore over-working or under-staffing. While all the rest of the English-speaking world is awaking to the necessity of improving secondary education, Queensland has taken a retrograde step."

The Government was obliged to modify its original terms. The reduction in endowment took place as from 1st January 1905, not 1st July 1904, as planned. From the 1st July 1905 it was increased to £650 per year, and it was suggested to the trustees that in consideration of the increased endowment they might see their way to grant "Trustees Scholarships" to the extent to which the funds at their disposal might permit. All Grammar Schools with the exception of Brisbane Girls' Grammar School complied with this "suggestion", the greatest number offered being eight at Toowoomba Grammar School. In addition to this, the Government converted loans balances into loans repayable in forty years from 1st

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January 1906. The fact remains, however, that the first move in a financial squeeze had been made. The difficult financial conditions have been blamed for the move; but evidence points to the conclusion that it was in fact deliberately engineered to exact the greatest possible return for moneys expended.

Having made its point, perhaps with greater repercussions than had been anticipated, the Government now made concessions. From 1st July 1906, the endowment was increased to £750 per year, and a further £250 per year was granted for district scholarships. The district scholars were to be selected from the list of unsuccessful candidates in the ordinary State scholarship examination, in order of merit with respect to district of residence. Five district scholarships were to be attached to each Grammar School. Thus, the Government claimed, the old rate of endowment had practically been restored to the schools as from 1st July 1906.

The re-introduction of district scholarships assured the successful continuance of the Grammar

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Schools in country areas; but the palmy days had gone. Figures for 1907 show that of the total number attending the Grammar Schools, about one-fourth were free scholars. This proportion is not so great as that of 1897, ten years earlier, when 280 of 870 pupils were State School scholars; but of 290 scholars in 1907, 155 held Trustees' or other scholarships. These were not a direct charge on the State. The corresponding figure was nowhere near so large in 1897. In fact the total cost to the State for both periods was about the same; but total enrolments in 1907 were over two hundred greater than those of 1897, and the State was now shouldering the relatively high cost of bursaries; so that, it is obvious, a considerable financial saving was involved. But it was fairly clear that this was about as much return as the State could expect from the Grammar Schools, for current outlay. Any further move to provide secondary education would have to be initiated by the State Government itself.

THE RISE OF TECHNICAL EDUCATION

Although an examination of technical education as such is not relevant to the present study, some consideration of the matter is necessary; for late in the nineteenth century and early in the twentieth,
technical education represented a more practical avenue of further education than that provided in the more academic Grammar Schools. It was a type of further education that appealed to the supporters of the advancing Labour movement, and one that advancing industrialization rendered desirable or even necessary.

It was in the provision of technical education that the State Government found an avenue through which it might promote State secondary education—an avenue acceptable to all parties. Francis Anderson wrote in 1914:

...It was probably the economic motive, more than any other, which induced the Legislatures to give a sympathetic hearing to the demand for educational reform. Individual and national "efficiency" was declared, in Australia as in England, to be the one thing needful.¹

Be this as it may, it is certain that the stress in Queensland during the early twentieth century was on "practical" education.

In fact, the concern for "practical education" goes back to the date of separation. The Grammar School legislators intended that the Grammar School education should be "practical"—though in a different sense. It was to be practical in the sense that it would serve the

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interests of a class of professional men and community leaders. The 1874 Commission sought the provision of "practical education" in a more modern sense, and urged forms of technical education for pupils of twelve years and over. The Government, however, declined to act, and for the remainder of the nineteenth century the provision of technical education was left to private bodies.

Provision of technical education courses seems to have begun in the 1880s in Brisbane. The Brisbane Technical College began in 1882 as the result of a public meeting called by John Douglas. An annual grant of £600 was obtained, and land was reserved. In 1882 nine teachers in eleven subjects taught eighty students.¹

In a number of places technical classes developed in association with Schools of Arts under local councils; and in the 1890s a pound for pound subsidy was granted by the Government. This led to unfortunate results in many instances; for classes in subjects requiring little equipment or incurring low running expenses, which could be handled in large numbers, were encouraged in order to attract a greater subsidy. Others requiring more skilled teaching and more elaborate equipment, such as

the sciences, and the trade subjects such as engineering, suffered. The Grammar Schools did not, and could not, undertake technical education, and for many years it received little Departmental sympathy. The General Inspector, D. Ewart, dealt with the matter to his own satisfaction in his report for 1893:

Recollections of my own boyhood, and the experiences of many years since, have shown me that an apt boy will acquire a fair technical education and learn many things if he is given a few tools and the run of the backyard.¹

Nevertheless, the Technical Colleges and Schools of Arts made some headway, and by the early years of the twentieth century the State was spending as much money on them as upon formal secondary education, and at a far more generous rate. This was pointed out by Roe in his Brisbane Grammar School report for 1905. Yet the expenditure was safely approved by Parliament, and one may therefore assume that it received a good measure of popular support.

The idea that further education through the Technical Colleges was more acceptable than a more formal education in the Grammar Schools was put forward years

before the close of the nineteenth century. In 1896, for example, the Secretary for Mines made just this suggestion in Parliament:

....If hon. members would occasionally go in and see the Technical College in Brisbane, they will find that there are 1,000 scholars and, with the exception of three subjects, all the subjects taught in the high schools of New South Wales are taught there.

All towns, he claimed, could have a Technical College subsidised by the Government, and "they can take the place of secondary schools".²

Under the localised administrative conditions of the 1890s, however, the Technical Colleges had far less cohesion than the Grammar Schools, and, no doubt, less sense of purpose. However, the wide-spread public interest in technical education at the end of the nineteenth century, together with Government concern for the efficient use of the steadily rising Government grant, rendered action imperative. Accordingly in 1902, a Board of Technical Education was set up, and money made available.³ The Board's function was advisory only, but in 1903 uniform examinations were instituted

2 ibid.
throughout the State; 960 students were examined and 664 certificates issued. In 1905 it was reported that eighteen Technical Colleges were operating, with a total of 3,512 students attending.¹

In 1905, however, disagreement between the Board and the Department brought about the abolition of the Board and its replacement by a separate branch of the Department of Public Instruction created to control technical education. This Board, the Board of Technical Instruction, gave its first report in 1905; and it also levelled charges at the quality of State education:

...in many respects, the primary school system was failing to fulfil effectively its chief function of developing the intellectual capacity of its pupils....²

As from 1st July 1905, R. McL. Riddell was appointed Inspector of Technical Colleges, and he set about promoting the cause of technical education. Signs were not wanting, he wrote, that stronger opinions on education were forming. Belief in its importance was widening, and it was being recognised that the matter of education beyond the scope of the primary schools was not a matter for the consideration of the individual

²ibid., p237.
alone. State interest was involved.¹

...full success educationally, in the State, will not follow unless technical education is recognised as an integral part of the educational problem, the solution of which equally with primary education is a State duty, the duty of "public instruction" in its full sense, and that the full administration of the system should rest with the Secretary for Public Instruction in his constitutional responsibility to Parliament.

Would the work which the primary schools of Queensland do be accomplished by means of directly-controlling committees, with subsidy on any basis whatever other than that of needs, and with the control of the Secretary for Public Instruction limited to the power of granting, deferring, or refusing subsidy?²

Attention was drawn to overlapping and wastefulness, especially in the three Brisbane colleges (North Brisbane, South Brisbane, and West End). In 1908, therefore, "The Technical Instruction Act" was passed, amalgamating the three, forming the Central Technical College, and—most important—providing for direct State control of technical education.³ Thus the State was now possessed of a means by which post-primary education might be offered without appearing to encroach on Grammar School preserves; and advantage was quickly taken of this. Early in 1910 day school classes were

²Ibid., p1485.
³Queensland Parliamentary Papers, 1951–2, 651.
established at the Central Technical College, Brisbane, preparing candidates for the University of Queensland Junior and Matriculation examinations. About the same time, classes were also established in Warwick under the auspices of the Technical College, which had been taken over in 1910 by the Department, and reorganized on the principles of the Central Technical College.\(^1\) It is thus apparent that from 1910 the State was finally committing itself to full provision of secondary education, although the first High Schools were not established until 1912.

It is perhaps noteworthy that by 1910 Ewart had retired from the position of Director, to which he had been appointed in 1905. Ewart, no doubt, would have opposed such a procedure. In 1907 he wrote in his report, probably to counter current criticism:

\[...\] Technical schools should give instruction bearing directly and practically on the arts severally, and on the theories that underlie these; they should not be half-caste preparatory schools for literary examinations.\(^2\)

The report on Technical Education for 1906 reveals the extent to which this branch of education had been

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...Regular and systematic inspection of the colleges is now made. ...
...The teachers of subsidised subjects must now be approved by the Minister, and only persons of proved competency are appointed. ...As far as possible, trained State school teachers are appointed to take charge of the revisal and elementary classes. ...It is now a condition of State assistance that new colleges shall be vested in the Secretary for Public Instruction. Existing colleges are being gradually dissociated from Schools of Arts, and are being conducted as separate institutions. ...technical education is beginning to assume definite shape and that some true technical work is being undertaken and accomplished. ...technical education in this State is no longer synonymous with music, cookery, shorthand, and typewriting. ...
CHAPTER XI

THE PLANNING PERIOD

THE 1906 PLAN

By 1906 better times had come to Queensland, and the fact is manifest in a resumption of planning for an expanded and heightened system of State education. In addition, deferred payments to teachers were granted, the requirements for local contributions to the cost of a school decreased, and more liberal subsidies given for technical education. The initiative in this, it seems clear, came from the Minister, A.H. Barlow. The Department was, until June 1909, in Ewart's paralysing grip. Barlow, however, had by now been several years in charge of the State's education, and had obviously devoted a good deal of time, effort, and intelligent thought to the welfare of his Department. His report for 1906 reveals his familiarity with the ramifications of the education problem, and his concern to provide for the children of Queensland full opportunity for primary and further education, so far as it might be within the power of the State to grant it. The weakness of the existing system, Barlow wrote, lay in lack of unity:

There is no cohesion between State school,
Grammar school, and Technical college; there is no uniformity of control. Each institution is a separate and independent unit in the system of education, instead of forming part of a properly co-ordinated system under which one grade leads directly into another.

A healthy public interest is now being taken in education; the stage of academic discussion has been passed; and we may reasonably hope that definite action will shortly be taken. Conditions are favourable for a forward move...  

The difficulty in developing a satisfactory system in Queensland, continued Barlow, lay in the fact that due to the immensity of Queensland, settlement was scattered. Cities and towns were of different sizes, resources and occupations were diverse.

In devising a system of education for this State five classes of children have to be considered:—

(I.) Children in towns where there are State schools and Grammar schools, like Brisbane, Rockhampton, and Townsville;

(II.) Children in towns where there are large State schools but no Grammar schools, like Warwick, Bundaberg, and Cairns;

(III.) Children in fairly large centres in each of which there is only one State school, like Charleville, Longreach, and Herberton;

(IV.) Children in sparsely-settled districts where there is not a township, and where there is only a small State school or a Provisional school;

(V.) Children in remote isolated places where sufficient pupils cannot be gathered together to warrant a Provisional school or even a part-time school.


