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THE DEVELOPMENT OF TEACHER TRAINING IN
NEW SOUTH WALES, 1880 - 1910

Colin C. Gaut, M.A.

A Thesis submitted to
The University of Sydney
in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the (honours) degree of
Master of Education

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The intention of this investigation is to examine the growth and development of teacher training between the years 1880 and 1910. During this period teacher training emerged from the enveloping chrysalis of the preceding years and developed a distinct character of its own.

This development was not so much fortuitous as a response to distinct, and observable demands made by the various factors in the community. These factors were partly social, since the community was increasing its demand for better education, partly political, as the politicians were increasingly required to implement the conditions of the Public Instruction Act, and partly economic, since what change did occur was influenced, if not determined, by the health of the whole economy. A further influence was the attitude of the teachers themselves as they fought to raise the profession in the eyes of the public.

In the early period, before the Dual Boards, the training of teachers was regarded as an affair of the moment. Those teachers who were trained had generally received their training elsewhere, but the majority were untrained and little more accomplished than the

pupils they presumed to teach. However, the period is significant in that for the first time in a colony government intervention was regarded as necessary if education were to be promulgated in any effective way. The significant factor of the period was the report that bore the name of its moving spirit, the Lowe Report.

Chapter II considers in detail the growth of the various teacher training institutions. Factors are mentioned, such as Inspections and classification examinations, that have been discussed at length in other investigations. The origin of the pupil-teacher system is noted as well as the embryonic attempts to convert the Model School into a Training School. Chapter III pursues this theme through the period controlled by the Council of Education.

Chapter IV attempts to set the developments after 1880 within a context of other changes during the period. Legislatures tended to act within predictable patterns. If money were short spending was restricted. Since the pupil-teacher system was regarded as the acme of training and the period spent in the Training School as a gloss upon the essentials, the time spent at the Training School tended to fluctuate according to prevailing economic conditions.

Social, political and cultural backgrounds are also considered.

Chapters V and VI consider the growth of the pupil-teacher system and the development of the Training Schools up to the turn of the century. The personalities of Bridges and Maynard intrude, but conditions were changing to an extent they could not control.

Chapter VII considers the particular aspects concerned with the training of rural teachers and the changing attitude to the teaching of Kindergarten.

Chapter VIII notes the significance of Francis Anderson as a catalyst in hastening the coming reaction. During this period the Conferences of 1902 and 1904, and the Reports of Peter Board and of Knibbs and Turner successfully sealed the demise of the old system.

Chapter IX attempts to note, within the brief space of five years, the work of Board and Alexander Mackie in laying the foundations for a development of teacher training and teacher training institutions that were to last with minor variations into the present period.

Chapter X is the summary and evaluation of the major points covered in the preceding chapters.

CHAPTER I

THE EARLY PERIOD TO 1848

The history of the training of teachers in New South Wales is a small part of a total picture of education, itself contingent upon a complexity of factors. Probably no other aspect of education in New South Wales can lay less claim to parthogenetic origins than can teacher training, although its beginnings and the factors influencing it most significantly are rarely crystal clear. The three major external factors influencing the course of education during the nineteenth century were the economic, social and political factors. Of these, least attention has, up to now, been paid to the economy whose health, or otherwise, influenced the others to a large degree. When we consider that the working class and the middle class in Australia were materially better off than almost anywhere else in the world during this period and that the economy was expanding at an unprecedented rate the social attitudes towards education after 1860 can be the more readily understood. The demand for labour was high and although the relation of plant to labour was higher than elsewhere

in the world, remarkably little skill was demanded of the work force.¹ Under the circumstances there was little encouragement to keep children at school when high wages were offering outside. Annual Report after Annual Report thundered against the irregular attendance of school children while teachers, dependent on school fees for a living wage, grew despondent as their salaries failed to rise in proportion to the rest of the population.

Changing conditions--economic social and political--towards the end of the century altered the demand for labour. The need for a more highly skilled work force and the demand by the burgeoning middle class for an education that would provide entry to the professions added weight to the educationists' demands for more highly trained teachers as the nineteenth century closed.

Educational policy has always been sensitive to factors not strictly educational and William Wilkins, from long experience with the external factors influencing educational policy, made the point that:

In this, as in other institutions created by the national will, the form and extent of the educational system will be defined by the necessities of the people

¹N.G. Butlin, Investment in Australian Economic Development, 1861-1900, Cambridge: C.U.P., 1964.

and by the national sentiment as it becomes developed and capable of making its influence felt. Every such system that has acquired the character of being distinctively national has been an outgrowth from the varying needs and opinions of successive periods.¹

Education in New South Wales has always had a rough-hewn cast about its features as though it had fitted "the national will" too well. Certainly there has been in this country, a distrust of educational theory and the major educational disputes have tended to be about education rather than growing from it. Administrative decisions have tended to be judged upon their immediate pragmatic worth rather than upon their long term value. Teacher training, owing to its amorphous nature and sometimes disparate elements, has suffered frequently from ad hoc decisions, from apparently arbitrary changes in policy and reduced funds. Despite this, however, a great deal was achieved under adverse conditions so that by the turn of the century, when criticism was actually being levelled against the government for its attitudes towards the training of teachers, the climate was ready for change. Perry, then Minister of Education, recognising the changing "national sentiment" Wilkins had mentioned earlier, swung heavily behind the reformers.

¹W. Wilkins, "Education in Australia" in Year Book of Australia, 1884, 420.

But many factors have been responsible for such change as did occur in the first decade of the twentieth century and none of them sufficiently significant to stand alone as the sole cause of what followed. Hume provides a salutary reminder that causality in history is rarely a simple matter of cause and effect when he states:

Suppose two objects be presented to us of which the one is the cause and one is the effect; it is plain that from the simple consideration of one or both these objects, we shall never perceive the tie by which they are united, or be able to pronounce that there is a connexion between them. It is not, therefore, from any one instance that we arrive at the idea of cause and effect, of a necessary connexion of power, of force, of energy and of efficiency.¹

Literary historians have noted the period after 1870 as a time of "changing Weltensschauung", when the Australian began to regard himself as different from, and more than, a transplanted Briton. Economically the period up to 1890 and after 1900 was a time of boom. Capital formation was taking place at a rapid rate, domestic consumption was high, exports were in a healthy position and Gross National Product generally increasing.² Politically, as Parliament matured and parties began to form from the existing factions,

¹D. Hume, Treatise of Human Nature, 161.

²See Section below for a detailed argument of these generalisations.

policy began to take the place of political expediency and administration per se began to move into the hands of the professional administrators. In Education this produced a brief stage, after about 1885, when the gains of the previous thirty years were consolidated to an extent that threatened to become stagnancy. This position was aggravated by the economic downturn of the nineties when lack of funds and a depleted Treasury put the brakes on any change not absolutely unavoidable.

Of this period Professor Francis Anderson, writing with the advantage of hindsight, could sum up with waspish neatness the tendency to subordinate education to instruction and originality to efficiency:

The 'regulations' framed as a scheme ad hoc, to provide a convenient means of setting the educational house in order, soon acquired the authority and almost the sanctity of a traditional document. Teachers were examined later on the regulations as on a kind of Thirty-nine Articles. They were supposed to provide the full and fitting framework within which all future development would be carried on, and in fact they served as a model for the other States in their initial task of common school organisation. Under the regulations it was the official who governed, and an analysis of the administrative system would reveal the real constitution. The secret of its strength and its weakness lay in the narrowness of the ideas behind it. The ideals behind it were attainable without much difficulty . . . There was little or no dissatisfaction with the educational defects of the system . . . It was only the working

of the administrative machinery which, at the time, was felt to be defective.¹

While we will join issue with Professor Anderson on a number of the points he raised in his article, his thesis is essentially correct in that he emphasised the concentration on the educational means rather than on the educational ends that distinguished the end of one period and looked towards the beginning of another. Administratively, it is almost the working out of the Toynbeeian argument, for in 1904, out of the desert was to come the prophet of the new salvation--in the form of Peter Board.

