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CHARLES BADHAM
AND HIS WORK FOR EDUCATION
IN NEW SOUTH WALES

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CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND AND PRELUDE1. Parentage

"Carolus Badham Filius natu quartus Caroli M.D. Natus apud Ludlow in Comitatu Salopiensi." In this form Charles Badham signed the matriculation album of the University of Glasgow in 1831.¹ He was born on 18th July 1813, the fourth son of Charles Badham and his first wife, born Margaret Campbell.² She was the cousin of the poet Thomas Campbell. The father was keenly interested in classical literature, which remained his study and pleasure long after he began practising as a physician. A Fellow of the Royal Society and of the Royal College of Physicians, the author of a pioneer work on bronchitis, he worked also on a translation of the Satires of Juvenal. He travelled much on the Continent, sometimes as physician to men of high rank, including H.R.H. the Duke of Sussex.³ The diarist

¹ The University of Glasgow through Five Centuries, Glasgow: Univ. Press, 1951, 85.

² Dictionary of National Biography, 63 vols., London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1885-1900, II, 386.

³ James Finlayson, "Dr. Charles Badham", Glasgow Medical Journal, 53, May 1900, 322.

Henry Crabb Robinson mentions a dinner at Richard's Coffee House in 1825: "I was placed next to Shee, R.A. . . Dr. Badham was on my other side, and talked very agreeably. He has travelled in Greece."¹ In 1827 he was appointed to the Chair of Medicine at Glasgow University,² but in the years that followed, continued to enjoy periods abroad. (In November of 1837 he began a letter from the College of Glasgow with the phrase: "On my arrival here after my customary absence of six months. . .")³ The boy who was to become Professor of Classics and Logic in the University of Sydney grew up in the atmosphere of culture and scholarship, reinforced with foreign travel, that was the milieu of his father and his father's connections.

The mother, an acknowledged beauty, died from tuberculosis when still comparatively young. Some of the children inherited the disease, and in turn were not to be long-lived.⁴

2. Schooling

Badham's first schooling was at Pestalozzi's institution

¹ Henry Crabb Robinson, Diary, reminiscences, and correspondence. . . sel. and ed. by Thomas Sadler, 3 vols., London: MacMillan, 1869, II, 309-310.

² D.N.B., loc. cit.

³ Letter from Charles Badham, M.D., 13th November 1837, in the National Library of Scotland.

⁴ H. Badham and Lewis Campbell, "Charles Badham," Biographisches Jahrbuch für Alterthumskunde, 1884, 92.

at Yverdun in Switzerland.¹

The eldest of the four boys, Charles David, was born in 1806 and went for two years to Westminster School.² In 1825 the father wrote to John Lockhart a letter supporting the claims of his eldest son to the position of English teacher at Lockhart's new institution, saying:

I attach little importance, except the being well grounded in the elements of language, to his 2 yrs education at Westminster. I removed him on his mothers (sic) death from that school, chiefly to take care of his 3 younger brothers at Yverdun where all of them were substantially educated - at Pestalozzi's he acquired of course French and German and his classical reading was conducted under Dr. Mayo. . .³

Kate Silber, in her book Pestalozzi, the Man and his Work, is in error in stating that the subject of the letter was later Professor of Classics at Sydney.⁴

An article by Charles David entitled Pestalozziana appeared in Blackwood's Magazine in 1849.⁵ He ascribes their going to Yverdun to distrust of English schooling then prevalent. French was the normal language at the school, and here perhaps Charles first became acquainted

¹ D.N.B., loc. cit.

² D.N.B. II, 387. (D.N.B. wrongly says Eton.)

³ Letter from Charles Badham, M.D., 26th July 1825, in the National Library of Scotland.

⁴ Kate Silber, Pestalozzi, the Man and his Work, London: Routledge, 1960, 304.

⁵ Charles David Badham, "Pestalozziana", Blackwood's Magazine, 66, July 1849, 93-107.

with the language which he was to use in his long years of correspondence with Cobet. His broken English was to cause amusement at Eton. As for the classics, "the dead languages remained untaught - nay, were literally unknown, except to a small section of the school, for which a kind Providence had sent a valued friend and preceptor in Dr. M--." There were approximately 180 pupils, "natives of every European and of some Oriental states." In the afternoons they received varying kinds of lessons, in contrast to the regimented mornings. "It was then, however, that we English withdrew to our Greek and Latin; and, under a kind master, Dr. M--, acquired (with the exception of a love for natural history, and a very unambitious turn of mind) all that really could deserve the name of education."¹

Charles Mayo, the "Dr. M--" referred to, went to Pestalozzi's institution in 1819 as English chaplain, and during his stay there became thoroughly conversant with the master's principles. When he returned to England in 1822, he established a school in accordance with those principles, having determined to make Pestalozzi's ideas known in England. His sister Elizabeth Mayo was for some years an ally in this task, and both are authors of publications on education and Pestalozzi's principles.²

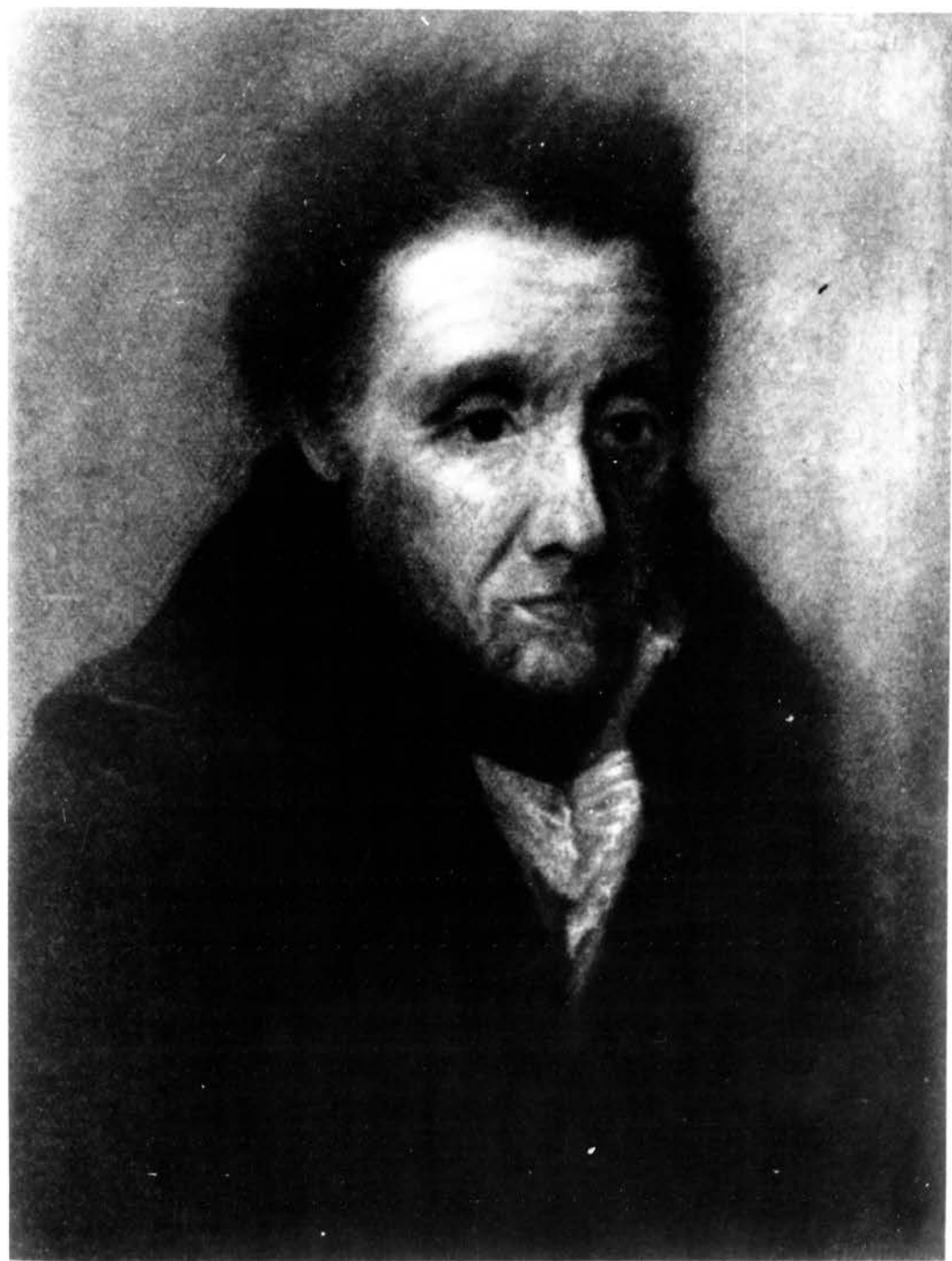
¹ ibid., passim.

² D.N.B., XXXVII, 169-70, 172.

JOHANN HEINRICH PESTALOZZI

IN THE YVERDUN PERIOD

The Pestalozzianum, Pestalozzi
and his Times, a Pictorial
Record, London: Dent, 1928,
plate 10.



JOH. HEINRICH PESTALOZZI

"Pestalozzi was my dear and honoured master", Charles wrote in 1876 in his letter to William Bede Dalley on primary education.¹ "I was his favourite pupil", he went on, and this link with the great European educator has been emphasised in various biographical notices of Badham. The link was between old age and childhood. Pestalozzi was born in 1746 and died in 1827. He was 67 years old when Badham was born. The latter went to him when 7,² and was only 13 when Pestalozzi died. So it was indeed the "old German teacher"³ who influenced him throughout his life.

In 1826 Badham was at Eton as a King's Scholar. This means that he had passed a Scholarship Examination for entry, which would indicate that "he was probably a good classical scholar on entry to Eton".⁴ He was still at Eton in 1829.⁵ His excellence as a student was attested to in after years by Dr. Hawtrey, Lord Lyttleton, and the Rev. R. Williams.

¹ Charles Badham, Speeches and Lectures Delivered in Australia (with Memoir of Professor Badham by Thomas Butler), Sydney: William Dymock, 1890, 86.

² H.C.L. Anderson, "Professor Charles Badham", Library Record of Australasia, 1, Oct. 1901, 73.

³ Charles Badham, Primary Education, in his Speeches . . . , 86.

⁴ Letter from the Clerk to the Old Etonian Association, 9th May 1966.

⁵ Ibid.

CHAPTER II

THE SCHOLAR1. Oxford and Cambridge

Charles Badham signed the matriculation album at the University of Glasgow, and in 1851 William Ramsay of that university wrote, that he had "studied at Eton, Glasgow and Cambridge in succession".¹ In fact, Oxford was his main university.

Badham matriculated at Oxford on 13th May 1831, when he was seventeen. He graduated Bachelor of Arts in 1837, with Third Class Honours, and Master of Arts in 1839.² In view of his performance at Eton and in maturity, the failure to gain First Class Honours is puzzling. It may be due in part to the years at Yverdun, in some ways so undisciplined, but he was too young for this to be probable. Charles David, his senior by seven years, wrote: "It was at once painful and difficult to indoctrinate indocile minds like ours into the accurate and severe habits of university

¹ N.S.W., Colonial Secretary, Letters received, 67/1388.

² Joseph Foster, Alumni Oxoniensis, 8 vols., Oxford: Foster, 1887-92, Ser. 2, 1, 46.

discipline".¹ Of Charles David his father had written more than twenty years earlier: "he has been averse from severe studies but has read a great deal in various directions consulting rather his own turn of mind than what was absolutely expedient".² But for Charles there had been the intervening Eton years. Perhaps his independence of thought in his studies was a factor. An obituary by a cousin and a half-brother states that Oxford's teaching method "did not suit his temperament", and suggests he may have been more in harmony with Cambridge.³ Piddington gives an impression of a young man enjoying the pleasures of Oxford, as well as studying.⁴

Years later, he was incorporated Master of Arts at Cambridge, and in 1852 received the degree of Doctor of Divinity.⁵

Eminent men who knew him at Oxford and Cambridge subsequently spoke admiringly of the capacity demonstrated in his student days, although it was not matched by formal qualifications then obtained.

¹ Charles David Badham, op. cit., p. 95.

² Charles Badham, M.D., letter cited.

³ H. Badham and Lewis Campbell, op. cit., 93.

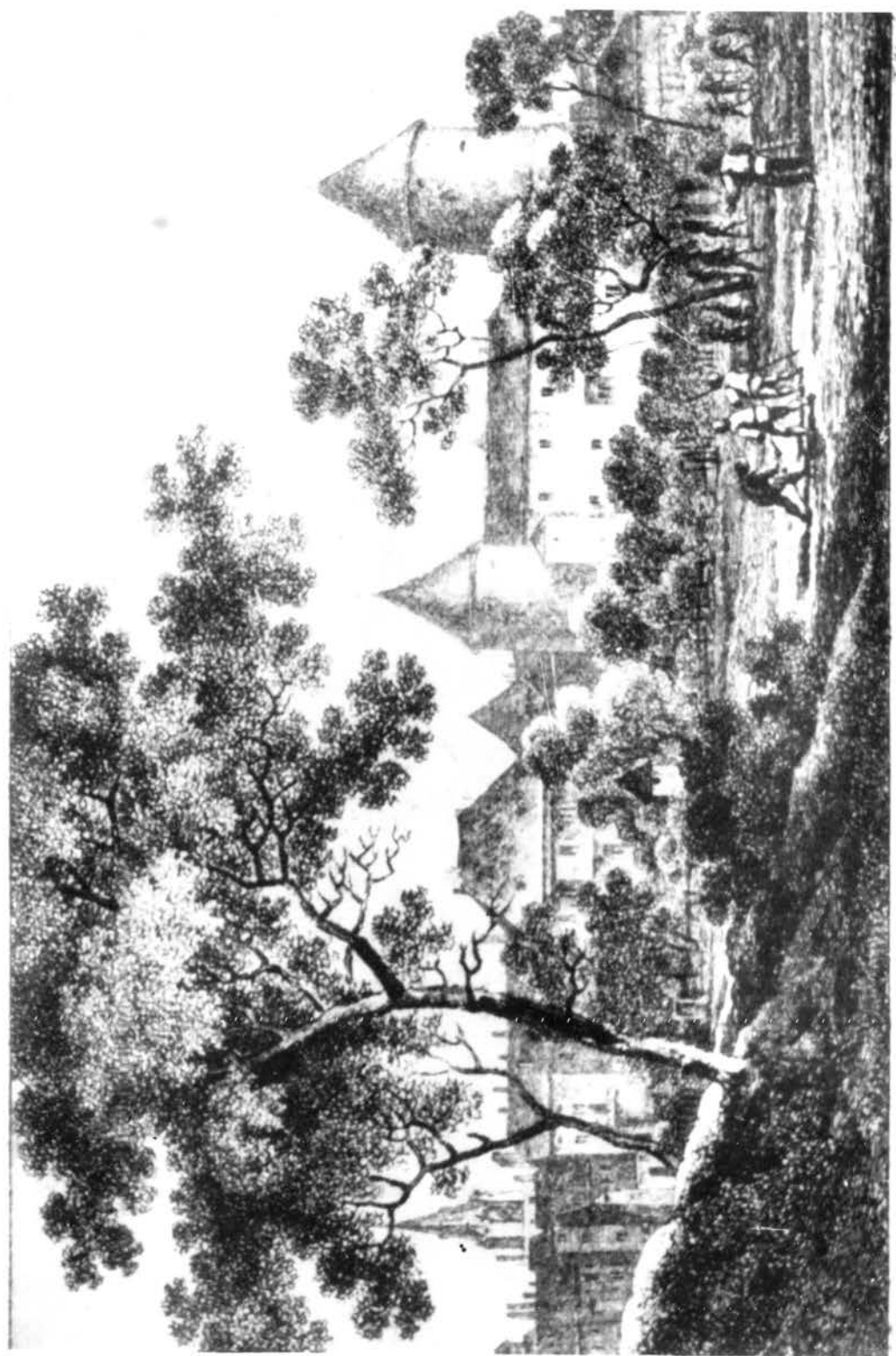
⁴ A. B. Piddington, Worshipful Masters, Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1929, 12-13.

⁵ D.N.B., II, 386.

SCHLOSS YVERDUN, SITE OF PESTALOZZI'S INSTITUTE

1804 - 1825

The Pestalozzianum, Pestalozzi
and his Times, a Pictorial
Record, London: Dent, 1928,
plate 126.



Novellun

2. European Travel

After leaving Oxford, Badham spent seven years on the Continent, travelling, studying, forming friendships that were to last all his life. He examined at first-hand the manuscripts that were the raw material of his studies and of his work as a textual critic. The Vatican in Rome was one of his places of resort, but the freedom of the centres of culture throughout Europe was his. He met men of the greatest eminence in his field; they were not to be found at home. A. E. Housman describes him as "the one English scholar of the mid-century whose reputation crossed the Channel", in a period of English decline.¹

3. Examiner in Classics

Badham did not obtain university preferment in England. He carried on research while earning his living as a school-master. He acted with William E. Jelf, B.D., as Examiner for the Newcastle Scholarship at Eton.² He examined in classics for the Indian Civil Service in 1865 and 1866, and from 1863 had been examiner in classics for the University of London.³ His fellow-examiner in Latin was Dr. William

¹ A. E. Housman, Selected prose, ed. by John Carter, Cambridge: Univ. Press, 1961, 41-2.

² N.S.W., Col. Sec., Letters received, 67/1388.

³ Charles Badham, Speeches. . ., xvi.

Smith, the lexicographer, who formed a high opinion of his personality, wisdom and learning. Badham and another (an examiner immediately prior to the election) had been chosen from twenty candidates to fill the two vacancies in Classics.¹ His resignation took effect from 31st March 1867.²

4. Publications

While it would be true to say that his reputation as a classicist did not rest solely on his publications, these embodied the best of Badham's textual criticism and made his merits widely known.

In 1851 his edition of Euripides' Iphigeneia in Tauris and Helena³ appeared, dedicated to Hawtrey; also the Phaedrus of Plato. Euripides' Ion and other works of Plato followed. Two volumes of extracts from Langhorne's translation of Plutarch's Lives, edited by Badham, were published in Sydney. Some of his works appeared in more than one edition.

Most are slight volumes. The Plutarchs and an edition of Ion are intended for university or school use. But in the group is to be found scholarship of the highest class,

¹ University of London, Minutes of the Senate, 1863, 18-19, 27, 37.

² Ibid., 1866, p. 115.

³ Publishing details of this and other works by Badham appear in the Bibliography.

which broke new ground in emendation and interpretation.

Badham's contribution in writings about criticism is to be found mainly in material prefatory to the works he edited. In 1865 was published Platonis Euthydemus et Laches. Praefixa est epistola ad Senatum Lugdunensem Batavorum Auctore Carolo Badham. The University of Leyden knew and appreciated Badham, and in 1860 had conferred on him the honorary degree of Doctor Litterarum. The letter acknowledges the honour, and embodies his views on emendation. In 1866 appeared Platonis Convivium cum Epistola ad Thompsonum edidit Carolus Badham. These two works formed the occasion of an article in the Quarterly Review of October 1866, entitled Dr. Badham and the Dutch School of Criticism. Published anonymously, the article was written by William Smith,¹ who speaks of Badham as "the greatest of our living scholars",² and the one in England best representing the Dutch school of critics.³ Smith concludes what is essentially an essay on classical studies in different periods and places with the hope that Badham might obtain a position more fitted to his gifts than the

¹ Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals. . . (ed. by) Walter E. Houghton, Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1966- , I, 1092.

² (William Smith), "Dr. Badham and the Dutch School of Criticism", Quarterly Review, 120, Oct. 1866, 332.

³ Ibid., p. 349.

"routine of daily drudgery" as headmaster at a "dreary place".¹

5. The Leyden Circle

Smith was not alone in his admiration. The sheaf of references which supported the application in 1866 for the Chair of Classics and Logic at the University of Sydney bears testimony to the high regard accorded to his abilities by his contemporaries in Britain.² There were, as well, tributes from the Continent, and it was amongst the European fraternity that Badham appears to have felt most at home.

Charles Gabriel Cobet, who has been called "the greatest Greek scholar" of the nineteenth century,³ was born in the same year as Badham and William Smith. He and Badham met first in the Vatican, during the years both were able to enjoy examining manuscripts, particularly in the libraries of Italy.⁴ A sympathetic bond was established, and the friendship between the two men continued until Badham's death. Sir Theodore Martin wrote from England the last letter he received.⁵ The last he wrote was to Cobet -

¹ ibid., p. 354.

² vide infra.

³ W. Gunion Rutherford, "Charles Gabriel Cobet", Classical Review, 3, 1889, 470.

⁴ Charles Badham, Speeches . . ., xii.

⁵ H. Badham and Lewis Campbell, op. cit., 95.

"Vale, in aeternum vale, omnium amicorum suavissime", the brief and moving note begins.¹

Cobet's connection with the University of Leyden began in 1832 when he became a student there.² His five years in Italy were provided by the University, and in 1846 he was appointed Professor.³ Badham's connection with Cobet became also a connection with the University and with men important within it. A correspondence between Badham and his Dutch colleagues continued for years. The letters to Cobet in particular have an intimacy, a relaxed quality, hard to observe elsewhere except in family correspondence.⁴ His eldest son, born in 1848, was christened Charles Lennard Cobet, and greetings from "Charlie" to Cobet's daughter - the "dilecta filia" to whom a greeting was sent in 1884, and who later presented A. B. Piddington to her father⁵ - appear in the letters that crossed the Channel to "mon cher Cobet" at Leyden. Most written by Badham were in French, a few in Latin, apart from the frequent Greek passages. Suggested emendations, comments on books by the correspondents and others, new insights into familiar passages reveal a fresh and lively community of interest.

¹ Charles Badham, Speeches. . ., xxviii.

² W. Gunion Rutherford, loc. cit.

³ ibid., p. 471.

⁴ Leyden University, MSS. (photocopies.)

⁵ A. B. Piddington, op. cit., 120.

It appears that Badham found in his intellectual work solace for grief. In sadness he writes from Edgbaston, and later from Sydney, plunging into passages of Greek, struggling with meanings, and in the struggle losing his other, afflicted self.

A letter which may express thanks for Leyden's honorary doctorate¹ was addressed to Janus Bake, who, like Jacob Geel, was Cobet's master.² It exemplifies Badham's more formal style, and reveals his profound sense of indebtedness to the Leyden circle.

ce 9 Avril.

Mon cher M. Bake,

Je vous remercie de tout mon coeur de cette nouvelle preuve de la bienveillance que vous avez toujours montrée envers moi. Je ne suis pas assez arrogant pour m'attribuer les louanges que vous avez bien voulu m'accorder, mais je m'explique assez bien comment il arrive que les Professeurs de l'Université de Leide soient si disposés à me juger très favorablement. Tout le monde aime son propre , comme Aristote nous l'apprend. Or, si jamais j'ai fait une seule observation qui vaille sur les anciens, c'est à l'exemple, à l'encouragement et à l'appui des philologues Leidois que je dois ma persévérance dans ces études, comme c'est au plus fameux élève de vous et de notre cher ami M. Geel que je suis redevable de mon premier commencement en critique. J'espère, mon cher Monsieur, que j'aurai encore et bientôt l'occasion de vous serrer la main et de vous signifier, (sans le dire pourtant) combien je suis touché de vos bontés anciennes et récentes.

¹ The year of the letter is not known.

² W. Gunion Rutherford, op. cit., 470.

A PAGE OF A LETTER
FROM BADHAM TO COBET

By courtesy of the Library
of the University of Leyden.

Edgbaston, Birmingham.

Mon cher Collet Sept. 24.

Merci mille fois de votre
lettre par le bon Guillaume Hirschig
qui l'a apportée. Ma femme se porte
si mal que personne ne doute plus
de la santé. C'est une grande
consolation pour moi d'être aimé
de la sympathie de tant d'amis.
Je ne puis rien écrire excepté mes
affectionnées convenances à Madame Collet
et tout mes amis de l'école.

Une consolation m'a passé bien que je n'en
avais aucune. La vie.

Philobus. 21. A. Δέξαι' ἐν, ³πρώτῳ κε,
οὐ ἔστι τὸν βίον ἀπαντα ἡδόμενος
ἡδόμενος τὰς μεγίστας: τί δ' οὐ; Ἀε' οὐ

Veillez, mon cher Monsieur Bake, presenter mes salutations très cordiales à toute votre aimable famille, et croyez moi toujours votre dévoué

Charles Badham.¹

6. European Culture

Badham's knowledge of modern languages and their literature was considerable. He knew the German, French, Italian and Dutch languages,² and was widely read. It may appear redundant to mention English language and literature, but his magnificent command of the language, as an instrument for use no less than as a subject of study, and for use in speech no less than in writing, and his considerable knowledge of the literature, should be neither overlooked nor taken for granted.

His writings are few. They are on Shakespeare, Milton and Dante, and some of them are the record of lectures. In 1846 Criticism Applied to Shakspeare: a series of essays published originally in the Surplice appeared as a slight pamphlet. His contribution to a symposium by members of Cambridge University, Cambridge Essays, came ten years later, its title The Text of Shakspeare. Late in life he lectured on Dante to assist a fund for Henry Kendall's widow and children, and in 1883 gave a lecture at Tenterfield

¹ Leyden University, MS. (photocopy.)

² Charles Badham, Speeches. . ., xii-xiii.

on Shakespeare and Milton.¹ He concluded this with readings from the authors; to the end his passion for poetry remained strong, matched by his wish and his capacity to communicate it to others.

The passion for poetry included the desire to apply to the texts the same kind of criticism as the classics received at his hands. He deplores the "worship of the Printer's devil, rather than the author's work", the practice which "prefers printed errors to self-evident corrections, the nonsense of past times to the plain meaning of all times".² Again:

If the critic professes any axiom it is this, - that the great writers with whom he has to do were men endued with the same nice sense of propriety, and the same knowledge of their language, only in a much greater degree than he himself can aspire to. His unfailing ally is common sense, and common sense thus exercised is taste. Now this latter is not so much a single faculty of the mind as the due proportion of them all; it is the health of the intellect, and the exercise necessary for its maintenance is criticism, which almost seems to have been intended to counteract the excess of dialectic subtilties.³

Badham's enthusiasm did not embrace novels. Animadversion was his line, in addresses and in his work as Chairman of the Trustees of the Free Public Library in Sydney.⁴ In

¹ Charles Badham, Speeches. . . , 113-154.

² Charles Badham, Criticism Applied to Shakspeare: a series of essays published originally in the Surplice, London: James Bond, 1846, 5.

³ ibid., p.4.

⁴ vide infra.

his first Commemoration Address at the University in 1867 he regrets the decline in the study of English in England, which had occurred "in proportion as the rank fertility of what are called 'works of fiction' has developed amongst us".¹ There is a note of desperate capitulation in a letter to his daughter-in-law Minnie; he is worried about his son Charles, the dissatisfied New South Wales civil servant: "I wish he had some pursuit. But he is not fond of Books, is as clumsy with his hands almost as myself. Recommend him to get up his French if you can, or if he wont, get him lots of story books and novels; anything rather than rushing here and there for a yarn." ²

There is apparent in his writings an awareness and appreciation of the place of art in life, as part of man's environment and as the creation of particular objects of beauty. He had known great sculptors in Rome.³ He speaks in a lecture on Dante of the love of the city state. "Their patriotism is not a sentimental tradition, but a sensuous appreciation of something on which the eye has dwelt from infancy."⁴ In his address to the Art Society of New South

¹ Charles Badham, Speeches. . ., 3.

² Letter dated 18th March (no year), Badham Correspondence etc.

³ Parkes Correspondence, vol. 2, ML, A872, 180.

⁴ Charles Badham, Speeches. . ., 119.

Wales on 8th August 1871¹ he ventures into aesthetics, and throughout this address, and elsewhere, can be observed the richness, the opulence, of the man's background and experience, and the strength of mind and heart nourished by the culture of his total world.

¹ ibid., pp. 41-49.

CHAPTER III

THE CHURCHMAN1. Ordination

Badham was ordained Deacon of the Church of England in 1846, and Priest in 1848.¹ In 1852 he became a Doctor of Divinity of Cambridge University. Around 1848 he had a church in Surrey, and was noted for his preaching.²

2. Sermons

In 1851 Badham took charge of the Grammar School at Louth, and in 1854 he became headmaster at Edgbaston. "By Charles Badham, D.D." appears most frequently on the title-page of his books, but during the Louth years two small works were published, the author named in them as "The Rev. Charles Badham, M.A." and "The Rev. Charles Badham, D.D.". The first was published in Louth in 1852, with the title Five Sermons; the second in Colchester in 1853, is A Sermon Preached in the Church of St. Botolph, Colchester, on Occasion of Laying the Foundation Stone of a New Church

¹ Crockford's Clerical Directory, 1882, 40.

² A. B. Piddington, op. cit., 104.

for the Parish of St. Mary Magdalene.

The first four of the Five Sermons have no title. The fifth is Divine Fellowship: a Sermon preached on behalf of the Louth Infants' School. . . published by request. The two sermons whose titles are given are appeals for funds, and reveal a keen awareness of the problem of the poor. The social conscience which flowered in work for education, at this period found partial expression in the Christian religion. In all the sermons are evident the rolling periods, the exalted style, the earnest exhortation yet to be heard in secular addresses in Sydney. Hear him preaching on behalf of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel:

Let us send, therefore, the sound of redemption to every corner of the earth; let us encourage, and pray for, and support, and be very thankful to those who publish the glad-tidings to every nation under heaven; for so sure as this voice goes forth from amongst us, not feebly nor fitfully, but loudly and continuously, so surely will God in His own time bring back the sound from His redeemed in every clime, and make the four winds of heaven to re-echo the name of Jesus, as the jubilant diapason of his restored and re-united Israel.¹

3. Faith

It is difficult to know Badham's final position in matters of faith. He himself said little on this in his later years. Many in England thought him a staunch

¹ Charles Badham, Five Sermons, 32.