2 ibid., p1236.
Assuming that the school leaving age would be raised from twelve to fourteen, Barlow dealt first with those towns where Grammar Schools existed. Children here should remain in the elementary State schools until they reached the age of thirteen, or until they had reached fifth-class standard. They should then pass into high-grade State schools, into Grammar Schools, or into evening continuation classes; but no child would be permitted to attend a Grammar School until he had been educated up to the fifth-class standard. The Department, it was noted, notwithstanding overseas practice, had always regarded thirteen as a suitable age at which a child might begin his secondary education. There were, however, three distinct classes of children to be provided for:

(a) Children of poor parents who must leave school as soon as possible to become breadwinners;
(b) Children of parents who can keep them at school until the age of fifteen or sixteen, who desire them to have a higher education than that provided in the fifth class, but cannot afford, or do not wish, to send them to a Grammar school. These children constitute our present sixth classes; the boys go into offices, commercial houses, shops or trades; and the girls go to home duties, enter shops, or become typists, stenographers, clerks, dressmakers, milliners, &c.
(c) Children who gain scholarships, or children whose parents can afford to send them to Grammar schools.1

Children in class (a) should be permitted to leave school at the age of thirteen, but should be required to attend night schools or continuation classes free until the age of fourteen.

Children in class (b), whose parents could keep them at school until fifteen or sixteen, would attend high-grade school. There were about eight hundred such children in Brisbane alone. No child should be admitted to a high-grade school until he had completed fifth-class work.

...The curriculum in the high-grade State schools might be the present sixth-class work with such modifications as might be found necessary, together with an elementary commercial training for those lads who intended to follow commercial pursuits, and an elementary scientific and technical training for those lads who proposed to go to trades or to follow pursuits other than commercial. The commercial training might embrace commercial geography, book-keeping, shorthand, business methods, and commercial correspondence; and the elementary scientific and technical course might include chemistry, physics, drawing, and mechanics. The high-grade State schools would lead to advanced classes in technical colleges. In the high-grade school for girls the curriculum might include domestic economy, needlework, cookery, hygiene, in addition to the ordinary elementary subjects.¹

The important thing, Barlow pointed out, was to see that "the education in the high school is suited to the

future occupations of the children". ¹ Education to the age of fourteen should be free, but fees thereafter should not exceed £4 4s. per year; and a liberal system of scholarships to high schools should be instituted.

Referring to class (c)—children attending Grammar Schools on scholarships or on payment of fees—Barlow noted that the Grammar School fees might be reduced to £8 8s. per year, and that a scholarship might be granted to every candidate who gained 50% or over in the annual scholarship examination. Scholarships should be tenable for three years, with liberal provision for extension scholarships and for exhibitions to the Queensland University.

...The result of this scheme would be that the State would have to finance the Grammar schools, but that is inevitable if the privileges of secondary education are to be extended and the State is to assume more direct control of the Grammar schools.²

Barlow then dealt with the case of children in towns where large State schools existed, but no Grammar Schools.

To provide in a general way an advanced education for children in such places, one of the existing schools in each of the centres could be made a district high-grade school. The high school would

¹*Queensland Parliamentary Papers, 1907, 1st Session*, vol. I, 1237.
²*ibid.*, pl238.
not be a distinct and separate institution from the State school as in Brisbane, but would contain all the classes which are found in an ordinary State school. In addition, however, there would be a specialized course of two or three years on the basis already outlined. In Bundaberg, for instance, there is not a Grammar school, but there are 5 State schools...¹

Barlow optimistically anticipated little difficulty in staffing, but stipulated an economic minimum enrolment:

"...Special staffs would have to be selected for the upper classes in high-grade schools, but the Department would have little difficulty in finding suitable teachers from amongst its own employees, and if the training college were established, teachers might be specially trained for the purpose. In a few subjects the employment of outside specialists would be necessary. A school should not be made a high-grade school until full inquiry showed that a permanent average attendance of at least twenty pupils was likely to be maintained in the high-grade classes, and that a school of the kind was a necessity.²"

It would not be easy, Barlow continued, to provide further education for children in fairly large centres where only one State school existed. The scholarship system might be extended so that every candidate who gained at least 50% might receive one. Schools in these centres, however, might introduce some further subjects to meet local interests and demands; but in smaller

²Ibid., p1239.
centres, and in isolated places, it would hardly be possible to do more than ensure that children were educated to fifth-class standard.

Barlow diagrammatically represented his scheme in the same fashion as the following:
INFANTS' SCHOOL
KINDERGARTEN TEACHING
5 to 7

ELEMENTARY SCHOOL
7 to 13

EVENING CONTINUATION CLASSES
For pupils in employment
13 to 15
13 to 14 Free

HIGH SCHOOL
13 to 15
13 to 14 Free

TECHNICAL INSTITUTE
DAY AND EVENING CLASSES

EMPLOYMENT

GRAMMAR SCHOOL
13 to 18

UNIVERSITY

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The plan was not for immediate action. It was submitted to the State for consideration, but a number of points were put forward in its favour. It would not involve any upheaval of the existing education system, and would not lead to the disorganization of the existing arrangements. The adoption of the scheme would tend towards uniformity, and would enable the various branches to be linked together. The annual cost of education would not be greatly increased, the raising of the school leaving age being probably the most costly item.

Barlow's plan was perhaps the most practical and progressive piece of educational thought to appear in Queensland for some years. It took cognisance of the State's resources and problems, and related them to laudable educational goals in a feasible scheme; but it invited scrutiny and comment. And Ewart's comment, in his report for the same year, seems to be based mainly on the need for economy and for concentration of power.

It is clear that the rise of technical education was a major factor in bringing home to the Department and to the Government the need for further and better

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general education. Probably the main cause of dissen­sion between the Department and the Board of Technical Education was the fact that the Technical Colleges found their students inadequately prepared for the technical courses, and had to face the task of supplying the deficiency themselves. This led to charge and countercharge, of inefficiency and of wastefulness through double provision. At any rate, continuation classes were found to be indispensable.

One of the most important features of the work of the Department in 1907 was the inauguration of a system for the establishment of evening continuation classes. These classes are designed (a) to enable pupils who have left day schools before they have been educated up to the standard of education required by "The State Education Acts, 1875 to 1900," to continue their education; (b) to assist persons to obtain instruction in special subjects relating to their employment; and (c) to prepare students for the technical colleges.¹

An interesting feature of Barlow's plan is that it reserves for the Grammar Schools a purely academic role, leading to the University and to employment. The higher grade schools, or High Schools, were to serve a practical end. It seems that University attraction and pressure were still not strongly felt, and that the opportunities provided by the Grammar School

scholarships and bursaries were deemed sufficient in this direction. To a considerable extent, then, a purely academic education would not have been available outside the Grammar School centres, except through the independent schools. This concept was later to be modified.

Some idea of the position as it existed in 1907, the year in which Barlow presented his plan, may be gained from figures available for the year. The estimates then approved for the forthcoming year (to end on 30th June 1908) show the following amounts:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GRAMMAR SCHOOLS</th>
<th>£</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Annual Subsidies (10 x £750)</td>
<td>7,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District Scholarships</td>
<td>2,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scholarships</td>
<td>1,789</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bursaries</td>
<td>1,171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>£12,960</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| SCHOOLS OF ARTS AND TECHNICAL COLLEGES     | £16,585 |

(In addition to the sum for Technical Colleges, other amounts were allotted for what was essentially technical education, in agriculture and mining, under the auspices of other Departments. The Charters Towers School of
Mines, for example, was allocated £3,415 for 1908-9, and £3,760 for 1909-10. However the total for all secondary and technical education for 1907-8 would have represented less than one tenth of the total Departmental vote of £380,990.)

The approximate population of certain towns and cities in Queensland, as at the end of 1907, is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GRAMMAR SCHOOL CENTRES (excluding Brisbane)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ipswich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toowoomba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maryborough</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rockhampton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Townsville</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LARGER NON-GRAMMAR SCHOOL CENTRES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gympie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bundaberg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cairns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charters Towers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mackay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mt. Morgan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warwick</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(The population of Brisbane is given as approximately 37,500; but to this must be added certain other figures relevant to the conurbation; for example, South Brisbane 31,000; Ithaca 15,000; Windsor 8,300.) 1

During the first quarter of 1907 there were in

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attendance at the Grammar Schools the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scholarship Type</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>State Scholars</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District Scholars</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holders of Trustees' and other scholarships</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bursars</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>290</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This total of 290 represents about one quarter of the total Grammar School enrolment.

It is apparent that in 1907 Government support of secondary education was as yet slight, and opportunities grossly inadequate. But changes, as Barlow had forecast, were imminent.

THREE CONFERENCES

The year 1908 saw the planning period well under way. Three significant conferences were held early in the year. The first two of these were initiated and planned by the Heads of the Grammar Schools. The publication in 1907 of Barlow's plan for the expansion of State education had obviously highlighted the necessity for clarification of certain issues. R.H. Roe, therefore, in a letter to the Minister dated 4th November 1907, proposed a conference "at which questions connected with the work and present organisation of the
Grammar Schools, and their future development may be fully discussed."\(^1\) It was felt, Roe continued, that the meeting of Grammar School Heads would be much more profitable and thorough if the Department were strongly represented.

The first of the three conferences was held on 23rd and 24th January, 1908. It was attended by the Headmasters of Brisbane Grammar School, Maryborough Grammar School, Toowoomba Grammar School, Townsville Grammar School, Rockhampton Grammar School, and Ipswich Grammar School; and by the Headmistresses of Brisbane Girls' Grammar School, and Maryborough Girls' Grammar School. The conference discussed and passed a series of resolutions on subjects which had been submitted by the Department, and also added some other matters which it desired to bring to the notice of the Minister and the Department. Subjects for discussion were proposed in the following order:

1. Ordinary Scholarships;
2. Pupil teacher scholarships and bursaries;
3. Fees;
4. Age of admission;
5. Entrance standard of pupils;
6. Curriculum;
7. Inspection;

\(^1\) Letter in possession of State Government Archives, Brisbane.
8. Appointment of teachers;
9. Approved schools;
10. Prevention of loss of status to teachers, owing to their pupils passing on to Grammar Schools;
11. Probable effect produced on the welfare of Grammar Schools by the establishment of Higher Primary Schools;
12. Advisability of postponing drastic changes in the Grammar Schools until after the foundation of a Queensland University;
13. The aims of Grammar Schools.

Though some of the matters discussed were significant only in the immediate situation, others had reference to the overall structure and planning of State education. The main resolutions and suggestions are summarised as follows: (a) that the State scholarship examination be simplified, great importance being attached to English composition; (b) that a scheme by which intending pupil teachers might receive a general Grammar School education up to the "Junior" standard was desirable; (c) that the fees then payable in Grammar Schools could not be reduced without appreciably impairing efficiency; (d) that fifth class standard of the State schools was a suitable entrance standard for the Grammar Schools, but should not be rigidly enforced; (e) that inspection of Grammar Schools by an Inspector of suitable experience and qualifications would be welcomed; (f) that departure from the current method of appointing Grammar School teachers would have
undesirable effects; (g) that outside the metropolitan area use should be made of the Grammar Schools to perform the work of the proposed High Schools; and (h) that drastic changes in the Grammar Schools should be postponed until after the establishment of the Queensland University.  

Two statements included by the conference in the resolutions and suggestions are worth reproducing in full:

6. We wish to point out that the studies of the main body of pupils in our schools are directed towards the University Public Examinations, and many other minor examinations (such as the Law Preliminary, the Public Service, the Pharmacy Board, the Dentistry, and the Bankers' Institute examinations), which might be to a large degree unified with advantage to all concerned. Although many of the Grammar Schools are already doing good work in Science subjects, we believe that, more especially on the modern sides, further provision for individual practice of experimental work is in many cases essential. We should like to state that on the modern sides of the Grammar Schools book-keeping, shorthand, commercial correspondence, and in some cases type-writing, are included in the list of subjects taught.