Although the intention is to attempt an account of the period 1880 to 1910, it is obvious that significant factors influencing the course of events were already in existence long prior to the passing of Section 24 of the Public Instruction Act. Bertrand Russell has made the point, in another context, and pertinent to Hume's remark above, that the longer we concentrate on a particular field the wider become its ramifications:

In short, every advance into a science takes us further away from the crude uniformities which are first observed, into greater

¹F. Anderson, "Educational Policy and Development," British Association for the Advancement of Science, 84th Meeting in G.H. Knibbs Federal Handbook, Melbourne: Govt. Printer, 1914, 512.

differentiation of antecedent and consequent, and into a continually wider circle of antecedents recognised as relevant.¹

An examination of the training of teachers in New South Wales provides us with just such a continually widening circle of relevant antecedents. While the emphasis will be on the training offered by the various Government institutions and Departments, the investigation must be set within the framework and context of the period. After 1880 the State had emerged supreme in the educational field. The power of the Church, principally the Roman Catholic Church, to claim a share of the State's finances for its own system had been curtailed in accord with the spirit of liberalism then current. This liberalism was not, in the main, anti-religious, but rather an attempt to make the State supreme in those matters affecting all of its citizens:

. . . the abolition of State aid to religion, and the introduction of a secular system of public education were pieces of liberal reform, not inspired by any contemptuous rejection of the value of religion, nor by any desire to persecute the Roman Catholic or any other Church, but rather by a determination to make the State, in action and in law, the symbol of a common citizenship.²

¹B. Russell, Mysticism and Logic, 188.

²J. Gregory, "Church and State in Victoria, 1851-1872," in A.G. Austin Australian Education, 1788-1900, Melbourne: Pitman, 1961, 108.

This liberal temper has also been defined in terms of the growing middle class mores with the emphasis on property rights, a belief in the goodness and rationality of the individual, a feeling for the intellect and a belief in progress as a more or less inevitable occurrence.¹

Inevitably after the initial skirmishes of 1848 and 1866 the Public Instruction Act of 1880 put the training of teachers firmly in the hands of the State. Education in a State such as New South Wales during this period, proved just too costly for non-State bodies to have much chance of doing more than organise along the peripheries. Settlement was expanding into marginal areas as population grew. Although the Roman Catholic Church was also growing it lacked the inherited wealth it had accumulated elsewhere and its members, belonging as they did to the poorer sections of the population, could not readily provide the finance. As Suttor has pointed out:

. . . the growth of secularism first restricted and finally abolished State aid just when the geographical scattering and the break-up of the family group by the capitalist labour market, attenuated popular

¹M.R. Leavey, "The Relevance of St. Thomas Aquinas for Australian Education," in Melbourne Studies in Education, 1963, 96, also G. Nadel, Australia's Colonial Culture, chaps. 13, 21.

allegiance to organised religion of any kind.¹

With all of these problems to face, the Roman Catholic hierarchy turned towards the most pressing-- the provision of elementary education for as many of their flock as they could reach. Although various proposals were advanced during the period under review for the training of teachers for their schools little was accomplished. Reviewing the proposals put forward by the Commissioners, G.H. Knibbs and J.W. Turner, in 1904, Brother Ronald Fogarty concludes:

. . . notwithstanding the gravity of the situation, it was to take the Catholic system between another forty and fifty years to bring its teacher-training programme into full operation.²

The concentration on the State's system of teacher-training, at no stage before 1968 officially designated as 'teacher education', is therefore necessary, although the efforts by other bodies should not be overlooked.

In terms then of Bertrand Russell's "wider circle of antecedents" we shall briefly trace the early attempts at teacher training as they grew into a system characterised by discipline, order and efficiency as the State assumed more and more responsibility for the staffing of its schools with "trained" teachers.

¹T.L. Suttor, Hierarchy and Democracy in Australia, 1788 - 1810, Melbourne: M.U.P., 1965, 4.

²R. Fogarty, Catholic Education in Australia, 1806 - 1950, Melbourne: M.U.P., 1959, 430.

Teacher Training before 1848

From the beginning the peculiar conditions existing in the colony of New South Wales had forced the authorities to take a greater interest in the education of its inhabitants than had been customary in England. Here were no colonial philanthropists able to make voluntaryism a cause, or even sufficient parents financially able to make fee-paying a real issue.

Even by mid-century the middle class and the wealthier pastoralists felt little responsibility towards education except insofar as it might provide a moral force to keep the lower orders aware of their social obligations. Furthermore, as Professor Russell Ward has noted, the high rate of mobility and the nomadic habits of the work force did not engender the same kind of educational paternalism that marked the efforts of mill owners like Robert Owen. Hence there was no real possibility of the situation arising, as it did in England in 1818, when the possibility of State intervention could be queried as being inimical to voluntary aid and in:

. . . danger of weakening the zeal of private subscribers in large towns, by interposing parliamentary assistance to bear part of the annual expenses . . . [because] those things which the public enters into with spirit, from a consciousness of their value and importance

to the community, are best supported by that zeal, when left to itself.¹

As early as 1805 Castlereagh had drawn Governor Bligh's attention to the fact that some intervention by the State would be necessary if the colony were to overcome its origins:

. . . you will feel the peculiar necessity that the Government should interfere on behalf of the rising generation and by the exertion of authority as well as of encouragement endeavour to educate them in religious as well as industrious habits.²

That their efforts were not uniformly crowned with success is a matter of record.

However, despite the contributions made by the L.M.S., the despatches of Bligh and Macquarie reveal the difficulties encountered in obtaining teachers with any form of training for the colony.³ As Macquarie had intimated his intention of establishing public Charity Schools⁴ the situation was acute.

In 1820 Bathurst informed Governor Macquarie that having noted "the want of schoolmasters in New South Wales and the necessity of sending out from this

¹William Allen, British and Foreign School Society, quoted by T.L. Jarman, Landmarks in the History of Education, London: Murray, 1963, 247.

²H.R.A., Series 1, V1, 18.

³ibid., V11, 724-725.

⁴H.R.N.S.W., V11, 338.

country persons properly qualified" had appointed the Reverend Mr. Reddall who had been coming as Assistant Chaplain as schoolmaster:

Mr. Reddall having been in regular attendance since July last at the Central National School in London, is thoroughly acquainted with the details of the system [Bell's] and you will feel authorized to make arrangements for carrying this plan into effect with as little delay as possible either at Sydney or Parramatta as you may judge most convenient for the central school, and in assimilating to it by degrees all other schools . . .¹

Although this was the first recorded attempt at a systematic training of teachers within the colony along the lines of the monitorial system the rival Lancastrian system had been in use for some time previously. William Pascoe Crook² and Thomas Bowden³ had both used the method in the colony, although it did not receive the same official favour that the National System with its insistence on "the principles of the established church" had.

Shortly after his arrival in the colony Reddall could report favourably on the progress of the system and proceed to the next stage:

¹H.R.A., Series 1, X, 304.

²Sydney Gazette, 13.7.1811.

³C. Turney, "The Birth of Education in Australia," Unpublished M.Ed. Thesis, University of Sydney, 1960.