Anglican of liberal views, but others had different opinions.

In so far as they mention the matter at all, his references up to 1866, when he applied for the Chair at Sydney, almost without exception proclaim his orthodoxy. In the prevailing climate of opinion, they would be likely to do this, or to remain silent.

The Bishop of Lichfield, the Bishop of Tuam, the Vicar of Louth and others in the Church of England provided testimonials at various times.¹

In 1853, Edward Reginald Mantell, Vicar of Louth, wrote in support of Badham's application for the Headmastership of Christ's Hospital. His letter included:

I cannot, in justice, withhold my unqualified testimony to the high moral and religious character of Dr. Badham. . . I am also enabled, from his occasionally assisting me in the ministrations of the Church, to state that his religious sentiments are in strict accordance with the scriptural doctrines of our reformed branch of Christ's Church, untainted, I have reason to believe, by the unhappily prevailing errors of our day.

In 1857 Badham applied to be Headmaster of the Ipswich Grammar School. E. C. Hawtrey wrote from Eton College: "He is a good Divine." William Hepworth Thompson, Regius Professor of Greek in the University of Cambridge and

¹ N.S.W., Col. Sec., Letters received, 67/1388, is the source of statements and quotations in this section unless they are attributed otherwise.

Canon of Ely, described him as "a Theologian of orthodox though moderate views."

In November 1866 letters were written in support of his application for the University of Sydney position. The Reverend William Cuthbertson said the appointment of Badham "would tend to cement kindly feeling upon the part of different religious communities." Cuthbertson was supporting the Reverend Robert William Dale, Congregational Minister in Birmingham, who emphasised that the views of a nonconformist Minister might well be significant. He stated that "it would be difficult if not impossible" to find a Church of England clergyman who would be better than Badham for a position in which it was important to have someone who could work effectively with "men of various ecclesiastical and theological opinions." The Reverend T. E. Espin, also of Birmingham, said: "His religious views are of a liberal kind, and he is a very good preacher, tho' as nearly all the Clergy in this Town are of 'strictly Evangelical' views, he is not often asked to preach." The Reverend John Henry Newman, later Cardinal, wrote from the Oratory at Edgbaston to Dr. Polding, saying it "much grieved" him "to hear that he was going from Birmingham and England."

A different tone is discernible in the letter which William Benjamin Carpenter, scientist and Registrar of the

University of London, wrote to Sir Charles Nicholson:

In regard to his thorough liberality of opinion in general subjects I need only say that he seems no more trammelled by his clerical bonds than the Davenport brothers were by their knotted cord. How he frees himself from them I have never learned, because I never asked him; but I have never found him otherwise than perfectly open and candid in his recognition of the most advanced truths of science and criticism.

The writer of an anonymous obituary in England stated definitely that Badham "was debarred from promotion in the Church of England by the fact of his holding opinions which were at any rate thirty years ago a very serious hindrance to preferment."¹

Piddington in Sydney thought him to be "something of a sceptic though a clergyman".² Sir Robert Garran was of the opinion he had left England "partly because of difficulties with the Thirtynine Articles".³ These two views were recorded many years after Badham's death. The article in the Dictionary of National Biography is unequivocal: "Indeed he was debarred from promotion in the church of England by the circumstance of his holding opinions which were a very serious hindrance to preferment".⁴ This

¹ "Charles Badham", Saturday Review, 57, April 26, 1884, 540.

² A. B. Piddington, op. cit., 11.

³ Sir Robert Randolph Garran, Prosper the Commonwealth, Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1958, 76.

⁴ D.N.B., II, 386.

is linked in the article with his close connection with Frederick Denison Maurice, himself a controversial figure in church matters. Badham treasured Maurice's friendship, and influence on his life, but there is no sign of a testimonial written by Maurice, either spontaneously or on request, in the formal gathering of references.¹

There is little evidence that Badham's adherence to his faith lasted over a long period, or that he rejected it at any time. It can be gathered, however, that he showed different aspects of his position to different people.

¹ A copy of a favourable reference (undated) by Maurice is in Badham Papers, Univ. Syd. Archives.

CHAPTER IV

THE HEADMASTER1. Louth

Before his years as a schoolmaster began, Badham was a private tutor of "long experience".¹ In 1851 he became Headmaster of the Grammar School at Southampton² for what must have been a brief reign, for in the same year he went to King Edward VI's Grammar School at Louth,³ where his eldest daughter Edith Annesley was born.⁴

The school was attended for a time by the young Tennyson, and on his death the Gentleman's Magazine reprinted in 1892 an article describing the school in the late 1820s.⁵ While schools may change rapidly, the impression given is of a gloomy and archaic place. A compendium of 1867, by Herbert Fry, describes it in the

¹ N.S.W., Col. Sec., Letters received, 67/1388.

² H. Badham and Lewis Campbell, op. cit., 93.

³ D.N.B., II, 386.

⁴ "Sydney Church of England Grammar School for Girls", N.Z.L. Quarterly, 10, June 1923, 129.

⁵ John W. Hales, "Louth Grammar School", Gentleman's Magazine, 273, Dec. 1892, 562-573.

following terms: "Louth (Lincolnshire) Grammar School. Founded 1551. Instructs about 75 boys, of whom boys of parish have Classical education free. . . Rev. G. C. Hodgkinson, M.A., Head Master, and 3 Assistants." ¹

Small wonder that Badham found the environment inimical. "Nous nous portons passablement bien," he wrote to Cobet, "mais la vie de province ne convient ni a moi ni a ma femme". ²

But the gloomy and archaic picture depicted an earlier headmaster, and whatever he may have felt in the way of mental and other restrictions, Badham's gifts as a teacher were faithfully exercised. The 1878 edition of the Philebus of Plato was published in London, and at the editor's request it was seen through the press by E. R. Horton. He wrote from London:

I was pleased, as pleased as a boy, to receive a letter from you. . . pointing out a way in which, to however slight a degree, I may be of service to you. . . I am satisfied that I did not mistake my vocation, and when I ask myself what circumstance, beyond all others, has qualified me for my work, I still answer that it was my experience, at the most impressionable of all ages, of the method of dealing with schoolboys which broke in upon me like a revelation, when first introduced into the old Grammar School at Louth in 1850. ³

¹ Herbert Fry, Our Schools and Colleges, London: Robert Hardwicke, 1867, 126.

² Leyden University, MS., letter of 7th Nov. 1853, (photocopy).

³ Badham Papers, University of Sydney Archives, letter of 24th May 1877, (copy).

2. Edgbaston

In 1853 Badham was a candidate for the headmastership of Christ's Hospital. His application was supported by eminent scholars,¹ but was unsuccessful. In the following year, however, he was appointed Headmaster of Edgbaston Proprietary School,² sometimes called Birmingham and Edgbaston Proprietary School. Here he was to remain until he came to Australia in 1867. All that Fry's compendium has to say is: "Birmingham, Edgbaston Proprietary School. Prepares for University Local Examinations. Rev. Dr. Badham, Principal."³ Of the Principal, Lord Lyttleton wrote in 1866: ". . . he has all his life been wasted in teaching small schools".⁴ The writer of an obituary notice in the Saturday Review stated that "He was still, at the age of fifty-four, master of a second-rate provincial school".⁵ Nevertheless it was a school of some character and quality, maintained by the parents, many of them Nonconformists. At the time of Badham's headmastership at least, its reputation in many quarters was good, and some of the pupils

¹ Charles Badham, Speeches. . ., xviii.

² D.N.B., II, 386.

³ Herbert Fry, op. cit., 57, and vide infra.

⁴ N.S.W., Col. Sec., Letters received, 67/1388.

⁵ "Charles Badham", Saturday Review, loc. cit.

became notable citizens.¹

During this period Badham again sought relief in change. In 1857 he applied to be head of the Ipswich Grammar School. Again there was a flush of fine references by outstanding men;² again he was unsuccessful.

Whatever his theological opinions, Badham was a congenial figure in Birmingham's social and intellectual life. He was a member of a club formed by university graduates, where meetings were held and where the fellowship of social intercourse and lively discussion transcended religious and political differences.³ This, the University Graduates' Club, tendered him a "farewell supper" before he left for Australia. He was eulogised for his scholarship, his educational work, and his social merits, and replied to the effect that Birmingham and its people had given him kindness, generosity, hospitality and encouragement.⁴ He perpetuated one link at least; he wrote to Cobet from "Metchley Abbey, Harborne" at this time,⁵ and his first cottage at Numantia in the

¹ Conrad Gill, History of Birmingham, 2 vols., London: O.U.P., 1952, I, 384; T. W. Hutton, King Edward's School, Birmingham, 1552-1952, Oxford: Blackwell, 1952, 189, and vide infra.

² N.S.W., Col. Sec., Letters received, 67/1388.

³ A. W. W. Dale, The Life of R. W. Dale of Birmingham, London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1898, 205.

⁴ Charles Badham, Speeches. . ., xxii.

⁵ Leyden University, MS. (photocopy).

Blue Mountains was called Metchley, years later and so many miles away.¹

His application for the Sydney Chair was supported by the Committee of his school and by other Birmingham worthies, and the tone of their testimonials makes clear their elevated opinion of him and their wish for his success, to their own loss though that would be.²

Thomas Hill Green, the philosopher, saw Badham's headmastership in a different light. The Report of the Schools Inquiry Commission, published in 1868, includes a series of reports by Assistant Commissioners. Green covered Staffordshire and Warwickshire, and his report deals with conditions in 1865, with at least one comment of later reference. He stated that the Proprietary School at Edgbaston had declined "in numbers and success." He looks for reasons, and concludes: "It may be added that the late head master, who left a few months ago, though a most accomplished scholar and admirably fitted to give reality to the 'modern' education, perhaps gave scarcely enough attention to the routine of school work."³

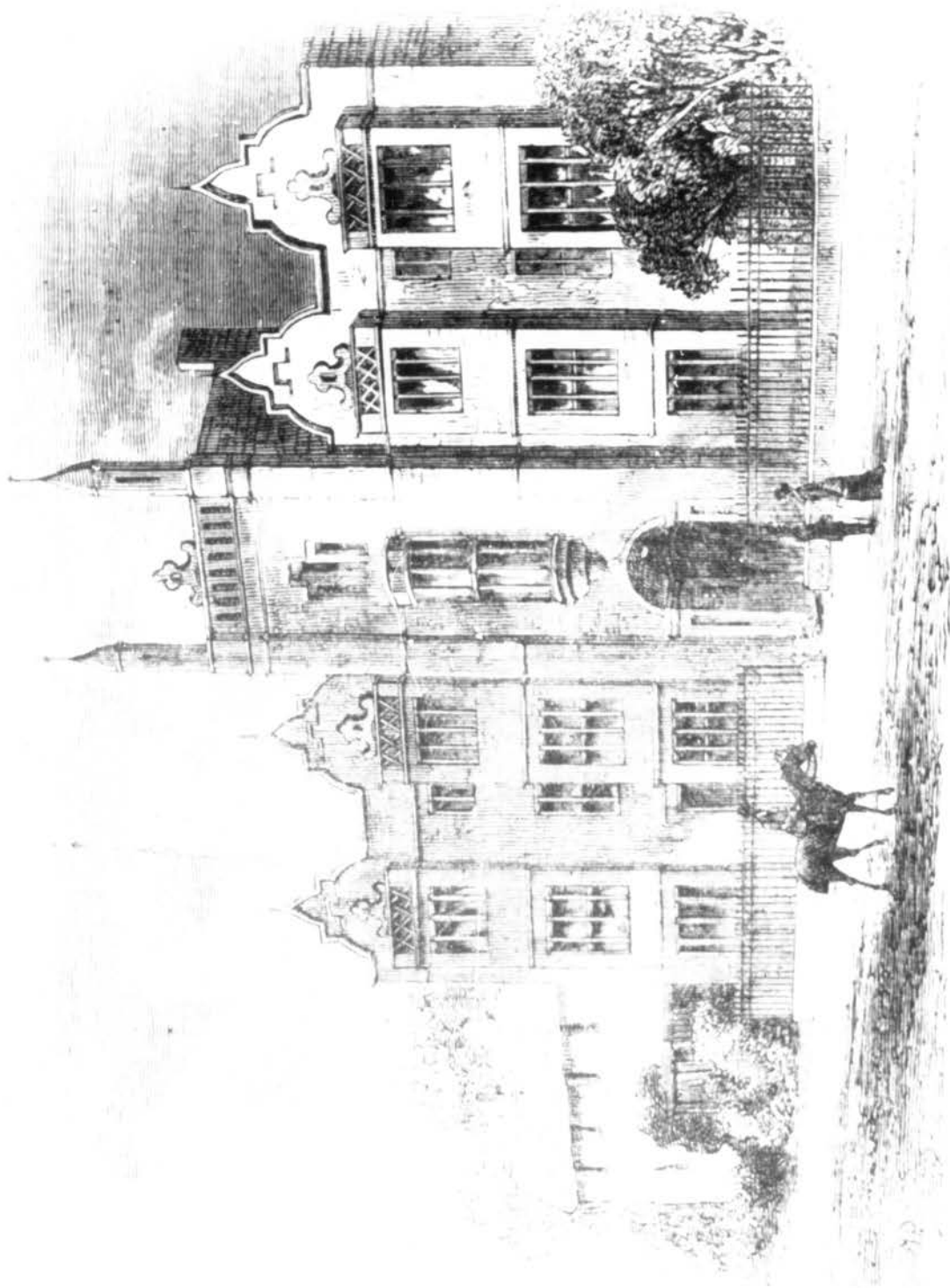
¹ Alfred E. Stephen, "Numantia, a Place of Disillusioned Aspirations", R.A.H.S. Journal and Proceedings, 31, pt. 4, 1945, 258.

² N.S.W., Col. Sec., Letters received, 67/1388. The testimonials are referred to in greater detail in Chapters III and V.

³ Gt. Brit., Schools Inquiry Commission, vol. 8, General Reports by Assistant Commissioners, Midland Counties and Northumberland, London: H.M.S.O., 1868, 211.

EDGBASTON PROPRIETARY SCHOOL

Robert K. Dent, Old and New
Birmingham, Birmingham:
Houghton and Hammond,
1880, 448.



THE BIRMINGHAM AND EDGEASTON PROPRIETARY SCHOOL.

Amongst Badham's friends at Birmingham was John Henry Newman, who, in connection with the Oratory at Edgbaston, had established a school for the education of sons of gentlemen. The two men would visit each other's school and enjoy the plays in which the pupils acted.¹ In private hands in Sydney is a book of rich associations, The Great Works of Raphael, which was published in London in 1866. Newman had inscribed it as follows: "To the Rev^d Charles Badham, D.D., in grateful memory of a special kindness done by him to the Fathers of the Oratory in conducting a competitive examination of their Schoolboys amid the anxieties of his preparation for his voyage to Sydney. John H. Newman. Christmas Eve 1866."² Years later, Newman was made Cardinal, and the Catholics of Sydney sent to him the gift of a golden salver, on which was inscribed a fine celebration of the occasion composed in Latin by his old friend.³

Mental stimulus of a different character was both given and received by Badham as member of the Council of the Birmingham and Midland Institute, and his work for the Institute as an honorary teacher reflected his care for

¹ Charles Badham, Speeches. . . , xvi.

² This volume has been seen by courtesy of its owner, Mr. A. J. Schmude, of Sydney.

³ ibid., p. xxxi.

the people of the city.¹

The skill, the warmth, the devotion of the man as teacher were never disputed and often attested. He was effective in the matter of imparting knowledge, and in matters of character and inspiration at once broader and more profound. On the other hand, there appear to have been weaknesses as an organiser and manager, and at times bursts of choleric temper.² Time and energy for scholarly pursuits were restricted, and he chafed at his bonds. Years before his comment in the letter to the Senate at Leyden which prefixed his edition of Euthydemus et Laches, he had written to Pluygers there in 1859:

I sincerely congratulate you then, my distinguished friend, because freed from the unpleasant tasks of the schoolmaster you will now be able "to fight in the vanguard" and to the best of your ability will add to the glory and defend the name of the University of Leyden. . . Inform my friend Cobet, from whom I am expecting a letter, and the excellent Hirschigs that with me everything is proceeding more or less as I would have it; but I do not have spare time to devote to study nor can I see where I am to get any.³

He was to get it at last in Australia, as a Professor at the University of Sydney.

¹ N.S.W., Col. Sec., Letters received, 67/1388, and vide infra.

² "Charles Badham", Saturday Review, loc. cit.

³ Letter from Charles Badham to W. G. Pluygers, 22nd January 1859. Leyden University MS. (photocopy). Trans. from the Latin.

CHAPTER V

BADHAM'S REPUTATION

A knowledge of Badham's reputation before he left England for the Colony of New South Wales is helpful to an understanding of the role he played in Australia, and the role he attempted to play. This knowledge can be derived for the most part from the references written between 1851 and 1866 in support of his various applications for positions, and used as a group in connection with his Sydney appointment.¹ Almost all except the 1866 references relate to headmasterships of schools.

Badham's reputation in matters of religion has already been noticed.² As teacher, scholar and gentleman he was highly praised by men of standing in various fields.

1. His Teaching

The Lord Bishop of Tuam in 1851 mentioned that Badham had been "so very successful" as an instructor of pupils. William E. Jelf informed the Trustees of Louth School of

¹ N.S.W., Col. Sec., Letters received, 67/1388. This file is the source of statements and quotations in this chapter unless they are attributed otherwise.

² vide supra, Ch. III

Badham's "natural taste for education." E. R. Mantell wrote in 1853 that he "appears to possess a singular power of imparting his knowledge, and of attracting the minds of his pupils to the love and acquisition of it." These two strands - skill and inspiration - recur. Mantell went on to quote from a former pupil who had proceeded to Cambridge:

His teaching unfolded to my mind a new view of Classic Literature, so that what was before a task, became a pleasure. This effect was produced not more by the force of his learning, than by his manner of communicating. . . He tempered the authority of a Master with the freedom of a friend.

In 1857 E. C. Hawtrey stated that Badham had been "very successful in Tuition of many clever young men." In the same year, Baron Hatherton was able to affirm that he had "a great reputation" in the Birmingham area as an "able instructor." H. Wellesley of Oxford and Lord Lyttleton wrote of the success and good standing of the school at Edgbaston. The Mayor and twenty-nine other citizens of Birmingham praised him as a teacher. Arthur Ryland, Vice-President of the Birmingham and Midland Institute, said "he has, by his method of instruction and his kind interest in his pupils, won for himself their attachment and gratitude."

Additional testimonials were written in 1866 in support of the application for the Sydney position. They were addressed to Sir Charles Nicholson, Edward Hamilton,

Alfred Denison - men entrusted with the task of making the selection. Some were written at their subject's request.

The President of the Committee of the Proprietary School was enthusiastic about Badham's teaching skill. Lord Houghton (Richard Monckton Milnes) wrote that he had made "even the function of a schoolmaster acceptable to his pupils."

2. His Scholarship

The testimonies to Badham's scholarship and to his reputation as a scholar are couched in terms that often indicate the quality of the writers themselves. Some say they are not qualified to write of his position in this respect, save by what is common knowledge in learned circles.

In 1853 his edition of Euripides' Ion was being used as a text-book at Trinity College, Cambridge. John Conington, Fellow of University College, Oxford, wrote, apparently at this time, for his letter was to the Governors of Christ's Hospital, that Badham's qualifications as a scholar "are indeed of such a character as to be described more appropriately in the language of public criticism than in that of private testimony."

Lord Lyttleton had known him at Eton, and "ever since

that time", he wrote in 1857, "believed him to be possessed of very rare abilities as a Classical Scholar." Hawtrey of Eton said that of all he had come into contact with there, he had "never known a more remarkable scholar." Professor Blackie of the University of Edinburgh admired in Badham's edition of Philebus "the erudition, the ingenuity. . . the soundness of judgment." He considered him to be "a gentleman of finished culture," and wrote: "I consider his tone of mind far superior to that of the common run even of profound scholars." W.H. Thompson, who in 1866 declared: "Badham is my private friend," nine years earlier had stated to the Trustees of the Ipswich Grammar School "that as a scholar, Dr. Badham has few equals and no superior in England: and that there is no person in England or elsewhere to whose judgment I should be more inclined to defer, in the higher departments of Greek criticism."

In 1866 Thompson thought that much of his friend's "refined scholarship would be lost in a Colony", but Sir Edmund Head suggested there might be "Australian editions of the Classics." William Smith considered him to be England's greatest scholar. Robert Lowe wrote briefly to Sir Charles Nicholson on the recurring themes: "he is far the best Greek scholar in England, the only one indeed who possesses a really European reputation. It is a reproach to this country that you should have the opportunity

of securing such a prize for the Colony."¹

Amongst the testimonials are two groups in Latin from Continental scholars, including Bake, Geel, Cobet and R. B. Hirschig of Leyden, and the Classical Professors of the University of Gottingen. Some are dated 1851, some 1863. The existence of a number of these testimonials is probably due to a request from their subject to Cobet.²

Hawtrey described Badham as a good historian, and paid tribute to his knowledge of languages, including English. His knowledge of modern languages was praised by a number of men, including Lyttleton, who spoke of his "very consummate knowledge" of them. Lord Houghton, who had been educated partly in Italy, appreciated his "fine command of French and Italian."

In the tributes to Badham's scholarship there are two comments which suggest a limiting factor on openings in the Universities - the loyalty of Oxford and Cambridge to their own men. Newman wrote to Polding in 1866 that he did not know who would deny that Badham was the first Greek scholar in England, "except perhaps some Cambridge men, who might think themselves bound to put Dr. Badham, as being of Oxford, second to a man of their own University."

¹ M.L. A1 36/11.

² Leyden University, MSS. (photocopies.)

Thompson of Cambridge wrote: "I fear he would not succeed in succeeding me, if he tried, for the office is in the gift of the Council, and we have very competent scholars of our own raising whom it would be difficult to pass over in favor of an alien."

3. His Character

Badham was highly praised as a man. Some of the praise is linked with concern at the comparatively low level of position he had been able to obtain in his own country. Some emphasises social acceptability.

In 1851 the Lord Bishop of Tuam wrote of his "exemplary character." John William Donaldson wrote from the Athenaeum Club to the Governors of Louth School: "His cheerful disposition, powers of conversation, and general accomplishments, are, in my judgment, convincing proofs of his fitness for the office of a public teacher." Also in connection with the Louth application, five Fellows of St. Peter's College, Cambridge, said that he possessed qualities "adapted to command respect and conciliate affection. . . With great urbanity and benignity of manner he unites great energy and decision of purpose."

Baron Bunsen, the Prussian ambassador in London, acknowledged in 1853 the gift of a copy of Ion, and expressed the hope that Badham could use his "rare talents in a

higher sphere." He was glad to have heard that Badham might be connected with a metropolitan school which he described as "that great and venerable institution" (presumably Christ's Hospital) and said "then you would have young men aspiring to honours in the Universities."

In 1857, Richard Monckton Milnes described him as "an accomplished gentleman. I have been in the habit of meeting him," he continued, "at the houses of the most cultivated and intelligent of our nobility and gentry, who found the greatest pleasure in his conversation and society." At this time Baron Hatherton is unconsciously condescending: "During the vacation, his society is much sought in the principal houses of Warwickshire and Staffordshire; and I have always gladly availed myself of the opportunity of procuring his company, whenever I have had men of ability, and classical reputation, staying in my house." As a post-script he said: "I ought not to omit to add, that Dr. Badham is a person of exceedingly good temper." Lyttleton described him as "a gentleman of most amiable character and manners," Thompson as "a Gentleman of high honour." Hawtrey wrote of "my friend," and thought his character "singularly amiable." To Robert Blackie he seemed "quite free from the petty impertinencies and pedantries" often found in great scholars.

Arthur Ryland of the Birmingham and Midland Institute did not value only Badham's skill as a teacher. He

said he had "inspired every Member of the Council with a feeling of personal friendship" by his courtesy, his helpfulness, and his readiness to instruct Classes conducted by the Institute, in the role of Honorary Teacher.

The tributes continued in similar strain in 1866. The Committee of the Edgbaston Proprietary School were able to say that for twelve years the relations between the Committee and Badham had "uniformly been of a cordial, agreeable character." They thought he was worthy of a more elevated position. W. B. Carpenter wrote of his freedom from pedantry, his geniality, and his "most punctual and businesslike performance" as Examiner in the University of London. George Grote, the Vice-Chancellor of the University, also praised him as Examiner, and commented on "powers of conversation, social accomplishments and knowledge of the world." William Smith, also an Examiner, said: "I have never seen him angry, never even excited, though our work is of an irritating kind. . . His manners are singularly winning. . . Dr. Badham is a man of good sound sense." He used to visit Smith's home. "What a charming person your friend Badham is!" the others would say to their host. Two of the three Civil Service Commissioners (the third was not available) wrote of his good work as examiner for entry to the Civil Service of India. Dale, the Congregational minister, wrote of him as "genial, generous and liberal." He said Badham would show "energy

and fidelity" and would be a strong influence "throughout the Colony in promoting a devotion to scholarly pursuits." Thomas Huxley praised his mental and social gifts, and his "refined and delicate tact." Lyttleton thought the Colony would be "in wonderful luck to get him" - "a man of the most rare accomplishments and attainments, great experience, and admirable manners." Newman spoke of him highly as a man, and mentioned his reputation for "zeal, and activity in the performance of his duties."

William George Clark, Fellow of Trinity College, modestly thought a testimonial from him superfluous, but wrote to Hamilton at Badham's request, and to Nicholson. To both he wrote to the effect that Badham deserved a position more suited to his capacity than the one he held. The Rev. T. E. Espin was surprised that he should wish for the new post, "but as he does wish for it he is entitled to all the help his friends can give him in getting it." He wrote that Badham was "in full vigour." Lyttleton, with more truth than tact, in urging Hamilton to disregard the applicant's age, said: "He is younger than you, in fact in the prime of life."

In Thompson's letter, also to Hamilton, some note of reservation may be detected: "as regards character and manners there is nothing against him. His deportment is to my taste, very good, and even graceful." He mentioned his scholarship, and added: "but he has other powers which

if he chose to exert them, would be better appreciated. . .
I don't know that he has any defect of temper."

Thompson's view "on the whole" was that it would be "a reproach to England" if Badham left the country. He should have a Canonry, he said, "but there, so might many others."

These opinions of him as teacher, scholar and man appear to have been sincere tributes by eminent men who knew Badham in England. A person of such gifts and background would expect to be listened to when he spoke on educational matters in the remote colony of New South Wales. Furthermore, he would be likely to make a unique contribution to the University and to the colony as a whole.

CHAPTER VI

PROFESSOR AT THE UNIVERSITY OF SYDNEY, 1867-18841. Introduction

The first Professor of Classics and Principal of the University of Sydney, Dr. John Woolley, lost his life on 11th January 1866, when the ship London sank. He was returning to Australia from a vacation in England.¹

At the meeting of the Senate on 18th April 1866 a letter, written by the Archbishop of York to Sir Charles Nicholson, a former Chancellor now living in England, was read. It pointed out the suitability for the position of Professor of Classics of William John Stephens, head master of the Sydney Grammar School.² The Senate resolved to consider the matter of an appointment at a Special Meeting.³ This was held on 9th May, when it was resolved that, acting on behalf of the Senate, any of its Members or former Members in Europe should select and appoint the new incumbent. The request for action was to go to

¹ Australian Encyclopaedia, IX, 368.

² University of Sydney, Senate Minutes, April 1866 to April 1871, 22.

³ Ibid., p. 23.

Sir Charles Nicholson.¹ The Committee comprised

the following gentlemen in England, who from their long connection with the U -- y, and knowledge of the requirements of the Colony, w'd be competent to fulfil the important trust confided to them, viz.:-

Archbishop Polding.

Sir Charles Nicholson, Bart., D.C.L., LL.D.

Edward Hamilton, Esq., M.A., M.P.

W. C. Wentworth, Esq., B.A.

J. B. Darvall, Esq., M.A.

Alfred Denison, Esq., B.A.²

In deciding against any claims of Mr. Stephens, the Senate recorded its opinion that the interests of the University would be best served by obtaining a professor direct from England, straight from a university there and with knowledge of recent developments in English education.³

Almost such a one, but more, they obtained. On 25th February 1867 "The Chancellor laid on the table a letter from Sir Chas: Nicholson on behalf of the Committee in England. . . announcing the appointment of the Rev.^d Chas: Badham D.D. to that office".⁴ Testimonials were tabled, and in support of what was to be the last application of his life, Badham had available the cumulation of the earlier attempts for better schools, together with new letters by Lord Lyttleton, Thompson, Newman, Huxley, Grote, William Smith and others. They wrote magnificently, embodying in

¹ Ibid., p. 26.

² N.S.W. V. & P., 1867-8, IV, 128.

³ Ibid., p. 27.

⁴ Ibid., p. 61.

measured phrases their regard for Badham's mind and attainments.¹ They may well have felt this would be the last opportunity for him, and certainly the best. An academic appointment in England seeming by now a hope that must be abandoned, one even in the colonies was something to be striven for. The environment of the writers was happier, and they matched their better condition with an effort to ameliorate his, although it could never equal their own.