Most meaningful of all, perhaps, is the statement of aims:

13. We believe that Grammar Schools should above all other things aim at spreading a good general

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1 Resolutions and Suggestions passed at the Conference of Grammar School Headmasters and Headmistresses, January 23rd and 24th, 1908: copy in possession of State Government Archives, Brisbane.
culture and public spirit among those who will hereafter be leaders in the professions, the public services, in commerce, and in industrial and pastoral life, and that they should guard against the danger of undue early specialisation; and that in the Girls' Grammar Schools our girls should be so trained in intellect and character as to spread knowledge and refinement in the homes of the State. We hope that no changes will be allowed to impair efficiency in these respects.\(^1\)

The resolutions and suggestions passed at the conference were printed, and were further discussed at another conference held on Monday 27th January 1908. This second conference was attended by the Minister (W. Stephens), the Director of Education (D. Ewart), the Under Secretary for Public Instruction (J.D. Story), two Inspectors of Schools (J. Shirley and A.S. Kennedy), six Grammar School Headmasters and three Grammar School Headmistresses, and a Departmental Secretary. No resolutions were passed, and no conclusions reached; but the meeting no doubt did much to clear the air and establish mutual understanding.

In February 1908 the Director and the Under Secretary met the Inspectors in conference. The proceedings of this third conference lasted three days, and several resolutions were passed. Amongst the most

\(^1\) Resolutions and Suggestions passed at the Conference of Grammar School Headmasters and Headmistresses, January 23rd and 24th, 1908: copy in possession of State Government Archives, Brisbane.
important were those relating to the reorganization of the educational system. The resolutions were:

(1) That the system of education in Queensland be reorganized on the lines set forth in the Annual Report of the Department for 1906, subject to the modifications indicated in the plan herewith.

(2) That in order that the proposed scheme of reorganization may be properly carried into effect, the Grammar schools be directly connected with the Department.

(3) That a system of leaving certificates be instituted....

(4) That, in order that uniform recognition of the Third and Fourth Grade Certificates may be secured, a committee, representative of the Department, the University, the Grammar Schools, and the Technical Colleges, be appointed in due course to devise a comprehensive scheme of instruction in and organization of Grammar Schools and Technical Colleges which shall be suitable for the purposes of the Third and Fourth Grade Certificates.\(^1\)

THE REVISED PLAN

A revision of the 1906 plan was therefore put forward. The substance of the diagrammatic representation of this revised plan is shown on the following page:

\(^1\) *Queensland Parliamentary Papers*, 1909, 1st Session, 261.
EVENING CONTINUATION CLASSES
For Pupils in Employment
13 to 16

ELEMENTARY SCHOOL
7 to 13

INFANTS' SCHOOL
Kindergarten Teaching
5 to 7

HIGH SCHOOL (including District High School)
13 to 16

CENTRAL TECHNICAL COLLEGE
Day and Night Classes

UNIVERSITY
Day and Night Classes

GRAMMAR SCHOOL
13 to 18

Day and Night Classes

1 Queensland Parliamentary Papers, 1909, 1st Session, 263 (second of three pages numbered 263).
Barlow's comments reveal the course developments were taking. In 1909 he again stressed that one of the rungs of the educational ladder was missing.

...A central Technical College, worthy of the name, should no more be expected to do the work of an advanced elementary school than a University should be expected to do the work of a Secondary school. A High school for boys and one for girls are necessary in Brisbane, if for no other purpose than to provide for the day and evening classes of the central college a continuous flow of boys and girls sufficiently educated to take advantage of the specialized courses in the institute without having to undergo preliminary courses of a higher elementary nature. A scheme has already been prepared for converting the Brisbane Central schools into two High schools, and this could be done without additional expense to the State, except in the way of a small outlay for equipment ...

The Department has also had under consideration a scheme for bringing the country technical colleges into closer relationship with State schools, whereby the number of students in the colleges may be augmented and the children in the advanced classes of the State schools may be given instruction in useful subjects, which do not form part of the State school curriculum, but which are included in the Technical College syllabus.

Thus the State expressed its intention to widen the opportunities for further education throughout the State by means of the Technical Colleges. But in addition to this, scholarship provisions were liberalised as from

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1 *Queensland Parliamentary Papers, 1909, 1st Session*, 265.
2 *ibid.*, p266.
January 1909. Subject to a means test, a £12 allowance was now payable to scholarship winners. Eleven such allowances were paid in 1909. It was also decided that from the beginning of 1910 the numbers of scholarships would be increased from 36 to 52; but the value of them was reduced to £12 12s. 1.

DEPARTMENTAL CHANGES

Meanwhile, Departmental control was changing, and with the change came a revision of attitude. On 1st July 1906 J.D. Story, a progressive and competent administrator, had become Under Secretary and Chief Clerk. In many ways he showed his concern for the modern educational ideals, and he was one of those who laboured constantly for the establishment of a University. In 1910 he expressed his awareness of deficiency and the desire for progress:

During the past few years, also, a spirit of discontent and unrest, a sure sign of life and vitality, has arisen in the several Australian States in connection with their education systems, and many missioners have gone abroad to study the systems of other lands. These missioners agree broadly that the State-controlled, free, and compulsory system of primary education in Australia is not surpassed by the system of primary education in any other country; though there may be

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1 Queensland Parliamentary Papers, 1909, 1st Session, 268.
defects in details the general principles are sound. On the other hand, however, the consensus is that in other branches of education the Commonwealth is lagging behind.¹

...Assuming again that national well-being depends upon educational efficiency, it logically follows that education from the kindergarten to the university should be one of the chief concerns of the State; that the profession of teaching should be made one of the most attractive and honourable of the professions; that the highest intellects of the State should be culled for the teaching service; and that the well-being of its members should be carefully tended....²

David Ewart retired from the Department on 30th June 1909. He was succeeded as Inspector-General, significantly, by a man who had never been a Departmental employee—Reginald Heber Roe. Roe had been for many years Headmaster of Brisbane Grammar School. He was a man who knew well the Queensland scene, and he had an impressive record in his chosen field. Under his guidance Brisbane Grammar School had achieved prominence and nation-wide respect. An outstanding classics scholar, Roe nevertheless sympathised with the modern educational outlook, and actively supported it. His appearance on the Departmental scene must have been a breath of fresh air, and perhaps no better man could have been chosen to initiate the new High School

¹J.D. Story, *Fifty Years of Education in Queensland*, Brisbane: Government Printer, 723.
²Ibid., p726.
movement. It was stipulated that Roe would be relieved of many purely office duties, and permitted to visit freely. Part of his work was to inspect regularly the Grammar Schools, which had not been inspected since Cameron's initial visit in 1901.

It is interesting to compare Ewart's views with those of his successor. Before the turn of the century Ewart wrote:

The State can absorb only a certain quantity of highly educated labour; and if it spends the years of its young people in the pursuit of higher education, there will be a loss as these young people find themselves forced to fall into the ordinary avocations of life, where, for the most part and in the case of the majority, they will lose without effort what they acquired with pains. 1

In the year of his retirement, it seems, he had seen little reason to modify his views:

...There are many who do not care to send their children to a secondary school, simply because they could not follow it up, and because, therefore, the time spent there would be mostly wasteful delay in entering on the battle of life. I daresay there are many more who would avail themselves of the advantages now afforded by the Technical Colleges, if they could get them, rather than of the fragmentary culture they would receive from a few years at a Grammar school. 2

Roe in 1913 gave his view on the same question:

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1 E.R. Wyeth, Education in Queensland, A.C.E.R. Research Series No. 67; Melbourne: Australian Council for Educational Research, (no date), 152.

Fifty years ago public men spoke with pride of the establishment of the educational ladder which would enable all children of exceptional ability to climb by means of scholarships from Primary to Secondary schools, and from Secondary schools to the Universities and the professions....Secondary education was still regarded as a class distinction, and its extension was advocated mainly in order to enable these children of exceptional ability, who were found to exist in larger numbers than was expected, to climb the rungs of the ladder in the social scale. Gradually, however, there has become evident a growing conviction that the value of secondary education to Primary school children is not confined to children of exceptional ability, and that its object is not only to enable a child to climb. The continuance of school discipline during the years of adolescence, the spread of the high mental and physical standard which a good secondary school maintains, and the diffusion of good habits and principles which are formed and strengthened by a prolonged school life, are regarded now as desirable for average children whether they climb or not, to make them better workmen, better parents, better citizens in all walks of life. The intelligence, the public spirit, and the moral strength of the community will thus be raised....The average boy, in my opinion, must not be excluded from the High school if he wants to go there and has reached the average Primary Fifth Class standard.¹

The current of change was now flowing strongly. The demand for further education was proved, and the Government both willing and able to provide it. Only the means remained to be finally determined, and organizational difficulties resolved.

ATTACKING THE PROBLEM

In 1909 the movement to establish a University finally bore fruit, and the foundation ceremony was timed to coincide with the fiftieth anniversary of separation. The State could have had no better birthday gift. In 1910 staff were appointed, and in 1911 studies began. The existence of the University rendered more urgent the need for expanded secondary education. This was acknowledged by the new Minister for Education, W.H. Barnes, in his report for 1909:

Now that the University has been established, the time is ripe for the creation of District High Schools. The necessity for these schools has been repeatedly urged by the Department, but for various reasons effect has not yet been given to this part of the Departmental policy....

I propose to make preliminary inquiries forthwith for the establishment of High schools in several of the larger centres where no provision has been made by the State for secondary education....The curriculum of these schools will be so framed as to meet the University requirements, and pupils should be able to pass from these schools into the University....

The new conditions also created pressure in staff

1 Queensland Parliamentary Papers, 1910, vol. II, 484.
training requirements, and made the establishment of a
Training College a necessity:

For several positions in the Central and
Warwick Technical Colleges, University graduates
were required; and it was necessary to go beyond
the State for them. With a University and Training
College in Queensland, that course should soon
become unnecessary, for the native-born have talent
enough to fill all the positions in our Service if
they are only given the opportunity to qualify
themselves for these positions.¹

The State scholarship system was once again brought
under review, and this necessarily entailed further
consideration of the Grammar Schools. Barnes favoured a
system under which an open scholarship of £10 10s. value
per year would be granted to every candidate who passed
the examination, which would be based on fifth-class
work. A minimum payment of £250 would continue to be
paid to each Grammar School per year. This scheme
should obtain, wrote Barnes, until "such time as the
Grammar schools become part of the State system of
education".² As late as 1910, then, it was confidently
expected that the State would ultimately absorb the
Grammar Schools.

Roe's report for 1909 is important. It reveals the

¹Queensland Parliamentary Papers, 1910, vol. II,
493.

²ibid., p499.
influence of the new University, the prevailing spirit, and the realistic approach. The University Senate, Roe reported, had decided that the University doors were to be opened as widely as possible so as to admit students not only from the Grammar Schools and private secondary schools, but also from the Technical Colleges and from the higher primary or district schools which would have to be opened, without forcing on these new schools an undue amount of study in foreign languages. The extension of secondary school facilities, Roe contended, was now "an act of justice to bring the advantages of the University within the reach of all who are prepared to seek after knowledge with an earnest heart". ¹

Not unnaturally, Roe was much concerned with the problem of the Grammar Schools, and his report made it certain that there would be no further expansion of the system. The Grammar Schools, he said, were doing good work; but the system was so costly in the smaller towns that no proposals for the establishment of new Grammar Schools were likely to be entertained. In support of this Roe produced figures to show that cost per pupil to the Government ranged from £7 per year at Brisbane

Grammar School to £20 at Maryborough Girls’ Grammar School, with six of the ten schools costing more than £12 per year per pupil. Roe discusses the matter thus:

...The system, then, is very costly to the State in small schools, and grammar schools in any new centres would be small, so that it is plain that in centres not possessing grammar schools secondary education must be provided in some less costly form. The question for immediate consideration is, how far can the services of the existing grammar schools be extended to their fullest capacity so as to supply the demand for secondary education, at all events in its highest cultural form, in their several districts? Personal visits to the large State schools of the grammar school towns have shown me that there are in the Sixth Classes of these State schools large numbers of boys and girls whose knowledge would be widened and mental powers would be quickened if they passed on to the grammar schools even for a course leading to the Junior, instead of marking time, as many of them do, for a second or even a third year in the State School Sixth Classes. On the other hand, in some of the grammar schools the best teachers are found engaged in taking a small class whose numbers could be very largely increased without injury to the teaching. It is intended to propose immediately a scheme by which there may be secured a more extensive and continuous flow into the grammar schools of the best talent now lingering in the State School Sixth Classes.¹

The immediate task was to define the form which further provision was to take:

Any new provision of State secondary education will in this State probably take the form of State High Schools, or District Schools, or Technical Day Schools. The first two terms are used with

somewhat varying meaning in different places, but for clearness it is well to define the State High School as a school which confines its work to pupils of secondary school age and attainments, and a District School as a large primary school with additional secondary classes for a three-years' course placed on the top.