I am now very desirous . . . that Masters and Mistresses, so soon as persons can be engaged worthy of confidence in these important situations, should be instructed and well disciplined in the system and appropriated . . . to the different schools throughout the Colony.¹

Rendall's influence on teacher training does not seem to have extended far among the adult population for despite a notice in the Sydney Gazette, March 4, 1821 calling for "Persons of sober and good moral habits" there seem to have been few applicants. Turney further mentions the direction of six boys from the Male Orphan School to the First Public School² to aid its conversion to the system advocated by Dr. Bell as well as the recommendation that six girls from the Female Orphan School should be apprenticed as monitors.³ This direction may have been necessary owing to the paucity of suitable adult applicants, although it was a logical extension of the monitorial system as envisaged by Bell and by Lancaster.

The evolution of the monitorial system in England⁴ had its roots in contemporary dissatisfaction with

¹H.R.A., 1, X, 441.

²C. Turney, op. cit.

³ibid., 287.

⁴This account of the monitorial system follows that of R.W. Rich, The Training of Teachers in England and Wales during the Nineteenth Century, and H.C. Barnard, A Short History of English Education, 62-68.

existing "schools". Like the pupil-teacher system which was to be its successor its strength lay in its organisation and method of approach. Using the raw human material at hand and depending upon a logical and rigorous analysis of the material to be learned the system provided a discernible and measurable progress. That the system tended to become dehumanised in the process and for the direct influence of the teacher on the the individual pupil to be lessened was not seen as a disadvantage. As Rich points out, under the monitorial system the teacher's main function was to see to the smooth working of the educational machinery:

In the monitorial school it was the system that mattered, and not the teacher. Under the National Society, masters who had been trained in the society's central schools were forbidden, when appointed to schools of their own, to depart from 'the beautiful and efficient simplicity of the system'. In the Lancasterian school, 'the master should be a silent by-stander and inspector. What a master says should be done, but if he teaches on this system he will find that is not personal, that when the pupils as well as the schoolmasters, understand how to act and learn on this system, the system, not the master's vague, discretionary, uncertain judgment will be in practice'.¹

Some training of the master was necessary, however, and this was given at one of the model schools and rarely

¹R.W. Rich, op. cit.

lasted more than three months. The training was of a practical kind as Bell stated, in terms that were to be echoed at different times at later dates by legislators and educators in the Colony of New South Wales:

It is by attending the school, seeing what is going on there, and taking a share in the office of tuition, that teachers are to be formed, and not by lectures and abstract instruction.¹

Although some monitors might benefit from their training and later join the ranks of the masters, most teachers were recruited from the ranks of adult candidates. The Reverend William Johnson, Clerical Superintendent of the National Society, in the 1834 Report of the Parliamentary Committee on the State of Education, in answer to the question, "Do you think if you were to select one of your school boys distinguished by their proficiency, and were to give them a superior education as schoolmasters you would have a superior class of schoolmasters?" stated:

I think we should be worse supplied than at present, considering that those children are connected with the very lowest of the people, and that their principles are not thoroughly matured, I should not recommend it as a general principle, fearing that it would not succeed.²

¹R. Southey and C.C. Southey, Life of Dr. Bell, 1844, cited R.W. Rich, op. cit., 4.

²J.S. Maclure, Educational Documents - England and Wales, 29-30.

A proposition that James Phillips Kay was later to disprove with startling success.

Judged by modern standards the monitorial system had little to recommend it. Training seldom extended beyond the rudiments necessary to hear lessons and maintain some order within the school. But little as it was the monitorial system provided an advance upon the schools which had existed hitherto and did, as Rich points out, show that "it was impossible to improve education without at the same time improving the teachers".¹ Less than seventy years later in New South Wales this "improvement" included University training for a select few--some indication of the increasing speed with which ideas on the training necessary for teachers were changing in response to the demands of a changing society.

Archdeacon Scott, formerly secretary to Commissioner Bigge, arrived in the colony in May, 1825 and noted the fact that there were only two schools organised upon the Madras system.² With more energy than tact Scott set about remedying the situation and the following notice appeared in the Sydney Gazette:³

¹R.W. Rich, op. cit., 21.

²H.R.A., Series 1, X11, 309.

³8th. June, 1825.

. . . it is expedient to form a class of not less than Twelve, to be instructed in the Madras System, and to be qualified as Teachers of the Primary Schools, which His Majesty has been graciously pleased to command should be established in every Parish throughout the Colony, and that a Preference be given to those born in it.

Despite his energy the Archdeacon was not the man to establish a sound basis for teacher training within the colony. He brought "nearly all" the teachers together for instruction over a period of approximately three months¹ before sending them back to their schools--presumably to spread the techniques they had learned by some form of inservice training. Turney notes² that candidates were attached to schools for a period to be trained in the methods and techniques of the Madras System.

Before Scott's departure in 1829 he had accepted the failure of his scheme. Less than a quarter of the children in the colony under twelve years of age were being educated by the Crown.³ Of the others, who were receiving some form of education, they were mainly attending private schools of whose teachers Scott had no good opinion.⁴ This opinion was shared by Halloran

¹H.R.A., 1, X11, 314.

²C. Turney, op. cit.

³H.R.A., 1, XV, 214.

⁴ibid.

who, writing in 1827, depicted them as:

. . . persons of very limited acquisitions, of very doubtful character and woefully deficient in the essential points of moral and religious qualifications--persons whose failure in other pursuits has driven them, as a last resource, to the scholastic profession.¹

This comment on the status of the teachers in the colony was echoed some twenty years later by T.H. Braim, sometime Principal of the Sydney College.²

Sir Richard Bourke, who arrived in the colony as Governor in 1831, while interested in education was more concerned with devising a system which could encompass the warring denominations than he was in actual teaching methods. He did, however, apply for teachers to be sent out to establish a Normal School³ recognising the need for some training if teachers in the colony were to be able to cope with his new system. Unfortunately his plans came to nought and Gipps could report in 1839, "When I arrived in the Colony (Feb. 1838), the plans of Sir Richard Bourke were considered to be virtually abandoned."⁴

¹The Gleaner, 28th July, 1827.

²See below p. 19.

³A.G. Austin, George William Rusden and National Education in Australia, 1849 - 1862, Melbourne, M.U.P., 1958, 16.

⁴H.R.A., 1, XX, 427.

Sir George Gipps, however, continued his predecessor's concern for education within the colony he was to govern. In his first address to the Legislative Council he noted, *inter alia*,

Impressed as I am with the importance to every country of the education of the mass of the people I deeply regret that I cannot congratulate the Council on the establishment of any systematic or comprehensive plan of education amongst us.¹

Despite his preoccupation with the pastoralists and his necessary concern with legislative change Gipps still found time to attempt some modification of existing practices. His "Minute on Public Education"² in 1839 attempted to circumvent some of the criticism levelled at his predecessor by implementing the system of the British and Foreign School Society.³ A most significant sentence, from the view of teacher training, hoped to establish a school that would also serve "as a normal one for the instruction of teachers."

Although this may be regarded as only one more pious expression of gubernatorial good will, for certainly Gipps' plans succeeded no better than had Sir Richard Bourke's, it proved indicative of a public opinion growing more aware of the necessity

¹Sydney Herald, 13th. August, 1838.

²Published in the Sydney Herald, 26th. July, 1839.

³Gipps to Normanby, 9th. November, 1839, in H.R.A., 1, XX11, 464ff.

of improving the training of the teachers. T.H. Braim,¹ writing of the period to 1844, commended Gipps' intentions:

We are glad to find that in the minute of Sir George Gipps, published in 1839, his Excellency expressed his admiration of the system of Normal Training Schools. It would be incalculable benefit to the colony if such institutions were introduced here.