The new Professor, his wife and six children, accompanied by a servant, arrived in Sydney on 23rd April 1867 on the Dunbar Castle.² He was at the Senate meeting on 15th May.³

The institution to which he had come was less than twenty years old. It was in a new country far from established centres of learning and culture, and was serving a small population. Most of the leaders of society and affairs had been born in Britain. The original pattern of a convict and a free society had given way to an economy of individual enterprise, stimulated by the gold discoveries and attendant immigration in the middle of the century. Class distinctions were real, but the conservative

¹ Vide supra, Chapter V.

² Shipping Master's Office, Inwards Lists, Jan. to June 1867, X116.

³ Univ. Syd., S.M., 1866-1871, 75.

elements lacked the framework of an aristocracy and tradition such as reinforced those who occupied similar rank, relatively speaking, in England. Some wished to create another England in keeping with the pattern they had grown up in, but which was already subject to change at home. Others saw an opportunity to create a new society unhampered by ancient establishments and values incongruous in a fresh environment.

The University had on it and within it the impress of the society of which it formed a part. The Act which established it was passed by the Legislative Council in 1850, and the inauguration took place in 1852. The first Chancellor (Provost) was Edward Hamilton, the Vice-Chancellor (Vice-Provost) Sir Charles Nicholson, and the Professors, John Smith (Chemistry and Experimental Philosophy), Morris Birkbeck Pell (Mathematics) and the Reverend John Woolley (Classics and Logic). The latter Chair had linked with it the office of Principal. Three faculties were envisaged: Arts, Law and Medicine.

The University was free of any particular religious alignment. In this it resembled the University of London. Controversy developed about the University itself in relation to colleges, about which should teach and which should examine. The Act provided for a college connected with and directed by the University, and for accepting

degrees from elsewhere.¹

After his arrival in Sydney in 1852, Woolley vehemently attacked the principle of colleges, or even a college, as teaching bodies distinct from the University, and the pattern he advocated, of a single teaching and examining unit, prevailed.² Bitter arguments about a secular University and about the position of colleges advocated by the Churches characterised the early years.³ The struggles of the University to attract students were matched, on a smaller stage but with greater intensity, by the early efforts of the Colleges, when founded, to justify their existence.

Woolley's efforts were directed also in these formative years to obtaining for the Professors a seat on the Senate. This was achieved in 1861.⁴

Badham came, then, to an institution whose pattern had been influenced in important ways by his predecessor. He came also to an institution on the defensive in relation to the people of New South Wales, and one which felt - and was - at a disadvantage in relation to the University

¹ David S. Macmillan, "The University of Sydney: the Pattern and the Public Reaction, 1850-1870", The Australian University, 1, 1963, 42.

² Ibid., p. 49

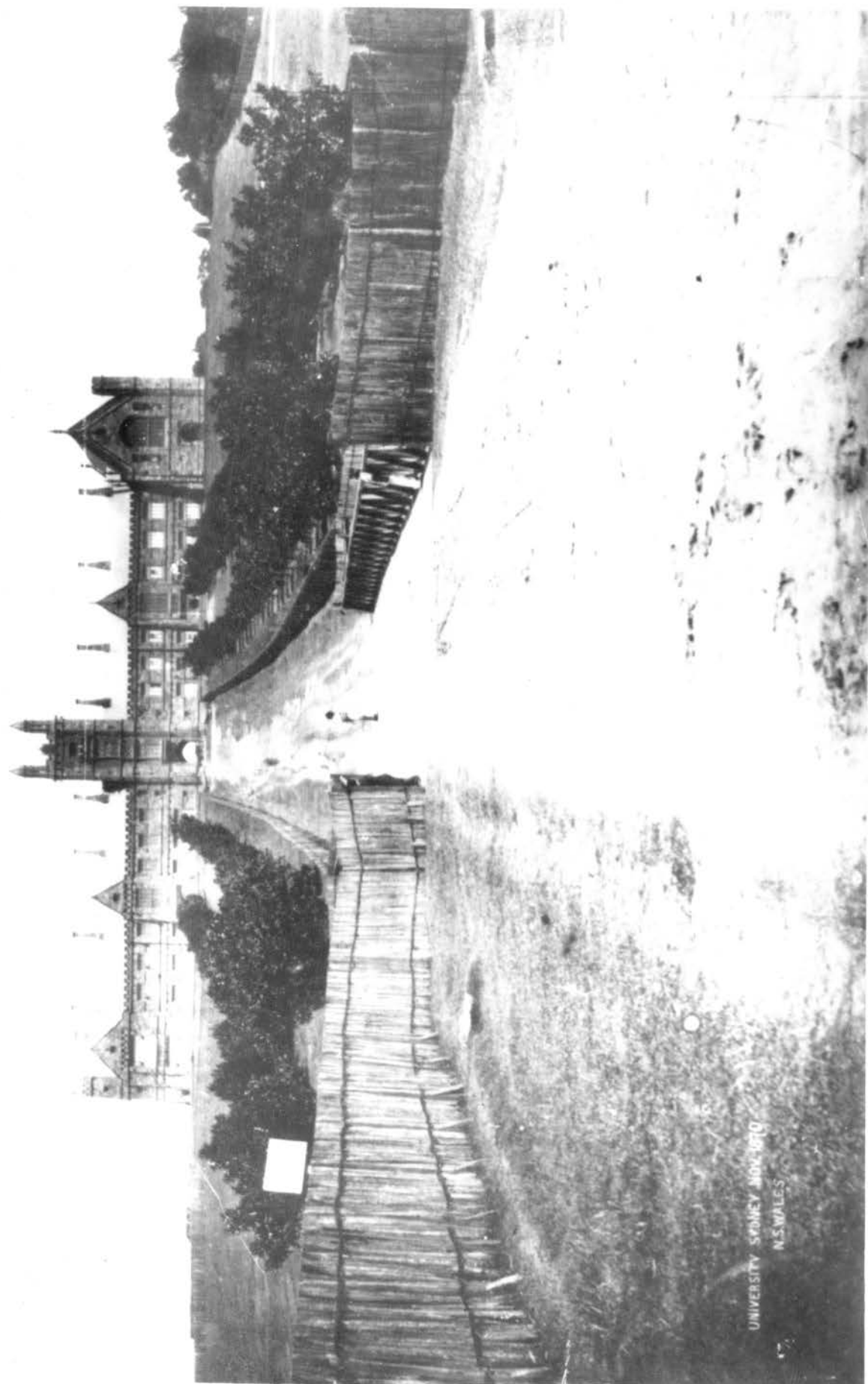
³ K. J. Cable, "The University of Sydney and its Affiliated Colleges, 1850-1880", The Australian University, 2, Nov. 1964, 183-214, passim.

⁴ David S. Macmillan, op. cit., 55.

THE UNIVERSITY OF SYDNEY

IN 1870

From a photograph in
the Mitchell Library.



UNIVERSITY SYDNEY BOX 10719
N.S.WALES

From the copy in the Mitchell Library
Sydney.

S.P.E. - Sydney - Public Buildings -
University 1870(?)

of Melbourne.

The leader of the movement to establish the University was William Charles Wentworth, a figure of power who was considered by many to typify conservatism and privilege. A recent student of the University's early years has said:

The foundation of the University of Sydney was not the result of any concerted educational campaign or prolonged popular agitation. . . . Wentworth . . . saw the University as a goad to educational activity rather than a satisfaction of a growing demand. . . . There were yearnings in the legal and medical professions for better training and a clearer recognition of their status; there were the annually-expressed ambitions of the few 'colleges' for an elevation to tertiary status; these were vaguely hopeful rather than determinedly constructive.¹

The majority of the population no doubt barely thought of the University at all, but some prominent citizens questioned its motives and role. Hampered by the small endowment of £5,000 per annum,² it was unable to move efficiently into professional fields which would probably have brought more students and a wider appeal. When he arrived, Badham was one of only three professors, and the Faculty of Arts was the single effective faculty. The building programme had been on a very large scale, and had absorbed great sums of money.

There were few students. There were 28 matriculated students in 1860. In 1865 there were 44, and in 1869, 47.³

¹ K. J. Cable, op. cit., 189-90.

² H. E. Barff, op. cit., 94.

³ K. J. Cable, op. cit., 207.

The Roman Catholic and Anglican colleges had very few in residence. In 1879 the Chancellor was still openly disturbed:

We cannot conceal from ourselves that the University is still unpopular on account of its want of grasp; and that there remain some persons who suppose that the endowment has been sufficient to enable the University to reach more popular branches of education, and that the Senate is therefore responsible¹ for not having already given the required extension.

He pointed to the paucity of the endowment, and stated that "all ranks" were wanted as students. He proceeded:

we retain the hope that the State may take the matter up and make it a part of its general educational system to raise intellectual power and personal merit, step by step, from the lower to intermediate schools, and thence to the Lecture Halls of the University.²

This envisaged the University as the final stage in a system of education. The state secondary schools were yet to take their place in such a progression. Manning more than once commented on the amount of money made available to the public schools in comparison with the institution which might be said to form the "apex" to their base.

When Badham arrived in 1867, the conditions which disturbed Manning ten years later already existed, and were part of the physical and mental environment in which he worked.

¹ Sir William Manning, Chancellor's Address, 1879, Sydney: 6-7.

² Ibid., p. 10.

2. Orator

In February the Senate had resolved that the Commemoration be postponed until 18th May, "in order that Dr. Badham might be present".¹ He addressed the gathering at that ceremony, and so began the series of speeches in which the Professor displayed and deployed his gifts as an orator. The flow of language, the substantial thought - whether of all time or topical, the flashes of wit, the occasional pathos - these can be recaptured from the printed word.² He spoke for classical studies, for university studies, for an aristocracy of the trained intellect. He contrasted affairs in the Colony with affairs in Europe. He declaimed not only with consummate skill but also with an appearance of consummate ease on diverse topics, and to his aid flowed the thoughts, the words of great men of many centuries and civilisations. These mental gifts were matched by his presence and delivery.³ The first Commemoration was very much an occasion. Between 1,400 and 1,500 were present. As a boy Badham's English had surprised Eton with its alien accents; as a ripe man he surprised Sydney with his unwonted spoken Latin:

In administering the usual Oath, or Promise of

¹ Univ. Syd., S.M., 1866-1871, 61.

² Charles Badham, Speeches. . ., passim.

³ Ibid., p. xxiii.

(as Proctor), Dr Badham's orthoepy was first publicly heard in this colony. The sonorous voice of the learned professor, who uttered his Latin in the foreign, or Continental manner (as contradistinguished from that long in use at Oxford), rang through the hall with a pleasing, but, as we thought, a rather startling effect upon some of the auditory. His emphasis, and the musical cadence of his delivery, evidently prepared the minds of many for the very striking character of his eloquent inaugural address.¹

Before their meeting of 3rd March 1869 he had given to the Senate notice of a motion which was then carried, that Latin be replaced by English in the Commemoration formula. He was assigned the task of drawing up the new formula.

3. University Work

~~successor to the~~
As Principal, as one of only three professors, as the only professor in the humanities, and as the most recent arrival from England the exemplar, Badham was consulted, requested to report, to act, to be a go-between. Often the initiative was taken by him. He said at the Commemoration in 1868: "I, speaking in my own name and in the name of my brother professors, claim something more than money and something more than mere social position, namely, the honour of being useful".² In his first address he had craved "forbearance and indulgence". "If I am very

¹ S.M.H., 23rd May 1867, 5.

² Charles Badham, Speeches. . ., 9.

patient of advice, if I always endeavour to show myself amenable to correction, you will not be extreme to mark my errors",¹ he went on, in what appears to be a genuine humility of spirit that some sought in him in vain in the years to come.

A. Administrative Tasks

A variety of matters, miscellaneous in kind and often requiring detailed work, devolved on him, acting alone or with others. The Senate asked him to write to the University of London about recognition of medical degrees from Sydney, and to help in obtaining a military band for the visit of the Duke of Edinburgh. The Professors in Arts reported on a letter by the Head Master of the Ipswich Grammar School. The Board of Studies was requested to advise on what should be taught in courses on English, French and German languages and literature, General Jurisprudence and Political Economy. It drafted a By-law for examining for the degree of Doctor of Laws. The Professor of Classics was to see the Governor in connection with the Duke's visit to the University. He was on a committee dealing with how to record and notify gifts; he consulted with the Governor on conditions for three prizes given by the latter; with an expert on how to make good the damage

¹ ibid., p. 5

rain had done to the portraits in the Great Hall. He was chosen, from a deputation of four, as the one to submit to the Minister for Public Instruction a request in 1876 for an increase in endowment. He was one of a committee of three in the following year, to receive and deal with a report by Mr. Blacket on repairs to the building.

In 1876 he became Dean of the Faculty of Law and Dean of the Faculty of Arts. The routine duties of teaching, examining, reporting, drafting took much energy, and much remained to meet the multifarious demands of his position.¹

B. The Library

The University Library shared the slow rate of growth of the University. The old British universities had rich collections of books by the accretion of time and the generosity of donors. A new university was at a grave disadvantage, and at the Antipodes its difficulties were increased by remoteness from publishing centres and great private collectors.

As an institution in society, the University served the community - or hoped to - through serving and influencing its own members. Its assets, in which the Library, poor though it was, could be included, were not assets for

¹ Univ. Syd., S.M., passim.

immediate use by the public at large. The Library was not doomed to extinction or ^{ex} deterioration as a private subscription library might be, but it was not part of the movement in the second half of the nineteenth century of libraries for the people. It was a library for a few people, begun late in the era of printing and far from the sources of bibliothecal strength.

An English barrister, C. W. Holgate, visited Australia in 1884, and wrote An Account of the Chief Libraries of Australia and Tasmania. Although the Parliamentary Library at that time contained "over 40,000 volumes", the University Library had only "about 15,000".¹

While the progress of the University itself had been disappointing, Holgate thought the Library had not kept pace with its parent institution. Sir Charles Nicholson and Archbishop Polding had been important donors, and the addition in 1878 of the library of Dr Nicol Drysdale Stenhouse, who had died in 1873, added many important volumes. The collection as a whole was inadequate in its holdings of modern editions of the classics, and not good in science. The catalogue had been printed in 1860, and Holgate considered it "a most slovenly piece of work".²

¹ C. W. Holgate, An Account of the Chief Libraries of Australia and Tasmania, London: Whittingham, 1886, 42-3.

² Ibid., p.43.

There is little evidence that the Library flourished during Badham's period at the University or that it owed to him more than what might be described as official benefits. Any balance of the £50 for expenses in connection with the appointment of a successor to Woolley was to be "handed to the new Professor for the purchase of any works he may wish to procure for the illustration of the Classical lectures".¹ On the same day, 22nd May 1866, the Registrar informed Messrs. Macmillan, the London publishing house, that the Senate wished the firm to "transmit to Sydney by the vessel in which that gentleman sails classical books to the value of £50".²

Badham's influence can be discerned in the later order to Macmillan & Co. for a number of volumes which included, in addition to some Greek titles, all the numbers of Mnemosyne, the journal with which Cobet was closely connected, Variae Lectiones and Novae Lectiones, both by Cobet, and "the Greek texts edited by Cobet".³

There was a Library Committee, and its Minute Book reveals little activity during this period. A meeting was

¹ This ambiguous instruction is in a letter from the Registrar to Nicholson, University of Sydney, Senate Letter Book, 1851-1881, 22nd May 1866. It referred to books. (Univ. Syd., S.M., 1866-1871, 28.)

² Ibid.

³ Ibid., 20th April 1870.

held on 3rd April 1867, and Badham was not present. He attended the next one, on 4th March 1868, along with the Chancellor and Professors Pell and Smith. On 2nd May he and Pell were present, and they resolved to recommend to the Senate "that a sum not exceeding £30 be appropriated for the purchase of certain standard works procured for the Library by Dr. Badham when in England."

One meeting is recorded for 1869. The 1870 meeting is described as "annual". Badham was present at the former one only. The next in the Minute Book took place in 1879, and he did not attend. Six more meetings were held from 1879 until his death, and he attended five, chairing some of them. He was, then, conscientious rather than otherwise in his Committee duties, and various tasks fell to him. He was called on to make arrangements, along with Professor Liversidge, for the classification and arrangement of the books, and to look into the employment of a person competent to carry out the work. He was to enquire about the cataloguing of the Stenhouse Library - how much longer it would take, and what the cost was likely to be. He was requested to draw up, with Professor Stephens, "a list of books upon English & General Literature, History & c".¹ In 1878 the Senate had appointed the Professors and the

¹ University of Sydney, Library Committee Minute Book, 1858-1917, passim.

Senators Renwick, Macleay and Russell to be a Committee "to form rules for the better management of the library".¹

In the year of his arrival Badham gave to the Library some photographs of Greek manuscripts, a technical aid to scholarship which interested him and in which he experimented. He also donated at this time a seventeenth century folio.²

He was not a generous donor of books to the University or to the Sydney Free Public Library. His classical books were given to the University Library by his widow in 1921,³ and they remain assembled as a material link with the life of his mind.

During the years in which he was a dominant factor in strengthening the Free Public Library, which he served for many years as Chairman of the Board of Trustees,⁴ Badham appears to have been inhibited in the corresponding sphere at the University by lack of funds. This was due to overall limitations, and also to the ranking of the Library amongst competing demands. It was not conducted by a scholar-librarian or by the then rare professional, and would have benefited by a man with something of both

¹ Univ. Syd., S.M., 1871-1878, 215.

² Ibid., 1866-1871, 81.

³ Illustrated Australian Encyclopaedia, 1, 119.

⁴ Vide infra, Chapter VIII.

capacities. The students were few, the courses limited, and it is likely that many of the students had access to privately-owned books on a scale that may not apply a century later.

Harrison Bryan, the University Librarian in the 1960's, has soundly conjectured that the £30,000 bequest of Thomas Fisher received in 1884 for the Library, was occasioned by Manning's address in 1879 in which he spoke of the Stenhouse collection and the Library's needs.¹ Fisher lived at Darlington and attended many commemorations.² It may well be that he was influenced by Badham's exhortations also, before making his will in 1880. While the Library's great periods have been after Badham's death, in assessing his contribution the value of an informed and sympathetic mind, even in the years of marking time, should not be under-estimated.

C. The Faculty of Law

The Senate elected Badham Dean of the Faculty of Law on 1st March 1876.³ The Faculty came into being in 1855, making, with the existing Faculties of Arts and Medicine,

¹ Harrison Bryan, An Australian Library in the A.M.: earlier years of the University of Sydney Library, a paper read to the Royal Australian Historical Society, 13th August 1968.

² H. E. Barff, op. cit., 126.

³ Univ. Syd., S.M., 1871-8, 128.

three in all. In 1859 work began, but this was far short of the early hopes. As late as 1882 the Chancellor said:

It has not been found possible, at present, to establish any definite School of Law; nor to make any provision for this branch of learning beyond giving small stipends (with full fees) to Lecturers in Law and Medical Jurisprudence . . .

He proceeded to point out that legal qualification could be won outside of the University, and in New South Wales. (For many professions training in Britain had been essential.) He doubted whether a Law School would attract many students unless legislation made attendance compulsory, with the other avenue ceasing to exist.¹ The creation of the Law School did not come until 1890, when the munificent bequest of John Henry Challis made it possible.²

In addition to the lecturing, the University examined for the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor of Laws. The reliance on men practising law was heavy. The By-laws in 1866 relating to the degree of Bachelor were:

FACULTY OF LAWS
Bachelor of Laws

1. A Professor or Lecturer, appointed by the Senate, shall give Lectures in English Jurisprudence, attendance on which will be required from all Candidates for the Degree of LL.B.
2. Until other Professorships are established, there shall be a Board of Examiners appointed by the Senate

¹ Sir William Manning, Chancellor's Address, 1882, Sydney: 9.

² Sir Thomas Bavin, The Jubilee Book of the Law School of the University of Sydney, 1890-1940, Sydney: 6.

to test the qualifications of Candidates desirous of obtaining a Degree in Laws. . .

3. No Candidate shall be admitted to the Degree of LL.B. until after the expiration of one Academic year from the time of his obtaining the Degree of B.A.

[The subjects in which students shall be examined are: ¹

Civil and International Law

Constitutional History, and Constitutional Law of England.

General Law of England.¹

The Board of Examiners consisted of lawyers, with the exception of Pell. In 1874-6 Badham was a member of the Board with Pell. Badham continued in this role until his death, but there is nothing to suggest it was more than nominal, arising from the position of Dean. In this he was succeeded by Mr. Justice Windeyer,² first graduate, Vice-Chancellor and a judge of the Supreme Court.

For the degree of Doctor the requirement in the first stages was a thesis in Latin.³

There was barely any change in what was taught or required for examination in this period. There was not a great requirement of law, and what there was, was almost entirely English.⁴

The number of graduates was small. Between 1866 and

¹ Sydney University Calendar, 1866, 57.

² Sydney University Calendar, 1874-5 — 1884.

³ Sir Thomas Bavin, op. cit., 5.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 1, 4.

1884 twelve men received the degree of LL.D., two of these being admitted ad eundem gradum. The first LL.B. was conferred in 1867, and by 1881 only seven had received the degree, one being admitted ad eundem gradum. There was no further award of the degree of LL.B. until 1887, when one man received it.¹

It appears, then, that the University was able to maintain a framework into which legal education on a suitable scale could later be fitted, but that until the School was established in 1890 the University was used for the acquiring of the doctorate rather than for a basic qualification for the profession.

D. The Public Examinations

When Badham arrived in New South Wales, the expenditure of all money "appropriated by Parliament for elementary instruction" was entrusted to a Council of Education,¹ of five members, created by the Public Schools Act of 1866. The Secretary to the Council, William Wilkins, had come to Australia from England in 1851 to be the first Headmaster of the Model School at Fort Street. The state-provided system developed as a highly centralised bureaucratic machine. Local government was weak and population units outside of Sydney too small to provide a basis for viable

¹ Ibid., pp. 233-4.

¹ Public Schools Act, 1866, Section 6.

education authorities.

There were public schools, denominational schools, private schools, private tutors and a grammar school endowed by the State. The Sydney Grammar School had been created by Parliament in 1854, with a body of twelve trustees of whom six were ex officio members, including the "Provost of the University of Sydney, the Principal Classical Professor of the University and the Mathematical Professor therein".¹ This inbuilt connection with the University was in keeping with the desire to increase the supply of matriculants, which with the small endowment, severely hampered the University in its early decades. Finally the increased enrolments in private secondary schools, and the growth of the high schools, remedied the situation. The Public Instruction Act of 1880 which provided for the establishment of high schools, stated that the course of instruction in high schools for boys "shall be of such a character as to complete the Public School curriculum or to prepare students for the University".

The Senate, wishing to extend the usefulness of the University, took steps to enter the field of examining at levels lower than its own courses, and in a scheme additional to matriculation. On 6th February 1867 it resolved:

¹ An Act to Incorporate and Partially Endow the Sydney Grammar School, 1854.

That a Committee consisting of the Chancellor, Mr. Allwood, Sir W. Manning, Prof. Pell & Mr. Windeyer be appointed to consider the expediency of instituting Examinations under the management of the University similar to the Middle Class Examinations of the Universities of Oxford & Cambridge, and to consider & report on the best mode of carrying out the object in question.

Notice of the motion had been given by William Windeyer.¹ Consideration of the Committee's report was postponed until the new Professor of Classics could be present.² The meeting held on 15th May, attended by him, agreed to the proposed examinations.³ On 7th August the Registrar laid the By-law on the table; the Governor and the Executive Council had assented.⁴ The first examinations were held at the end of the year.⁵

The University reported in the following terms:

9. With a view to the extension of the advantages of the University to persons other than matriculated members, and in order to supply to students of every class in the community a standard by which their requirements might be tested, the Senate have instituted Senior and Junior Public Examinations in connection with the University, analogous to the Middle Class Examinations of Oxford and Cambridge. They are conducted by the Professors and Assistant Professors, and such other persons as the Senate may appoint; and at their termination, certificates

¹ Univ. Syd., S.M., 1866-1871, 55.

² Ibid., p. 66.

³ Ibid., p. 75.

⁴ Ibid., p. 83.

⁵ H. E. Barff, A Short Historical Account of the University of Sydney, Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1902, 108.

duly attested, and shewing the special subjects in which candidates have passed, and (in the case of the Seniors) the amount of proficiency exhibited, are granted. Thus a favourable opportunity is afforded for the examination of students and members of schools, by a thoroughly impartial Board. Provision has been made for holding these examinations annually, under suitable restrictions, in all the chief towns of the Colony, should a sufficient number of candidates be found.¹

Twelve candidates sat for the first Junior Examination, and six for the Senior.²

The conditions governing the Examinations were part of the University By-laws. They were University Examinations:

7. The Professors and Assistant Professors not engaged in tuition, except publicly within the University, together with such other persons as the Senate may from time to time appoint, shall form a Board for conducting the Public Examinations; and of this Board the Dean of the Faculty of Arts, or in his absence the Professor next in seniority, shall be Chairman.

The Junior included "SECTION II. English Grammar and Analysis. - History of England: some period not exceeding four reigns, to be fixed annually. Physical and Political Geography." The Senior included

SECTION II

1. (English Grammar and Analysis.
(English Composition.
2. Civil, Military, and Constitutional History of England during some period not exceeding four reigns; the particular period to be fixed annually.

¹ N.S.W., V. & P., 1868-9, III, 752.

² Ibid.

3. Some standard English work, with philological and other questions arising out of the subject; the particular work to be fixed annually.
4. Physical and Political Geography.
5. The outlines of Political Economy.

A fair knowledge of the first of these four divisions, and of one of the others, shall entitle a candidate to pass in this section.

Section I of both examinations was simple, identical and compulsory. The remaining headings of subjects were:

Junior Public Examination

- Section III, Latin. Greek.
 IV, French. German.
 V, Mathematics.

Senior Public Examination

- Section III Latin. Greek.
 IV French and German.
 V Pure Mathematics. Natural Philosophy.
 Dynamics.
 VI. Chemistry and Experimental Physics.
 VII. Geology and Palaeontology.

Regulation 14 provided that "The subjects to be fixed annually shall be determined by the Board of Professors in the Faculty of Arts. . ."¹

The By-law governing the Examinations, approved by the Governor and Executive Council, was before the Senate on 7th August 1867.² A circular dated 30th July about the classics section of the matriculation examination, including a list of books to be studied for the 1869 examination and later, had been prepared by Badham. This was sent to the

¹ Ibid., pp. 754-5.

² Vide supra, p. .

press on 8th August, with an accompanying letter in which he said:

I hope that the accompanying circular, which I am about to send to the masters of classical schools in this colony, will appear to you of sufficient public importance to deserve a place in your journal. I have no other way of making its contents generally known to private tutors and to those engaged in private study.

He then announced the Public Examinations, of which the classical part would be "upon the same subjects, in the same order as for the University matriculation". He also stated that the Judges would be willing to examine candidates for the legal profession in accordance with the same list of books.¹

The University, conservative in many ways, nevertheless saw itself as an institution with broad community responsibilities in education. On 27th March 1868, the Chancellor wrote to the Secretary of the Council of Education:

Sir,

I have the honor to enclose herewith a copy of the By-Laws of the Sydney University, instituting Public Examinations in connexion with that Institution, analogous to the Middle class examinations of Oxford and Cambridge. I also enclose a copy of the regulations established by the Senate for giving effect to the same. . .

I may explain that the object of instituting public examinations of the nature in question is to extend

¹ The Empire, Aug. 9, 1867, 5. (Reference from R. J. Burns, op. cit., 38.)

to persons other than matriculated students the advantages of the University by affording to them an opportunity of having their acquirements tested by a thoroughly competent and impartial Board of Examiners whose certificate will be accepted by the public as conclusive evidence of their proficiency in the subjects in which they have passed.

I am induced to bring this subject under the consideration of the Council of Education, with a view to ascertain whether it might not be desirable that the certificates granted by the Board should be considered a sufficient test of the competency of candidates who desire to obtain employment under the Public Schools Act.

I have &c

signed/ E. Deas-Thomson¹
Chancellor

The Council resolved to accept success in the Junior Public Examinations as an examination qualification for entry to the Council's Training School, and to give further consideration to the Senior Public Examinations as an alternative to certain alternative subjects in the tests for the award of Teachers' Higher Class Certificates.² Early in 1870 the consideration at last brought results: success in some subjects in the Senior Examinations would be accepted by the Council.³

Parts of the Examinations were used for some of the tests for entry to the Civil Service and they were also

¹ Univ. Syd., S.L.B.

² N.S.W. Council of Education, Minute Book, 30th March 1868; Univ. Syd., S.M., 1866-1871, 117.

³ Ibid., p. 189

used in connection with entry to the legal profession.

They attracted increasing numbers of candidates: forty-four in 1870, 177 in 1871, and 173 for the Senior and 2132 for the Junior in 1892. There were local centres throughout New South Wales and in Queensland.¹

"Following the practice of the British Universities", girls were allowed to be candidates from 1871.² The motion before the Senate had come from Deas-Thomson, then Chancellor. It was resolved that "the question of the propriety of extending the Public Examination to females" be referred to the Board of Professors in Arts, and two months later, in March 1871, their recommendation came to the Senate.³ Badham, who was happy at home in the intellectual companionship of his eldest daughter especially, supported the extension of opportunities for women and girls, but appears not to have been the initiator.

In the initial Examinations History was included in the same Section as English, and in choosing Sections pupils from the public schools were at a disadvantage because history was not taught, except slightly in the top classes to the extent that it was included in class-books. William Wilkins himself wrote the History of New

¹ H. E. Barff, op. cit., 108.

² N.S.W., V. & P., 1872, II, 443.

³ Univ. Syd., S.M., 1866-71, 227, 232.

South Wales, which formed the last part (pages 157 to 207) of the second edition of his 1863 work, the second edition being entitled The Geography and History of New South Wales.¹ This, however, did not meet examination needs for the Junior and Senior.