The first step, Roe continued, would probably be to establish some district schools and some new technical day schools.

**THE STATE HIGH SCHOOLS**

It has already been pointed out that in 1910 secondary day classes were established at Central Technical College, Brisbane, and in Warwick Technical College. By this indirect route was full State provision of secondary education, State-controlled and State-directed, first introduced. But it was not long until the State could report that the first State High Schools had been opened. In 1912 the Departmental report stated:

The State system of High schools was inaugurated in February last, when High schools were opened in Warwick, Gympie, Bundaberg, Mount Morgan, Mackay, and Charters Towers. These schools are free, and free secondary education is thus provided in the centres named. The curriculum for the schools was prepared in consultation with the University Professors. Three courses of study, each of four years' duration, will be provided for High school students — General, Commercial, and

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Domestic; the first two years' study will be so far common to all the courses that a student will be able to proceed to any of the three courses for the third and fourth years. The General Course will lead up to the University, and students will be able to matriculate from the High schools.¹

The initial enrolment was as follows: Warwick, 83; Gympie, 126; Bundaberg, 75; Mount Morgan, 89; Mackay, 70; and Charters Towers, 167. Total enrolment was 610, and it was expected that the total enrolment for the second half-year would reach 712. At the same time, a High School "top" was established at Herberton, and it was anticipated that others would also be established shortly. The school leaving age was raised to fourteen.

Public response to the provision of High Schools proved beyond doubt the demand for further education. In Gympie, for example, there were 177 applicants for admission, and in Charters Towers 205. An entrance examination was held in all cases; and numerous inquiries concerning the date of the next examination further proved the strength of the demand.

The total initial enrolment for the High Schools, 610, was about half that of the Grammar Schools for the same year. There were six High School centres, and six Grammar School centres, and the High School centres

were, on the whole, smaller in population. Yet it is obvious that if High School admissions continued at the same rate, numbers at High Schools would soon exceed those at Grammar Schools. It seems that there was, therefore, a demand in their own centres that the Grammar Schools were not meeting, and no doubt the payment of fees had much to do with this. It is also possible that the new leaving age regulation boosted High School enrolments; they took the better pupils who were thus obliged to remain at school, the rest lingering in the primary schools. A similar effect would not have been apparent in the Grammar Schools.

Staffing figures for the year show that the Department could not supply all graduates for its High School staffs; and it was not prepared to pay its Principals at the same rate that the Grammar School Councils paid their Headmasters. In 1901 the salaries of the Grammar School Headmasters ranged from £750 to £400, with only two of the six receiving less than £500 per year.\(^1\) In 1912, the salaries of the High School Principals ranged from £425 to £363 per year, with only one receiving more than £400 per year.\(^2\)

\(^1\)Votes & Proceedings, Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1901, vol. I, 1254.

staff in six High Schools, eleven were graduates.

Creation of free High Schools caused repercussions in Grammar School centres, where the majority of pupils were still obliged to pay fees. In opening the High Schools, the Government had avoided clashing with the Grammar Schools, and in so doing had brought about an unjust situation. It seemed that parents in towns where local efforts had been made to provide secondary education facilities were now to be penalised. The problem was discussed by the Departmental report published in 1913. It acknowledged the demand for free High Schools in Grammar School centres, particularly Brisbane, but pleaded limitation of funds. There were, however, other issues:

...The proposal for a free High school in Brisbane, however, at once raises, departmentally, the whole question of free secondary education in all the Grammar school centres, and that question in turn raises the important matter of the State control of the Grammar schools themselves. So far the Department has been consistent in its High school policy; because, as already shown, it has established them in all centres, exclusive of Grammar school centres, which have complied with the conditions. If a free High school were established in Brisbane it would be incumbent upon the Department, not only from the point of view of consistency, but as a matter of simple justice, to establish them in all Grammar school centres.

What, then, is to become of the Grammar schools?¹

Would the Department be justified, it was asked, in closing the Grammar Schools? The answer, obviously, was "No." The next question was whether it should then take over the Grammar Schools entirely, and make them free secondary schools.

...computation has shown that to take over the schools, discharge their liabilities, abolish fees, appoint additional staffs to cope with prospective increased attendance, and make provision for the unforeseen expenditure which would be sure to arise, would involve the State in an extra annual outlay of at least £30,000, exclusive of the cost of the additions to buildings which would most likely be needed. That expenditure cannot be incurred at the present time. Moreover, the allowances of £30 per annum which are now paid to country children who win scholarships and whose parents are poor, and of £12 to town children who win scholarships and whose parents are poor, would be withdrawn, as it is not at all likely that funds would be available for all these purposes. Even at the present time monetary allowances are not paid to children attending free High schools unless they have won scholarships and have elected to attend the High schools in preference to going to Grammar schools or other approved Secondary schools. ¹

The answer, a convenient solution intended to be temporary, lay in the provision of more scholarships, but with living allowances. A scheme—basically one that had been proposed earlier by the Minister—was approved. A scholarship, worth £10 10s. per year for three years, tenable at a State High School, Technical

High School, Grammar School, or other approved secondary school, would be granted every candidate to gain more than 50% in the annual scholarship examination. In addition, subject to a means test, £30 would be paid to pupils who had to live away from home, £12 to those who could live at home. The £250 annual payment to Grammar Schools on account of District Scholarships (fifteen scholarships, five per year) would remain. Prospective entrants to State High Schools were obliged to pass the scholarship examination if they wished to receive the monetary allowances.\(^1\)

Thus as from 1st January 1914, when the scheme became effective, the scholarship examination ceased to be a competitive examination, and became a qualifying examination. In 1913 368 scholarships were granted, to be taken up the following year. This increased to 515 in 1914, to 699 in 1915, 878 in 1916, 1,444 in 1917. Thenceforth it continued to rise. J.D. Story had this to say:

\[\ldots\text{the day of free secondary education for the mentally fit really dawned on the 1st January, 1914, from which date the system of bursaries and restricted scholarships was abolished, and the simple and unrestricted scholarship scheme was}\]

\(^1\) Queensland Parliamentary Papers, 1913, vol. I, 1355.
instuted....

...It may thus be fairly claimed that secondary education in Queensland is free to those who prove their fitness to proceed to secondary education ....

It is to be noted, however, that the High School "tops" established in association with State primary schools in various smaller centres did not take their pupils past the Junior standard. Those wishing to proceed were given extension scholarships, and had then to study at a larger centre. Despite some measure of support this was for many impossible. Generally, however, the High Schools gathered momentum well. Of 594 candidates for the Queensland Junior in 1913, 130 were from High Schools, and 94 of these were successful. This means that the High Schools achieved 72.3% success, while all other schools achieved only 63.1%. One must bear in mind, however, that the High Schools were the only ones with an entrance examination; so that such a result was to be expected.

The Government had thus faced its immediate problem --that of equality of opportunity--with some success.

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1 J.D. Story, State Education in Queensland, Brisbane: Queensland Department of Public Instruction, 1915, 33.

2 ibid., p35.
The problem of determining the role of the Grammar Schools and their place in the system, remained. In fact, at this time the Government was directly or indirectly providing secondary education through three channels--the Grammar Schools, the High Schools, and the Technical Colleges. The recent liberalization of the scholarship system had the effect of strengthening and expanding the Grammar Schools. Roe wrote in his report for 1914 that total Grammar School enrolments had risen to 1,324, and that accommodation in some of the schools--especially the Brisbane schools--was becoming insufficient. The Government had had to erect new class rooms for the Brisbane schools.¹

At the same time the Minister, H.F. Hardacre, discussed the matter in his report:

The question of the establishment of two free State High schools in Brisbane, one for boys and one for girls, is being raised again. When the State High schools were established in Queensland, towns were chosen in which there were not State-endowed Grammar Schools. It is doubtful whether in the Grammar school centres, outside the metropolis, there is room both for the Grammar schools and State High schools: the number of pupils proceeding to secondary education in these centres is not sufficiently large to warrant a multiplicity of secondary schools. Seeing, however, that the Metropolitan area contains 25 per cent. of the

primary school population of Queensland, it would be possible for two State High schools to be established in Brisbane without seriously interfering with the two existing Grammar schools.¹

It is not surprising, therefore, that in the following year High School "tops" were established in Brisbane in association with the Brisbane Central schools, one at the Boys' school and one at the Girls and Infants'. It is interesting to note, too, that while Brisbane Grammar School in the last quarter of 1915 had 242 scholars and Brisbane Girls' Grammar School 112, 30 boys and 15 girls had taken out their scholarships at the Central Technical College. Education in the Central Technical College, it seems to have been felt, was not competition with the two Grammar Schools; but there seems to be little doubt that this institution was attracting an increasing stream of students whose desire was for general education. The figures for scholarship holders attending the Brisbane Grammar Schools and the Central Technical College during the last quarter of 1916 are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grammar Schools</th>
<th>Central Technical College</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Boys</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>309</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>162</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>471</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At the end of 1917, the numbers of scholarship holders at Central Technical College had risen to 176 boys and 143 girls, a total of 319. It was, indeed, not long before the High School conducted in association with the Central Technical College was becoming too large to retain its original relationship to the College. In 1918, it was the largest High School in the State, the average attendance for the year being 176 boys and 116 girls, a total average attendance of 292.

In 1918 legislation gave the Government power to take over all Technical Colleges. The Colleges at Toowoomba and Rockhampton were acquired at once, and arrangements immediately made to establish High Schools in connexion with them, to open in the following year. By this means the Government was introducing alternative secondary education into Grammar School centres.

Two further steps taken in Brisbane lead up to full and open provision of alternative secondary education, and mark a decisive point in Government policy. As from 1st January 1920, the secondary departments (the High School "tops") connected with the Brisbane Central Schools amalgamated, and constituted a separate school designated The Brisbane Junior High School. Its scope was limited, for it did not take its pupils past the
Junior Examination level.\textsuperscript{1} As from 1st July 1921, this school became Brisbane State High School, and its curriculum was extended to include subjects for the Senior Public Examination and matriculation.\textsuperscript{2} Isaac Waddle, M.Sc., previously Principal at Brisbane Central Technical College, became the first Principal of Brisbane State High School, and with him went many of the former staff of the Central Technical College. The Brisbane Junior High School had in 1921 a staff of nine; in 1922 Brisbane State High School had a staff of twenty-four, nineteen of them graduates.\textsuperscript{3}

The decision to provide alternative secondary school facilities, in competition with the Grammar Schools, did not solve the Grammar Schools problem. Roe had lucidly stated this problem in his report for 1912, the year in which the State High Schools were opened. The Grammar Schools, he stated, had been founded under the terms of an offer made in the Grammar Schools Act.