Ignoring the efforts, and failure, of Henry Carmichael to set up a training institution some ten years earlier, Braim continued:

These schools will never be so useful as they might, till more care is taken in selecting suitable masters . . . Let our teachers of high or low degree go through a regular apprenticeship; let their certificates prove their ability and skill in imparting instruction . . . Why not establish in this hemisphere some training school, under the charge of a ² really clever, practical, and good man . . .

Braim's concern with the quality of teachers grew from slightly different soil to what William Wilkins found in the fifties. Like Wilkins, Braim found the lack of training to be a major drawback, but he found less to cavil at on the score of actual knowledge. Braim's complaint was that anyone who had the basic knowledge could, and often did, set up as a schoolmaster. Wilkins was to find his candidates frequently lacking

¹T.H. Braim, A History of New South Wales . . ., 197.

²ibid., 198.

in what could reasonably be defined as knowledge. Thus
 Braim:

The professional man who has not succeeded in his calling, the lawyer's clerk, the bookkeeper, the tradesman, and often, those whose sole recommendation consists of their ability to read and write and cost accounts. When all trades fail, and the world seems to cast its back upon them these, forsooth, set up as teachers of youth.¹

This attitude that, of the two parts of a teacher, as the nineteenth century could often divide him, training was regarded more importantly than educational background, ran as a leitmotif through much of the literature of the period. Archbishop Polding could write in 1861 that it was:

... comparatively easy to obtain men possessed of sufficient knowledge. The grand difficulty was in finding them endowed with desirable manner, and practised in successful methods of teaching.²

That public opinion was beginning to swing towards the belief that a better class of teacher could only be achieved by a process of adequate training can be seen by reference to evidence given to the Lowe Committee in 1844, although the training generally envisaged was of a rudimentary kind and reflected little of the educational thinking currently being discussed in

¹ ibid., 196.

² Polding, 29th. August, 1861, letter to Chairman, Annual Report of Denominational Schools Board, 1861, 6.

England. Before the formation of the Committee, however, Dr. John Dunmore Lang, in 1843 gave notice in the Legislative Council of moving twelve resolutions concerning education in the colony.¹ Two of these, concerning teacher training, foreshadow the recommendations of the later report of the Committee on which Lang served:

No. 7., That it is the opinion of this Council, that the City Council of Sydney, and the Town Council of Melbourne respectively, should be authorized to establish a model or training school in the said city or town, respectively, for the practical instruction of intending schoolmasters, in the business of teaching; the headmaster of such a school to have a salary not exceeding £100 per annum, with the other privileges and indulgences above enumerated.² and,

No. 9., That as the comparatively low state of education throughout this territory is to be ascribed in no small degree to the incompetency of a large proportion of the schoolmasters of the Colony, as well as to the inadequate remuneration they have hitherto received for their services, and the uncertain tenure of their appointments, it is absolutely necessary to make provision for the intellectual training of the future schoolmasters of the Colony, as well as that portion of the colonial youth who may desire to participate in the benefits of an academical education, whether with a view to professional pursuits, or to the general business of life.³

¹Official Publications - collections of unpublished papers on New South Wales, 1884, 23.

²ibid., 24.

³ibid., 25.

These resolutions were withdrawn, suggesting that although such matters were receiving attention the need for a trained body of teachers was not regarded as an urgent one. An interesting point that was underlined by witnesses before the Lowe Committee is the general acceptance that the State would have to be the major supporter of any activities in the training field. Although this principle had little support in England at this time beyond the provision of exhibitions for Queen's Scholars,¹ in the Colony of New South Wales assistance from the State was necessary if such training were to take place.

Following Dr. Lang's unsuccessful attempts at educational change Robert Lowe, then a nominated member of the Council, moved on 21st. June, 1844 that a Select Committee be appointed "to enquire into, and report upon, the state of education in this Colony, and to devise the means of placing the education of youth upon the basis suited to the wants and wishes of the community."² The Report was presented on 28th. August, 1844 and faithfully reflects its Chairman's belief in a national system of education modelled on the Irish System of Lord Stanley. Although most debate

¹Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 21st. December, 1846 in Maclure, op. cit., 55.

²V. & P., Legislative Council, 1844, 11, 450.

in public hinged on the type of system to be adopted,¹ pertinent questions were asked about the training of teachers.

One of the witnesses was Peter Steel who had been trained by David Stow and been brought to Sydney by Dr. Lang in 1838. Stow's influence had been instrumental in setting up a Normal Seminary, "the first teacher-training institution in Britain".² James Kay had visited the Normal School as a Poor Law Commissioner in 1837 and had been sufficiently impressed to employ five of Stow's former pupils on the staff of his Norwood school.³ Stow's training was of a practical nature and his older trainees stood out by contrast with the youthful monitors of Bell and Lancaster. Although Stow had made remarkable advances in teacher-training he:

. . . lived to regret subsequent developments
 . . . he resisted the State policy of recruitment of pupil teachers, juvenile apprentices, 'destitute of the moral and intellectual weight which is indispensable in a master', and he deplored the compulsion put on colleges to spend more time on the instruction of the

¹A heated debate, outside the scope of this work, was conducted in the columns of the Chronicle, Sydney Herald and the Atlas.

²Marjorie Cruickshank, "David Stow, Scottish Pioneer of Teacher Training in Britain," Br. J. Ed. Stud., XIV, No. 2, May 1966, 209.

³ibid., 210.

ex-pupil teacher in 'elementary' subjects than on their practical training as teachers.¹

Steel's evidence in 1844 showed him to be a true disciple of the master when he came out strongly against "'Normal Schools' where school masters are to be trained up in their profession by hearing lectures on teaching." But he then goes on to refer to the monitorial system in favourable terms,

. . . no person can learn the profession of school master anywhere but in a school and by being engaged for a limited period in a subordinate capacity as a monitor in that school.²

Evidence taken from the twenty-one witnesses showed that education in the colony was in no flourishing state. Of significance, however, was the recommendation that, "The foundation of a Normal or Model School in Sydney, for the training of schoolmasters, appears to your Committee to be an indispensable step."³ The training school envisaged was undoubtedly along monitorial lines,⁴ although the system recommended was the Irish National System that

¹ ibid., 212.

² V. & P., op. cit.

³ V. & P., Legislative Council, 1844, 11, 458.

⁴ For example, see the evidence of the Rev. F. Mansfield and the following witnesses.

Lowe so strongly supported. But there was a beginning, a recognition that the work of the teacher was not such that any reasonably literate indigent might assume it without a period of training--however slight the training might appear to modern eyes.

The Council finally accepted the Report by thirteen votes to twelve a margin that, combined with the highly vocal opposition, led Gipps to decline financial support for the new system.¹ Robert Lowe regarded Gipps' action as a betrayal² for political gain and referred "scornfully to his fellow legislators as 'deceitful men, who made professions concerning education which they never felt nor strove to carry out'".³ The day, however, was not altogether lost as concerned teacher training. Admittedly the Normal School was not established, but neither was the monitorial system entrenched and institutionalised as it might have been had there existed a centre around which support could mobilise. As it happened, the fragmentary nature of current training practices meant that Wilkins had little opposition when he proposed a

¹ibid., 519.

²Atlas, 7th. December, 1844.

³Ruth Knight, Illiberal Liberal, Melbourne: M.U.P., 1966, 82 (no source for citation).

different system of training to the then Board of National Education in 1851.¹

The significance of the Report of the Select Committee has frequently been underestimated although Professor Anderson did note that, "The report of that Committee contained, in principle, the scheme of later development."² Hearings were public and the newspapers kept public opinion informed in a manner not previously possible. Suttor's comment on the importance of the press refers to the following decade, but could with justification also refer to the period under discussion when he states,

The mass-circulation newspaper was the most important cultural innovation of the period, one of the most telling innovations in human history because it set a new standard of intellectual excellence, which has by now affected every discipline, even theology . . . But the press also focused the attention of large city populations on particular issues at particular times. Now even more than Horace Greeley's New York, Australia was exposed to this kind of cultural shaping without having been given any other.³

As a result popular allegiance to organised religion was being subject to a searching and frequently highly

¹B.N.E., Fourth Report, Append. 1, 4.