Frederick Bridges, then at the Fort Street Public School and ultimately Under-Secretary, 1903-4, wrote to the Secretary of the Council of Education, who forwarded Bridges' comments to the University. The Senate replied that "their earnest wish" was "to render the Public Examinations useful to the children of both sexes attending the Public Schools, and their readiness to attend to all suggestions which have that object in view". They planned "the separation of history from the English Language".² This followed in 1871.³

Considerable changes have been made in the regulations for conducting the Public Examinations. Owing to representations made by the Council of Education, as to the disadvantage under which pupils of the Public Schools laboured, in being required to take up History in order to pass in the English section, when that branch of study could not be pursued in school, from the want of a text book which would be accepted by all portions of the community, that subject has been placed in a Section by itself.⁴

¹ Sydney: J. J. Moore, 1871.

² Syd. Univ., S.L.B., 5th Sept. 1871.

³ H. E. Barff, op. cit., 109.

⁴ N.S.W., V. & P., 1872, II, 443 (Manual of Public Examinations).

Over the years the absence of history was discussed in Parliament. The reason against its inclusion in the curriculum was that it might give offence because of religious matters. In the Legislative Assembly in February 1876 Henry Parkes made his position clear:

Tuesday, February 1.

History in Public Schools. MR. BUCHANAN moved the resolution standing in his name affirming that in future history, particularly the history of England, ought to be taught in our public schools. . .

MR. PARKES did not think that the carrying of the resolution necessarily involved an amendment of the law, as he thought the Council of Education had power to deal with the matter. The question for them to determine was whether the Council had acted wisely or not in excluding history from the Public Schools. The history usually taught in primary schools was a very inferior commodity even if the scruples of some parents with regard to its being taught to their children could be got over. The education given in primary schools was merely of such a nature as to enable those taught in them to acquire afterwards a knowledge of history among other branches of knowledge equally as important as history. We could not teach history in our Public School(!) without doing more evil than good. It would create dissatisfaction and a sense of injustice. While he admitted that the non-teaching of history in our Public schools was a defect, he denied that it was a matter of so much importance as had been contended for".¹

Editorial comment summed up the situation: "Every member who spoke admitted that the non-teaching of history in our primary schools was a defect; but it was argued that it could not be taught without offending the prejudices of some sections of the community. The matter was shelved. . ."²

¹ S.M.H., 11th Feb. 1876, 5.

² Ibid.

Badham and his colleagues at the University were free of inhibitions, and gave History due place in the syllabus of the Examinations. Opinions such as had been expressed in Parliament, and which were implicit in the requirements for the Senior and Junior, prevailed at least in a legal sense, and then in actuality, on the passing of the Public Instruction Act of 1880, Parkes' Act. The schools were anxious to meet the needs of the examinations, the impartial measuring rod, and the Act specifically required the teaching of history:

7. In all schools under this Act the teaching shall be strictly non-sectarian but the words 'secular instruction' shall be held to include general religious teaching as distinguished from dogmatical or polemical theology and lessons in the history of England and in the history of Australia shall form part of the course of secular instruction.¹

In 1879 the grouping of the subjects was amended, and the Board of Examiners enlarged.² The range of subjects increased. Drawing and Music were included in the Senior Examination, and "Mental Science" was also a subject.³ There was interaction between the schools and the requirements, but the inclusion of a subject could not save it from decline. Greek was taken by a small percentage of

¹ Public Statutes of New South Wales, from 28 November 1879 to 13 July 1887, Sydney: Govt. Pr., 1888, 15.

² N.S.W., V. & P., 1879-80, III, 464.

³ Univ. Syd., Manual of Public Examinations, 1879.

candidates.¹

The public schools made efforts to prepare pupils, and put forward a considerable number of candidates. They developed their teaching, moving on from English and Mathematics to History, Geography and Physics. Some candidates, mostly from the city, sat for Latin.² Badham, the most important member of the Board of Examiners, knew from the beginning the performance of pupils at the schools. He became increasingly critical of certain aspects of the teaching carried out under the Council of Education.³

Between 1867 and 1912 successful candidates were presented by the following types of schools in New South Wales:

1. Public and superior public schools.
2. State-endowed grammar and State high schools.
3. Private boys' schools and boys' tutors.
4. Private girls' schools and girls' tutors.
5. Non-Catholic denominational girls' schools.
6. Catholic girls' schools.
7. Non-Catholic denominational boys' schools.
8. Catholic boys' schools.⁴

¹ R. J. Burns, Secondary Education and Social Change in New South Wales and Queensland before 1914, 592-7. (Unpublished Ph. D. thesis, Univ. Syd.)

² Ibid., p. 263.

³ Vide infra, Chapter VII (6).

⁴ R. J. Burns, op. cit., 568.

The effect of the Examinations was felt throughout the educational world in their own state and elsewhere, particularly Queensland, where university teaching did not begin until 1911.¹ They were praised in England "as an example of organizing talent, highly commendable and extremely successful".²

There were critics close at hand. Their cost and range of subjects were commented on adversely towards the end of the century.³ As early as 1880 George Knox wrote of the sameness of the examining; "It is intensely undesirable that year after year the same examiners, with the same ideas, the same crotchets and peculiarities. . . should set the papers in these public competitions".⁴ The Senate, seeking an increased endowment, was complaining that the professors were overworked. "No wonder. . . when such absurdly incongruous and monotonously laborious drudgery is imposed upon them by the Senate".⁵

The University finally terminated the examinations

¹ Australian Encyclopaedia, IX, 86.

² H. Badham and Lewis Campbell, op. cit., 95. (Translated from the German.)

³ R. J. Burns, op. cit., 212.

⁴ George Knox, Vitality or endowments? The present needs of the University of Sydney, Sydney: John Woods and Co., 1880, 16.

⁵ Ibid., p. 17.

in 1915. For long there had been dissatisfaction in the Department of Public Instruction about a system in which, as Peter Board, Director of Public Instruction, wrote in 1909: "The evil lies in the examination which stands independent of the course of instruction and forces it into conformity with the examination's requirements".¹ A system which had begun as a unifying device, setting a high standard in an environment in need of aspiration and measurement by a single respected authority, had become a way of imposing on the schools the requirements of an external body. To the teacher, "the manual of public examinations became his source book".²

Badham's work, however, had been in the creative period, and during his life the Junior and Senior Public Examinations led to a commonwealth of schooling ^{within diversity} / so far as what was taught was concerned, in a period of unhappy diversity and division. Furthermore, patronage had a rival which was ultimately largely victorious, and the candidates had a goal which gave them both stimulus and opportunity.

¹ A. R. Crane and W. G. Walker, Peter Board. His Contribution to the Development of Education in New South Wales, Melbourne: A.C.E.R., 1957, 129.

² Ibid.

E. Other Examining

The University acted as examiner in other, more specialised, fields. In February 1870 a letter was written to the Colonial Secretary, conveying a suggestion to the Government that the University might co-operate in examining candidates for Public Service employment, and that the Public Examinations would be suitable.¹ After nearly two years the Government agreed to the proposal that the University "conduct the Examinations for employment in the Civil Service".²

The Reports of the University show that again there was a response, evidently of mixed quality. In 1871, twenty-eight candidates sat, and thirteen passed;³ one of these was Badham's son Charles.⁴ In 1873, 213 sat, and ninety-five passed;⁵ in 1882, 308 sat at four examinations, and 127 passed.⁶

Badham and Professor Pell comprised the Board of

¹ Univ. Syd., S.M., 1866-1871, 181-2; Univ. Syd., S.L.B., 19th Feb. 1870.

² Univ. Syd., S.M., 1871-8, 15.

³ N.S.W., V. & P., 1872, II, 443.

⁴ Ibid., p. 448.

⁵ N.S.W., V. & P., 1873-4, V, 577.

⁶ N.S.W., V. & P., 1883-4, VII, 1188.

Examiners at the outset.¹ When giving evidence before the Select Committee on the Civil Service in December 1871, Badham said:

. . . I should say the present standard of examination is certainly too low for any clerk. I do not mean to say the clerk would not do his duty, but clerks chosen according to such a standard as that would not be very respectable as a class, nor could we ever hope to see prevalent in such a class what we call a good tone, as far as education is a means of maintaining a good tone. It appears to me that the education which would be commensurate with our present standard of examination is altogether too low.²

When asked in general terms whether he would recommend the University as a means of conducting examinations, Badham replied: "Yes, I think it about the best you can get now".³ The examinations for the Civil Service came to be held four times a year.⁴

In May 1870 the Senate resolved to write to the Chief Justice about the possible use of the Public Examinations in assessing those wishing to commence training as attorneys.⁵ The response was favourable,⁶ and a scheme was put into

¹ N.S.W., V. & P., 1872, II, 690.

² Ibid., p. 686.

³ Ibid., p. 689.

⁴ Sir William Manning, Chancellor's Address, 1880, Sydney: 4.

⁵ Univ. Syd., S.M., 1866-1871, 193.

⁶ Ibid., p. 211.

effect, and developed. By 1880 examinations to test people wishing to enter the profession were being held four times a year, one being part of the Matriculation Examination, the rules of the Supreme Court requiring the Matriculation or an equivalent.¹ In 1882 "Three examinations, similar to the Matriculation Examination, for candidates desirous of being articled to solicitors were held, at which 52 candidates presented themselves, and 28 gained certificates".²

F. Bursaries

Christopher Brennan wrote the article on Badham in the 1925-6 Australian Encyclopaedia. He states that "as teacher, as orator, as man, he was the first and only 'democratizer' of the university".³ While he was essentially aristocratic in temper, he was at the same time broad in sympathies, and keenly aware of the economic and other difficulties which could stand in the way of a person's self-fulfilment. In his domestic circle he had an example of the varying capacities of people, but he aimed

¹ Sir William Manning, loc. cit.

² N.S.W., V. & P., 1883-4, VII, 1188.

³ Illustrated Australian Encyclopaedia, ed. by A. W. Jose and H. J. Carter, 2 vols., Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1925-6, I, 119.

at overcoming obstacles that formed external barriers to study.

He worked hard in various parts of New South Wales to persuade people to provide bursaries, and at the 1876 Commemoration was able to declare:

I wished to convince my fellow-citizens that this University was no inaccessible shrine for the glorification of a few, and no sullen fortress, in which a certain privileged band was to batten on the public revenues; but that we were a beneficent guild - a corporation of thoughtful and patriotic men, yearning for opportunities of usefulness, exhibiting every inducement that we could devise to allure the youth of this colony, sending forth our invitations to him that was near and to him that was far off. These persons have turned my seeming presumption into success - have transmuted the dreams of an enthusiast into practical wisdom.¹

The Senate Minutes tell of the measure of success, but cannot reveal the preliminary effort: the speeches, the interviews, the vacation travelling, the exhorting and persuading. In July 1874 a letter from Mrs. Maurice Alexander was read; she wished to give an endowment to perpetuate the name of her late husband; ". . . she had given her authority to Prof: Badham to submit to the Senate the terms of such endowment".² He paid a warm tribute to her gift in his address at Commemoration in 1875.³ In December 1875 Badham put before the Senate

¹ Charles Badham, Speeches. . ., 97.

² Univ. Syd., S.M., 1871-8, 88.

³ Charles Badham, op. cit., 69-70.

information about benefactions by Mrs. Hunter-Baillie, Mr. Fitzwilliam Wentworth, the Hon. John Fraser and Mrs. Burdekin. There was also discussion about a donor not named.¹ Badham was requested to convey to these people the "hearty thanks" of the Senate. In January 1876 Mrs. Burdekin's cheque for £1,000 had arrived, and the following resolution, proposed by the Chancellor and seconded by the Vice-Chancellor, was carried by the Senate:

In recording another of the Bursaries which have lately been endowed in the University by the liberality of private benefactors, the members of the Senate gladly embrace the opportunity which it affords of expressing the high sense which they entertain of the valuable services rendered to the Institution by Dr. Badham, Professor of Classics in his indefatigable exertions for the initiation and establishment of these Bursaries.²

His work was publicly acknowledged by the Chancellor at the following Commemoration,³ and after Badham's death the Senate resolved to place on record its recognition of his various services, including his

sympathising interest in all efforts made by struggling students to pursue their studies, and the success which attended his efforts to procure the establishment of bursaries for the benefit of poor students.⁴

¹ Univ. Syd., S.M., 1871-8, 88, 121-3.

² Ibid., p. 126

³ Charles Badham, Speeches. . ., 95. After his death, the Badham Bursary, for Greek or Latin, was founded from subscriptions to the Badham Memorial Fund. (Univ. Syd. Calendar, 1968, 421.)

⁴ Univ. Syd., S.M., 1878-84, 5th March 1884.

This "sympathising interest" was of prime importance to those directly affected. More generally, its fruits helped to make the University an institution open to all classes, and to make this known.

G. Women Students

In his 1871 Commemoration address, Badham praised the decision to admit "female candidates" to the Public Examinations, and foreshadowed another change yet to come. "As an academical body", he said, "we shall be called upon one day or another to deal still more closely with the question of the academical rights of the ladies", and he continued with remarks on women and degrees, declaring that "the apparent anomaly of the word bachelor melts away before the focus of etymology. . ."¹

No evidence has been found that Badham was enthusiastic about the education of women for vocational or professional ends. He believed in the fullest cultivation of the self, but thought women had one true vocation, marriage. This view he had put forward when being examined before the Select Committee on the Civil Service:

745. As regards the employment of women in the Public Service; - do you not think there are many branches in which they might be advantageously employed - in the Telegraph Department, the Post Office, and as

¹ Charles Badham, Speeches. . ., 32.

copying clerks? I have formed an opinion which I am rather reluctant to give, because I see one great difficulty. There are some women who have no chance of marriage - no chance of fulfilling their legitimate functions in the world - and it is very hard that they should starve; but at the same time I do not like to see women brought up with the notion that they are to have any more proper sphere than that of waiting till some person whom they approve of offers his hand. I think women ought rather to look forward to domestic usefulness than to usefulness in the Public Service, or any other.

746. The question does not press here with such force as at Home, owing to the disparity of the sexes? Exactly.¹

He did, however, show appreciation of what the Public Examinations at least could mean to women. The University now, he remarked,

avows its sympathy with the young women of the colony, who, hearing of the noble fields of labour which the female mind has opened for itself in Europe, are animated with the desire of following the example of their sisters; with the struggling governess, who desires some better testimonial of her own fitness than the paltry certificates of employers, perhaps her inferiors in knowledge, and who would be glad to overawe the criticism of vulgar gossip by an appeal to the judgment of a University; with the frank-hearted and bright-eyed native schoolgirl, whether her parents be rich or poor, whether born in a Sydney mansion or in the hut of a free-selector. And we shall not only enable women to improve themselves, but to be the cause of improvement in others. The painstaking sister will rouse the emulation of her brother; the governess with well-attested acquirements will influence the lukewarm parents; the educated mother of hereafter will prize the boon of education which this colony offers in her University and her public schools.²

This increase of opportunity was in keeping with the

¹ N.S.W., V. & P., 1872, II, 688.

² Charles Badham, Speeches. . ., 33.

aspirations of the University to be widely useful:

Who can doubt that. . .the Senate has shown that it is resolutely bent upon being useful, and has proved to the public that it is intent upon extending the advantages of the University to all; and that by acting thus it has deepened the moral foundations of this University, and adorned it with an architecture of public spirit more august and more imperishable than the building in which we are assembled? The Senate of the University has shown that perfect intelligence of its proper functions which gives me encouragement to believe that it sees how much yet remains to be done in this direction.¹

In a less public, but effective, way, Badham showed his sympathy for the admission of women to the University itself. In 1879 Sir William Manning, the Chancellor, spoke about the possibility, and put forward as his preference the establishment of an affiliated college, as at Oxford and Cambridge. But he was able to say: "The two present Professors whose duties comprise such of the studies of which I am speaking which are at present taught in the University would not object to a trial of mixed classes..."² This is a positive statement in the context of Badham's view of woman's role, but almost a neutral one for the disciple of Frederick Denison Maurice, an important figure in developments in women's education in England.³

¹ Ibid.

² Sir William Manning, Chancellor's Address, Sydney: 1879, 11.

³ John William Adamson, English Education, 1789-1902, Cambridge, Univ. Press, 1964, passim.

To the efforts of Sir William Manning, in particular, is ascribed the decision of 1881 to admit women.¹ The Board of Studies had been asked to report; the report was favourable.² They were of the opinion "that no inconvenience would arise from the joint attendance of students of both sexes, and that there would be no difficulty in providing that the lectures delivered under the circumstances should contain nothing of a nature to shock female delicacy".³

The extension of the privileges of the University received due notice in its Report for 1881:

13. During the year an important step has been taken by the Senate in its decision to admit women to all University privileges, and to place them in all respects as regards University matters on an equal footing with men.

On the 6th of April the Senate passed the following resolutions:-

- (a) That, subject to such regulations as the Senate may make, women shall henceforward be admitted to matriculation and instruction in the University, and to annual examinations, and examinations for degrees, and shall be entitled to receive degrees equivalent to those granted to male students.
- (b) That it be referred to the Board of Studies to report to the Senate on the subject of the arrangements and regulations necessary for carrying out the above resolution.

On the 4th of May the Board of Studies brought up its report, containing the following recommendations, which were adopted by the Senate:-

- (a) That female students be admitted to the same lectures as male students in all subjects.

¹ Australian Encyclopaedia, V, 481.

² N.S.W., V. & P., 1882, II, 803.

³ Sydney University Calendar, 1881-82, 8.

- (b) That it will be impossible to carry out the above recommendation unless steps are taken to provide a suitable retiring room and other necessary conveniences set apart exclusively for female students.
- (c) That, in the present building, there is no room that can be applied to any such purpose, nor is any rearrangement possible by which a room could be put at their disposal without resuming that part of the building which has been assigned to the Professor of Classics as his residence.

In order to provide the necessary accommodation, a small cottage is to be erected at the rear of the University buildings, under the supervision of the Colonial Architect, and it is expected that this will be ready for use before the next Matriculation Examination in June, 1882.

In consequence of some doubts as to the power of the Senate, under the Incorporation Act of 1851, to grant degrees to women which shall be equivalent to those granted to men, it is intended to invite the Legislature to pass an Act giving all necessary powers for so doing, and it is hoped that such an Act will have become law before any female students are ready for degrees.¹

Manning said at the Commemoration: "the principal event of the year. . . is the full opening of the University to Students of your sex, Ladies!"² He concluded the part of his address dealing with the change with these words: "Whatever the University can in reason do to elevate women educationally it freely offers".³

In 1884 an act of Parliament provided (amongst other things) the legal basis for the new situation. Entitled

¹ N.S.W., V. & P., 1882, II, 803.

² Sir William Manning, Chancellor's Address, Sydney: 1881, 13.

³ Ibid., p. 15.

An Act to enable the University of Sydney to grant additional degrees and certificates in the nature of degrees and for other purposes, it included:

. . . And whereas the Senate has agreed to admit women to certain privileges heretofore enjoyed by men within the University but doubts have arisen as to the power of the Senate in that respect. . . Be it therefore enacted. . .

3. The benefits and advantages of the University and the provisions of the Acts relating thereto shall be deemed to extend in all respects to women equally with men.

4. This Act may be cited as the University Extension Act of 1884.¹

Care had been taken to submit the legislation in time to provide for any who qualified for graduation in the minimum period.

Women students enrolled in 1882 as candidates for a degree. Two graduated Bachelor of Arts in 1885. By 1889, nine had graduated as Bachelor, of whom three had subsequently become Masters of Arts. There was one woman Bachelor of Science. Twenty-three women students were at the University.²

These are figures. They indicate change in one part of the world in the attitude towards women and the opportunities available to them. On the economic level, those

¹ Public Statutes of New South Wales, from 28 November, 1879, to 27 March, 1885, Sydney: Govt. Pr., 1886.

² J. C. Kirby, "Women and the Australian Universities", The Englishwoman's Review of Social and Industrial Questions, n.s. 20, Jy. 15, 1889, 292-3.

who believed in marriage as the goal had in England been confounded practically, by the greater number of women than men in the population. Employment was essential for support, and a chain of aspiration and development could be seen. As Charles Kingsley wrote:

A demand for employment has led naturally to a demand for improved education fitting women for employment, and that again has led naturally also to a demand on the part of many thoughtful women for a share in making those laws and those social regulations which have, while made exclusively by men, resulted in leaving women at a disadvantage at every turn.¹

The general movement for improved opportunities for women included agitation for admission to the Universities, and in 1870 women were admitted to University College, London. The peaceful penetration of Oxford and Cambridge took longer.²

The opening of the University of Sydney to women gave a new and elevated goal to the schooling of girls, and led to more and more identity in the subjects taught at the secondary level. It came at the time of the establishment of high schools after the Public Instruction Act of 1880, and provided a focus for their work with girls from the outset. The problem of reconciling the University with

¹ Charles Kingsley, "Women and Politics", reprinted in 1869. from Macmillan's Magazine, and quoted in John William Adamson, op. cit., 324.

² John William Adamson, op. cit., 328 ff.

other goals is still unsolved, as it was in Badham's years at Edgbaston.¹

H. Evening Lectures

In his 1871 Commemoration address Badham foreshadowed evening lectures as well as the admission of women to the University. The University wished to be involved in the community, not an institution apart. "Whether it be by the formation of evening classes", or by other means, "no efforts must be neglected". He wished for an "intellectual commonwealth" to counteract poor values (sometimes found united with wealth and social position), "to present to the world the contrast between the dignity of a student and the insolence of those who ape the refuse of European manners! Sooner or later we must have evening classes for this purpose. . ."²

Twelve years later, on the first day of what was to be his last spring, the Sydney Morning Herald published the letter in which he put forward the advantages of making "the curriculum and the degree in Arts" available to those who were employed in the day-time.³ He hoped that others

¹ Vide infra, Ch. VII, (2).

² Charles Badham, Speeches. . . . 34, 39.

³ He reiterated later that he had the B.A. course only in mind. (S.M.H., 3rd Oct. 1883, 8.)

would support the proposal, in order to convince the Senate that the need existed.¹ Letters of support came from "A Member of the Senate", R. B. Wise, "X", and John F. Moran,² the latter writing from the country and drawing attention to the need for opportunities for those out of Sydney.

The Sydney Quarterly Magazine included a favourable article in its October issue.³ The article praised the scheme and its proponent, who had, with such obvious injustice, "been charged more than once with conservatism and intolerance".⁴ He mentioned the difficulties experienced by "exemption men" - those for whom attendance at lectures had been waived, and said their lot would be improved with evening lectures at which attendance would be compulsory.⁵

An editorial footnote indicated that since the article had been set, a public meeting had been held at the Sydney School of Arts. It took place on 25th September, with George Reid, the Minister of Public Instruction, in the

¹ S.M.H., 1st Sept. 1883, 6.

² Ibid., 6th, 7th, 8th Sept. 1883.

³ N.T.K., "Dr. Badham's Proposal", Sydney Quarterly Magazine, 1, Oct. 1883, 87-93.

⁴ Ibid., p. 88.

⁵ Ibid.

chair, and was fully reported in the press.¹ The meeting was well attended and enthusiastic. Reid spoke in favour of the proposal. One resolution carried was that a memorial be prepared for submission to the Senate. Evening lectures had been tried, and had failed, in the University's first year,² but now support was ready in the community, the Government and the University. The time was ripe for evening classes to begin and to continue.

As early as October 1883 Reid, in reply to a question in the House, was able to say that he had informed the Senate of his "cordial approval" of the proposal. His support was important for the funds which were needed.³

Badham, mortally ill, was present at the meeting of the Board of Studies on 27th November 1883, at which the members reached agreement on the Board's report to the

Senate on the subject of evening lectures for the Bachelor of Arts degree.⁴ The report contained proposed by-laws and regulations, and was considered by the Senate on 7th March 1884. Badham had died in his apartments at the

¹ S.M.H., 26th Sept. 1883, 4.

² H. E. Barff, op. cit., 96.

³ N.S.W., V. & P., 1883-4, I, 59

⁴ University of Sydney, Board of Studies Minutes, April 1883 - April 1886, Professorial Board, May 1886 - March 1893, 27th Nov. 1883.

University on 27th February.¹ After agreeing to by-laws, "It was also resolved that Mr. Butler be appointed to undertake the Evening Classical Lectures".² Thomas Butler had been a brilliant student under Badham, whom he was later to celebrate in the Memoir prefixed to the volume Speeches and Lectures Delivered in Australia. He became Professor of Latin at Sydney in 1891,³ and so the line of influence continued.

Barff states that Badham suggested evening lectures "for the benefit of those who were engaged in teaching or otherwise during the day".⁴ The letter does not mention teachers, but "a goodly number of Public School Teachers"⁵ were interested from the beginning.

The Senate had adopted the report of the Board of Studies, as indicated, and the basis of evening lectures to qualify for the Degree of Bachelor of Arts was as follows:

- (a) That evening students desirous of graduating should be required to show to the satisfaction of the Senate that their circumstances are such

¹ S.M.H., 28th Feb. 1884, 1.

² Univ. Syd., S.M., 1878-1884, 7th March 1884.

³ H. E. Barff, op. cit., 146.

⁴ H. E. Barff, op. cit., 95.

⁵ S.M.H., 24th March 1884, quoted by R.J. Burns, op. cit., 209.

as to preclude the possibility of their attendance during the day.

- (b) That the whole course should extend over a period of five years.
- (c) That evening students should be required to pass the same Matriculation Examination, and the same three Examinations as other students, and should be subject to the same by-laws and regulations.
- (d) That the scale of fees for evening lectures should be so adjusted that the total amount payable by evening students in five years should be equal to that paid by other students in three years.
- (e) That the sum of £1,800 per annum would be sufficient to defray the expense of the evening courses.¹

The inauguration of evening lectures was another step in the University's efforts to make its benefits widely available. Teachers were amongst those able to further their studies in this way. More important to the teachers was the scheme dating from 1888, under which selected trainees were allowed a period of University study. This increased the enrolments there and the number of matriculants amongst those aspiring to teach, and improved the educational level of the selected trainees, but during the depression in 1895 the practice was virtually discontinued for a considerable period.²

Evening lectures were another element in the democratising process which Badham engaged in, although democratic values were not his. His concern was to leave as

¹ N.S.W., V. & P., 1883-4, VII, 1195.

² Brian V. Hill, "Training State School Teachers in New South Wales, 1888-1904", Melbourne Studies in Education, 1966, 252-4.

few barriers as possible between people able to benefit from study, and opportunities for it. He had said: "I hope that. . . we may adopt some plan which will succeed in bringing about me all that is intellectual, or would fain be so, in this city of Sydney".¹ In suggesting evening lectures and working on details for putting the scheme into effect, he achieved the first steps towards that goal.

1. Other Activities

Badham's most precise activity was the basic one of teaching. The least precise was filling a role - that of the man whose very presence shed lustre on the University. Furthermore, it was inevitable that one in his position would be drawn into University politics.

His scale of performance was due primarily to his capacity and energy. The size of his classes must have been a factor, however. There were thirty-one students in the Faculty of Arts in 1861, thirty-nine in 1872, fifty-eight in 1876 and eighty-one in 1881.² The hours of lecturing would not be affected by these small numbers, but many auxiliary duties would be. Small wonder that the University was anxious to make an impact and a contribution, within its walls and without.

¹ Charles Badham, Speeches. . ., 34.

² Ibid., p. 97.

In 1875 the Professor of Classics was giving 145 lectures to the class in each of the three years.¹ He lectured daily.² In the years 1875 and 1876 he attended sixteen Senate meetings out of twenty, this number being exceeded only by the Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor.³ He was assiduous in the performance of these duties, and as member of the Proctorial Board, the Board of Studies, and the Board of Examiners.⁴

His broad sympathies with students of varying levels of capacity did not lead him to believe that a university should teach all subjects that some thought desirable. It has been said that he "poured fierce scorn on 'Professors of Artificial Manures'".⁵

He found his students did not measure up to their English counterparts:

One of the peculiar features of education in New South Wales is extreme deliberation. . . . It is to this. . . . that we owe the lateness of that particular training by which lads are prepared for college, so that many things are begun at fifteen which your precipitate parents in England expect

¹ N.S.W., V. & P., 1875-6, V, 277.

² Ibid., 1876-7, I, 35.

³ Ibid., p. 157.

⁴ By way of contrast, 12 meetings were called in the year 1876-7 of the Trustees of Sydney Grammar School. There was no quorum for 2, and 10 were held. Badham (and some others) attended none. (Ibid., p. 242.)

⁵ Sir Robert Randolph Garran, loc. cit.

to be fairly mastered at twelve. And if in addition to this we consider the extreme mildness of fathers and mothers on the one hand in enforcing their rights, and the extreme severity of children in the maintenance of theirs, it is no wonder if in many instances that which should have been done at the school or with the private tutor is left to be done in the lecture-room.¹

The Senate Minutes indicate tensions between Professor Smith and Badham about work and about the right to occupy the University apartments after the death of Professor Pell in 1879.² This is not surprising; Smith was for some years President of the Council of Education.

In 1878 he worked against Sir William Manning when the Chancellorship was to be decided. He wrote to Deas-Thomson, the incumbent:

(1878)

Private & Confidential

My dear Sir,

. . . There is no one whom Pell or myself would like to see Chancellor in your room. Martin would take no pains; Manning would waste our time and damage us by sentimental efforts to affiliate all sorts of dubious institutions. . . But without flattery the positive reasons are equally strong. We don't want a profound scholar or scientific man but a wise director and an impartial judge of all our various proposals. . .

Yrs most sincerely,

Charles Badham.³

After this attempt at persuasion proved fruitless, he turned and worked for the election of Sir James

¹ Charles Badham, Speeches. . ., 51-52.