\ldots in the fulfilment of the conditions of this offer the Grammar school towns have raised and

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{1} Queensland Parliamentary Papers, 1921, vol. I, 637.
  \item \textsuperscript{2} Queensland Parliamentary Papers, 1922, vol. I, 641.
  \item \textsuperscript{3} ibid., p810.
\end{itemize}
expended the specified sums of money, local trustees have received the deeds of the Grammar school lands, and the promised annual endowments have been regularly paid during a number of years. A bargain thus specifically made cannot, in my opinion, be justly repudiated, except at the wish of both contracting parties, or on the score of proved inefficiency. The latter charge cannot be brought against our Grammar schools, whose high intellectual standard and healthy moral tone are freely acknowledged throughout Australia. Furthermore, the Grammar schools have all good boarding accommodation, which enables them to become homes for the children of families settled on the land; and such accommodation must be maintained here if these country boys and girls are not to be driven away to the Southern boarding schools, where they will grow up as aliens to their native State. There are moreover, a large number of persons still in the State who prefer to pay for their children's education; their wishes should be respected, and the privilege which they have hitherto enjoyed of having good local schools to which admission is obtained by payment, and whose efficiency is secured by the State endowment and State inspection, should not be lightly taken away. At the same time, it must be frankly acknowledged that the vested interests of the Grammar schools cannot be allowed to operate against the wider spread of secondary education in the State. These Grammar schools were founded to give that secondary education; they cannot be allowed to block its extension....

Roe gave it as his opinion that where a Grammar School could live alongside of a free High School, it should be permitted to do so, with a continuance of its endowment. Roe thus, at the outset, predicted the actual course of events. And the Grammar Schools themselves, now more

financially secure than ever before, were likely to resist attempts by the Government to take over control.

There were, however, other factors yet to be considered. Hardacre discussed the matter in the Departmental report for 1915. Like his predecessor, he deemed it not economically feasible for the State to acquire ownership and control of the Grammar Schools. It would, he estimated, cost £20,000 in enlarging and overhauling the buildings, £20,520 in writing off loans, and £40,000 per year to run them. More urgent demands were currently being made on the State's resources. But there was yet another consideration; and it is interesting to note that the denominational question had not been by any means laid to rest:

There is also an important matter of external school policy involved in this Grammar school question: if the Grammar schools were absorbed by the State, it is likely that scholarships would be confined to pupils in places where State High schools or Grammar schools did not exist; scholarships would not be necessary in the places where these institutions did exist, as the pupils would be required in ordinary course to attend the State Secondary schools; for example - why should the State pay to a private school in Brisbane £14 to £16 per annum for the secondary education of a Brisbane pupil when the pupil could attend the State Secondary school? At present there are 9 private and 25 denominational institutions which have been approved by the Governor in Council as eligible to receive State scholarship-holders, and there are 175 scholarship-winners in attendance at these schools. The withdrawal, practically, of the privilege of receiving scholarship-holders would
probably result in much dissatisfaction in these schools, and this aspect of the question should not be overlooked in arriving at a determination on the whole matter.

In fact the Labour Party, then in power, could not afford to brook Roman Catholic displeasure; but it is ironic to reflect that the Grammar Schools, brought into being as a solution to the denominational problem in education, were themselves indirectly responsible for the perpetuation of a source of Government economic support for denominational schools. For more and more scholarships were being taken up at Catholic schools as the years went by. In 1902 there were two; in 1904 there were fifteen; and by 1914 the number had risen to 67.

It is clear, in retrospect, that the time for action had passed the Government by. Had resolute action been taken in the early years of the century, when Government policy had placed the Grammar Schools in the grip of financial uncertainty, something might have been achieved; but every passing year made the position more difficult to deal with. The only Grammar Schools to pass into Departmental hands were the Maryborough

\[\text{Queensland Parliamentary Papers, 1916–17, vol. II, 26f.}\]
schools, which failed to weather the economic depression of the 1930s. The other Grammar Schools remain to-day, their legal position much as it was at the beginning of the century. They are, as Goodman says, "curious models of what might have been the form of secondary education in Queensland". ¹

CONCLUSION

It remains only to assess the extent to which the aims and intentions of the legislators of the Grammar Schools Act of 1860 were realized, and the worth of the contribution made by the Grammar School movement in the development of secondary education in Queensland.

The explicit aim of the legislators, as expressed by R.G.W. Herbert in moving the second reading of the Bill in the Legislative Assembly, was to provide a higher order of instruction of a useful and thoroughly practical character by establishing Grammar Schools easily accessible to the youth of all denominations throughout the country. This statement should be considered against the circumstances in which the Act was passed.

The passing of the Grammar Schools Act of 1860 was made possible by a combination of factors:

(a) a favourable liberal political climate prevailed;

(b) conservative religious forces (notably Roman Catholic and Anglican) were not yet organized, and therefore not in a position to raise opposition;
(c) liberal Protestant thought (notably Congregational) was influential and articulate;

(d) wise educational leadership was provided by Charles Nicholson, R.G.W. Herbert, and Governor Bowen;

(e) no precedent in secondary education existed in the Colony, and a religious compromise (necessary in primary education) was not required in secondary education.

The aims of the legislators and the passing of the Act should also be considered in their wider historical context. Precedent in England supplied the Grammar School tradition. The characteristics of the traditional Grammar School with which the legislators were familiar were these:

(a) it had separate corporate existence, and was governed by a school council;

(b) it was controlled by the Established Church, and possibly had a clergyman as Headmaster;

(c) it was of ancient or recent foundation;

(d) it derived income from private endowments, and may have been wealthy;

(e) it charged fees;

(f) it was patronised by a social and economic élite;
(g) it offered scholarships to meritorious students;

(h) it supported the Humanist educational ideal tempered by the Arnold tradition;

(i) it offered a curriculum largely based on classical language studies, but with an increasingly important modern side.

Modifying old-world influences were:

(a) the popular education movement, leading to the acceptance of government interest and support;

(b) the Scottish ideal of universal secondary educational opportunity, under parochial control;

(c) the precedent of the Irish National System.

Further modifying influences resulted from experience in colonial Australia. Prominent among these was, of course, the rise of democratic thought. Others, based on colonial experience in primary education, were:

(a) the necessity for Government financial support and encouragement of education;

(b) the need for a solution to the religious difficulty;

(c) the demonstrated futility of reliance on land endowments for immediate income in a colonial
environment;
(d) the need for a cohesive system of education.

Finally, experience gained in establishing and operating Sydney Grammar School showed the need for decentralization of secondary education facilities and equitable distribution of available funds.

Examination of evidence shows the explicit and implicit aims of the legislators responsible for The Grammar Schools Act of 1860 to be as follows:

(a) to ensure the provision of a Grammar School, largely based on the traditional English model, charging fees, in every populous centre;
(b) to provide opportunity in secondary education for all desiring it;
(c) to create a system of school government through local school councils based on a partnership between local interests and central government;
(d) to provide articulation with primary and tertiary education through a system of secondary scholarships and tertiary exhibitions; and by implication, to evolve a cohesive system of State education;
(e) to provide the secular solution to the religious difficulty;
(f) to provide in land endowments a source of future income that would eventually obviate the necessity for annual cash endowments;

(g) to provide a sufficient annual cash endowment until the income from land endowments should prove adequate;

(h) to provide practical secondary education suited to colonial needs.

To what extent, then, were these aims and intentions realized? Some assessment is here given for each of the aims listed above:

(a) Dr. Goodman writes as follows:

The Grammar Schools Act of 1860 was in its day a most progressive measure, placing Queensland to the fore in secondary education in Australia. But the brave dream of the nineteenth century planners never materialised, at least not in the form they envisaged. No vast network of State Grammar Schools initiated by local effort and subsidised by the State developed.

There can be little doubt that a system of Grammar Schools throughout the State—if "system" it could have been called—must have rested securely on local prosperity, which in most cases must have depended in turn on a sufficient economic development of the area. Local initiation depended on local demand and local capacity

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to pay. Thus a poor area, a newly developed area, a sparsely populated area, or an area of shifting population (such as a gold field) was denied, at least for the time, secondary education facilities; for contributory foundational finance posed a considerable barrier. The English Grammar Schools were the evolutionary product of centuries; but in Queensland, a newly separated colony, the endowment of a Grammar School was no light matter. Probably only the Government possessed adequate financial resources, and it was denied by law the right of initiation. In the early years, no doubt, particularly in country areas, demand was weak; but difficulty arose in the later nineteenth century, when rising demand for secondary education as a right exceeded local capacity and willingness to pay, and made increasing demands on the central authority.

(b) The Grammar School system failed to provide secondary education for all who might desire it. Only six centres established Grammar Schools, and one of these provided only for boys. This was hardly adequate for the needs of such a vast State as Queensland, and there were many boys and girls to whom secondary education facilities were not accessible. In any case, an implied condition of attendance was the capacity to meet the fees; and these, while as low as was compatible with
the efficient support of the schools on the financial scale deemed desirable, and certainly not higher than the fees of comparable institutions in other States, proved an obstacle to many who might eagerly have taken advantage of the education offered. Attempts were made, through the institution of the system of State scholarships and bursaries, to provide for the brilliant few; but the Grammar Schools generally did not, and could not, provide universal secondary education opportunities. Like their English models, they provided in the main for a social, economic, and academic élite.

(c) The Grammar Schools Act did, in fact, create a type of school government based on partnership between local interest and central government. The intention of the original legislators was probably—though not certainly—that the locally interested body should be the nearest municipal council, the right to nominate school trustees passing eventually from the original donors to the municipal body. This intention was challenged, and defeated by the Amendment Act of 1891. In theory, the central government, holding the right to nominate four out of seven Trustees, had the major controlling interest. In practice, the Grammar Schools tended to become to a large degree autonomous; for the boards of trustees were not responsible to the Minister
for Education or any other for their administration, and until 1900 the Grammar Schools were not subject to inspection. This state of affairs caused much criticism later in the nineteenth century, both from the Department of Public Instruction and from sections of the general public, it being alleged that uncontrolled and wasteful expenditure of public money was taking place. And the individual constitution of the Grammar Schools, together with the lack of responsibility to any Minister or other authority who might safeguard their interests, rendered the Grammar Schools comparatively inarticulate and therefore vulnerable to such criticism. The real measure of government control lay in its power to grant or withhold subsidies, but the strength of interests vested in the Grammar Schools probably delayed and certainly complicated the full State provision of secondary education early in the twentieth century.

(d) The individual constitution of the Grammar Schools made articulation with the State primary schools difficult, though the State scholarship examination did much to help define the point of contact between the two. There was, particularly early in the history of the Grammar Schools, a good deal of overlapping, and Grammar School teachers were obliged to teach primary school work to some pupils. Though there was some
justification for this in the case of boarders from remote areas who had been denied previous educational opportunity, it did to some extent bear out charges of economic wastefulness. The Grammar Schools, however, generally could not afford to turn away paying pupils at any level but the lowest, and one Grammar School (Rockhampton Girls' Grammar School) even established a feeder kindergarten department. It cannot be said that satisfactory articulation with the State primary schools was established until at least 1914, when the State scholarship examination became a qualifying, not a competitive, examination; but in the main, the limits were clear enough.

(e) The Grammar Schools were founded as secular institutions, and remained so. In this respect they were largely the High School counterparts of the National Schools of New South Wales. After an early struggle over the interpretation of the 1860 Act, however, the Roman Catholic Church declined to approve the principle on which the Grammar Schools were founded, and its adherents supported their own institutions.

One indirect, but important, result of the legislation pertaining to Grammar Schools was the institution of the State scholarship system. Intended
originally to apply exclusively to Grammar Schools, the scholarships were, late in the nineteenth century, made tenable at other secondary schools, including denominational schools. Thus was established an indirect means of support for denominationalism in education from State funds; and this development directly contradicted the intentions of the legislators of 1860.