²F. Anderson, op. cit., 510.

³T.L. Suttor, Hierarchy and Democracy in Australia, 1788 - 1870, Melbourne: M.U.P., 1965, 6-7.

literate examination of basic issues at a time when the influence of all the churches was beginning to weaken as population started to disperse. Then, too, the fact that the Legislative Council, gradually growing more independent of the Governor could consider the matter of a system of education at such length tended to create an atmosphere wherein national consideration of the whole problem could be envisaged.

The period to 1848, the Select Committee apart, produced little of lasting value towards the training of teachers. The intentions of the Governors, interested and benevolent as they were, tended to remain intentions and to dissipate themselves in matters of more pressing import before they could be translated into actions. The opposition of well-organised groups, religious and pastoral, was also a stumbling block of major proportion to more than one reformer. But from the period did emerge two principles, implicit as they tended to be, yet were an overture to include all later themes. These were that some form of teacher training was seen to be necessary and that the State would have to be involved, to some degree as yet indeterminable.

CHAPTER IITEACHER TRAINING UNDER THE TWO BOARDS

The period after 1848 was dominated educationally by William Wilkins who bestrode his narrow world like an administrative colossus. From his arrival in 1851 to his retirement in 1883, he had filled all the major administrative positions from Headmaster to Under Secretary. Although some of the changes that appear over his signature would be the work of other hands there is no doubt that his administrative and pedagogic experience, his seniority and his energy ensured that little emerged that did not bear his approval. Although Wilkins is generally remembered for his work in establishing the pupil-teacher system, many of the administrative practices still in existence had their genesis during his term of office.

A great administrator and a first-class Public Servant, Wilkins offers an anomalous position to historians. The reforms he instituted, the changes he made and the administrative machinery he set up were essential to the educational well-being of the colony and without them the cause of national education would not have flourished as it did. Yet such was the

efficiency of the organisation that it tended to perpetuate itself beyond the term of its educationally desirable life. And we are faced with the proposition that what began as a regeneration ended as a sterile maintenance of the status quo ante. Like his erstwhile master, Kay-Shuttleworth, Wilkins could be described as the great eclectic. None of his administrative changes were original. But they reflected a wide reading and a willingness to profit by what had been proved of value elsewhere and his adaptations of these schemes to fit colonial conditions demonstrate his administrative genius. We must beware, too, of regarding Wilkins as the sole cause of change. Historiographers have long dispensed with Acton's thesis regarding great men as the sole arbiters of change and it will be necessary to see the events, as far as possible, within the context of their times.

The Board of National Education appointed on 4th. January, 1848 received its authority from Act 11, Victoria, 1848 to further the Irish National System of education. At its first meeting an application was made to the Governor "for some building suitable for a Model School, and which at the same time might serve as a Normal School for training teachers for the future

supply of the interior."¹ The Sheriff's Prison and the South Wing of the General Hospital were considered, but the Board's choice fell on the Military Hospital at Fort Phillip² which was shortly to be vacated. The need for ratification by the British Government and the necessity for repairs and alterations to be carried out meant that the Model School was not opened until May, 1850.³ In the meantime the Governor had been requested to procure:

. . . from the National Board of Ireland, a person properly trained in one of their Establishments and competent to undertake the duties of Master of the Sydney Model Boys' School . . .⁴

The Board's requirements were not exacting being merely a certificate signed by two of the Irish Commissioners attesting "to their moral character and their competency to teach according to the system adopted in Irish National Schools."⁵ In the interim Daniel and Mrs. O'Driscoll were appointed on the strength of O'Driscoll's training in Ireland. That this appointment

¹B.N.E., Fair Minutes, 1848-1853, 3.

²ibid., 23rd. June, 1848.

³ibid., 23rd. June, 1850.

⁴B.N.E. Report, 14th March, 1848, 1.

⁵B.N.E., Rough Minutes, 1848-1860, 5.

was viewed as being of a temporary nature is evidenced by the Board's statement that:

" . . . we do not regard the school in its present state as the Model School, still less as the Training School . . . " ¹

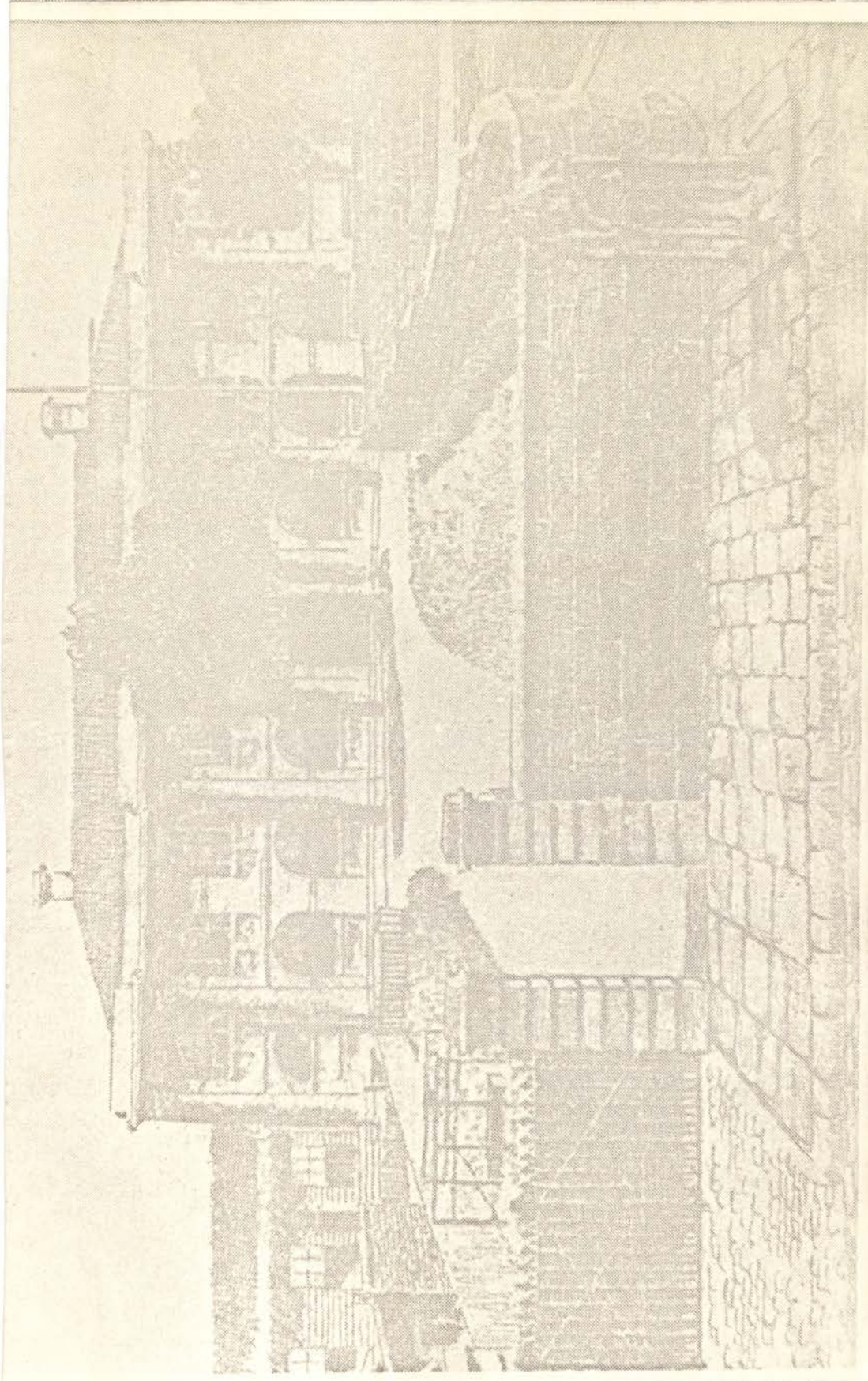
Despite the delays attendant upon the setting up of a new system, National schools were being established and teachers appointed. The Board looked forward to the establishment of the Model School along suitable lines so that all teachers could gain some practice in the Irish National System and its first report, after noting Fort Street's existing shortcomings, stated,