² Univ. Syd., S.M., passim.

³ Deas-Thomson Papers, vol. 3 (1531^s M.L.)

Martin,¹ but Manning was the successful nominee. Badham and Dalley were amongst those who voted for Martin. Dalley and Martin resigned from the Senate.²

In the following year Badham tried to persuade Sir Henry Parkes to become a member of the Senate. Parkes refused to entertain the idea, writing to Badham "I am not the kind of material of which the governing bodies of Universities should be made".³ Sectarian issues had been raised in the matter of this vacancy, caused by the death of Pell, and the angry professor wrote to his son:

My dear old Charlie,

You must not believe all the miserable pack of Sydney scribes. I never dreamed of leave asking or leave taking; I must tug on as long as I have faculties enough for my chair. But some dirty specimens of the Roman Catholic haters of Parkes, were wrath (sic) with me for proposing him for the Senate. We want an increased endowment, and surely he is as respectable as half a dozen whom I might name in that august body.⁴

The struggle for an increase in the annual statutory endowment of £5,000 had gone on for years. On 16th September 1879 the Chancellor wrote to the Minister:

My dear Mr. Suttor,

. . . I will only trouble you with one additional fact or feature, which is this: That the

¹ Letter to Sir William Macarthur, 21st April (1878). (Macarthur Papers, vol. 43, M.L., A2939.)

² Univ. Syd., S.M., 1871-1878, 208, 215.

³ Letter dated 9th May 1879. (Parkes Correspondence, vol. 45, M.L., A915.)

⁴ Letter dated 6th June (no year). Badham Correspondence etc.

sudden and unprecedented increase of matriculations this year, doubling those of any former year, can only be accounted for by the existence of a widespread expectation that the University is on the eve of expansion in directions which will open up professional careers which have hitherto been unattainable to the youth of the Colony without a costly and morally dangerous expatriation.¹

Funds were increased from 1880, and in 1882 the endowment was raised to £10,000. Also, in 1880 the Challis Bequest was made known. Expansion followed, with a Faculty of Science in 1882 and a Medical School in 1883.² But Badham had for years made clear his opinion that professional training and education were two distinct things. He did not oppose the first, but lived committed to the values of the second, which he considered the essential function of a university.³ He was not inconsistent in deploring the lack of opportunity for graduates in the public service, where he thought well-educated men were needed. In Melbourne the State ordered things better, the University being "the avenue to public employment. With us the University is an avenue to little or nothing".⁴ Eight years later, with long experience in "the dismal

¹ N.S.W., V. & P., 1881, II, 1238.

² H. E. Barff, op. cit., 100, 102, 112.

³ See, for example, his 1873 Address, in Speeches. . ., 60 - 62.

⁴ Charles Badham, Speeches. . ., 37.

burlesque which is called the examination for the Civil service", he said that "the thought of all these Government places, into which uneducated youths are being continually drafted, recurs with a peculiar bitterness".¹

The By-laws in the 1868 Annual Report named the subjects to be taught in the Faculty of Arts:

1. Greek Language and Literature.
2. Latin Language and Literature.
3. Ancient History.
4. Mathematics.
5. Natural Philosophy.
6. Chemistry.
7. Experimental Physics.
8. Mental Philosophy and Logic.
9. Geology.
10. Mineralogy.²

The "Scheme of University Teaching" prepared by a Committee of the Senate at the time of the increased endowment, was adopted by the Senate on 23rd December 1881. The School of Classics was set out in the following terms:

1. School of Classics.				
To include Ancient and Modern Languages and Literature, Ancient History, and Mental Philosophy.				
Professor (with half-fees)	£900			
Assistant Lecturer - Latin				
and Greek	350			
Assistant Lecturers - Modern				
Languages	300			
				3
				£1,550

¹ Ibid., p. 103.

² N.S.R., V. & P., 1869, II, 638.

³ Ibid., 1882, II, 803.

Modern Languages and Literature was the sole addition for him in more than twenty years, and some instruction had been available before 1881.¹

At the end of his life Badham was teaching Ancient and Modern Languages and Literature, Ancient History and Mental Philosophy. Five other professors were teaching Mathematics and scientific subjects. Thomas Butler was a Lecturer in Classics, at a salary of £350 per annum, Etienne Thibault received £300 as Lecturer in Modern Languages, and D. B. W. Sladen £100, "with full fees", for Modern History.²

During his professorship the position of the classics declined. This was part of a general trend in Britain and elsewhere, and Badham would not have been able to reverse it. He himself favoured the reduction of emphasis on Greek in particular, hoping to retain it as a study of real significance to those who pursued it by choice.

The Board of Studies was asked by the Senate on 4th April 1872 to report "on the question of the discontinuance of Greek as a compulsory subject in the 'curriculum'." The Report was adopted in July, and a by-law to put the report into effect was adopted, the motion being moved by the

¹ David S. Macmillan, op. cit., 56; N.S.W., V. & P., 1866, II, 481.

² Ibid., 1883-4, VII, 1201-2.

Chancellor and seconded by Badham,¹ who had initiated the change.²

The by-law read:

Any candidate for matriculation, or undergraduate or candidate for the degree of M.A., shall, on application to the Senate, be exempted from examination in Greek at any of the examinations provided for in these by-laws, and from attendance on lectures on that subject; but any person so exempted shall be required to show a greater proficiency in Latin, and no such candidate shall be eligible to any scholarship for general proficiency, nor for classical honours, at the examination for the degree of B.A. Undergraduates so exempted shall be required, during their third year, to attend lectures in Latin, Mathematics, and Physics, and to pass the examination for the degree of B.A. in those subjects.³

J. Conclusion

Of the work that fell to the professors, Badham carried a third for some years, and then a quarter, if assessed merely in relation to the number of professors. But he was ^{like the} Principal of the University, & Dean of the Faculty of Arts and of the Faculty of Law from 1876. As Dean of the only effective Faculty for a long period, he was the leading figure in a wide range of affairs, ranging from grounds improvement, building maintenance and expansion and library administration. He taught all students, and inspired many.

¹ Univ. Syd., S.M., 1871-1878, 27, 33 - 4.

² Charles Badham, Speeches. . ., 157 - 8.

³ N.S.W., V. & P., 1872-3, 111, 3.

He worked on by-laws and reports, took part in delegations.

He was an effective publicist. He often inspired anger, sometimes an amused admiration, but he was noticed. His country travels, his work for isolated students, for bursaries and evening lectures helped make the University known. After his time, its role could never again be considered to be the service of socially or financially elite groups in the community.

The University's direct involvement in examining people other than its students or those wishing to matriculate was ultimately to cease, but the impress of its work in this direction, which was predominantly Badham's work in the initial period, was felt on the education system and in the employment world as well for many decades.

His view of the purpose of a university was that "it was to secure trained thought in the citizens of hereafter. It is for the training of thought. . . The training of thought is that which you should all have before you as the be-all and end-all of your university course".¹

¹ Charles Badham, Speeches. . ., 65 - 6.

CHAPTER VII

EDUCATION IN THEORY AND PRACTICE1. Introduction

In addition to his work at and for the University, Badham's contribution to colonial education was considerable. Many looked on him - a man of proven calibre, experience and performance in Britain - as something of a touchstone in the educational scene in New South Wales. To others he was a presumptuous irritant, who believed that, because of his experience in England and his status as Professor of Classics and Logic at the University of Sydney, his opinions would be valued even when not sought. He was confident that he had the right to be heard if he chose to offer advice, and linked with this was his duty to speak.

William Jelf had referred to Badham's "natural taste for education",¹ and this was fed by his own unusual schooling and by his years as a schoolmaster. This natural interest was increased by his concern for the enrichment of the life of others, to the fullest extent of which each was capable, and his concern for the educated man as a unit of

¹ Vide supra, p. 36.

the State. He said in 1870 at the University Commemoration:

. . . we must not forget. . . that we educate not for parents, nor do they educate their children for themselves; but we have a right to appeal to parents to educate their children for the State. We are a State institution; and, as the servants of the State, we are bound to educate them into the citizens of hereafter.¹

In his Adhortatio ad Juventutem Academicam Sydneiensem

Badham spoke plainly on the changing society of his century:

I maintain that when the suffrage is given to those who ask for it, it is not the beginning but the end of all quarrels; I maintain that the new judges are not to be feared as if they were judges before whom even Pericles might argue his case and lose to a sausage-maker.²

Years later, in 1882, he wrote of democracy and education: "We are . . . a democracy, and, whether we like it or not, we shall become more emphatically and unavoidably democratic as time advances".³ He looked forward to making the best of democracy, by cultivating confidence "in the trained and tried intellect of a whole class, not an exclusive class, but one to which anybody may belong, (if nature has endowed him for the purpose, and the opportunities of mental discipline have been open to him)".⁴

He reverted again at this time to his support of

¹ Charles Badham, Speeches. . ., 29.

² Ibid., p. 22, trans. from the Latin.

³ Ibid., p. 106

⁴ Ibid.

education taking the form of teaching the young to think, which he had put forward six years earlier in the pamphlet Primary Education.¹ "I know of no other object of education, whether primary or secondary", he wrote, "except to teach men and women to think".²

Before Badham left Edgbaston, his views on one issue in education, classical versus commercial, were disseminated and recorded in a slight pamphlet.

2. Thoughts on Classical and Commercial Education, 1864.

Badham's address at the Annual Distribution of Prizes at the Birmingham and Edgbaston Proprietary School in September 1864 was published by request in the same year, with the title Thoughts on Classical and Commercial Education.³ This work reflects both the educational environment in England in a broad sense, and the writer's position in that environment.

The kinds of schooling available were linked with notions of social class and with the aspirations of parents for their children. The frank and one might almost say innocent avowal of the propriety of the notions in relation to schooling is apparent in the title of a pamphlet which

¹ Charles Badham, Speeches. . ., 86-7, and vide infra, Chapter VII, 6(D).

² Ibid., p. 107.

³ Birmingham: Cornish Brothers; Manchester: J. E. Cornish; London: Cornish & Co.

CHARLES BADHAM, 1864

From a photograph in the
University of Sydney Library.



was published in 1836, and in a second, corrected edition 1854. Three Lectures on the Proper Objects and Methods of Education in reference to the Different Orders of Society; and on the Relative Utility of Classical Instruction were delivered by Professor James Pillans in Edinburgh in 1835.¹ His main emphasis was on the education of the upper classes, for whom he believed a special and superior education was desirable and necessary: "it is a training as distinct in its nature as it is different in its aim".² It is significant that Pillans' views were worth publication almost twenty years after their first enunciation. The discussion taking place in many quarters was carried on by William George Clark in Cambridge Essays, which appeared in 1855. In his paper, General Education and Classical Studies, he stated that the type of education received "is necessarily determined by the worldly means and rank of the recipients". Primary education was all that the working class can afford, work beginning as soon as the children were strong enough to earn wages.³ The commercial classes educated their children for a longer period, but considered Greek and Latin irrelevant. Clark was of the opinion that boys in this

¹ Edinburgh, Maclachlan & Stewart.

² Ibid., p. 14.

³ Cambridge Essays, Contributed by Members of the University, London: Parker, 1855. (pp. 282-308, General Education and Classical Studies, by William George Clark,) 286-7.

class were removed from school less because economy forced it than because their parents wanted them to enter the competitive arena of employment. The study of Latin and Greek, in the parents' opinion useless, would have given the sons a liberal education, "a treasure that cannot be gotten for gold, and whose price is above rubies".¹

The reasons for increasing criticism of the grammar schools lay in the schools, in society, and in the interaction between them. In many respects - accommodation, behaviour and teaching - many schools had declined, the situation being ripe for the great reformer Thomas Arnold, headmaster of Rugby from 1828 to 1842. ^{was increasing, and industrial progress} The population/led to a growth of manufacturing and mercantile groups in the towns. There were more families able to afford to educate their sons and not wishing to send them to the traditional grammar schools with their generally limited curriculum. Some made provision for an alternative kind of education, described sometimes as modern studies, in which there was some teaching of Latin, English, modern languages, science and commercial subjects in varying proportions. As the classical curriculum was that followed by those destined, or intended, to be scholars and gentlemen, the other division of the school tended to be second-best in status,

¹ Ibid., p. 291.

and at times in staff as well as quality of pupils.

Early in the second half of the century three official enquiries were held in England into schools of various kinds. Known by the names of their respective chairmen, they were the Newcastle Commission, appointed in 1858 to inquire into popular education; the Clarendon Commission, appointed in 1861 to inquire into nine public schools (in the English sense of the term: Eton, Harrow, Rugby and six others); and the Taunton Commission, set up in 1864 to inquire into the education provided by the schools not covered by the other two. The Taunton Commissioners reported in 1868.

A broad grouping of schools into three grades formed a framework for their deliberations. The groups were not explicitly based on social class, but this was a strong element in the divisions when these were observed in terms of the background of the pupils. The First Grade of education was that in which parents were willing to keep their children at school until 18 or 19 years of age. The Second Grade indicated that children would stay until about 16; the Third Grade, about 14.¹

The Edgbaston Proprietary School was of the Second

¹ John William Adamson, English Education, 1789 - 1902, Cambridge: Univ. Press, 1964, passim., Gt. Brit., Schools Inquiry Commission, Vol. 1, General Report, Vol. 8, op.cit., passim.

Grade, with 17 boarders and 65 day scholars, making a total of 82. Proprietary schools were the private property of a number of individuals or of a corporate body. Attendance cost less than at the public schools. To some extent they owed their origin to action by parents who were aiming to secure for their children the kind of education they wanted for them, an education not dominated by the classics as formerly in the grammar schools, with a neglect of mathematics, science, modern languages and English. Other factors were the poor reputation of many schools of older types, and the wish of dissenters and other non-Anglicans to have their children in schools not closely connected with the Church of England.

Edgbaston, established in 1838, offered classical education and other courses. Thomas Hill Green,¹ the Assistant Commissioner for the area, reported that it was founded "mainly by Unitarians". It aimed to "give to boys destined for commercial life at once the necessary education and as much general cultivation as possible, while at the same time it should be available as a preparation for universities". Writing of conditions in 1865, Green said that "the attempt to combine the classical and

¹ T. H. Green was an important influence in the life of Weigall of Sydney Grammar School. (M. W. MacCallum, In Memory of Albert Bythsea Weigall, Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1913, 15.)

the modern education has not succeeded at Edgbaston". Less than one sixth of the pupils were learning Greek, and "the Latin scholarship was clearly at a low ebb. The exercises which I saw of 12 boys in the second-class from the top, though not at all difficult, were full of gross grammatical blunders". The other subjects were taught with greater success, being more in keeping with the boys' educational background, their home environment, and their future employment hopes. Most were not aiming to attend a university, and were not preparing for a professional career. Boys in these two categories, if their parents could afford it, would probably be sent to boarding-schools at a distance, or to the Grammar School in Birmingham. An aim of those who began the Proprietary School was "giving a good general education to boys destined for business", but success would have required good early schooling before the boys enrolled, and their remaining at school until 17 or 18 years of age.¹

In the year before Green's observation of the school, Badham addressed a large audience at the Annual Distribution of Prizes. The substance of his address comprises Thoughts on Classical and Commercial Education, a pamphlet of twenty-nine pages.

W. G. Clark had divided English education into four classes: primary, commercial, liberal and professional.²

¹ ibid., Vol. 1, (154), Vol. 8, 211-12.

² Cambridge Essays, 286.

These elements can be discerned in Badham's comments, although not categorised in the same way. He urged the essential unity of education:

The distinction between a Classical and a Commercial School [He had said his was both] is altogether fallacious; it implies that in some way or other the training which fits a young man for business is different from that which prepares him for professional life, and that either in the things to be taught, or in the method of teaching them, there is and ought to be a marked difference... The point which claims our attention at present, and of which the importance cannot be exaggerated, is this:- Call the subjects to be taught by what name you will, or vary them in whatever manner you please, the mode of teaching can be but one. Those who are not taught classically are not taught at all. If a school is to be called commercial because it teaches what is useful for commerce, it has no less right to be called classical if it indeed teaches according to the true sense of the term.¹

This is playing with words, and telling the parents what he thinks they would like to hear.

He said that some people think "that everything which is commercial is and ought to be vulgar, and that a commercial education has no business with anything in the shape of refinement".² Some, in keeping with this notion, would consider a school with scholars and gentlemen for masters to be certain not to be commercial enough for what they want.

These false impressions undoubtedly arise from the stupid and inhuman system which has long prevailed

¹ Charles Badham, Thoughts on Classical and Commercial Education, [7] - 8.

² Ibid., p. 9.

in what are popularly called Classical Schools; that is to say, in schools where the few clever boys learn Latin and Greek, and the many dull ones learn nothing whatever.¹

He thought the School should teach what was needed by those entering the business world, and teach it "like scholars and not like pedants, developing the thought of the pupil. . . furnishing him with principles, not merely cramming him with facts".² He urged parents to keep their sons at school longer; "the future tradesman will be something more than a tradesman. . . the more he prospers, the less he will be satisfied with the rank which mere wealth confers".³

Notwithstanding Green's subsequent adverse comments, Badham spoke at length and with confidence on the teaching of Latin, emphasising the approach suited to boys of medium capacity. "Writing bad verses in a dead language" had been abandoned.

The fact is that in this, as in many other instances, the many are sacrificed to the few; for the sake of the half-dozen⁴ in each class who are likely to carry these interesting wares to the University market, and thereby to achieve triumphs for their school and life-long endowments for themselves, a score or two of plodding boys are wasting in these peurilities the years which might have made them good French and

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid., p. 10.

³ Ibid., p. 11.

⁴ An exaggerated figure in 1864.

German linguists if not scholars.¹

In his view, he said to that audience, less attention should be given to Greek. It was learnt at school in preparation for the University, learnt at the University, and forgotten. Greek scholars are needed in a country, but one asks "whether we could not obtain the small quantity of precious metal, which we are in search of, without all this litter and this vast encumbrance of slag".²

Badham spoke of Grammar School education of the old kind, which tried to produce men with qualities of both the scholar and the gentleman, with some success, and "to make all gentlemen scholars; but in this its success was very partial indeed".³ When boys have learnt what is needed of language, "at least one-half of those under education will be occupied in a more wholesome and profitable manner in mathematical or physical sciences, or history, or geography".⁴ Boys would no longer leave school knowing nothing because they had been instructed in subjects for which they had no capacity, and given no opportunity to learn those for which they were fitted.

He emphasised the schooling of "boys of middling capacity. . . who far out-number all the rest, and have

¹ Ibid., p. 17.

² Ibid., p. 18.

³ Ibid., p. 24.

⁴ Ibid.

therefore most right to be considered".¹ He urged that classes in schools be organised by a "cross division" based on proficiency in mathematics (a comparatively neglected subject) as well as in languages, the usual measure. He deplored the imitation of the great Public Schools by other schools in different circumstances.

It can be gathered that the sentiments expressed were tailored to the audience. But this audience was worthy of the speaker. The parents, in the lively mental climate of Birmingham, were so concerned for their sons' education that they were joint owners of a school whose system excluded "corporal punishment as well as religious teaching",² or had chosen to send their sons to such a school. They were nonconformists in more than religion. So the Greek scholar who was honoured by his peers was able to communicate effectively with the parents of his pupils at the small school in the provincial city. He spoke sincerely, convincingly, with an authority based on profound thinking reinforced with practical experience. The Rev. C. J. Prescott, writing of him in 1915, said that some "look back with disapproval upon Dr. Badham's hopeless conservatism".³ Thoughts on Classical and Commercial

¹ Ibid., pp. 25-6.

² Gt. Brit., Schools Inquiry Commission, Vol. 8, op. cit., 93.

³ S.M.H., 5th April 1915, 5.

Education is a work that belies their opinion.

3. Languages in Education

A complimentary banquet was tendered to Badham in 1883 to honour him on the occasion of his seventieth birthday.¹ It was a different type of audience, and he was in a different role. In his speech he referred to the Greek language, as he thought those present would expect him to. "You will find some persons who seem to regard it as a kind of decayed aunt or godmother, to be sent to a kind of almshouse to be got rid of".² In many addresses and writings he put forward praise of the language itself and of Latin, and the merits of studying them. His reasons were broadly two. Firstly, the study of the languages exercises the mental faculties - and he thought classics and logic properly studied together, as at Oxford - and trains students in discrimination and taste in the use of their own tongue. Secondly, the literature enshrines a nobility of thought and action which can enrich and elevate the lives of those who read it.

Nevertheless, in keeping with his sound sense, he showed that he was not "determined to ram Greek down

¹ Ibid., 22nd Aug. 1883, 5.

² Charles Badham, Speeches. . ., 158. Material in this section is from this work, passim, unless ascribed otherwise.

everybody's throat", although some had said this of him. The University of Sydney report for 1872 includes the By-law which he had instigated, allowing for the exemption from examination in Greek of candidates for matriculation and for degrees in Arts.¹ This was after his second attempt at what he considered to be a reform.

He pleaded, at the 1874 Commemoration, for a greater exercise of memory, to stock students' minds with words of the languages they are learning. On the other hand, mere diligence without appreciation of a work as a whole was barren and useless.

Badham supported the teaching of French and German. French was available to some at Edgbaston. For this, "it was necessary to make a great sacrifice: of prejudice and of nothing else; to make a clean sweep of Latin verses".² This was at a time when French particularly was considered a study for girls, with the result that a parent, travelling abroad or entertaining a foreigner in England, would find himself "like Oedipus deserted by his sons, and depending upon his daughters for guidance".³

Nevertheless, in his Adhortatio ad Juventutem Academicam

¹ N.S.W., V. & P., 1872-3, III, 9, vide supra, pp. 101-2.

² Charles Badham, Thoughts on Classical and Commercial Education, 16-17.

³ Ibid., p. 16.

Sydneiensium of 1869, Badham argued against "a most shrewd man once a fellow citizen of ours and now a treasury official in England",¹ who thought that modern languages are better than the classics for a liberal education.

He felt strongly about English language and literature, which were a revered part of his own culture and worthy of the best teaching. He knew what fine phrases could descend to: "some men have become such perfect masters of language that they can speak about nothing".² He said that to learn good English the student should read good English, and to learn to write it, he should translate into English from good authors in other languages.³ He pleaded for the purity of the language, and attacked a number of words and usages now accepted.⁴ The changing society, in which so many people made speeches on a variety of subjects publicising their opinions on anything, and in which cheap literature abounded, was in his view a factor leading to an unfortunate pollution. The remedy lay in the schools:

Whether in England or in its colonies, if we wish to preserve our language, we must see that it be properly taught; and for this purpose we must encourage the

¹ Charles Badham, Speeches. . ., 22, (trans. from the Latin). Presumably he is referring to Robert Lowe, later Viscount Sherbrooke.

² Ibid., p. 74.

³ Ibid., p. 79.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 77-8.

reading of its purest models - a thing everywhere shamefully neglected; for it is not the grammarian in his study who can preserve a language from pollution and decay. The language of a people can have no other guardian but the people itself. Make our boys and girls familiar with the great masters of English, and when they grow up they will resent the innovations which the conceit of originality or slovenliness of popularity are always striving to foist upon us.¹

4. Extension Work

When Badham wrote to the Rev. W. B. Clarke about a boy who might be awarded a bursary, he advised that the boy should continue with his studies while awaiting news, "referring to me in all his difficulties".² At the complimentary banquet in 1883 William Bede Dalley, who proposed the toast to the guest of honour, said that Badham had brought with him to Australia "a sympathy with every struggling student almost parental in its intensity".³ He taught Latin privately to Emily Baxter, founder of the Argyle School, at a time when women were not permitted to attend the University.⁴ He lectured in country towns when occasion offered, for example in Tenterfield in 1883.⁵

¹ Ibid., p. 35.

² Letter of 8th October 1877 (D.L.)

³ S.M.H., 22nd Aug. 1885, 5.

⁴ Ibid., 8th June 1967, Women's Supp. 6.

⁵ Charles Badham, Speeches. . . , 147.

When Headmaster at Edgbaston, Badham had been connected with the work of the Birmingham and Midland Institute, which aimed to make education available to a wide range of citizens, in subjects intended to assist them in their vocations and subjects that were intended to widen their horizons. The latter purpose was to be served, presumably, by a series of lectures in 1856:

The Rev. Dr. Badham, head master of the Proprietary School, offered to teach a class in the Industrial Department, and deliver a course of lectures on 'Language in Relation to the Laws of Thought and to Moral Science'. The first of this course was delivered on the 13th of February, 1856. Some days before the commencement of the course, Dr. Badham addressed a circular to the working classes, explaining his purpose in delivering these lectures.¹

How the audience received the lectures is not known, but the Institute attracted clerks and similar workers more successfully than artisans and former pupils of the Grammar School in Birmingham.

In Australia his desire to make available to all who wanted it, an opportunity for further education, was translated into action that entailed personal physical effort of a demanding and detailed kind. The different character of life in England - the smaller problems posed by distance, although isolation was often real; the greater availability,

¹ John Alfred Langford, Modern Birmingham and its Institutions, 2 vols., Birmingham: E. C. Osborne, 1873-77, II, 506.

even in rural areas, of people of education who could aid the sincere student - and the pressure of his routine work, had provided less scope for missionary zeal and made its exercise less than arduous. What his thoughts of Australia were before 1866 can only be guessed. After his arrival, he spoke of life in the bush as hard and demanding.¹ He looked on his increased leisure as time to be used in scholarly work and in public service, and in the Australian Postscript to his 1878 edition of Philebus he acknowledges his sense of obligation to New South Wales, where his position allowed time and strength for scholarly editorial work. In his first Commemoration address he said that a professor's leisure is not his own, because he must always be accessible to those who seek his help and advice.² This was an early pledge.

The climate must have called for adjustment; he wrote to his son on one occasion: "An Australian summer is a season of hideous listlessness anywhere, unless one can take an interest in something, and I have no strength to interest myself in any pursuit just now".³

In a spirit of sympathy with men struggling to acquire

¹ Charles Badham, Speeches. . . , 31.

² Charles Badham, Speeches. . . , 3 - 4.

³ Letter from Duntroon dated 17th Jan. (no year).
Badham Correspondence etc.

knowledge, he offered, in a letter sent to newspapers in various parts of the State, to guide studies and correct exercises in French and Latin. The invitation was to people who lacked help because of isolation or shortage of money.

Sir,

I believe that there are many persons in the colony who, while they work hard for their bread, desire to bestow their scanty leisure upon the acquisition of knowledge. Not a few of these would gladly master the French or the Latin language. . .

To all such, I desire to offer myself as a private tutor. . .

Let us agree upon two exercise books, one for French and the other for Latin. Let each student translate as much as he can, and at the end of each quarter let him send in his work by post, appending to it any question which may have perplexed him. I will. . . return it to him with corrections and observations. . . My offer is to men not to boys. . . If the teachers in schools, clerks, mechanics and others avail themselves, as much as I hope they will, of this opportunity, I shall have enough to do. . .

I am, Sir, yours, & c.,¹
Charles Badham.¹

By October 1869 the Colonial Secretary was being pressed for answers to questions about public money. Did travelling expenses for Dr. Badham exist, what was the amount, what was the public business concerned, or what official duty was Dr. Badham carrying out?

Robertson said in reply on 12th October:

1. The Government had undertaken to defray the travelling expenses of Dr. Badham, in order to enable him to explain to the people of the interior his education scheme by means of correspondence with him through the post, on the single condition that such expenses did

¹ Charles Badham, Speeches. . ., xxiv.

not exceed £100 per annum. 2. The sum of £20 had been received by Dr. Badham for the expense of his journey to Bathurst, Orange, Wellington, Dubbo and Mudgee, and he had furnished an account of £15 for the expense of his journeying to Hinton, West Maitland, Murrurundi, Tamworth, and Armidale. 3. The public business transacted by Dr. Badham in the course of his travels had been to assist public education, to facilitate the intellectual improvement of all classes of the colonists who might desire to avail themselves of Dr. Badham's leisure and intelligence, and generally to help forward a scheme of popular education which had already met with success and hearty encouragement.¹

Later in the month, in calling for the relevant documents to be tabled, J. Stewart spoke caustically of the scheme and of Dr. Badham as promoter. He questioned his competence, and described him as touting for pupils. Robertson supported Badham, and spoke sadly of the University: "the magnificent building had, up to this time, been nearly fruitless; he might almost say quite fruitless". Dr. Lang regretted the tone of Stewart's speech about "a gentleman admitted to be one of the most eminent scholars of Europe".²

It transpired that Badham had made a written request for £100 for a period of twelve months towards his travelling expenses for visiting "the interior of the Colony and some of the towns of the Coast", in connection with developing his plan to aid adults who wished "to apply themselves

¹ S.M.H., 13th Oct. 1869, 2.

² Ibid., 27th Oct. 1869, 6; N.S.W., V. & P., 1869, I, 29.

to liberal branches of study".¹

In October 1869 he had over forty students.² Piddington implies that one was William Cullen, who became Chancellor of the University.³ Another, and perhaps more typical, was Martin Brennan, a member of the Police Force who became a Senior Superintendent. In 1900 he wrote that he was Badham's first correspondence pupil in Latin, and that he sent exercises for correction for seven years. His account, full of enthusiasm after nearly three decades, includes an exchange of letters about the correctness of the sentence "He is gone". Brennan was disputing the opinion of an officer of the "Education Department", who said it was correct form. On this rare occasion Badham agreed with the "Department".⁴

Sometimes in a Commemoration address he would refer briefly to the correspondence scheme - in 1871, for example, he said "it is not dead, though some people have thought that it was because I have not cared to speak about it".⁵ It did die, long before its mortal creator. As early as

¹ Ibid., 1870, II, 627-8.