(f) The provisions of The Grammar Schools Act of 1860 by which land endowments might be granted to Grammar Schools, from which income might be derived, failed to achieve the intentions of the legislators. It was intended that the income from these lands would in time supplant the annual cash endowment payable by the Government, and, eked out by fees from students, render the Grammar Schools self-sufficient. The Government would thus be relieved of the cost of supporting secondary education, except for the cost of scholarships. Only three schools received grants, and income from these—at least during the period to which this study refers—was negligible.

The trouble was, of course, that in a country where land was plentiful and population relatively sparse, income from undeveloped land was not likely to be great; and, in fact, such land proved to be more of an encumbrance than an asset. Brisbane Grammar School disposed
of its parcel to meet financial difficulty. There can be no doubt, however, that had the investment these lands represented been given a century to mature, the value to the schools would have been tremendous. The basic idea, it is clear, was sound. The implementation was imperfect.

(g) It was found necessary in 1864 to raise the amount of annual subsidy payable to the Grammar Schools from the originally stipulated sum of £500 to £1,000. Following this there is little doubt that until the financial squeeze of 1904 this subsidy, together with the fees paid by students, was adequate to maintain the Grammar Schools at a good level of efficiency, though the schools could by no means be described as wealthy. The Grammar Schools did not, however, achieve the legislators' aim of self-sufficiency, and under existing colonial and State conditions, could not do so.

(h) The question of whether the Grammar Schools did or did not provide practical education suited to colonial needs is possibly the most interesting of all. The answer, of course, depends on the definition of "practical education". In using the term "practical education" Labour supporters and many others from the 1890s on would no doubt have meant "trade education" or
technical education in general--education, in fact, which would partly or fully equip a boy or girl for a specific occupation. In this sense, the Grammar Schools did not provide "practical education". At no time did they attempt to undertake the function of Technical Colleges, and they deplored the attempts made by Technical Colleges to provide education of the kind they themselves provided. Admittedly, there was some occupational training in Grammar School teaching of commercial subjects--bookkeeping, shorthand, and typing--but this could not be classified as trade education. In any case it was not at variance with the stated aims of the Grammar School movement.

The meaning of the term "practical education" as it was understood by those responsible for the 1860 Act is clear enough in the speech made by Herbert in the House in moving the second reading of the Bill:

It was desirable that the instruction to be afforded in the grammar schools should be afforded at a cheap rate, so that as many as possible might avail themselves of it, and that it should be such as would best qualify the youth of the colony for discharging the duties that would devolve upon them in after life. He did not think it would be necessary to furnish a classical education of a high order, as the middle classes would not take advantage of it....He thought it would be sufficient to provide a sound English education in the grammar schools to be established under the bill before the house - a knowledge of history, arithmetic, geography, and some modern language,
Herbert's words imply that Grammar School education was not intended to be a working class education. In the absence of a colonial aristocracy, it would be a middle class education.

In his speech made at the opening of Ipswich Grammar School—the first in Queensland—the Governor, Sir George Ferguson Bowen, had this to say on the matter:

Now it is, I imagine, admitted on all sides that by education is meant not a mere preparation for some specific trade or profession, but rather a preparation for the whole business of life—a preparation which shall fit the student to fill his part well as a member of a family, of a professional or commercial community, of society generally, and of the State....

Still the main end of a liberal education is so to discipline the understanding and the taste, and so to strengthen the various powers of the mind, that when the student proceeds, thus disciplined and strengthened, to learn the use of the weapons needful for himself especially, he may acquire that use most readily, and ever afterwards employ it most worthily for himself and most beneficially for his country....

Forty-five years later, in 1908, the Heads of the Grammar Schools in conference defined the aims of their schools:

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1 The Moreton Bay Courier, 19th July 1860.

2 See Appendix E.
We believe that Grammar Schools should above all other things aim at spreading a good general culture and public spirit among those who will hereafter be leaders in the professions, the public services, in commerce, and in industrial and pastoral life, and that they should guard against the danger of undue early specialisation; and that in the Girls' Grammar Schools our girls should be so trained in intellect and character as to spread knowledge and refinement in the homes of the State.

Evidence points to the conclusion that genuine endeavour was made in the Grammar Schools to achieve these aims, which are fully in accordance with the original intentions of the original legislators of 1860. Thus the basic aim of the Grammar Schools was to confer a sound general education, one which would constitute a secure basis for the specialised learning or skill of any occupation, and for the acceptance of civic responsibility. And in this sense was their education in truth a practical one.

There was, notwithstanding the consistency of general aims, a decided shift in opinion between 1860 and 1914 as to what might constitute a sound general education. This was reflected in curriculum content, the main change being a decline in emphasis on the study of the classical languages, and an increase in time and

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1 Resolutions and Suggestions passed at the Conference of Grammar School Headmasters and Headmistresses, January 23rd and 24th, 1908: copy in possession of State Government Archives, Brisbane.
attention devoted to study of the sciences. The decline in study of Latin and Greek was foreshadowed even in 1850 by Herbert, though Bowen defended the classical studies; but there is evidence to show that the overall rate of change in emphasis was hindered by the conservatism of professional bodies and the universities in the matter of examination requirements in languages. Lack of finance to provide laboratories was an obstacle to the promotion of science studies.

What, then, was the worth of the contribution made by the Grammar School movement in the development of secondary education in Queensland?

There seems to be little doubt that the quality of work done by the Grammar Schools generally was distinctly good. There were, from time to time, charges of inefficiency made, but, except in that there were conflicting views about the economic scale of provision, there seems to be no definite evidence to sustain such charges. On the other hand, there is good weight of evidence to the contrary. In several instances there are records of internal disturbances within the schools, but these are relatively unimportant. On the whole, the Grammar Schools were staffed by competent, well-paid and well-qualified teachers, while some of the Headmasters, such men as Roe, Cameron and Rowland, were outstanding
personalities.

D. Cameron, Inspector of Grammar Schools, reported in 1901:

I am satisfied, after paying close attention to the work of the schools during my visits, that that work, in all the departments of it in which I felt capable of forming a judgment, is of a genuine and thorough character; that the heads of the schools are fully alive to their responsibilities; and that their assistants endeavour to carry out their duties faithfully.¹

In 1905 R.H. Roe, then Headmaster of Brisbane Grammar School, had this to say:

...I maintain that the Grammar schools have done the work for which they were established with remarkable fidelity and success. They have enabled the native-born to qualify for the professions, as the lists of those professions will show, and business houses and State service authorities alike bear witness that the schools furnish them with an abundant supply of steadfast and intelligent servants; our school records also show that a large number of our boys pass annually away from the towns into pastoral and agricultural life, with minds and characters better fitted by higher education for their life's work; and our system of scholarships and exhibitions places the best education of the State within the reach of any boy who has the brains and energy to win it for himself.

The high standard of our secondary work is attested by the successes won by Queensland Grammar schools in Southern and English Universities, which are far above the proportion to be expected from our numbers. The schools have made the name of Queensland respected in the educational world, wherever our boys have proceeded. From the support which our school has received, it may reasonably be

inferred that the influence of its education upon the intelligence, character, and manners of its pupils has been generally valued also in Queensland. It may therefore be fairly maintained that the schools have made a good return for the assistance they have hitherto received from the State.¹

Some years later, then Inspector-General of the Department of Public Instruction, and Inspector of Grammar Schools, Roe wrote:

The high quality of the work in the Queensland Grammar Schools is beyond question. That is not merely my verdict after inspection, but it is confirmed by the long array of University prizes, scholarships, medals, and passes won by them during a series of years in open competition with the secondary schools of New South Wales. The standard of the upper classes is highly advanced, and the general quality of the teaching is, as a whole, distinctly good. The Boards of Trustees have developed a high sense of their local responsibilities, and the zeal and ability with which the business of these schools is conducted by their Trustees will compare favourably with that shown by any other public corporations in this State.²

A year later Roe referred to the Grammar Schools as:

...schools where the children of the richest and the poorest meet together as in the University, on common ground, and confer mutual advantages on each other by their distinctive characteristics. It would be a great loss to the State if ever this type of free secondary education were destroyed....³

Other authorities have commended the work of the Grammar Schools. Dr. Bean, in "Here, My Son", states that the Grammar Schools "gave Queensland a service that no other system then gave, or could have given, in any Australian colony". \(^1\) Elsewhere, he writes that "the grammar schools always stood for thoroughness in scholarship". \(^2\)

Another writer has this to say:

The Grammar Schools (all of which are day and boarding schools) have rendered tremendous service to Queensland education. They were fortunate in that they secured per medium of the State scholarships most of the best intelligences in the State; but they have built up a reputation for character-building that is quite up to the best traditions of British secondary education. \(^3\)

The judgement of J.D. Story, one of the outstanding men in the history of education in Queensland, was as follows:

It is generally recognised that the Queensland grammar schools do good work; the success of their students in the Junior and Senior examinations of the Sydney University abundantly justify this conclusion. \(^4\)

\(^1\) C.E.W. Bean, Here, My Son, Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1950, 64.

\(^2\) ibid., p146.

\(^3\) G.S. Browne et al., Education in Australia, ed. G.S. Browne, London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1927, 255.

\(^4\) J.D. Story, Fifty Years of Education in Queensland, Brisbane: Government Printer, 730.
One should, of course, bear in mind that in receiving State scholarship winners, at least up to 1914, the Grammar Schools were receiving the élite of the élite of the primary schools; but it is notable that not only scholarship holders achieved brilliant academic results and won University exhibitions from the Grammar Schools.

One measure of the worth of Grammar School influence lies in the service rendered by old boys of the schools during the First World War. Of this Bean says:

The Queensland grammar schools, perhaps because they made the chance of first-rate education available to all clever children a generation before the other colonies did so, furnished an impressive proportion of Australian leaders in World War I.¹

In fact the records are little short of astonishing. Over three hundred past students of Brisbane Grammar School held commissions, and twenty-five held the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel or higher. Many were decorated; for example, twenty-two received the D.S.O., forty-nine the M.C., and twenty-six the M.M. Eighty-two were mentioned in despatches, thirty-one of them more than once. No fewer than three past students of

Maryborough Grammar School reached the rank of Major-General. Of the past students of Toowoomba Grammar School who would have been eligible in age, eighty percent saw service. One held the rank of Lieutenant-General, and three others the rank of Brigadier-General.

The influence of past students of the Grammar Schools was felt throughout the community. In 1899, when the Grammar Schools were under attack from a number of quarters, "The Brisbane Courier" had this to say:

....It would be not only unfair but misleading to forget at the present juncture that our Grammar Schools have as a whole done admirable service. Keeping colonial limitations in view, they have worthily taken the place of the great public schools of England. They have made the link between Primary School and University, and they are known and respected throughout the colonies. We have a list of old Grammar School boys, not to speak of girls, of which any country may be proud. 1

Despite all these things, the influence of the Grammar School movement was, until nearly the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, neutralized to a great extent by the attitude of the senior officials of the Department of Public Instruction. Enough has been already stated to demonstrate the validity of this point. It has also been shown that, by deliberate policy, no machinery was provided to link the Grammar Schools in a

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1 The Brisbane Courier, 28th September 1899.
cohesive system; and therefore they later lacked an effective instrument through which to exert unified influence. Much of the antipathy that built up against them at the close of the nineteenth century was unfounded and illogical; some was ungenerous to the point of malice. Consequently there existed in Queensland for years a fund of experience in secondary education that was largely untapped until 1909. A more enlightened policy might well have used this experience to expand secondary education in Queensland, perhaps ten or fifteen years earlier than was actually the case. It stands to the credit of the State Government that this position was in large measure reversed when, in 1909, R.H. Roe succeeded D. Ewart in the Department of Public Instruction. Under his supervision, and with the benefit of his long experience, the State High Schools were initiated.