It has been stipulated with all the teachers hitherto appointed that they will be subject to the test of an examination at the Model and Training School, when established, and will be required to undergo such instruction and discipline there as may be thought proper to improve their qualifications as teachers. ²

Wilkins arrived in Sydney in January, 1851, but his first meeting with the Board that he was to serve so well was not favourable. He had not been trained under the Irish System and he lacked the certification of morality originally required. The Governor, Sir

¹B.N.E., Fair Minutes, 287, also B.N.E. Annual Report, 1848, 2.

²B.N.E. Annual Report, 1848, 3.



FORT STREET MODEL SCHOOL IN THE EARLY DAYS

Charles FitzRoy, recommended his appointment notwithstanding¹ and the way was cleared for the systematic reorganisation of all forms of education within the Colony.

Wilkins was not impressed with what he found. The Model School was "defective in organisation, in discipline and in the methods of teaching employed."² This situation was not to be tolerated and,

I then began, under the sanction of the Board, to introduce such improved methods as my experiences pointed out as necessary or desirable. The Board, I trust, are acquainted with the effect of these changes, in raising the character of the instruction and the tone of the Schools generally.³

The situation was indeed in need of improvement. Regulations framed in 1848, had provided for the establishment of a school "for training Teachers and educating persons destined to undertake the charge of schools."⁴ Appointment of teachers was vested in the Board, although the Local Patrons could suggest and recommend suitable candidates.⁵

¹B.N.E. Fair Minutes, 28th. January, 1851.

²B.N.E. Annual Report, 1851, 1.

³ibid. 3

⁴B.N.E. Regulations, 1848, 111, 3.

⁵ibid., 111, 2.

In September, 1849 the Board of National Education advertised for teachers who had been trained under the Irish National System.¹ The Board had no place to train the candidates and those entering the service were frequently deficient in educational qualifications. Candidates were required to be between the age of eighteen and forty years, to furnish a certificate of character and to declare their allegiance to the Crown. The Headmaster of the Model School was to examine their attainments in Grammar and Arithmetic and their knowledge of "the third, fourth and fifth lesson books published by the Commissioners for National Education in Ireland".² It was expected that the teacher:

" . . . should not only possess the art of communicating knowledge, but be capable of moulding the minds of youth, and of giving a useful direction to the power which education confers."³

Although some candidates had attended the Model School before the advent of Wilkins the practice was not uniform, especially in country areas. In 1851

¹S.M.H., 3rd September, 1849.

²V. & P., Legislative Council, 1849, 841.

³loc. cit.

after his appointment as Headmaster Wilkins wrote to the Board pointing out the desirability of all teachers previously appointed attending the Model School for a period of a month.¹ This training generally consisted of observation of method and some practice teaching. More than this soon proved necessary and in the first report that he made Wilkins drew attention to the shortcomings of the candidates. He found it necessary to institute a Teachers' Class which met after school in an attempt to raise the meagre attainments of his charges.²

Under the spur of necessity we find the beginnings of a system of training that lasted into the time of Alexander Mackie. Not only did the candidates have to be instructed and drilled in the finer points of their craft, but they also had to be taught those things which they were themselves to teach. It is no wonder that Wilkins' early experiences encouraged his search for a system that would ensure that the teacher gained, and maintained, as high a standard of learning as he possibly could. If this meant a rigid system of checks and balances, of early training, classifying examinations and regular inspections, the alternatives

¹B.N.E. Miscellaneous Letters Received, 29th March, 1851.

²B.N.E. Annual Report, 1851 in V. & P., 1851, 1285.

were not to be faced. Wilkins is frequently accused of establishing a system that left too little to the teacher's professional responsibility,¹ but such a charge ignores the realities of the situation. The raw material facing Wilkins at the beginning of his tenure was scarcely inspiring and the demand for labour aggravated by the gold rushes of the fifties meant that the nascent administration had to compete for available labour in a seller's market, and successive annual reports of Board and Council point to the difficulty of securing suitable candidates. In 1852 when the Board had some fifty four vested schools it was stated,

. . . some of the candidates on entering the Model School possessed such slender requirements as to be inferior to the more advanced pupils in the classes, and were gifted with so little skill in teaching and school management as to be incapable of maintaining order in the classes under their care.²

and some candidates were kept at the Model School beyond the normal term in the "hope that they would become useful Teachers"³ -- a procedure that had a

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

²B.N.E. Annual Report, 1852, V. & P., 1853, I, 493.

³ibid., 494.

precedent in the previous year.¹ W.A. Duncan had indirectly made this point in 1850 when discussing the Board's decision to seek a schoolmaster from overseas he regretted that owing to:

" . . . the dearth of properly qualified persons in the colony, it has been necessary to send to the mother country for a fit and proper person to conduct such an important establishment."²

With such candidates in mind Wilkins' fears for the quality of the embryo teaching service and the effects such teachers would have on pupils are understandable and his later actions in regulating teachers have their origins in the difficult decade following the establishment of the Board. Wilkins' background ensured that he would be familiar with current educational thought and the lack of a liberal policy in his early days was dictated by circumstances rather than by desire, as his later writings on teaching emphasise. As Rich has noted about the British scene during a similar period, "the low quality of the early training establishments was due more to the empty pocket than to the unenlightened mind,"³

¹V. & P., 1852, I, 1285.

²Lecture on National Education, School of Arts, Brisbane, 20th June, 1850, 17.

³R.W. Rich, op. cit., 23.

--a statement that could be repeated, pace Professor Anderson, at regular intervals during the following half-century.

That the training of teachers was not everywhere regarded as being a sterile inculcation of the techniques of school keeping can be seen in the evidence given, in England, to the Select Committee on Education in 1835 by the Reverend R.J. Bryce, Principal of the Belfast Academy:

I think that skill in the art of teaching requires, in the first place, a good general education, such as serves to enlarge and invigorate the mind, and make it capable of receiving and applying philosophical principles. In the second place it requires a knowledge of the laws of the human mind; I do not mean a familiarity with metaphysical controversies, but a sound acquaintance with all ascertained and undoubted parts of mental philosophy, which are neither few nor unimportant, and most of which are capable of being practically applied to the business of education. Finally there ought to be constructed a science of education founded upon the ascertained facts and laws of the human mind, bearing the same relation to mental philosophy which the science of medicine bears to anatomy and physiology; and this is the third thing I think every teacher ought to study.¹

The movement of teacher training in New South Wales towards an acceptance of these aims and an understanding of the underlying principles was a slow progress marked by many detours. Without the administrative framework

¹ ibid., 45-46.

constructed during the term of the Board of National Education the progress would have been slower and the advances less well marked. By providing sound foundations it gradually became possible to elevate the structure and, as Marx pointed out about the revolutions of 1848, those most interested in change are people who have achieved something and have become aware of the possibility of better things ahead.