² S.M.H., 29th Oct. 1869, 8.

³ A. B. Piddington, op. cit., 119.

⁴ Martin Brennan, Reminiscences of the Gold Fields, Sydney: William Brooks & Co., 1907, 332-5.

⁵ Charles Badham, Speeches. . ., 34.

1869 he had stated he might need help and would in any event like to see the creation of a Board, since this could have a continuing life.¹ His particular plan ceased, but was important as an early example of extension work by a man University-based, and as an influence on many people, including a number not directly involved as pupils, who benefited from those who were. One pupil was Joseph Carruthers, later Minister for Public Instruction.² How many were teachers in the schools is not known, and their special influence cannot be measured.

5. Tasmania, 1872.

It was a tribute to the Professor's reputation that the education authorities in Tasmania invited him in 1872 to visit Hobart "to conduct the examination of male candidates for the A. A. degree and the Tasmanian Scholarships".³ The degree of Associate of Arts was approximately equivalent to a qualification at the end of the first year of a university course; the Scholarship examinations approximated

¹ Ibid., p. 20. The University Extension Board was created in 1891 to carry on and develop the extension lectures which began in 1886. (Barff, op. cit., 110.)

² R. J. Burns, Secondary Education and Social Change in New South Wales and Queensland before 1914, 36. (Unpublished Ph. D. thesis, Univ. of Sydney.)

³ Material in this section is from The Mercury, September 1872 issues, passim, unless ascribed otherwise.

to one given at the end of the third year, that is, to a university degree examination.¹ He himself was the Examiner in English, Greek, Latin and French, while M. H. Irving, Principal of Wesley College and formerly Professor at Melbourne University, was responsible for Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, and Dr. C. H. Bromby, Bishop of Tasmania, for Chemistry.

Badham arrived on 6th September, and succeeding issues of the Hobart newspaper, The Mercury, report the examining, the results, the formal announcement of the results at the ceremony at the Town Hall, and the gay luncheon which followed at the Assembly Rooms, where it was Badham's task to propose the toast to their Council of Education.

The ceremony at the Town Hall, held at noon on 24th September, was essentially the Council's annual public meeting. While the audience awaited the arrival of the Governor, the organist played selections from Faust and other operas, and Mendelssohn's Wedding March. The Hall was packed, and before reading the Examiners' Report on behalf of the Examiners, Badham delivered a speech on the value of scholarship to the individual and to society.² In the leader on the following day, The Mercury called it "a plucky and eloquent

¹ University of Tasmania, University Papers I, 1875.

² The text in Speeches. . ., 56-9, appears to be a revised and polished version of the report in The Mercury, 25th Sept. 1872.

defence", perhaps one-sided, but persuasive.

In his own section of the Report, he suggested changes in the scheme of study which he considered desirable after his reading of the candidates' papers. He said, in part, that a separate, single subject should cover History and Geography, at present arranged as part of English, "and that such a relative value should be given to these subjects as fairly belongs to matters which require no exercise of any faculty save memory". English language should be taught differently, analysis as previously acquired out of "a repulsive text-book" (already identified by him as by Morell) should be replaced by a broader approach to sentence construction, and more weight should be given to English composition.

6. Conflict in New South Wales

It is idle to conjecture about the attitudes Badham might have adopted and the role he might have played in educational matters in New South Wales if he had been a member of the Council of Education, the body responsible for the public school system under the Public Schools Act of 1866.

On 10th March 1876, after a letter on education from Badham to the Premier had been read to the members,¹ the

¹ Vide infra, Section D.

Legislative Assembly called for the tabling of all correspondence on public education between Badham and the Council.¹

The Under Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction sought information from William Wilkins, Secretary to the Council. On the preceding day Wilkins had asked Henry Parkes for any recollection he may have had from his period as President, since nothing was recorded at the Council's office. Wilkins remembered that in (he thought) 1868, Badham had sent him a note "in which he intimated his willingness to inspect schools". Parkes replied: "Your letter calls to my recollection very faintly the fact of some offer of this kind", but between them they could produce no definite information.² On 14th March Wilkins wrote to the Under Secretary that no record of correspondence could be found.³

The Under Secretary also wrote to Badham, who replied on 28th March that "no correspondence has taken place between the Council of Education and myself". He continued:

The observations which I have had to make on the quality of education in primary schools have been made in three different ways. I. I have spoken repeatedly to Dr. Smith for several years past upon this subject, and indeed, it was the refusal

¹ N.S.W., V. & P., 1875-6, V, 213.

² Parkes Correspondence, vol. 2. M.L., A872, 166-170.

³ N.S.W., V. & P., loc. cit.

of that gentleman to interfere with the Inspectors, conveyed to me at our last conversation, which decided me upon taking the step of addressing a letter to the Colonial Secretary, which letter was read in the Legislative Assembly. I have also on several occasions urged this matter upon the Hon. Thomas Holt, and called the attention of Mr. Duncan to the subject, as also of another gentleman who has long ceased to be a member of the Council. II. In conjunction with the other Examiners of the University, I have, in reports of the public Examinations of the years 1871, 72, 73, expressed myself very strongly on the defective teaching of English in the Public Schools. III. I held the same language when examined before Captain Onslow's Committee, with regard to the Civil Service. Moreover, my allusions to this topic in addressing public meetings, and the comments made on a speech of mine by the Editors of a "Journal of Education", which was conducted by members of the staff of officers employed by the Council of Education, cannot but have made it notorious to any one who cared ever so little for the subject, that I was altogether dissatisfied with the Council for leaving the choice of books and method to their subordinates.

If some members of the Council were unacquainted with these facts, and never thought it worth their while to inspect the school books used, they must have trusted to their colleagues; and this reliance of one upon another, and the ignorance arising therefrom, are, in my opinion, as strong an argument as can be alleged against the efficiency of a Board, however well constituted.¹

His opinions, then, had been made known in conversations with men of standing and influence, including his University colleague Professor John Smith, member and in 1876 and other years President of the Council; in reports of the Examiners on the Public Examinations; and in public pronouncements, or pronouncements which were subsequently

¹ Ibid.

published. The phrases ". . . my allusions . . . cannot but have made it notorious. . . that I was altogether dissatisfied with the Council for leaving the choice of books and method to their subordinates" embody what sounds like the conceit and intrusion of the on-looking Professor. But Badham felt it his duty to speak, and furthermore he was more than an on-looker, being the dominant personality in the examinations which linked together, in an uneasy union, the University and schools of all kinds. A second leader in the Sydney Morning Herald, commenting on evidence given before what Badham had referred to as "Captain Onslow's Committee, with regard to the Civil Service", saw him as a key figure whose criticism could not be ignored, because

The Public schools are at the basis of our educational system - the University is at the summit. It is of great importance that the two extremes should harmonise with each other - that the schools should lead up to the University and that the University should communicate its spirit to the schools.¹

Badham, with his English experience to call on, a good conceit of himself, for the most part well-founded, and "by instinct a fighting man", ² said what he thought. The tone he adopted was sometimes hectoring and supercilious, and a factor causing this may well have been his

¹ S.M.H., 24th Sept. 1872, 4.

² T. Butler, "A History of the University", Hermes, Jubilee Number, 1902, 15.

lack of sympathy, on social grounds, with Wilkins, the erstwhile pupil-teacher. Badham could speak with sincere feeling about people of all ranks, but in personal dealings his own human weaknesses sometimes conflicted with his abstract sentiments. Wilkins wrote to the Herald after the leader dealing with the Select Committee on the Civil Service, to refute criticisms made by Badham, and the latter's reply was in terms that reduced the Secretary's life-work to a cipher. He was surprised, he wrote of Wilkins,

. . .that he should so completely identify himself with a cause which concerns him only so far as it concerns every member of the community. Nobody supposes that it is part of the functions of a secretary to direct, or even to assist, the deliberations of the Board which employs his services.

Wilkins was not held responsible, Badham went on, for any one of the regulations on public education in New South Wales.¹

Wilkins's rejoinder was that the reply was "in such egotistical and flippant terms as makes one regret that his entire devotion to the study of Greek has prevented his acquiring a rudimentary knowledge of the laws which regulate intercourse between GENTLEMEN".²

This was the tone of the relationship between Badham

¹ S.M.H., 16th Oct. 1872, 3.

² William Wilkins, Letter dated 11th Oct. 1872, Journal of Primary Education, N.S. 2, Nov. 1872, 19.

and the chief officer of the State's system of public education.

Badham was ex officio a Trustee of the Sydney Grammar School, but appears not to have taken a large part in its affairs. (At least one of his sons attended the King's School, Parramatta.) In September 1867 it was resolved

that a Committee consisting of Dr. Badham, Mr. Windeyer, Mr. Stenhouse & the Chairman be appointed to confer with the Head Master & to report to the Trustees on the propriety of reducing the fees & generally on. . . other matters relating to the school which may be brought under their notice by the Head Master.¹

As a result of the report, fees were reduced.² Also in 1867, he and Professor Pell were appointed Examiners for Foundation Scholarships. An Examining Board of four, which included the Headmaster and Mathematical Master, were to choose Foundation Scholars, of whom not more than three were chosen each year to receive a free education.³ Badham attended none of the twelve meetings called in the year ending 30th April 1877,⁴ but was elected Chairman of the Board in December of that year. He resigned from this position in August 1878.⁵

¹ Sydney Grammar School, Rough Minute Book of the Trustees, 2nd Sept. 1867.

² N.S.W., V. & P., 1868-9, III, 760.

³ Ibid., pp. 759-60.

⁴ Ibid., 1876-7, I, 242.

⁵ Ibid., 1879-80, III, 489.

The endowed Grammar School, Newington, King's and all other private schools formed a world apart from the public schools, to which the Professor directed his criticism. He found fault with the system, the methods of teaching, and what was taught.

A. The System

"Your elementary school education is in the hands of pupil teachers who are young and ignorant, and controlled by pupil teachers who are ignorant and antiquated".¹ This remark about New South Wales, attributed to a German educationist, contains some of the essence of Badham's complaints about the system of public education. The remainder is to be found in his conviction that a Minister responsible to Parliament should be in charge of education financed from public funds, instead of a Council of laymen.² This was proposed from time to time; for example, in 1872,³ 1876 and 1879.⁴ It became law with the Public Instruction

¹ Quoted by Francis Anderson, "The University and National Education", Hermes, Jubilee Number, 1902, 15.

² Charles Badham, Speeches. . ., 84-5, 90.

³ "The University and Primary Schools", Australian Journal of Education, 1, Jan., 1872, 168.

⁴ On 4th March 1879 Dr. Bowker moved in Parliament that a Bill should be brought in to place education in the hands of a responsible Minister instead of the Council. Parkes tried to change the wording to ". . . and to render the school administration responsible to Parliament". N.S.W., V. & P., 1878-9, I, 315.

Act of 1880.¹ In addition to disapproving of the administrative structure, Badham thought that the members of the Council left too much to their Secretary and others, particularly in relation to what was taught: "that part of their functions which has to do with the substance of teaching and its results, they have from the first left to their subordinates. . ."²

The system was rigidly organised, with a corps of Inspectors as key agents. Wilkins was convinced of the great importance of inspectors in New South Wales, and of their having been practicing teachers.³ In Badham's view, "this hierarchy of Secretary and Inspectors is fraught with latent despotism to the unfortunate schoolmaster".⁴ Badham's own attacks may have been a factor in the emergence of adverse comments from a few teachers. The Journal of Primary Education, which has been described as "largely an organ for the expression of the Council's official viewpoint",⁵ in April 1874 carried a note seldom heard: "The Council and its Secretary. . . assume that their regulations

¹ Vide infra, Section D.

² Charles Badham, op. cit., 84-5.

³ Clifford Turney, The History of Education in New South Wales, 1788-1900, II, 780-782. (Unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of Sydney.

⁴ Charles Badham, op. cit., 90.

⁵ Clifford Turney, op. cit., II, 910.

are perfect. . . we are immaculate, do not presume to criticise, your duty is to obey. . . Dare not express an opinion. . ."¹ Wilkins phrased it differently: "In our Public Schools, the subjects of instruction deemed necessary are prescribed in considerable detail, and teachers are relieved from the responsibility of making a selection for themselves".²

There was a line of progression from school-days to pupil-teacher to teacher to head-master to inspector, with for some a period of formal training within the system and further examinations, with a closed circle of impressions and stimulus. The administrative head had himself progressed in this way, but with the benefit of training and working in England at the beginning stages. This meant a fresh view when he arrived in the Colony, but the rate of expansion, the population and geographic factors, and the lack of sufficient well-trained teachers led him to put into effect a detailed and precise prescription for the public schools and all connected with them, especially the taught, the teachers and the inspectors, and their physical environment in buildings, equipment and grounds. The situation was not conducive to initiative and independence on the

¹ "Mr. Parkes and the Teachers' Association", Journal of Primary Education, N.S.1, Apr. 1874, 227.

² William Wilkins, The Principles that Underlie the Art of Teaching, Sydney: Govt. Pr., 1886, 39.

part of the teacher, and the administration was so organized that these qualities had virtually no place. Nevertheless Wilkins sincerely believed teachers to be members of what he had "termed, and believe(d) to be, the noblest of professions."¹ Nothing could diminish the importance of the crucial point in education, the relationship in the class-room between the pupil and his teacher.

Badham wrote in 1876 that if a Minister were in charge of primary education, he would not "be content to rely upon the mere experience of a staff of gentlemen whose ideas are products of a single system, and who can scarcely be expected to see beyond the routine in which their own minds have been trained."²

He was a peripatetic critic, travelling widely in New South Wales in connection with his correspondence coaching scheme and, later, his work for the founding of bursaries. On his early tours, and at ceremonies such as the opening of the Public School at Sutton Forest, he did not hesitate to state his views, for the most part unfavourable, on the teaching in the schools, with some critical remarks on inspectors.

The Australian Journal of Education, described by him in 1876 as "a scholastic magazine, long since dead",³

¹ William Wilkins, op. cit., 72.

² Charles Badham, Speeches. . ., 85.

³Ibid., p. 91.

provided a forum in which those he castigated could retaliate. The Journal has on its title-page: "conducted by a committee, appointed at a meeting of teachers under the Council of Education. . . published. . . for the Australian Journal of Education Committee, 1868". On the verso appear the names of the Committee. W. Wilkins, Esq., is Chairman, and J. Gardiner, Esq., Vice-Chairman.

The issues for November 1868, July and August 1869 include articles with the title Dr. Badham and the Council of Education. The first article criticises the Sutton Forest speech, in which he attacked "the Council. . . , the regulations, the books, and in short the whole system". The writer in effect accuses Badham of injuring the Council to which he especially should be loyal, since he had accepted honorary office under it as an Examiner of teachers; of making unwise speeches about the University; and of speaking in sneering terms when not long in the Colony and not well informed about it.¹

In 1871 Wilkins, giving evidence before the Committee on the Civil Service, informed the members that the Council's Board of Examiners for teachers comprised Mr. Gardiner, the paid examiner, and four others who gave their services gratuitously, namely, Dr. Badham, Professor Pell, Mr. Weigall, Headmaster of Sydney Grammar School, and the Rev. W.B. Clarke.²

¹ Australian Journal of Education, 1, 2nd Nov. 1868, 370-372.

² N.S.W., V. & P., 1872-73, I, 685.

Badham had been an examiner virtually since the beginning. The Council's 1867 Report announced that Badham and Weigall of the Grammar School were willing to act on a Board of Examiners to test teachers seeking higher class certificates.¹ The Council's records include a request to him in 1868 for a paper in Logic "for the examination of Teachers who are desirous of obtaining First Class Certificate".² In the following year the Acting-Secretary thanked him for his suggestions concerning examining in French, to some of which the Council agreed.³

In his 1871 Commemoration Address Badham said his "friend, Dr. Smith, is deeply sensible of the advantage of having graduates to fill those higher places in the public schools from which he desires that future inspectors should be chosen".⁴ But Dr. Smith of the Council said: "We have made a rule, which has, indeed, been objected to by some persons, to the effect that we shall appoint no one to be an Inspector who has not proved his efficiency as a

¹ Ibid., 1867-8, IV, 236.

² N.S.W., Council of Education, Out-Letter Book, 1 Jun. - 7 Jul. 1868, Letter of 20th June 1868, 68-4028, (N.S.W. Archives, 1/480).

³ Ibid., V, Letter of 24th November 1869, 69-9525, (N.S.W. Archives, 1/487).

⁴ Charles Badham, op. cit., 39.

schoolmaster beforehand".¹ And the teachers and their pupils could not afford University education.

The Journal of Primary Education invited comment from its readers,² and received it. "Primary School Teachers as Primary School Inspectors" was the banner-like title of an article in the September issue, in which the advantages of this method of recruitment were put forward. Physical strength, moral courage, knowledge of school conditions were needed.³ In October a letter from Justitia stated that people "have at last made the startling discovery that inspectors of schools ought to be gentlemen. Of course it is easily seen what their real object is, and what they comprehend by the term gentlemen". He mentioned the "ill-disguised selfishness" of the aims of those putting forward the notion.⁴

In the claims made for poor teachers to be helped toward university studies by exhibitions and bursaries, a writer, caustic about Badham without naming him, said that men of "pseudo-aristocratic feeling" were hostile about "any attempt to raise the humble classes from 'their

¹ Speech at Kiama, quoted in Journal of Primary Education, 1, Aug. 1871, 7.

² Ibid., p. 17.

³ Ibid., Sept. 1871, 37-40.

⁴ Ibid., Oct. 1871, 93.

proper level'". He asked for teachers to be examined in various towns, because they could afford neither attendance at lectures nor the trip to Sydney to be examined. "We should feel proud", he went on, "to see a score of Primary School Teachers in possession of degrees".¹ The one he had denigrated had already said at the University: "We cannot expect that all who would fain do so will be able to come from the distant parts of this colony to attend our lectures; but why should not some of our most distinguished students do the same work in distant centres which we are doing here?"²

On 13th December 1871 Badham appeared before the Select Committee on the Civil Service, which had been set up to inquire into, and report on, the organisation of the Service, and appointments and promotion of staff.³ Anthony Trollope the novelist, who had been an official in the Postal Department in England, had appeared during the previous week.⁴ Badham's evidence touched on a number of topics.

For the most part, his tone was temperate, but on

¹ "The University and Primary Schools", ibid., Dec. 1871, 133.

² Charles Badham, op. cit., 39.

³ N.S.W., V. & P., 1872, II, 654.

⁴ Ibid., p. 681.

this occasion also he alienated the public school world. Asked whether he thought the schools would train youths who would be efficient clerks in the civil service, he said "No, not as at present conducted". He thought the exclusion of history was "fatal", and that a foreign language should be taught. The system was "too mechanical"; they taught "what is called parsing and analysis", but as an Examiner he would say "they do not teach them the real knowledge of language, nor do they teach them to think. It seems to me that the instruction in the Public schools partakes largely of rote work, and that there is very little exercise of the intellect". The Sydney Morning Herald gave publicity to these comments in a leader, which said the schools were not intended to elevate in life the clever few, but to be "a universal preventative of ignorance".¹

He spoke well of the teachers, who were improving. "I think, as a general rule, the best class of masters are as good as you could possibly hope to get".² On being asked his opinion of the practice of appointing Inspectors for the school teachers, he said he did not by any means think it a good system,

unless the public school masters are themselves graduates of some University, or bring with them

¹ S.M.H., 24th Sept. 1872, 4.

² N.S.W., V. & P., 1872, II, 685-90, passim.

some certificate of thorough mental training, and undertake the office for so many years simply to qualify themselves by experience in teaching to become Inspectors. An Inspector ought to know what the duties of a master are, and he cannot know them unless he has been a master himself. But an Inspector ought to be something more than a mere master, because it would rest with him to suggest many reforms and modifications of branches of instruction, and no mere National schoolmaster can be expected to do that, because probably he will be very well satisfied with and believe only in his own system.

734. He will be blind to the defects of the system in which he has been brought up? Yes.

735. Would you make it a sine qua non that every Inspector should have graduated at some University? I do not like making an artificial test of that sort, because it might so happen that of two men who were desirous of taking the post the better man should have no University degree. An University degree is, after all, only a means to an end. A man may possess all the qualifications of mental training without having gone through a University.

736. How are Inspectors chosen in England? They are all graduates.¹

Again there was a reaction. Wilkins wrote to the Sydney Morning Herald, on 14th October 1872 after the second leader of 24th September, and his letter was re-published in the Journal of Primary Education in November under the heading Mr. Wilkins and Dr. Badham.² Wilkins affirmed that the charges made at the Committee hearing were "wholly and notoriously inapplicable to the Public School system", but did not deal with the question of the Inspectors.

It was an unfortunate and almost tragic antagonism between two men of great ability, striving for the good

¹ Ibid., p. 687.

² N.S. 2, Nov. 1872, 19-24.

of their fellow-citizens, but working on the opposite sides of a chasm formed by their different backgrounds, environment and education. The chasm would not have existed^{between}, or would have been ignored, by men able to feel sympathy or good-will towards each other, but from the beginning the ready and early criticism of the Professor was couched in terms that precluded its impersonal acceptance by any of his targets. It is ironical that an article which sounds like Wilkins' work should have invoked "Canon Mosely, Dr. Morell, Dr. Temple, or twenty other English inspectors",¹ men of the very kind that Badham wished to see in the system in New South Wales. Furthermore, it was Wilkins who wrote of Pestalozzi: "Those who have read his life will reverence the genius, and feel the pathos of the career of this noblest of educationists".²

B. The Methods of Teaching

Giving evidence to the Civil Service inquiry, Badham said he thought the school system "altogether is much too mechanical". He had formed the impression that the pupils were not taught to think. It seemed to him "that the instruction in the public schools partakes largely of rote work, and that there is very little exercise of the intellect".³

¹ "Dr. Badham and the Council of Education", Australian Journal of Education, 1, 2nd Nov. 1868, 372.

² William Wilkins, op. cit., 72.

³ N.S.W., V. & P., 1872, II, 687.

He found fault with the way in which Geography was taught, as lists of place-names. He was sarcastic about the pronunciation of the Guadalquivir River as Gwoddell-quiver. The reason for this method of teaching, he said, was the belief of some that "'The learned man is the man whose mind is well stored with facts.'"¹ A dozen years before he had described his own way:

I have taught. . . (the boys in the Junior Department) geography by walking over England or Europe with them, or by sailing round the globe in their company, thereby delivering their tender minds from the utter abomination of Population, square miles, and the Lutheran religion.²

In the Report of the Examiners to the Senate on the Public Examinations of 1871, the comment was made that Geography was "a comparatively lifeless and repulsive study".³

In Badham's view the art of teaching consisted in bringing a child to realise a want, and then to satisfy it. "This, and this alone, deserves the name of teaching; for what else is teaching of any sort but the calling forth of an intellectual want, and the consequent satisfaction of it?"⁴ Maurice had believed that God was man's teacher, and "'that He taught man first to understand his own real wants,

¹ Charles Badham, Speeches. . ., 89-90.

² Charles Badham, Thoughts on Classical and Commercial Education, 28.

³ Journal of Primary Education, 1, Jan. 1872, 185.

⁴ Charles Badham, op. cit., 15.

and next that He alone was capable of supplying them," and Badham linked this theory with what he had experienced under Pestalozzi.¹ Badham had as his guide the conviction that "'The business of a schoolmaster is not to hear lessons, but to teach.'"²

Although opposed to rote learning and any "mechanical exercise", he thought that the exercise of the memory was excellent training, and essential for a proper command of a classical language. "The perpetual necessity of looking to indices for the meaning of mere words is, of course, a disheartening occupation".³

In 1883 Badham delivered a public lecture at Tenterfield on Shakespeare and Milton. He was still fighting:

I cannot express to you the sense of lifelong disgust and weariness with which I have looked upon your modern system of teaching. Plenty of facts to be repeated by rote. . . . heaps of Geographical names utterly foreign to the feeling of the student. . . . being nothing except stores of rubbish; and what little time is bestowed upon language employed in barbarous technicalities. . . . If we could only attain to some system which should teach our boys and girls the love of reading for its own sake . . . so . . . that they would be fain hereafter to take up the running and to educate themselves.⁴

At this time the Council of Education had given way to a Minister responsible to Parliament, and a government

¹ Charles Badham, Speeches. . ., 86-7.

² Ibid., p. 87.

³ Ibid., pp. 64-5.

⁴ Ibid., p. 149.

department; Wilkins was close to retirement, and the harrier was close to death.

C. The Curriculum

Probably interested people in New South Wales found the conflict about what was taught more tiring than any other, and more readily understood by parents and teachers. It centred mainly around grammatical analysis, but the classics, foreign languages and history were also subjects of earnest argument.

The division between examining and teaching after the institution in 1867 of the Public Examinations conducted by the University was a major cause of disharmony. Primary education, it was said, should be judged by the Reports of the Council of Education and the Inspectors' General Reports, not by the Examiners' Reports to the Senate. Parsing and analysis were emphasised in the school, etymology in the Examinations.¹ Again, ". . . the duty of the teacher of the Primary school is not to prepare a certain number of pupils to pass an ideal examination, but to prepare all his pupils to pass the inspection demanded by the Council . . ."² But this comment appeared in an Editorial which

¹ "The Public Examinations at the University", Journal of Primary Education, 1, Jan. 1872, 169.

² "Report of the Examiners on the University Examinations of 1873", ibid., N.S. 1, March 1874, 195.

set out to study the 1873 Report of the Examiners, to "try to see how we can act upon its teachings to enable our teachers to pass a larger proportion of pupils at the next examination".¹ Common-sense pulled in one direction, aspiration in another. The Journal of Primary Education published the 1871 Report,² and in many issues criticised the examination system as something they wanted to be able to be in keeping with rather than as something they wished to reject.

Early calls by Badham for more Latin in the schools met with opposition. "What are the pupils to do while their Teachers are learning the language?"³ Wilkins would have liked more Latin and French, but the boys and girls, for whom respectively he had these subjects in mind, were not long enough at school. Badham wanted foreign languages studied for their own sake and to improve the study of English. Wilkins put his viewpoint:

. . . I feel bound to express the opinion that a good knowledge of the English language and of English literature may be gained from the study of English alone. . . I . . . believe that a man's education may be quite complete although he should be acquainted with neither.⁴

¹ Ibid., p. 193.

² Ibid., 1, Jan. 1872, 183-6.

³ "Dr. Badham and the Council of Education", Australian Journal of Education, 2, 2nd Aug. 1869, 284.

⁴ S.M.H., 14th Oct. 1872, 3.

The Public Examinations influenced the schools, but the University in turn was affected. The 1871 Report stated that many pupils would have matriculated if Greek were not essential, and continued that this was a reason "for making the study of that language, under certain conditions and restrictions, optional. If the Public Schools of the colony. . . are ever to send students to it in any considerable numbers, it must be through this concession". Furthermore, even private school pupils were affected in enrolling at the University by apprehension about the difficulty of Greek. These reasons weighed with Badham, in fact a suppliant on the University's behalf in its need for more students, when recommending that Greek cease to be compulsory. His other reason - to improve the study of Greek - has already been mentioned.¹

The argument about History as a subject of study involved the community at large.² For the Junior Examination, in the first regulations, for example, "History of England: some period not exceeding four reigns, to be fixed annually", was stipulated; for the Senior, "Civil, Military, and Constitutional History of England during some period not exceeding four reigns; the particular period to be fixed annually". Even Section I, compulsory

¹ Vide supra, p.101.

² Vide supra, pp.71-4.

for both examinations, included, "The outlines of English History since the Conquest; that is, the succession of sovereigns, and the chief events of each reign".¹ In their 1871 Report the Examiners expressed the hope "that the day is not far distant when so necessary a branch of English education will be insisted upon by the Council". Some teachers taught History in their own time to help pupils who were candidates.

Badham told the Select Committee on the Civil Service that he thought "that the exclusion of History, as a subject of instruction in the public schools, is fatal". Wilkins by way of rejoinder pointed out that the advanced reading books contained "a good deal of ancient history". He continued:

But there are serious difficulties in the way of teaching modern history, and especially the History of England. The Denominational difficulty would arise at once. . . . A more formidable difficulty still in this colony would also be evoked - the difficulty arising from the presence of persons of different nationalities. . . . (such as) a mixed class of Irish Catholics and English and Irish Protestants For children, history is utterly valueless as a means of culture, and is equally useless in any other point of view.

Why, he asked, was history not taught at the University?²

The Public Instruction Act of 1880, as indicated

¹ N.S.W., V. & P., 1863-9, III, 754-5.

² S.M.H., 14th Oct. 1872, 3.

previously, made History a part of the curriculum in the state schools.

Controversy was most intense and long-lasting about Grammatical Analysis. The periodicals, newspapers, Examiners' Reports, Examiners' "Few Hints to Candidates", Commemoration Addresses at the University, pamphlets, worried over this bone of contention for years.

The Oxford English Dictionary has the following definition:

Analysis. . . 6. Gram. The ascertainment of the elements composing a sentence or any part of it. esp. (since 1852) Logical, Syntactic, or Sentence Analysis: the resolution of the sentence into elements performing distinct functions in the expression of thought, and thus having definite relations to the whole sentence and to each other, as subject and predicate with their respective enlargements. . .

Wilkins favoured the views of John Daniel Morell, the English philosopher who was inspector of schools from 1848 to 1876, and the author of books on grammatical analysis which had a wide sale.¹

The first subject (Wilkins wrote) that strikes us as necessary for a primary school is Language, by which is to be understood a full knowledge of our mother tongue, including Reading, Writing, Grammar, Analysis of Sentences, and Composition. Thoroughly taught, these branches will represent in primary education the educative power of classics, or philology, in the higher. . . Grammar, with its kindred branches, has been termed a "gymnasium of the mind", exercising beneficially every faculty of our intellectual constitution. According to Morell, "this subject trains

¹ Wilkins acknowledged his indebtedness to Morell for "many leading ideas" in The Principles that underlie the Art of Teaching. (p. 36.)