Finally, at risk of over-simplification, it would be true to say that the Grammar Schools carried out with good success the work for which they were founded—to provide higher education for what was in fact an economic and academic élite, in order to produce professional men and community leaders generally. They proved inadequate in scope and quantity to cope with the rising demand for further education at the close of the nineteenth century.
and the opening of the twentieth. Being secular, they were never approved by the Roman Catholic Church, which endeavoured to establish its own secondary schools. For many students, the Grammar Schools were too expensive; and thus they incurred charges of social exclusiveness. Labour supporters therefore tended to regard them with suspicion. Some populous centres could not, or did not, establish Grammar Schools; and the rigidly centralized Department of Public Instruction raised tacit but powerful opposition to the movement. Most important of all, the State found it impossible to introduce popular secondary education on the same financial scale as that to which the Grammar Schools had been accustomed. Consequently, in the second decade of the twentieth century, the Grammar Schools were supplemented—and might have been supplanted, had State financial resources been adequate—by a more flexible, more economical, articulated, State-controlled, State-directed, and wholly State-provided system of secondary education, based on the State High School and the State Technical College.

However, in the framework of Queensland conditions before the First World War, the contribution made by the Grammar School movement in the development of State and nation was valuable indeed.
APPENDIX A

AN ACT TO PROVIDE FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF
GRAMMAR SCHOOLS IN QUEENSLAND.

(Assented to 7th September, 1860.

WHEREAS it is expedient for the encouragement of learning that public Grammar Schools should be established in the Colony of Queensland for conferring on all classes and denominations of Her Majesty's subjects resident in the said Colony without any distinction whatsoever the advantages of a regular and liberal course of education Be it therefore enacted by the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly of Queensland in Parliament assembled and by the authority of the same as follows—

1. If at any time hereafter and so often as a sum of not less than £1000 shall have been raised by donation or subscription in any district for the purpose of establishing a public Grammar School within such district it shall in every such case upon the written application of the donor or subscribers of the said sum be lawful for the Governor with the advice of his Executive Council by warrant under his hand to direct to be issued from time to time out of the general revenue of the Colony and paid to Trustees to be appointed as hereinafter provided a corresponding sum or sums not exceeding in the whole twice the amount that shall have been raised by such donation or subscription as aforesaid and such sum or sums shall be applied to the erection of suitable buildings for the said School and for the residence of the Head Master thereof and to such other purposes connected with the permanent establishment thereof as may be from time to time embodied in resolutions by the said Trustees to be approved by the Governor with the advice aforesaid Provided that the site of the School plans and specifications of the buildings to be erected shall first have been laid before the Governor and Executive Council and approved by the Governor by writing under his hand.
2. Whenever the said sum of not less than £1000 shall have been raised within any district and application shall have been made in writing as above-mentioned and approved of in manner aforesaid then and in every such case there shall be nominated and appointed seven persons resident within the said district whereof four shall be nominated and appointed by the Governor with the advice of the Executive Council and three by the said donor or by a majority of persons subscribing to the amount of Five Pounds each voting by Ballot subject to the approval of the Governor with the advice aforesaid and the appointment of such seven persons shall be notified in the Government Gazette whereupon they shall forthwith be and become a body politic and corporate with perpetual succession by the name or style of "The Trustees of the (name of District) Grammar School" and shall have a common seal and shall by the same name from time to time and at all times hereafter be capable to receive purchase acquire take and hold to them and their successors in trust for and to and for the purposes of such School any messuages lands tenements and hereditaments of what nature or kind soever and also to receive purchase acquire and possess upon the same trusts and to and for the same purposes any goods chattels gifts or benefactions whatsoever and shall and may by the same name be capable to sue and be sued both at law and in equity in like manner as any other body politic or corporate or any person capable to sue and be sued at law or in equity and shall and may by the same name be capable to grant demise alien or otherwise deal with all or any of the property real or personal belonging to the said School and also to do all other matters and things and have and enjoy all rights and privileges incidental to or appertaining to a body politic or corporate Provided that no Trustee so appointed as herein contained shall continue to act as such Trustee for a period exceeding three years unless re-appointed by nomination or re-election as hereinbefore provided Provided also that any such Trustee absenting himself for more than six months from duly convened meetings of the said Trustees shall ipso facto be disqualified from acting as such Trustee Provided that whenever the said donor or not less than three subscribers towards any such School shall from any cause whatever become incapable of acting as heretofore provided in respect of the election of Trustees the right of election of any Trustee or Trustees shall be vested in that municipality which shall be nearest to such schools.
3. It shall be lawful for the Governor with the advice of the Executive Council whenever fees to the amount of two hundred and fifty pounds per annum shall be promised by responsible persons for a period of not less than three years by warrant under his hand to direct to be issued and paid out of the General Revenue of the Colony to the credit of each of the said bodies of Trustees by four equal quarterly payments on the first day of January the first day of April the first day of July and the first day of October in every year a sum or sums not exceeding in the whole five hundred pounds as a fund for defraying or contributing to the several stipends which shall be appointed to be paid to the several masters or teachers in the said schools respectively and for or towards discharging all incidental and necessary current expenditure connected with the said schools.

4. It shall nevertheless be lawful for the Governor with the advice of the Executive Council to retain and reserve in any year that he may see fit from and out of all and every or one or more of the several sums payable under the last section to the said several bodies of Trustees respectively any sum not exceeding ten per centum of the amount payable in each year and all such sums when so retained and reserved shall form a general fund for providing one or more Scholarships or Exhibitions of an annual value to be determined by the Governor in Council at any British or Australian University and such Scholarships or Exhibitions shall be open to the pupils of all the Grammar Schools established under the provisions of this Act provided that such Scholarships or Exhibitions shall only be obtained after public competitive examination according to such regulations as by the Governor in Council may be established.

5. In order that the said schools may eventually be provided with a permanent endowment it shall be lawful for the Governor and he is hereby empowered with the advice of the Executive Council subject to the approval of the Legislature to grant in fee simple to the Trustees of any one or more of the said schools any portion (the estimated value of which shall not exceed the sum of two thousand pounds) of the Crown lands lying within or near the district in which the school is situate for whose benefit each grant shall be made.

6. Provided always that it shall not be lawful for the said Trustees to alien mortgage charge or demise any messuages lands tenements or hereditaments to which they
may become entitled by grant purchase or otherwise howsoever unless with the sanction of the Governor and the Executive Council except by way of lease for any term not exceeding twenty-one years in possession and upon every lease so granted there shall be reserved and made payable during the whole of the term thereby granted the best yearly rent that can reasonably be obtained for the same without taking any premium fine or foregift for the making thereof.

7. If any such grant of land as aforesaid shall at any time be made then and in every such case the Trustees shall within one month after the commencement of each year send in to the Colonial Secretary a return of the then value of the land so granted and of the profits if any derived therefrom during the previous year and the amount of such profits may be deducted from the amount which would otherwise be payable to the said Trustees for the ensuing year under the third section of this Act and when and so soon as the amount of the said profits in any one year shall amount to the sum of five hundred pounds or upwards then and in every such case the payment of the said sum of five hundred pounds or of any portion thereof under the said section may altogether cease.

8. It shall be lawful for the Trustees of each school with the approval of the Governor in Council to make regulations for filling up all vacancies that may occur in their number for the unexpired portion of the current term of three years such newly appointed Trustees to retire with the other Trustees and for determining the fees that shall be payable by the pupils, to the masters and teachers of the said schools and for residence and attendance at school of the pupils and generally concerning the management good government and discipline of the said schools and from time to time with the like approval to repeal or to alter and amend any or all of such regulations Provided always that if any person shall have given or subscribed a sum exceeding thirty pounds a remission of the school fees of half the amount otherwise payable to the school shall be made in his favor until the amount exceeding thirty pounds shall be by these means repaid And that all such regulations and any repeal alteration or amendment of such regulations shall be published in the Government Gazette.

9. This Act shall be styled and may be cited as "The Grammar Schools Act 1860."
WHEREAS it is expedient to increase in certain cases the annual amount payable by the Government on account of Grammar Schools. Be it therefore enacted by the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly of Queensland in Parliament assembled and by the authority of the same as follows—

1. For the purposes of this Act and of "The Grammar Schools Act of 1860" the word "fees" shall mean all fees or other moneys paid for education only.

2. Notwithstanding anything contained in "The Grammar Schools Act of 1860" it shall be lawful for the Governor with the advice of the Executive Council whenever the sum received in any district for the purpose of establishing a grammar school shall have amounted to not less than two thousand pounds and fees to the amount of five hundred pounds per annum shall have been promised by responsible persons for a period of three years to direct to be paid to the credit of the trustees of such grammar school in the manner provided by the said Act a sum or sums not exceeding in the whole one thousand pounds per annum towards the stipend of the masters and teachers in the said school and towards discharging all incidental and necessary current expenditure connected with the said school.

3. So much as is contained in the last proviso of clause two of the said Act shall be repealed and whenever any donor having the right to nominate and appoint any trustee or trustees under the second section of the said Act shall die or from any cause whatever shall become incapable of exercising such right or whenever the number of subscribers to any school having the like right under the said second section shall be reduced to three in number by death or other incapacity then the
right of such donor or subscribers to nominate and appoint any trustee or trustees shall be vested in the Council of the Municipality nearest to the school for which such trustee or trustees are to be appointed.

4. This Act shall be read with and shall be deemed to form a part of "The Grammar Schools Act of 1860" and shall be styled and may be cited as "The Grammar Schools Act Amendment Act of 1864."
APPENDIX C

Extract from "The Grammar Schools Act Amendment Act, 1891"

(assented to 3rd August 1891):

Any person who subscribes or has subscribed to the amount of five pounds or upwards, whether in one or more sums, to funds raised for the establishment or maintenance, or for the enlargement of the buildings, of a Grammar School already established or hereafter to be established under the said recited Act, is and has always been entitled to vote at the choice of Trustees of the School, whether the subscription was or is made before or after the establishment of the Grammar School, or before or after the creation of the Corporation of the Trustees of the School.
APPENDIX D

Extract from "The Grammar Schools Act Amendment Act, 1900"

(assented to 28th December 1900):

2. The Governor in Council may from time to time appoint fit and proper persons, each of whom shall be a graduate of a British or Australian university, to be inspectors of Grammar Schools, and may pay to such inspectors such salaries and allowances as he thinks proper.

3. It shall be the duty of such inspectors to inspect the Grammar Schools of Queensland at such times and in such manner as the Secretary for Public Instruction directs, and to make such reports to him thereon as he directs.

4. The salaries and allowances of such inspectors, and all expenses incurred in the execution of this Act, shall be defrayed out of monies to be from time to time appropriated by Parliament for the purpose.
APPENDIX E


The Trustees of this institution having conveyed to me a wish that I should take part in the interesting proceedings of this day, I gladly accepted their invitation. Educated myself at an English public school and university, my warmest sympathies are naturally enlisted in the inauguration of the first public school established in this new Colony, with the object of providing for our youth some of the higher branches of a liberal education. And, as a public man engaged during many years in the active business of life, I desire to bring the living testimony of practical experience to confirm and enforce those precepts and exhortations which the students will doubtless hear from the learned head-master, and from the gentlemen associated with him.