Candidates attending the Model School at Fort Street were attending during "normal hours" for observation and practice and afterwards going to a "Teachers' Class" for the rudiments of their professional knowledge. With modifications the Training School was to accept this dichotomy of functions well into the twentieth century. Early in 1853 the training side of Wilkins' duties had expanded to a point where he could suggest the splitting of the Training Department from the school itself,¹ but the training period was still generally kept at a month. At the end of his first year's service the Board paid tribute to the "great zeal and aptitude" of Wilkins who,

. . . has already introduced, at the school in Fort Street, improved methods of teaching which, we trust, will ere long justify its title of a Model School and establish a new era in popular education of the colony.²

¹B.N.E. Annual Report, 1853, 3.

²V. & P., 1852, I, 1285.

The successful introduction of a scheme of training known as the Pupil-teacher System owes a great deal to the efforts of Wilkins. It had become painfully obvious that the quality and quantity of the adult candidates were inferior to what was needed and it seemed unlikely that the situation would improve in the immediate future. Under the circumstances Wilkins turned, as he frequently did, to methods successfully in use elsewhere and suggested "the expediency of adopting this system of employing pupil-teachers".¹ For an expedient it was to prove highly successful and, as its alumni assumed positions of authority, its maintenance came to be seen as the major stumbling block in the future development of teacher training. At the time it helped solve an extremely difficult problem and, in its own way, also helped produce the men who could replace it with a system more in touch with the different times. It was necessary for the system to be introduced--the Colony was fortunate that it had to hand a man who understood its workings so well.

In essence the system adopted by the Whig Committee of Council on Education in December, 1846, was a logical extension and development of the discredited monitorial

¹ibid.

system. Kay-Shuttleworth had observed the working of the monitorial system as an Assistant Poor Law Commissioner and had seen a system of pupil-teaching working in Holland. Rich had remarked on the growth of the pupil-teacher system as a compromise between the monitorial system and that of full time training:

It [the monitorial system] died hard, however, and it left its mark on the English system of teachers' training in the pupil teacher system which was a characteristically English compromise. The combination of apprenticeship with a system of residential training colleges was an endeavour to preserve whatever excellences there may have been in the "training" of teachers under the monitorial régime, whilst realising the unquestioned advantages of the Continental type of training, which meant the education of the prospective teacher in a residential seminary.¹

The system had the advantage, in England, of encouraging promising children to stay at school for training as teachers while at the same time gaining from their employment. The scheme as introduced in 1846 was adopted in its essentials by New South Wales. There was an indentured apprenticeship (later dropped), annual examinations, bonuses to teachers taking pupil-teachers (also later dropped in New South Wales), allowances to the pupil-teachers themselves, and grants to selected pupil-teachers to attend the Training School. There was not, however, the same generous granting of

¹R.W. Rich, op. cit., 2.

exhibitions as there was to the 'Queen's Scholars'. A further difference was that the English system envisaged a five year apprenticeship for pupil-teachers and a four year term for Stipendiary Monitors, whereas the Colonial system for the half-century following its introduction kept a four-year scale and, unlike Victoria, refused to maintain monitors.

Both systems envisaged a minimum starting age of thirteen years, set out the period of training, described the subjects the candidate would have to pass, set down the amount of teaching he would receive, required him to teach briefly before appointment and to have a certificate attesting to his moral qualities.¹ As behoved a Colony whose standard of living was considerably higher than the Mother Country's, stipends were also higher. In England it was envisaged that the pupil-teachers would receive £10 at the end of the first year, rising to £20 at the end of the fifth year. The school might also see fit to add to this. In New South Wales the centralised administration precluded salary from other sources and paid £15 during the first year, rising to £25 in the fifth year.² The system was regarded as an

¹Details of the English system from Minutes of the Committee of Council of Education, 21st. December, 1846 in Cruickshank, *op. cit.*, 53-54. Details pertaining to New South Wales from V. & P., 1852, 1285 ff. and 1853, I, 493 ff.

²V. & P., 1852, I, 1284.

apprenticeship in New South Wales and indentures were drawn up for prospective entrants.

Wilkins in the 1851 Annual Report stated his views of the system concisely:

. . . a Pupil Teacher (so called from the fact of his being occupied as a Teacher while himself under instruction) is an apprentice to a schoolmaster. His functions are to attend to the minor details of school discipline and organization, and according to his efficiency, to take charge of the instruction of one or more classes. After school, his own education, as part of the remuneration for his services is conducted by the Master. In addition to this privilege he receives a certain salary, increasing annually. At the expiration of the period of his apprenticeship, the Pupil Teacher is prepared to act most efficiently as assistant in a large school, and when his experience shall have been sufficiently¹ matured, to assume the office of Master.

Delegates to the Conference in Sydney in 1904 and the reports of the Educational Commissioners show how far the system had atrophied during the succeeding fifty years. However, it is difficult to see how the Colony could have survived educationally without the pupil-teacher system, because, despite the thunders of Parkes when he still owned The Empire and a few other like-minded men, public interest, when it was focused on education, concerned itself with issues other than the training of teachers. However, we must be concerned

¹ibid.

with the developments in the pupil-teacher system since the increasing movement for its abolition and replacement with other forms of teacher training occupy so much of the stage after the passing of the Public Instruction Act.

In successive Annual Reports Wilkins expressed his satisfaction at the progress being made by the new system and in 1853 stated realistically but ominously in the light of later developments:

"The experience of the past year confirms the opinion that a supply of properly qualified Teachers can be obtained only by training apprentices to the office."¹

Expansion of the scheme was obviously desirable, but there was a discernible limit to the number of pupil-teachers that could be adequately trained while there was no check on the capabilities of teacher-instructors outside the immediate influence of the Model Schools. The appointment of Wilkins as Inspector and Superintendent with the express charge of "securing efficient inspection of the National Schools of the Colony"² and the initiation of a scheme for classifying

¹B.N.E. Annual Report, 1853, 5.

²B.N.E. Minute Book, 1854-58, 52, 10th. June, 1854.

National school teachers¹ provided a means of evaluating and encouraging all those falling under the aegis of the Board.

In August of the same year a Select Committee of the Legislative Council was appointed "to inquire and report whether any measures can be adopted for improving the means of Education . . .". Three Commissioners were appointed of whom Wilkins was one. Parkes anticipated their later findings by claiming that "the teachers throughout the colony, with few exceptions, were ignorant, undisciplined and incompetent."² The Final Report of the Commissioners set out in scaring detail the conditions existing in the schools of the time. Its significance for the later training of teachers is immense since it gave chapter and verse to the deficiencies of education in the Colony.

The Commissioners found that the majority of the Denominational schools they visited were still using monitors or some variation of the monitorial method and that the Central Board encouraged this,

"It is much to be regretted that the Board should sanction, much less encourage,

¹V. & P., 1855, I, Appendix E, 2.

²The Empire, 5th September, 1854.

a system so essentially defective as the
 Monitorial. It failed in the Mother Country . . ."¹
 The major fault, they claimed, was that "the methods of
 teaching employed are unsuitable and ineffective",² that
 the majority were untrained³ and that:

They have principally failed for want of
 exact technical knowledge of more extended
 information on general subjects, and of improved
 methods of teaching; in short, for want of the
 advantages conferred by a thorough and judicious
 training . . . All, however, would greatly
 benefit by a course of training adapted to the
 wants of the country.⁴

In Paragraph 52 the Commissioners made the point with
 telling force that:

. . . except at the Model School, the training
 is nominal only; and even there the candidates
 remain so short a time that their training is
 necessarily insufficient. Properly speaking,
 the Model Schools in Sydney are not Training
 Institutions at all, but merely practising
 Schools: there is no real Normal School in the
Colony.⁵

They recommend the general adoption of the pupil-
 teacher system, but realising that this is a long term
 project,

¹Final Report From School Commissioners, presented
 6.12.1855, Report No. 22, 9.