TITLE-PAGE OF THE ESSENTIALS
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THE
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BY
J. D. MORELL, M.A., LL.D.

ONE OF H. M. INSPECTORS OF SCHOOLS

NEW EDITION



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the mind to reflect perhaps more than any other department of primary instruction whatever. All the elements of logic and even psychology lie implicitly in the principles of grammar. . . ." It is fair to remark that this view is not universally accepted by writers on education. . . . My own opinions incline towards those enunciated by Morell There can at least be no doubt that grammatical studies, properly carried on, assist in the formation of habits of precision in conception and expression, and in the expansion and strengthening of the power of abstract thought.¹

When Badham attacked the teaching of analysis in the schools soon after his arrival, one of the conductors of the Australian Journal of Education, presumably Wilkins, wrote to Morell, whose reply was published in the issue of 14th July 1869. He said objections had also been raised in England, "but they soon died a natural death".

For some time the teachers appeared solidly against Badham, who spoke of the folly of the subject at any opportunity, in country and city. But by 1874 the Journal of Primary Education, in commenting on the 1873 Examiners' Report, said that some teachers were too keen on analysis, and that the publication of a recent work would lead many to the same opinion.² This book appears to have been Inspector James Gardiner's The Analysis of Sentences: a treatise designed for the use of schools under the Council of Education, New South Wales.³ This comment was a crack

¹ William Wilkins, op. cit., 39-40.

² N.S. 1, March 1874, 195-6.

³ Sydney: J. J. Moore, 1873.

MORELL'S GENERAL FORM
OF ANALYSIS

J.D. Morrell, The Essentials
of English Grammar and
Analysis, London: Longmans,
Green, new ed., 1871, 52.

GENERAL FORM OF ANALYSIS.
(See the above sentence.)

	Kind of Sentence.	Subject.	Predicate.	Compl. of Pred.	Extens. of Pred.
<i>a.</i> That man is blessed indeed	Prin. sent. to <i>b, c, d, and e.</i>	That man	is blessed	—	indeed
<i>b.</i> Who noble ends by noble means obtains	Adj. sent. to <i>a.</i>	who	obtains	noble ends	by noble means
<i>c.</i> Or failing, smiles in exile or in chains,	Adj. sent. to <i>a,</i> co-ord. to <i>b,</i> con- tracted in sub.	who (<i>under- stood</i>) failing	smiles	—	in exile or in chains,
<i>d.</i> Like good Aure- lius should he reign	Adv. sent. (concession) to <i>a.</i>	he	should reign	—	like good Aurelius
<i>e.</i> or bleed like Socrates.	Adv. sent. (concession) to <i>a,</i> co-ord. to <i>d,</i> and contracted.	he (<i>understood</i>)	(should) bleed	—	like Socrates

NOTE. — It is recommended to have copy-book paper of a large size ruled all the way down as above. The sentences to be analysed can be separated from each other by leaving one horizontal row blank between them, or by writing each sentence out above the Analysis.

in solidarity indeed. A reviewer said of the book, when criticising it, "the author was conscious that his publication is an anachronism".¹

Badham continued his opposition. The Few Hints to Candidates Preparing for the Junior Public Examination included his views:

IV. Analysis. Many schemes are published in books of education according to which the learner is expected to place in certain squares, arranged for the purpose, the extensions or limitations of the principal subject, or of the predicate, or of the object; and other contrivances are adopted in order to separate the principal subject from its subordinate sentences, or to distinguish subordinate from co-ordinate clauses. The Examiners, in setting sentences for analysis, require no performances of this kind. Their only drift is to ascertain whether the candidate can distinguish the subject from the predicate, or, in other words, the thing of which the writer or speaker is thinking from that which he has to tell us concerning it. If this is done in two or three instances, the Examiners will give as full marks for this species of answers as for any of a more elaborate kind.²

In the Examiners' 1876 Report to the Senate, which received considerable attention because of its appearance close to Badham's pamphlet Primary Education, issued in connection with the 1876 Bill,³ "the minute and subtle analysis of sentences" was called a "barren counterfeit of scientific grammar" and "a cruel waste of teachers'

¹ Journal of Primary Education, N.S. 1, April 1874, 233.

² Manual of Public Examinations, various issues.

³ Vide infra, Section D.

and pupils' time". It was illustrated with extracts from Gardiner's book of 1873 and Morell's Grammar. A number of letters to the Herald draw attention to alleged bad English in the Report, and its "slip-slop" style.¹

What Badham had worked for prevailed. After the Act of 1880, Revised Standards of Proficiency were drawn up. The requirements for Fifth Class included, for the first and second half-year:

Grammar	}	As prescribed for the Senior or Junior Public Examinations at the Sydney University.
Geography		
History		

Subject values were allotted, with Arithmetic, Geometry, Latin and French receiving 100 each. Grammar received 80, made up as follows: Accidence, 10; Parsing, 20; Analysis, 10; Prosody, 10; Composition, 30.

¹ S.M.H., 29th March 1876, 6.

² N.S.W., V. & P., 1885, I, 482-6.

D. The Pamphlets of 1876.

Badham wrote a letter on 1st March 1876 to John Robertson, the Premier. It was occasioned by the Public Schools Act Amendment Bill, and was read to the members of the House of Assembly at the time of the second reading.¹

The Bill was an attempt by Robertson to meet pressures arising from the workings of the Public Schools Act of 1866. The members of the Council of Education were carrying a heavy burden of work, and the activities of the Public Schools League were increasing their impact. The League existed formally from 17th August 1874.² Its leader, the Rev. James Greenwood, was a Baptist Minister committed to changing educational provision in New South Wales. The League's slogan was "Education - National, Compulsory, Secular and Free", and to achieve this it held meetings, produced a Manifesto, and carried out an intensive propaganda campaign. The effectiveness of the League was made possible by changing public attitudes, and the work of the League in turn influenced these attitudes. An increasing proportion of the population were ready to support national education in theory and in practice. Furthermore, the

¹ S.M.H., 9th March 1876, 2.

² A. R. Crane, "The New South Wales Public Schools League", Melbourne Studies in Education, 1964, 199, 202.

concept of secondary education as grammar school education for the children of well-to-do, or well-educated and genteel, parents, was dying. Aspirations to opportunity in a society originally divided strongly by social and occupational class and legal status, but as the century progressed increasingly fluid, nourished demands for changes in education, changes for which parliamentary action was essential.

At the same time the Council of Education as the government agency for education was proving inadequate. The task was too great for men working voluntarily, in time taken from their other pursuits. Ministerial responsibility and a government department were called for. According to an editorial in the Sydney Morning Herald,

The Government is forced without delay to deal with the education question, which is now at a peculiar stage of its development. Hitherto the expenditure of the Government vote for educational purposes has been under the management of a council appointed by the Government. But two members of that Council have resigned, and others are likely to resign, and the President, who is the most active and laborious member of the Council, has intimated that he is anxious to be relieved of his duties, and that the time has come when the care of this department should pass under the control of a responsible Minister. Some new bill, therefore, has to be brought before Parliament. . . . the question. . . . (of what the bill might provide for, such as National or Denominational schooling) has not to be decided simply on its educational merits. Ministers have to consider the political weight of the Denominational vote, and their policy will be guided not by what they think best for the country, but by what they think best for the stability of their Cabinet.¹

¹ S.M.H., 11th Feb. 1876, 4.

SIR ALFRED STEPHEN'S COPY OF
PRIMARY EDUCATION BY BADHAM,

page 1

M.L.

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PRIMARY EDUCATION.

MY DEAR MR. DALLEY,

"Our purple is ever tied with a rougher cord" says one of the old English writers; and here is a new example of it. Just when we were thinking that I should gain a little renown by Theodore Martin's Dedication, up gets an honourable member and demolishes the frail ark of my ambition! It is too plain; I am, and am to be nobody. If you ask the cause of all this despondency, look at the Parliamentary report in the newspapers. Some of the debaters on the new Education Bill are doubtful about my authority being worth much in the matter of primary instruction. Others have no doubt at all; but on their own authority declare mine to be perfectly worthless. It is the old story nothing but authority! No matter how simple, or how purely local a proposition may be, we are never to think for ourselves, because we have the European writers to think for us. The exercise of common sense, or the attempt to form conclusions of our own from the evidence before us, is an invasion of the rights of Herbert Spencer, or John Stuart Mill, or some other of those renowned authors, who have become implements of terror and torture in the hands of these oracles of our country, whose only argument is quotation. As for myself, I will save all doubters about my jurisdiction the trouble of pushing their enquiries any further, by saying that I claim none. My position is one as simple and unpretending as it is

The Council, Dibbs said on 1st March in the Assembly, "was breaking up from internal decay",¹ and those who had not resigned, wished to. The two members who had resigned were Sir Alfred Stephen and the Hon. T. Holt.² The Premier said soon afterwards: "we know that it was now almost impossible to induce suitable persons to accept the position".³

The issue of the Herald which carried the editorial referred to followed it by the announcement that the Premier had in fact outlined the new bill in the House of Assembly, on the previous evening (10th February 1876) which was after the editorial was written. The bill itself, with the projected title of Public Schools Act Amendment Act, was introduced on 11th February. Had it become law, it would have dissolved the Council and placed education in the charge of a Minister of the Crown. It would have made the obtaining of state aid by existing denominational schools more difficult, and by new ones, impossible.⁴

In an atmosphere of conflict and cross-currents between those who opposed secular education and those who favoured it, and between those who favoured state aid to denominational

¹ Ibid., 2nd March 1876, 3.

² Ibid., 11th Feb. 1876, 5. In fact, Stephen remained.

³ Ibid., 9th March 1876, 2.

⁴ Ibid., 12th Feb. 1876, 10

(C. of E. Rept. 1876)

schools and those who opposed it, Badham wrote to the Premier on 1st March. This was an exceptional piece of overt intervention in politics on his part, and the Premier used it. He read the letter to the Assembly during his second reading speech. The Bill itself came to nothing, ostensibly because there had been an error in procedure. This error was used by the Government to kill an unsatisfactory piece of legislation. Aiming to pacify opposing groups, it satisfied neither. The Government was saved on the second reading by a slight majority - a contrived majority, some thought, with subsequent shelving of the bill its price.¹ The episode was, however, a step towards the passing of the Public Instruction Act of 1880.

During the second reading debate, Robertson, holding Badham's letter in his hand, "supposed no gentleman in the colony had given greater attention to the question of education". Parkes spoke against the Bill, sarcastically saying that it appeared to depend on a letter from the Professor of Classics for its justification, and adding that he would not admit that Badham was the highest authority on the subject of primary education.²

In his letter Badham complained again about the teaching of the English language. The old confidence

¹ A. R. Crane, op. cit., p. 213.

² S.M.H., 9th March 1876, 2 - 3.

SIR ALFRED STEPHEN'S COPY OF
PRIMARY EDUCATION BY BADHAM,

page 9

H.L.

reflection would have saved him the trouble of the enquiry. Was it for me to lecture that Board (or any Board) on its public functions? Was I to be told them through their secretary that they were leaving a power in their secretary's hands which they were bound to wield themselves; and to wait for a "Sir, I have the honour to inform you" signed by my "obedient humble servant, William Wilkins?" I have said all along, as you well know, that I believe Mr. Wilkins to be a conscientious industrious man, loving children, and with his heart in his work. But I say that this hierarchy of Secretary and Inspectors is fraught with latent despotism to the unfortunate schoolmaster; and that this potential tyranny may at any moment become actual, unless we have some one Minister of State who shall govern in person when personal interference is necessary; who will be able to learn more than merely what his satellites chose to tell him; who will not be hindered by jealousy from asking the advice of thinking men, and whose every act will be in the eye of the House and of the country. But let not anyone suppose that the Council of Education was ignorant of these complaints. More than seven years ago in a lecture at Bathurst, I read to an appreciating audience some specimens out of a popular English grammar. I did not mention the name of the author; my business was with his work, and not with himself. But the book was not Morell's; nevertheless, some persons thought proper to jump at the conclusion that it was. Forthwith a scholastic magazine, long since dead, attacked me, and reproved the Rev. Dr. Geekie for presuming to endorse my opinion. The conductors of that journal then sent all the press necessary for securing my conviction to Dr. Morell himself; and I shall never forget the jubilation with which they published his answer when it arrived. The tone of it was mild and courteous enough, somewhat patronizing perhaps; but then you must

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which his opponents called arrogance was there:

. . . there is one subject upon which it would be disgraceful for me to be silent, or even to wait to be consulted, because I can speak upon it with at least as much authority as any man in New South Wales; and because, if I fail to speak, I shall hereafter hold myself answerable for the continuance of a very serious evil. I wish to offer you a few remarks upon the system of primary education in this colony.¹

He said he had "never taken any side in the question between the advocates of secular education and their opponents". He proceeded to complain about the teaching of the English language in the public schools, about which he had formed a bad opinion by examining the books used in the class room, and by noting the performance of public school candidates in the public examinations. He had spoken "unreservedly" in the reports of the examiners; but "the Council of Education has never taken the least notice of these complaints".

He expressed himself in favour of the dissolution of the Council of Education and the allocation of its duties to a Minister of the Crown. He had been told that some wished for a new Council, but with paid members, and he urged Robertson not to listen to this proposal, which he called a compromise. The old Council had carried out its

¹ Charles Badham, Speeches. . ., 84. Unless attributed otherwise, subsequent quotations and statements of fact on Badham's letters in this section are from the same source, 84 - 95, passim.

administrative and financial responsibilities energetically, without payment, but had left "that part of their functions which has to do with the substance of teaching and its results" to subordinates. The members of the old Council, he implied, were not fit to deal with the substance of education, and were too proud to seek and take outside advice. The same would be true of the paid members of any new Council, but a Minister would have the power to consult widely and to benefit from the advice he thought best. He concluded with a thrust at the evils which, in his view, dogged the public school system:

. . . one thing only he will not have it in his power to do; he will not be able to remain deaf to all remonstrances, and indifferent to all proposals of reform; nor will he be content to rely upon the mere experience of a staff of gentlemen whose ideas are products of a single system, and who can scarcely be expected to see beyond the routine in which their own minds have been trained.

Argument continued, in Parliament and beyond. Badham set out his ideas at greater length in the form of a letter to his Catholic friend William Bede Dalley. It was published in Sydney as a pamphlet of fourteen pages, with the title Primary Education. He said categorically that the quality of the education given by the Council was bad. Having disclaimed authority to speak, he then stated again that he knew no-one in the Colony with a better right "to an opinion on a matter of education".

He wrote of the influence of his early teacher Pestalozzi, under whose system he was "taught to think".

I was not crammed with technical terms, and left to imagine what real distinction, if any, they were intended to represent. Our teachers taught us to think, and so to distinguish; and when we had seized the distinction, and therefore wanted a name to give it, then came the term to meet our need; and it was readily apprehended and retained without effort, because it came, not as an incubus of the memory, but as the satisfaction of a previous want.

He wrote of Frederick Denison Maurice, whose "voluntary disciple, and constant companion" he became. Maurice believed that God "'taught man first to understand his own real wants, and next that He alone was capable of supplying them'". Badham saw in this the "Pestalozzian theory of want and supply".

To those who would deny him authority to speak on schooling because he only taught Latin and Greek, he would reply that the charge was not true, and if it were, it had no force. Education was a unity:

We talk of primary and secondary education as if they were two distinct things - as if there were two educations, two arts of teaching depending on different principles, and as if the professor of the one were as distinct from the professor of the other as a pastrycook is from a doctor. But as the mind only learns in one way whatever it learns, so the principles of the art of teaching are one, whether the thing to be taught be the Hornbook or Homer; whether the mind to be informed belong to the son of a glazier, or to the child of the lordly mansion over which the glazier casts his protecting aegis of glass and putty.

Badham went on to say that the children were being taught "a parcel of rubbish", and that many schoolmasters and educated men have denounced "the pedantry of this newfangled scholastic science of Analysis". He spoke of the silence of those who thought as he did, but did not wish them to take part in the controversy in order to draw abuse away from himself, "for I have a scorn within me, which is seldom shewn, but which can bear me above the assaults of men who from time to time delight to disfigure our language in the effort to say something that shall sting me to the quick".

He again attacked Analysis, saying that "if we are to have leaden philosophy and leaden grammar amalgamated together, and if the proficient of this heavy lore are to form the heart and understanding of our rising youth, just consider what the effect will be upon this City of Sydney".

The way in which Geography was taught was also criticised. Dalley, he said, had referred to the "'terrible addiction'" to geography; "'Not to physical geography. . . or to a knowledge of the great divisions of the world, and the nations contained in them. . . but to that dreary row of names. . . indicating places in which it is impossible for anyone to take the slightest interest except as the theatres of events.'" "

Badham reviewed old battles between himself and the

TITLE-PAGE OF GEORGE WIGRAM ALLEN'S
COPY OF PRIMARY EDUCATION AS
ADMINISTERED IN NEW SOUTH WALES
BY R.A.A. MOREHEAD

P.L.N.S.W.

*57.36. The Honble George Allen Esq. M.P.
Preserve from Parliamentary Education*

PRIMARY EDUCATION,

AS ADMINISTERED IN NEW SOUTH WALES.

A LETTER TO
THE HONORABLE JOHN ROBERTSON, Esq., M.P.,
&c., &c., &c.

WITH AN APPENDIX.

BY R. A. A. MOREHEAD,
Late Member of the Council of Education.



SYDNEY:
PRINTED BY ROBERT BONE, "PHENIX" OFFICE,
140 PITT STREET.

1876.

Council, and gave its Secretary praise in limited terms:

"I have said all along, as you well know, that I believe Mr. Wilkins to be a conscientious industrious man, loving children and with his heart in his work". He then denounced "this hierarchy of Secretary and Inspectors", and called for Ministerial control.

To demonstrate his right to have an opinion - this right having been questioned in the Assembly - Badham set down his views on the Bill. He said that some believed the compromise on denominational schools in Parkes' Act¹ to be "wise and statesmanlike". "Of this number I am one".² He went on to ask rhetorically:

. . . will you punish for all ages to come and for no nobler motive than that of economising on your taxes, the men who help you to pay those taxes, for a necessity which they cannot unwill, for an instinct which is part of their being, for an error which is not their fault but their misfortune? You, too, who are fervid apostles of education, who talk of the thousands that are ready to perish for the want of it; for the sake of these thousands on paper will you disfranchise and proscribe, and that forever, the living and real thousands of the poorest sect in Australia? Strange economy! strange statesmanship!

¹ ~~It is not clear whether~~ Badham is referring to the 1866 Act, ~~or Robertson's 1876 Bill, attributing it to~~ ~~the latter~~.

² Badham appears to have been on good terms with Archbishop Vaughan, leader of the Catholic denomination-
alists. In February 1876 Vaughan lunched at the Badham home at St. Leonards. (Letter from Edith Badham, 14th Feb. [1876]. Badham Correspondence etc.) A. R. Crane (op. cit., p. 200) appears to have confused Roger William Bede Vaughan with his brother Herbert.

He thought the Public Schools League a "standing menace"; it brought the Catholic reaction, of a group in politics, and this would create in turn a Protestant group. "Disreputable confusion" should be ended by a compromise which would be sufficiently effective for the League to dwindle and die. "It was necessary", he said, "to re-enact the principle on which the Denominational schools are based, but to curtail its operation so that men should no longer have a case against it, as interfering with the growth of Public Schools". He finally rejoiced "that we have Mr. Greenwood amongst us", and hoped that the Act would be passed, so that people could say: "'This matter is now ended. The compromise, which was offered for the sake of peace and quietness, has become law.'"

In his pamphlet, then, Badham dealt with matters of general importance in the provision of public schools, and the old matters of curriculum content. The "peace and quietness" which he thought the Bill, if enacted, would have won, are still being sought.

The second pamphlet of 1876 was by R. A. A. Morehead, who had been a member of the Council of Education in 1871 and 1872, for some years a member of the Board of National Education, and at times a Trustee of the Sydney Grammar

School, as was Badham ex officio. It is a letter dated April 1876, and the title reads Primary Education, as Administered in New South Wales: a Letter to the Honorable John Robertson, Esq., M.P., &c., &c., with an Appendix. By R. A. A. Morehead, late Member of the Council of Education.¹

The letter to the Premier ends on page thirty of the seventy-page pamphlet, and is followed by an Appendix which includes Badham's letters, and the articles which appeared in the Australian Journal of Education between 1868 and 1870.² Morehead deplored various attacks on the authority of the Council. He criticised Badham's letters and called him "a hot, and . . . a singularly intolerant and overbearing, partisan". He accused him of sarcasm; of scorn and derision in dealing with opponents' arguments; of stating "as facts his own imaginations". He commented on "the astonishing position that Dr. Badham seems to assume, that even an indirect knowledge of his views entailed upon the Council an obligation to give implicit obedience to them".

With reference to what he called "the everlasting Grammatical Analysis question", Morehead discussed Badham's attacks, and added that "the teaching of Grammatical

¹ Sydney: Printed by Robert Bone, 1876.

² Vide supra, Section A.

Analysis in the Public Schools is limited to the higher classes, and that the time devoted to it in these, ranges from half an hour to an hour and a half in the week. This is the extent of the 'cruelty' practised on the children in connection with this subject".

He said that Badham had damned Wilkins with "faint praise"; that some of Badham's letter to Dalley was almost "frantic in its tone towards those who have differed from him and have ventured to say so". Morehead was not afraid to differ, and to publish his opposition. He said another's suggestion of a Council made up of "five Dr. Badham's. . . is about as conceivable as the notion of five Popes".

Badham's letter to Robertson had mentioned a Minister who would freely seek advice. Morehead commented:

. . .we are to have a Heaven-inspired Minister, who will not countenance the teaching of Grammatical Analysis. Through what medium the inspiration is to come we can all guess. We are not, however, told how a succession of model Ministers is to be secured, nor if the inspired "advisers" are (to adhere to the plural form) immortal.

Morehead charged Badham with practising "moral vivisection" on the inspectors, and in turn indulged in vituperation against the Professor which some fellow-citizens may have thought justified.

Pestalozzi was invoked again. The schools, of good quality on the whole, were "conducted under the guidance

of the principle inculcated by Pestalozzi, that being to make a child think and understand, as well as remember".

On the broad administrative problem, Morehead urged "continuing the management of the Primary Educational Department in the hands of an unpaid Council, as at present". He did not think one man could be responsible for the amount of work which came before the Council.¹

7. Conclusion

"The consciousness of being educated is a consciousness which has a great deal to do with conscience, and so far education is a moral safeguard".² Thus Badham spoke in 1871, and it is one facet of his concern with education. He practiced teaching at various levels, he talked of the place of education in the society of his time, he sought to influence politicians and leaders of opinion so that action would follow.

He cared for scholarship and also for the efforts of boys of "middling capacity".³

In Thoughts on Classical and Commercial Education

¹ R. A. A., Morehead, Primary Education as Administered in New South Wales, Sydney: 1876, passim.

² N.S.W., V. & P., 1872, II, 686.

³ Ibid., p. 690.

Badham wrote of the folly of confining superior teachers to the higher classes, as though teaching "the elements of knowledge to the very young" would be below the teacher's intelligence. He stated that long preparation is needed in order to teach the young ones.¹ In Primary Education he recalled his early years under Pestalozzi. For the rest, his public attention was concentrated on primary, secondary and tertiary education.

He decided grammar schools might not be essential to teach the classics to pupils preparing to enter the University from country schools. He suggested the appointment of a classics master to the main public schools, drawing on Sydney graduates for the supply.² Some years before he had said: "if we want graduate teachers, why should we import them at a risk, when we can make them with a certainty?"³

He wished patronage to be removed from Civil Service appointments:

My reason for preferring the competitive to any other examination is. . . upon the simple principle of justice. I see no other way of abolishing the undue preference which is called patronage. . . I think any system into which patronage enters is sure from that circumstance to work badly. . .

¹ Charles Badham, Thoughts on Classical and Commercial Education, 10.

² Charles Badham, Speeches. . ., 71.

³ Ibid., p. 39.

It is on the ground of its injustice that I complain of patronage and wish in every way to remove it.¹

The contribution to secondary education was acknowledged by George Reid when he was Minister for Public Instruction. He spoke of "advice and assistance" when proposing the toast to the University at Badham's Banquet in 1883.² Again, in October at the opening of the Sydney Public High School, where Badham was also present, he said that "from Dr. Badham he had received assistance rendered in so thorough and hearty a spirit that he felt towards him the utmost gratitude".³ Anderson wrote that the help which had been given was often acknowledged.⁴ Edith Badham also mentions that her father had assisted Reid in establishing the first High Schools.⁵

One agency of education to which he gave close attention in Sydney was the Free Public Library, and his work for this institution forms the subject of the next chapter. He believed that "no education is worth anything whatever unless it is of such a kind as will perpetuate and expand itself through a man's whole life",⁶ and

¹ N.S.W., V. & P., 1872, II, 685, 689.

² S.M.H., 22nd Aug. 1883, 5.

³ Sydney Boys' High School, Official Opening, 1928, 6.

⁴ H. C. L. Anderson, op. cit., 76.

⁵ Edith Badham, Registered Schools, 1914, 8.

⁶ Charles Badham, Speeches. . ., 149.

providing opportunity for continuing self-education was a function the Library could fulfil.

CHAPTER VIII

THE FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY OF SYDNEY

Charles Badham made a notable contribution to education in New South Wales by his work as Chairman of the Trustees ^{of the} Free Public Library of Sydney. His experience before coming to Australia provided valuable preparation for the duties which awaited him.

In addition to acquiring a wide knowledge of libraries with a long tradition, both on the Continent and in England as student, scholar and author, Badham lived through years of special importance in library development. The 1847-49 Royal Commission on the British Museum focussed attention on the great national institution. At a different level of provision, the Public Libraries Act of 1850, followed by the more liberal legislation of 1855, reflected the growing concern in England for making books available to the people in and from libraries. The motivation was complex. Advances in education leading to increased literacy, and a wish to enlighten the masses and to provide for the labourer an alternative to more sordid or damaging pastimes, were some of the strands. Others derived from the increasing need of information

for artisans in the industrial environment, the wish to educate the voter in a democracy, the mingling of amelioration and liberal thinking. For the middle classes there were benefits in community ownership of books, which were increasingly too numerous for the private acquisition and housing even of titles of special interest, and which were not in many instances economic purchases for the subscription libraries.

Birmingham was an alert city in matters of education, and in 1860 a meeting of the burgesses took place in the Town Hall to consider the adoption of the Public Libraries Act of 1855. It was decided to adopt the Act,¹ and to appoint "The Free Libraries and Museums Committee." The Committee, when appointed, comprised sixteen members, of whom eight were members of the local Council. Charles Badham was one of the other eight. To this Committee fell duties connected with library policy, staff, book stock and buildings, and it reported zealously on problems encountered and progress achieved.² This was excellent preparation for his work in Sydney.

The library situation there has been summarised by G. D. Richardson:

The position by 1869, then, was that, very much on the older pattern in the mother country, the Colony,

¹ John Alfred Langford, op. cit., I, 313.

² Ibid., 314 ff.

in addition to various small libraries, had a Parliamentary Library, a University Library, a metropolitan Mechanics' Institute Library, consisting largely of fiction, and a private subscription library which was the biggest of all. None of these possessed more than 20,000 volumes, and none was freely available for public use, even for purely reference purposes.¹

Beyond Sydney, many of the towns had libraries attached to a School of Arts or a Mechanics' Institute, and these libraries were of educational significance in the decades when the original impetus of the parent organizations was still felt.