In the first place, I observe with great satisfaction that this institution will be carried out, so far as circumstances may permit, on the well-tried plan of the old public schools of England. So much, indeed, is implied in its name. This school professes to teach grammar in its widest sense—that is, "the science which has for its object the laws which regulate human language." Now it is, I imagine, admitted on all sides that by education is meant not a mere preparation for some specific trade or profession, but rather a preparation for the whole business of life—a preparation which shall fit the student to fill his part well as a member of a family, of a professional or commercial community, of society generally, and of the State. Far be it from me to say that no help
should be furnished at school and college towards the various pursuits of manhood. Much can be done—and much, I hope, will be done in this institution—towards that object, both directly and indirectly: directly, by instruction in the principles and practice of law, commerce, and agriculture; and indirectly, by instruction in history, modern languages, mathematics, chemistry, and physics. Still the main end of a liberal education is so to discipline the understanding and the taste, and so to strengthen the various powers of the mind, that when the student proceeds, thus disciplined and strengthened, to learn the use of the weapons needful for himself especially, he may acquire that use most readily, and ever afterwards employ it most worthily for himself and most beneficially for his country.

Such, then, being the true aim of education, it follows that grammar, or the science of language, must hold an important place in it. Language is the medium of intercourse between man and man—the instrument, as it were, of thought. How can the processes of the mind be better understood than by a minute analysis of two of the most perfect languages that have ever been spoken? Or how can the young scholar learn more easily to think accurately for himself than by the study of the exact meaning of words and phrases? It has been asked indeed: "While the claims of language to form an essential part of education must be granted, why should the dead languages of Greece and Rome be chosen for this purpose?" To this plausible question convincing replies have often been given. It has been shown that while, on the one hand, the study of modern languages alone would prove an inferior discipline, so, on the other hand, the worth to all time of the stores of wisdom and learning contained in the classical languages of antiquity is almost incalculable. Greek and Latin are a better instrument for training the mind, because they are more elaborate in their etymology and syntax, expressing by copious inflexions what the languages of modern Europe express by mere juxtaposition of independent words. Moreover, the study of the ancient tongues from which the principal modern languages are derived, supplies a common standard and foundation for the
philology, similar to that furnished in the elements of Euclid for the mathematics of all nations. Again, it has been truly said that we are hardly less closely connected with the people of Greece and Rome than with our own immediate ancestors. Not more truly do we owe most of our civil rights and social institutions to our Anglo-Saxon forefathers than we are indebted to the Greeks and Romans for most of our law, our literature, our science, and our philosophy.

It has sometimes been objected, with all the audacity of ignorance, that classical studies are unfit for the present active age, and tend to make men "unpractical" and "mere dreamy scholars." But all experience refutes this superficial objection. Almost all the greatest English statesmen and lawyers in the last hundred years have been men pre-eminent for classical attainments....
APPENDIX F

Extract from the Report of the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the working of the Educational Institutions of the Colony, published in 1875:

SECONDARY EDUCATION.

XXVI. Up to the present time only three of the towns of Queensland have availed themselves of the provisions of "The Grammar Schools' Act of 1860." Ipswich has had a Grammar School open since September, 1863; Brisbane, since February, 1869; while Toowoomba is only now on the point of beginning the erection of the necessary school buildings.

XXVII. We find that the Grammar Schools of Ipswich and Brisbane attract a considerable number of very young pupils, whose attainments are of the most meagre character; but that the majority of the pupils, in both the schools, are fit to receive, and are actually receiving the rudiments of a good secondary education. Latin, as being the foundation of the languages of Western Europe, English, and mathematics are the main subjects of study. French and German, also, are taught, and, of late, the rudiments of science. Little attention is paid to Greek, which is not a compulsory subject in either school. Each of the schools is entitled to receive £1,000 per annum from the Consolidated Revenue of the colony, in addition to which a fee of £3 3s. per head, per school quarter, is charged at Ipswich, and of £4 4s. at Brisbane. Examinations for scholarships, founded in connection with the local Grammar School by private donors, are annually held at Ipswich, the papers used at which are set by the masters of the school. The awards, however, are made by independent examiners. With this exception, the work done in the schools is tested by their respective masters, occasionally assisted in the case of Brisbane by
Honorary Examiners, examinations for this purpose being held twice in the course of each year. Though the range of the subjects taught is limited, we have no reason to believe that what is attempted is otherwise than well done. At the same time, we think that the half-yearly examinations ought to be conducted by independent examiners.

We also recommend that the secondary schools should, in future, be subjected to inspection.

XXVIII. We are of opinion that the point of junction between the primary and secondary schools of the colony ought to be determined, in order to avoid any waste of teaching power from the overlapping of the subjects of study in the two classes of schools. We do not advise that any arbitrary age limits should be fixed; but we think that, as a general rule, the pupils of the secondary schools ought not to be younger than twelve or older than seventeen. We recommend, also, that the subjects to be studied in the secondary schools should be defined by competent authority, and that the order in which they should occupy the attention of the pupils, as well as the periods of time to be devoted to them, in turn, should be fixed by regulation.

XXIX. If it be decided that, except in the case of scholars promoted from the primary schools for merit, fees shall continue to be charged at the secondary schools, we suggest that the fees should be carried to the credit of the Consolidated Revenue of the colony; that the system of fixed annual endowments should cease; and that the State should provide the funds for paying the salaries of the necessary masters, and the working expenses of the several schools.

XXX. The State has granted the lands on which the existing buildings stand, and has contributed two-thirds of their cost, and the law has reserved no rights to the subscribers of the other third, except that donations in excess of £30 are returnable in the shape of a remission of half the school fees; and that so long as three of the subscribers to the foundation of any school shall survive, the subscribers shall elect three of the
seven trustees of that school; but that ultimately
the nomination of three of the seven trustees shall
vest in the municipality nearest to the school. It
is hardly probable that there would be much diffi-
culty in inducing the subscribers to the Grammar
Schools of Ipswich, Brisbane, and Toowoomba to
consent to the transfer of such rights and interests
as may be vested in them to the central educational
authority of the colony; and we recommend that such
central authority should have power to accept, and,
in the event of acceptance, should be bound to
maintain the existing Grammar School buildings. As
to the foundation of new Grammar Schools, we advise
that, as a test of there being a bona fide demand
for a Grammar School in any district, local
subscriptions should be required, as at present,
but that the buildings should be vested in the
central educational authority.

XXXI. The preceding suggestions are made on
the assumption that the primary and secondary
schools will hereafter form part of an educational
system under the administration of a single central
authority.

XXXII. The remarks we have already made, as
to the improvement of the vehicles of education in
the primary schools of the colony, are applicable
to the secondary schools. Science cannot be effec-
tively taught in schools where there is no suffi-
cient supply of scientific apparatus; aesthetic
tastes cannot be cultivated where the eye never
rests on objects of artistic beauty and design;
manly spirit can be but imperfectly developed where
the biographies of the great and good are seldom
read; and the training of the citizen is only
partial, at the best, if it include no history
beyond the barest rudiments of the history of his
own country. We advise that the secondary schools
of the colony be fully equipped for the work of
secondary education; that, due allowance being made
for the physiological difficulties of the question,
secondary schools be provided for girls as well as
for boys; that a "real school" curriculum be
arranged, as in Germany, for all the pupils of the
secondary schools that desire to devote their chief
attention to practical science; and a "gymnasium"
curriculum for all who seek a more exclusively
literary education.
EDUCATION AND DEMOCRACY

By Reginald H. Roe, M.A.

Democracy must be recognised by all, whether we like it or not, as the form of government that is ruling in these colonies in the present and that will rule them in the future; and those who have our future development at heart cannot but regard with interest, nay, even with anxiety, the attitude of the democratic spirit towards education. Upon that attitude will it depend whether the rule of the many shall prove for us the rule of the ignorant and selfish in place of the more intelligent, of the political mountebank in place of the statesman, or whether it shall mean wise government by a thinking people in the interests of all, and the substitution of the born leaders of men drawn from the whole community in place of the nominees of a class.

Hitherto it must be allowed that the popular voice
has spoken with no uncertain sound in its demand for widespread intellectual training. It has in all countries where it is heard initiated State systems of education, and has even surrendered its belief in the principle of freedom so far as to make those systems compulsory. It seems to say, let us have the absolute rule of the majority, only let us spare no effort to make that majority wise and public-spirited, and let us still have the rule of the best, the true aristocracy, but let those best be drawn without favour from all classes of the community, supported by the voluntary confidence of an intelligent people. Education amongst us should therefore, in relation to politics, have two distinct aims. First, the spread of good average knowledge over all individuals of the body politic; and, secondly, the highest mental development of our natural leaders and the ready supply of means by which these may come to the front. In the attainment of the first aim our State schools are a good beginning; but they cannot be regarded as a complete solution of the problem. They train the reasoning powers of the average boy fairly well, but they leave him with very little knowledge to reason upon. History, political economy, logic, are all for good reasons excluded; the last two are hardly school subjects, our religious differences have banished
the first; but no one would deny that a people trained in the leading principles of all three would be in a more healthy state for self-government. A truly popular University would do this work for us. It is objected that the working classes would derive no benefit from a University; that it would only be another means of making the State pay for the higher education of the well-to-do; that, in the first place, it would not supply such knowledge as the working classes need; and, secondly, from want of pecuniary means they could not avail themselves of its advantages. The objection might have force, if we were bound to follow only on the lines of the older European Universities. But here we may, if anywhere, adopt with profit the leading principle of the democratic spirit. Change and Progress is its motto; looking forward with a cheerful hope to the perfectibility of human life instead of deploring our decadence, it is ever ready to adopt new methods, or to adapt the old to altered conditions. Even the old Universities have been pushed forward by this spirit into an attempt to make themselves truly national, and by the initiation of evening classes and affiliated colleges in the working centres of the land are extending their influence through the whole people. A University in a democratic country should make this
popular teaching a leading feature of its work. There is no need of Latin or Greek, even for many of the most valuable branches of knowledge which are now taught mainly in connection with classical studies. As useful lessons in political philosophy could be given from a critical study of More's Utopia as from that of Plato's Republic; the elements of political economy and logic could be taught for all practical purposes without reference to Aristotle, and the solution of political problems as shown in the histories of the Greek and Roman Republics need not be studied in the dead languages; our own constitutional history lies open in plain English to all, and the history of European civilization needs no acquaintance with foreign tongues. All that is needed is a desire for such higher knowledge and the awakening of such a degree of intelligence amongst the working classes as shall enable them to remember the facts and grasp the reasoning. The training of our primary schools should effect the latter end; interest in current politics the former. Out of a population of some 330,000 over 175,000 are native born; and a large proportion of these having passed through the State Schools, should be capable of entering on such a course as has been sketched above. The difficulty is to find for them the leisure and the means. The holding of the
classes in the evening would avoid interference with the
day's work, while the liberal award of scholarships to
the most proficient, to enable them to follow to the end
any course for which natural aptitude had been shown,
would remove the financial difficulty. The attainment
of a degree is really only a minor point in a University
career; it was considered so until quite lately in the
Scotch Universities; the culture to be gained from some
special portion of the course was the main object; and
we should try by liberal concessions to bring under
scientific training the more active and intelligent
minds of the working classes, who will guide their
comrades' opinions on such vital questions as the rela-
tion of capital and labour, free trade and protection,
and the limits of Government interference. Our Univers-
ity would then do even more valuable work than in
training the select few who are hereafter to hold the
reins of government, plead our causes in the courts,
heal our diseases, or spread the light of knowledge in
our midst.

Yet it need not be imagined that the democratic
spirit in its call for equality is opposed to the highest
training of the select few. It only demands that this
training shall be open to all who deserve it, that it
shall keep in touch with modern wants and human interests,
instead of burying itself in past traditions and verbal quibbles; that its science shall be of a kind which shall aid us in the supply of our daily needs and widen our knowledge of the universe; and that its culture shall develop those qualities of mind and soul that shall make its possessors nobler and abler citizens. It calls, indeed, for greater equality in the conditions of life, but it seeks to attain this end by offering to all, to the poorest if he will have it, the rich inheritance of the fulness of knowledge.

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