The "private subscription library", the Australian Library and Literary Institution, had been established in 1826 as the Australian Subscription Library and Reading Room.² By 1866 it was "on its last legs, with only 300 subscribers".³ Being in severe financial trouble, in 1869 it sold its books and building, on the corner of Bent and Macquarie Streets, to the Government. The Institution became the Free Public Library of Sydney, which opened to the public on 30th September 1869. In 1895 it was to change its name to the Public Library of

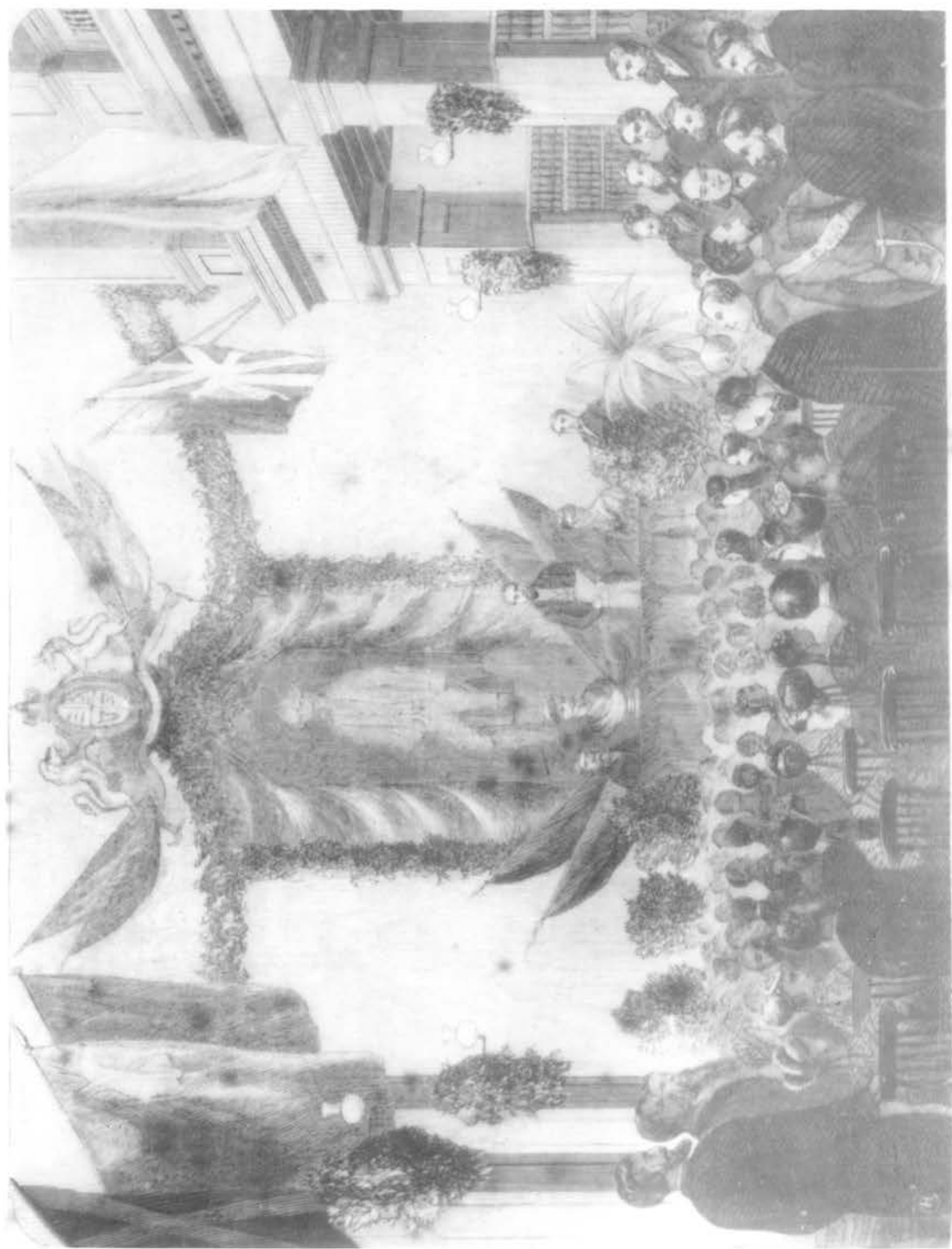
¹ G. D. Richardson, The Colony's Quest for a National Library, Sydney: 1960, 13-14.

² Ibid., 8.

³ George Nadel, Australia's Colonial Culture, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1957, 84.

OPENING OF THE FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY
OF SYDNEY, 30TH SEPTEMBER, 1869

Illustrated Sydney News,
5, 27th Oct., 1869, 277.



OPENING OF THE SYDNEY PUBLIC LIBRARY BY HIS EXCELLENCY EARL BELMONT—SEE PAGE 73

New South Wales.¹ Thus, ironically, the Colony achieved its public library as a result of the virtual failure of a private and originally exclusive gentleman's group.

The Earl of Belmore, Governor of New South Wales, performed the opening ceremony. In his speech one motivation is clear - the library would be an agency of informal adult education, particularly for those lacking educational advantages when young. It would nevertheless be available to benefit all members of the community. The Governor stated that he had "thought it better at this time to prepare a written address rather than a speech". In his deliberate address he said:

The provision hitherto made by the Legislature for public education has comprehended all sections of the community, with the exception of the adult laboring classes. An University assisted by grants from the Treasury, with a body of professors of high attainments, and with affiliated colleges, secures to those who are in a position to avail themselves of them, the advantages of the highest education. There is also a long established Grammar school in this city - and Public and Denominational schools for the education of the children of the people, are now widely spread throughout the colony. Those, however, whose early education has been neglected, or whose means of purchasing books have been limited, have hitherto been placed at a disadvantage in their efforts for self-improvement. That disadvantage will, by the opening of this institution, be now removed. In these colonies the highest positions are open to all who are qualified by education and ability to fill them; and, although it may rarely happen that a total want of early education can be

¹ F. M. Bladen, Public Library of New South Wales, Historical Notes, Sydney: Govt. Pr., 2nd ed., 1911, 38-40, 51.

in after life supplied, yet it cannot be doubted that this institution may be the means of doing much in furtherance of the endeavours of those who may be trying to remedy such a want, as well as of those more fortunate persons, who only seek to keep up and increase that knowledge which they may have acquired during the period of youth.¹

On 11th March 1870, the appointment of Trustees of the Library was gazetted in the following terms:

Colonial-Secretary's Office.
Sydney, 10th March, 1870.

His Excellency the Governor, with the advice of the Executive Council, has been pleased to appoint the undermentioned Gentlemen to be the Trustees of the Free Public Library of Sydney, viz.:-

The Reverend Charles Badham, D.D.,
The Reverend William Branwhite Clarke, M.A.,
William Bede Dalley, Esquire,
William Augustine Duncan, Esquire,
The Reverend John Dunmore Lang, D.D.,
The Honorable Sir William Macarthur, Knight,
William Macleay, Esquire,
The Honorable Robert Owen, Esquire, and
Nicol Drysdale Stenhouse, Esquire.

Charles Cowper²

The appointment of "William John Stephens, Esquire", followed soon after. The Trustees held their first meeting on 16th May, with Dr. Lang in the chair. Badham chaired the next meeting, and Clarke the one following. In September Badham was nominated by Dalley for the position of permanent Chairman, and was elected by unanimous vote.³

¹ "The Public Library, Sydney," Illustrated Sydney News, 5, Oct. 27, 1869, 279.

² New South Wales Government Gazette, 11th March 1870, no. 57.

³ Free Public Library, Sydney, Minutes of Meetings of the Trustees, 16th, 30th May, 13th June, 5th September 1870.

Towards the end of 1878 Badham tried to resign the Chairmanship, owing to lack of time for regular attendance, but was prevailed upon to continue in that office, and "only attend at the meetings when it was convenient for him to do so".¹ University business, including Senate meetings, and other demands such as funerals of eminent men, led to absences from time to time, and then illness came to appear more frequently in the Minutes to account for his absence. The last Minutes he signed are those for the Meeting held on 13th March 1883, he being in the Chair on 13th April. At that April meeting, the last he was to attend in any capacity, he spoke of his "serious indisposition, from which, at his advanced period of life, he could hardly expect to get much better", and announced his resignation from the Chairmanship, "acting under medical advice". Those present tried to persuade him to continue in office on the 1878 understanding. He replied that it was necessary "that he should secure all the rest it was possible for him to obtain, in order to escape from physical suffering", and resigned the Chair, but remained a Trustee. At the next meeting, the Trustees accepted his resignation from the Chairmanship with regret, and recorded "their sense of the obligation under which he has placed

¹ Ibid., 8th November 1878. Unless attributed otherwise, all subsequent quotations and statements of fact in this chapter are derived from the Minutes of Meetings of the Trustees.

the Institution by the valuable services which he has rendered during the period of thirteen years. . ." He died in the following February, and when the Trustees met on 7th March it was moved by John Stewart, seconded by Professor W. J. Stephens and resolved

That this Board desires to record its sense of the great loss which has been sustained by the Free Public Library, and the Colony at large, in the decease of the Rev. Charles Badham, D.D., Professor of Classics and Logic in the University of Sydney; and desires to express the same to the surviving members of his family.

In the issue of the Government Gazette for 29th April 1884, the appointment was announced of "The Honorable William Charles Windeyer, Puisne Judge, and Vice Chancellor of the Sydney University" to be a Trustee in the place of the late Dr. Badham.

Badham's guidance and work were particularly important to the Library in these its initial years. Robert Cooper Walker was Librarian from 1869 until 1893, and a successor has stated that "his whole career was one of a conscientious, sensible man with some measure of ability".¹ He ran the Library competently, but there is no evidence that he inspired the Trustees to develop lines of policy, with or without their knowing it. The staff was small, and the Trustees acted and advised on matters of detail connected with routine operations. They also worked on a broader front, and served the institution well. The

¹ G. D. Richardson, op. cit., 15.

largest burden inevitably fell on the Chairman.

On 30th May 1870 Badham, Stephens and Dalley were appointed a Sub-Committee to work on a set of rules and regulations. Badham submitted the Sub-Committee's draft of Regulations For Visitors two weeks later. They were adopted and sent forward to the Colonial Secretary for approval and gazettal.

At the same meeting Badham reported that the Sub-Committee had authorised steps to obtain approval of overtime work by an Assistant Librarian who was helping the Librarian to compile and revise the catalogue, and of the temporary employment of a binder to repair volumes needing attention.

The election of a permanent Chairman had been made essential by the receipt of a minute from the Colonial Secretary requiring "the initial or signature of the Chairman in all matters of account". This alone involved Badham in the detailed affairs of the institution, and in a more than formal way. By the following February need for some modification was felt, not surprisingly. The Chairman, Dr. Lang and Duncan formed a deputation to the Colonial Secretary, and as a result the certification of vouchers was to be by the Librarian, "with the restriction that no accounts are to be passed without the initials affixed thereto of the Chairman, or two others of the Trustees".

REGULATIONS OF THE FREE PUBLIC

LIBRARY OF SYDNEY

New South Wales
Government Gazette,
21st June, 1870, 1344.

[1263]

Colonial Secretary's Office,
Sydney, 14th June, 1870.

THE following Regulations for Visitors to the Free Public Library, Sydney, are published for general information.

CHARLES COWPER.

REGULATIONS FOR VISITORS TO THE FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY.

1. The Library will be open every week-day from 10 A.M. to 10 P.M., except New-year's Day, Good Friday, Queen's Birthday, Christmas Day, and such other days as the Trustees may from time to time determine.
2. Visitors will not be permitted, under any circumstances, to take books out of the Library.
3. Adult visitors may themselves take such books as they wish to read from the shelves, but must leave them on the Library tables when done with. All persons under 18 years of age must apply to one of the Library Assistants for such books as they may desire.
4. Such visitors as may wish to make extracts from the books, papers, maps, &c., with *ink*, must make special application to the Librarian to do so.
5. No conversation will be allowed in the Library otherwise than in a whisper.
6. No person will be permitted to sit in the room with his hat on; nor will any person who is intoxicated, or in a dirty condition, be admitted to the Library.
7. Children under 12 years of age are not admitted.
8. Any visitor writing in or upon, folding down a leaf, defacing, mutilating, or otherwise injuring any book, spitting on the floor, smoking in the doorway, or in any way injuring the furniture, &c., eating food or fruit, or not conducting himself with proper decorum, will be excluded from the Library.
9. The Librarian shall at *all times* have power to prohibit *any* book or books, &c., from being taken off the shelves, or to exclude from the Library any person or persons who may refuse to comply with any part of the Regulations of the Institution, or to obey any reasonable directions of the Librarian, or in any way make themselves obnoxious to the readers.
10. Every visitor is required to sign the Visitors' Book before entering the Library.
11. Readers desirous of proposing books for addition to the Library may do so by writing the same in a Suggestion Book, which will be submitted regularly to the Trustees for consideration.

In August 1871 Badham and Dalley were appointed a Sub-Committee to enquire "in the City" about rates for printing Catalogues, and allied matters. They reported in October.

The following year the Chairman, between meetings, instructed the Librarian to submit Estimates for 1872-3 on the basis of those for 1871-2, these having been asked for by the Colonial Secretary at short notice.

Sometimes there was no quorum, but this did not inhibit Badham. On 12th February 1875, for example, he dealt with a number of matters which were "pressing", and instructed the Librarian to write letters on various topics. One matter was insurance, and at the March meeting, it having been decided to divide the sum of £10,000 amongst firms, to lessen the risk, the Chairman was "authorised to decide upon the Companies that are the most eligible to effect the Insurance in".

Whenever a deputation waited on government members or officials, the Chairman was likely to be the leader. In June 1875 Badham, Stewart, Lang and Duncan were chosen to wait upon the Minister of Justice and Public Instruction, to discuss the Estimates, the proposed Lending Branch, and the need for a new building.

On the latter topic, a later Principal Librarian wrote:

During the first fifteen years the hopes of the Trustees were frequently raised by the preparation

of plans which were never acted upon; the selection of sites which were never built upon; and the voting of moneys which they were never allowed to spend.¹

Sometimes an unofficial approach was tried - in July 1879 the Trustees, anxious to know whether the Government would receive with favour any suggestions by them on a site, agreed that Badham should call "unofficially" on the Minister of Justice and Public Instruction and John Stewart on the Colonial Secretary. The same two trustees, with Edward Greville, Stephens and Walker the Librarian, also had a formal interview with the Minister of Public Instruction in 1880. There was no satisfactory action in Badham's lifetime.

The preparation of the Annual Report devolved mainly on the Chairman. Badham and Dalley were appointed a sub-committee to draft the reports for 1870-71, 1872, 1873 and 1874. The drafts for 1875 and 1876 were submitted to Badham for revision, and he was called on to prepare those dealing with 1877 and 1878. The Reports of the period are excellent documents which, as well as being meticulous records of the history of the Library, show an informed and enlightened appreciation of what it might achieve.

The major contribution of the early Trustees may well be said to be the setting of a high standard for the collection itself, and realising this standard as far as

¹ F. M. Bladen, op. cit., 42.

their resources allowed. Half of the members of the Board were graduates of the great British universities of Oxford, Cambridge, Glasgow, Edinburgh,¹ and they were building on to a collection which had been assembled initially by cultivated gentlemen of the Colony, to be read by them and their kind.

In June 1870 the Trustees selected Messrs. Trübner & Co. of London to be their agent, and lists of books required for the Library were sent to England. The Chairman and other Trustees concerned themselves with the task of selection, checking lists and deliberating on titles, including works recorded in the Visitors Book and the Trustees Suggestion Book. Charles Cowper, Agent-General for New South Wales in London, apparently wished to help by selecting books. On 14th August 1871 the Chairman was requested to write to him, "thanking him for what he had done, and to state that the Trustees prefer to make their own selections". In October of the following year the Chairman agreed, at the Board's request, "to select and order some works on Egypt, and on Numismatics". H. C. L. Anderson, Principal Librarian from 1893 to 1906, stated that Badham

took a deep personal interest in forming the nucleus of a great reference collection, and attended at the library every week to superintend the choice of books

¹ G. D. Richardson, op. cit., 15.

for the different branches of the library's educational work. That his choice was catholic and good is shown by the fact that today the library scarcely finds a gap in its fundamental basis of high-class and classic literature .¹

The Chairman had other tasks. He was requested by the Board to go through letters from Trübner & Co., including one from Quaritch the second-hand bookseller, and "to instruct the Librarian respecting them". In 1881 some copies of Dutch manuscripts dealing with voyages and discoveries connected with Australasia, were sent to the Library by Henniker Heaton. The Board resolved that they be sent to Badham, who was absent, so that he could study them and decide whether they should be translated and printed. Ten months later he reported that on examination he did not think the manuscripts sufficiently important or valuable for steps to be taken to have them printed.

Some of the activities directed towards adding to the collection included the beginning of exchanges of material with other institutions. This has developed and become formalised over the years, but the early Trustees deserve credit for the steps they took initially. On 7th November 1870 the Chairman said he had authorised the giving of duplicate works to the Public Library in Melbourne, in return for some photographs, "with the view of establishing a system of mutual exchanges between the Institutions".

¹ H. C. L. Anderson, op. cit., 76-7

"The exchange was made", according to the Annual Report of the Trustees, "more with a view of commencing a system of mutual exchange between the Institutions than of giving or receiving a fair value".¹ By April 1872 Acts, Parliamentary Papers and other publications had been requested from the other colonies, and the Agent-General in London had been instructed to get in touch with the American Minister in England "with the view of obtaining a similar favor from the Government of the United States". Negotiations with the French Government were also in train, Simon, the French Consul, having proposed the "Exchange of objects of Literary and Scientific Interest between Institutions of France, and this Colony". By early 1876 Badham had forwarded to the French Government through Simon "two lists prepared by him, of works and other objects which the University and the Public Library would be glad to possess". In 1879 the Board of International Exchanges, New South Wales, was appointed, the members being the Librarian of the Public Library and the Parliamentary Librarian.²

During Badham's Chairmanship various developments were in keeping with the conception of the Library's role

¹ Free Public Library, Sydney, Report, 1870-71, 3.

² N.S.W., Board of International Exchanges, Brief History of the Appointment, Functions and Operations of the Board of International Exchanges, New South Wales, 1879-1905, Sydney: Govt. Pr., 1905, 1.

implicit in Belmore's remarks at the opening in 1869.^{191.} One of these, Sunday opening, had its genesis in Parliament in 1878, and the Trustees as a group were not enthusiastic.¹ The Chairman was hostile to the proposal, and his views became widely known following the publication of his letter on the subject to the Librarian:

R. C. Walker, Esq. Librarian, Free Public Library.

My dear Mr. Walker,

I am very sorry that I could not attend the meeting of the Board and so gratify the extreme curiosity with which your circular has filled me. Why are the trustees of the Public Library summoned to deliberate on the observance of the Sabbath? There is not a theologian among us for whose opinion even those of his own denomination would care a single straw . . . the Minister for Public Instruction . . . knows full well that of all the miserably underpaid and cruelly overtaxed servants of the public there are none to compare with those employed in the Public Library. . .

Certainly, it is right to procure tranquil and ennobling enjoyments for the citizens, and to do so without giving them a day on which they can give themselves up to such enjoyments is a piece of hypocritical mockery. . . But what is this philanthropy which would promote health and cheerfulness by opening that great dingy cavern of yours to the working man, and wooing him by books of voyages and travels from healthful air and exercise? Does anyone suppose that men will be lured out of public-houses or from hustling or defending Park Pastors by the very liveliest book in your collection? . . . a Library is not a fit refuge for those who have heard sermons, nor at all a reasonable substitute to indemnify those who have not. No doctrine is so cheerful but that a little oxygen will enliven it, and no materialism so gross but that the influences of Nature will gently chide a man out of utter selfishness.

¹ F. M. Bladen, op. cit., 47-8

With the hope that they will not deprive you of your rest and cheerfulness,

I am, my dear Mr. Walker,
Faithfully yours,
Charles Badham.

University, April 8.¹

In spite of opposition, however, Sunday opening was soon instituted, and although, as Bladen noted, "during twenty-six years (from 1879 to 1905) the number of books used on Sunday afternoon has been practically stationary, while the number used on week-days has increased nearly threefold",² the innovation was steadily used. In 1883 the average number of visitors each Sunday to the Reference Department was 113, and to the Lending Branch, 40.³

The Lending Branch had been opened on 31st July 1877. The result of earnest efforts by the Board, it flourished. In 1908 it was vested in the Municipal Council of Sydney.⁴ From an early period the Trustees had been anxious to extend the benefits of the institution. The Report for 1872 exemplifies this:

The Trustees have to express their regret that they are unable at present to extend the great advantages of the Library as widely as they would wish. It may be thought desirable at some future period to establish a lending library for the purpose of supplying

¹ S.M.H., 9th Apr. 1878, 5.

² F. M. Bladen, op. cit., 48.

³ F. P. L., Sydney, Report, 1883-4, 4.

⁴ F. M. Bladen, op. cit., 46-7

smaller Institutions of a like character in the suburbs and in the interior with books; but this would necessitate the employment of a larger staff than is at present provided, and the purchase of duplicates of works now possessed by the Library.¹

When the Lending Branch began, fiction was considered unsuited to the educational aims of the institution, and the Trustees proudly stated that the fact "that novels or romances form no part of the collection" was an important feature "in considering the great demand for books belonging to the Lending Branch".² Later, however, works in this category were added to the Branch by transfer, the Trustees having directed

the removal of the whole of the works of prose fiction that were in the Reference Library (1,538 volumes) to the Lending Branch, as by the adoption of this course space was obtained for keeping on the shelves books of greater value, and it was thought that readers would be more pleased to get the use of works of fiction for perusal at home.³

In 1883 the worried Librarian of the Lending Branch, having been instructed by the Board not to add "Works of Prose Fiction", enquired what he should do about replacing volumes by Dickens and Thackeray, "for which there is a very great demand". He was told to order replacements, and that the earlier instruction did not apply to these two writers.

¹ F. P. L., Sydney, Report, 1872, 2.

² Ibid., 1877, 2.

³ Ibid., 1880, 2.

From 1877, then, the people of Sydney, whatever their working commitments, were able to visit the Library, which was open seven days a week, including many evening hours, to read on the premises and to obtain books for home use. A further extension was the sending of boxes of books to libraries outside Sydney, conducted by municipalities, schools of arts or mechanics' institutes. Wollongong received the first consignment, in 1883.¹ An English visitor in 1884 was impressed:

There are at present about 2,000 volumes for circulation in this way, all being works of real value, and of such a character as would not be within the means of country libraries to purchase.

These books come out from England, well, even beautifully bound, and are sent out in strong brass-bound oak boxes, holding about sixty volumes, lined with baize, and containing a list of the works, and the value at which they are estimated.

Eighteen boxes of this kind are at present in use, and their circulation has certainly done much to elevate the standard of taste in reading in the country districts.²

Thus the advantages of the Library were extended, by diversification of function, extension of hours, and extension geographically. The grounds for regret in the Trustees' 1872 Report were gradually diminished.

The educational function of the Library had been stated by the Governor of New South Wales at the opening.³

¹ G. D. Richardson, op. cit., 22.

² C. W. Holgate, An Account of the chief Libraries of Australia and Tasmania, London: Whittingham, 1886, 37.

³ Vide supra,

On that early occasion Belmore said "it is the intention of the Government to remove from the institution such books as it may be undesirable to retain in a free library".¹ This is not the place to discuss the tendency to link library provision of fiction with entertainment, and provision of other works with education. The efforts of the Trustees, with Badham as leader, to cope with this problem are relevant because they are based on the assumption that the Library's objective was the education of its users. This was desirable in society, and a justification for the free provision of books. At the Board meeting held on 26th September 1870, a letter from a Dr. Aaron was read, requesting books which the Trustees might be able to give away, "for use of the Lunatic Reception House patients". Dr. Aaron was sent 50 volumes - novels. In their second Report, signed by Badham as Chairman, they stated:

It must be borne in mind that owing to the care taken by the Trustees in the withdrawal from the Library of works of an ephemeral character, and which they considered unsuitable for such an Institution, the Library presents but few temptations to the idle and frivolous. The removal of 2,120 works of fiction in 1871 unquestionably diminished the attractions of the Institution in the eyes of those who employed it for less worthy purposes than it was intended to effect.²

The result of this and similar activity was the loss to the Library of the first editions of many great novelists.

¹ "The Public Library, Sydney", Illustrated Sydney News, 5, Oct. 27, 1869, 279.

² F. P. L., Sydney, Report, 1872, 4.

When the Government bought the Australian Library and Literary Institution in 1869, it already owned the collection of Australiana which had been formed by Judge Edward Wise and bequeathed to the Government. This became part of the Free Public Library.¹ In the early years, claiming works in accordance with the provisions of the Copyright Act was neglected, apparently because the Trustees were confident that they received local publications "of any value whatever" as donations from their authors.² Nevertheless their interest in material relating to Australia was keen. The 1881 Report contains a "List of works on Australasia, and Colonial Publications, in the Collection of the Free Public Library, Sydney". The Trustees considered the collection "will be found, it is believed, to be larger than any similar collection in other Libraries".³ This perception of the worth and interest of Australiana demonstrated the Board's - and the Chairman's - wish for the institution to record and reflect Australia's life as well as that of Europe and cultures of the remote past.

The Library was under the Ministerial control and direction of the Minister of Justice and Public Instruction from 1873, and of the Minister of Public Instruction from 1880. Implicitly it was part of the State's programme

¹ F. M. Bladen, op. cit., 39.

² C. W. Holgate, op. cit., 34.

³ F. P. L., Sydney, Report, 1881, 2 and App. H.

of education. The Report for 1870-71 recorded 20,277 vol-^{197.}umes; for 1883-4, 59,554 volumes. In 1870, there were 59,786 visits to the Library; in 1883, 155,431. What cannot be indicated in figures is the impact of the institution on those who used it in Sydney or benefited from it directly in country areas, or on the vastly greater number of people who were indirectly affected by it, through the influence of others.

In later decades when the provincial libraries were decaying, the Library in Sydney remained a firm centre of knowledge, endeavouring to be an agency of education, and a hand-maiden of education, for people in the populous capital city and beyond. During the crucial initial years Badham and his colleagues were aware of the place such an institution could fill in Colonial society, where, as Belmore had said, "the highest positions are open to all who are qualified by education and ability to fill them".¹ To his duties as Chairman Badham brought English experience, imagination and common sense. As Anderson said, "it is impossible to over-estimate the influence which such a refined and cultured intellect had in guiding the early destinies of the institution now known as the Public Library of New South Wales".² He set the sights high for a

¹ Vide supra,

² H. C. L. Anderson, op. cit., 73.

programme of service, and for a collection of books appropriate to the task in New South Wales.

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSION

The leading figures in the Colony gave their talents in various spheres of public life, and the same names recur in different settings. The arrangements in connection with university and other matters which could be made or furthered by unofficial, informal, social contacts are slightly documented, but should be taken into account in assessing Badham's work and influence in New South Wales.

By the quality of his mind, the range of his scholarship and his energetic and forceful demeanour, he gained in the colony a special kind of rank, sometimes envied and decried, but not denied. To many, he was the University personified.

He identified himself fully with his new country, but was able to see it with intellectual detachment. In his opinion, a European saw as strange three features of life in Australia: much wealth held by illiterate men, learned professions lacking learning, and the mercantile classes less cultivated than their European counterparts.¹ He had maintained his fresh vision through the years, and

¹ Charles Badham, Speeches. . ., 105-6.



ANNOUNCEMENT OF BADHAM'S DEATH
IN NEW SOUTH WALES GOVERNMENT
GAZETTE 28TH FEBRUARY 1884



NEW SOUTH WALES
Government Gazette
EXTRAORDINARY.

PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY.

No. 98.]

THURSDAY, 28 FEBRUARY.

[1884.

Colonial Secretary's Office,
Sydney, 28th February, 1884.

HIS Excellency the Governor announces to the Colony, with feelings of sorrow, the death of

PROFESSOR BADHAM, of the University of Sydney,
which took place on the 27th instant.

The funeral procession will leave the University at 2 o'clock to-morrow, the 29th instant; and His Excellency, with the desire to show respect to the memory of so distinguished a public servant, directs that the Government Offices be closed at noon on that day, to enable Officers of the Government to attend.

By His Excellency's Command,
ALEX. STUART,
Colonial Secretary,

this enabled him to work more effectively for the people he endeavoured to serve.

When his death came after a long illness, it was announced in an Extraordinary issue of the New South Wales Government Gazette.¹ Mourners showed the Colony's feeling of loss. Obituary notices in Australia and England paid tribute.

The Badham Room in the University Union commemorates him, the Union's first President,² and a portrait in the grand manner, by Giulio Anivitti, hangs in the Great Hall. There is a Badham Building and a Badham Bursary.

Some sense of what he was and of the values he stood for may be obtained from contemplation of his grave at North Sydney. On one side of him his daughter and companion Edith is buried, on the other his infant son William Bede, who died in 1871. On the father's tombstone is engraved: Carolus Badham, Obiit Feb^y XXVII MDCCCLXXXIV Etat LXX. Erected by the Bursars of the University of Sydney.

But these are material memorials. Francis Anderson, wondering what the University had done for national education in New South Wales, said: "A great deal. More, perhaps, than its founders intended, expected or hoped".³ A

¹ 28th Feb. 1884.

² H. E. Barff, op. cit., 132.

³ Francis Anderson, op. cit., 37.

great deal of the achievement was Badham's.

Even during acrimonious exchanges about the teaching as he judged it in the Public Examinations, the teachers wanted closer links with the University. The suggestion was made that "primary school interests" be represented on the Senate.¹ They had a focus of aspiration which ultimately some could realise after Badham's proposal for evening lectures was put into effect.

His achievements were of an era, and some that served the most valuable purposes in their day, such as the indiginous and uniform standards provided by the Public Examinations, ultimately disappeared or merged into a new pattern. Others remain: evening lectures, opportunities in education for girls and women, the books collected for the Free Public Library, a line of influence in the syllabus.

He continued to reverence Greek language and literature above all other studies. They are in decline. His hope that professional schools, if they had to come to the University, would occupy what he considered a suitable lesser position in relation to what he considered to be scholarship - the study of the classics - was vain even while he entertained it. But the values that the classics

¹ Journal of Primary Education, 1, Sept. 1871, 101; Jan. 1872, 168.

meant for him are permanent, and need in each generation those who will proclaim and defend them. In this role Charles Badham made a special kind of contribution to education in New South Wales, along with his other varied achievements.

No matter how long the period of barbarity lasts there will certainly be in future ages people who will embrace and cherish the studies which today are beginning to be despised. There will be a rebirth of the humanities and perhaps with the humanities the names of those who have for a more fortunate posterity kept burning in the darkness the flames of that most holy fire.¹

¹ Charles Badham, Adhortatio ad Juventutem Academicam Sydneiensem, in Speeches. . ., 25. (Translated from the Latin.)

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2. Official Publications
3. Books and Pamphlets
4. Serials and Serial Articles

B. Manuscript Material

C. Unpublished Theses

A. PRINTED MATERIAL

1. Works by Charles Badham

Note: The writings of Charles Badham have been arranged in chronological order to give a conspectus of his work throughout his life. The volume Speeches and Lectures delivered in Australia has not been analysed, but items in it which have been published separately are listed under the relevant dates. Some items have not appeared elsewhere; some have appeared as inclusions in other volumes.

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