²ibid., 12.

³ibid., Table 31, 23, 72 were trained in the colony,
 27 in the Mother Country and 105 "Not Trained".

⁴ibid., 22.

⁵ibid., 24.

. . . some means should be devised for immediately satisfying what is already a pressing want. The institution of a proper Normal School seems to us one of the most necessary steps for that purpose. Some difficulty would, in all probability, be at first experienced in procuring a sufficient number of students for the Normal School, inasmuch as there are at present no inducements for persons to enter the profession of the teacher. Candidates, however, might be obtained by offering Scholarships, Exhibitions, Etc., and by requiring all pupil teachers whose indentures had expired, to proceed to the Normal School, before receiving an appointment . . .

These are long extracts, but with the Lowe Report of 1844 it is one of the seminal documents in the history of the development of education within New South Wales. Its honesty and consistency of purpose reveal that the gap between what was recognised as necessary and what could be achieved at the time depended on matters other than those purely educational. Even so tenacious a critic as Francis Anderson recognised this aspect, although he generally managed to suppress it, when he noted that, "the Departmental authorities have to do, not what they desire, but what they can, with the limited means at their disposal."²

It might be further noted that the ideals behind the setting up of a training system for teachers

¹ibid., 28.

²F. Anderson, op. cit., 513.

indicated in the two Reports were not to be realised for many years. Even the appearance of the Public Instruction Act in 1880 still found many of the points made in the Reports inadequately covered, even though changing times had raised the desirable goals still further. Wilkins would surely have read with sympathy and rueful understanding Robert Browning's later words that "man's reach should exceed his grasp", for this is what he consistently practised during his long tenure in office.

After 1854 the training of teachers proceeded along four lines all of which, owing to the personalities involved and the smallness of the system, tended to blur and to impinge on each other. Thus there was the Training School, still really a practising school only, the Pupil-Teacher system, the system of classification by examination and the beginnings of an Inspectorial system which was to combine evaluation with some inservice training.

Late in 1856 Wilkins was empowered to initiate "a Normal School for the training of teachers under the Board."¹ Two additional rooms had been provided and classes formed of assistant teachers and candidates.² The aims of this institution were modest being merely

¹B.N.E. Minute Book, 1854-58, 3rd. November, 1856, 342.

²B.N.E. Annual Report, 1856, V. & P., 1857, 368.

"to correct and systematise the knowledge already acquired".¹ Lectures were given on "the art of teaching as a means of familiarising the pupils with the principles and practice of their profession".² The course was widened in 1857 to include all the subjects that a teacher could be called upon to teach and School Management added to the curriculum. Wilkins felt that the means of training had been provided as far as was possible--the only major drawback being the short period that candidates could spend in training:

. . . if they fail to become teachers the fault lies in themselves or in the brevity of the period of their training, which still only extended for one month despite many appeals regarding the inadequacy of the time spent in training.³

Wilkins was running into the frustrations that were to affect many of his plans in the future, a legislature that would not provide additional money to adequately train the teachers for the schools it was building and acquiring so quickly.

However, by 1859 the Board could permit "eligible" candidates to remain at the Training School for an

¹ ibid.

² ibid.

³ B.N.E. Annual Report, 1857, V. & P., 1858, 376.

additional two months. During this period these candidates would attend instruction as previously, but could spend up to half the additional time improving their own attainments.¹ But even this was felt to provide no real solution and, compared with the period of training in the Mother Country, could "only be regarded as an approximation of a plan for securing an efficient staff of National School teachers".²

It is interesting to note the official view that the National Commissioners held of the candidates attending the "model National School" at this time:

It is assumed that no person will assume the office of teacher merely for the sake of the emolument. On the contrary, it is hoped that every candidate has been promoted in his desire to undertake the charge of a School by higher motives;--by a love of the work, by a sense of its importance to society, by a feeling of his own suitability for the office, and not without deep reflection upon the grave responsibility it involves. To persons influenced by such motives, no amount of trouble or inconvenience that enables them to augment their qualifications, will appear too great; and they will earnestly endeavour, by all the means in their power, to add to their stores of knowledge, and to acquaint themselves with improved modes of managing schools. Candidates who are thus disposed will find

¹B.N.E. Annual Report, 1859, V. & P., 1861, 286.

²ibid.

the Teacher's Office delightful and rich in those mental gratifications which good men prize; while to the mere hireling it will only prove irksome and disagreeable.¹

The Instructions to Candidates then goes on to quote the Board's Regulations which define the qualities a teacher should possess:

A Teacher should be a person of Christian sentiment, of calm temper and discretion, imbued with a spirit of peace, of obedience to the law and loyalty to the Sovereign; and should not only possess the art of communicating knowledge, but be capable of moulding the minds of youth, and of giving a useful direction to the power which education confers.²

The emphasis then, as it was previously in the days of Reddall and Scott, was upon the moral virtues. By implication, a teacher so equipped and properly mindful of the elevated nature of his calling would be able to add to the store of his own knowledge and learn "the improved modes of managing schools". In the meantime the Board would enable them "to join the Teacher's class at mid-day, or the normal class in the evening".³ The days of the monitor attending for instruction at convenient breaks in school routine were not so far absent from the National

¹"Instructions to Candidates in Training at the Model National School", in V. & P. Legislative Assembly, 1859-60, IV, 30-32.

²ibid.

³ibid., Instruction II.

System as Wilkins would have us believe.

Teacher training, then, as far as the candidates were concerned consisted chiefly of observation at the Model School with some practice teaching included. Teachers' Classes were held during the day by members of the staff of the Model School. After school hours a "normal class" was held to give further instruction in teaching subjects as well as some instruction in techniques and school management. Fort Street School was not regarded as a Training School, but as a Model School where candidates could receive some training. That this distinction was made by the Board can be seen in the title to the instructions they issued to candidates.¹ Wilkins also recognised the distinction and in 1859 again urged upon a reluctant and unheeding legislature the need for carrying out one of the recommendations of the Select Committee's Report, the establishment of a central training school.

" . . . every true friend of education will admit that the establishment of one central training institution is an educational want that cannot be supplied too early."²

¹q.v.

²B.N.E. Annual Report, 1859, V. & P., 1861, 304.

In 1861 it briefly appeared that matters had taken a turn for the better. The Annual Report for that year noted the appointment of a Training Master to ease some of the burdens falling upon the Headmaster. John Mills, first Training Master, had been trained in England and brought to Sydney by the Board. It was reported¹ that training of candidates lasted for six weeks, implying that the time a candidate spent at the Model School tended to depend to a certain extent upon expediency. Wilkins was tireless in his demands for extended training, but the period involved seems to have depended on what the administrators could get away with, for at times between 1862 and 1865 the training was suspended completely for varying periods. In 1861 he noted in the Annual Report that,

. . . the question of training teachers, and its bearing on the future educational arrangements of the Colony and the success which has already attended our efforts in this direction seem to justify a further extension² of the operations of the Training College.

The candidates were taught the subjects that they would later be required to teach. The Training Master was also required to take over from the Headmaster the instruction in school management previously given at

¹B.N.E. Annual Report, 1861.

²ibid., 35.

the Model School.¹

The financial problems that the Board had to face in attempting to implement a programme of teacher training came to a head in the five years before the passing of the Public Schools Act. At the end of 1862 and the beginning of 1863 the Training School was closed for three months. It was closed again in 1865 for a month in July.² When it reopened funds were so short that candidates were only admitted on the understanding that they would not claim the allowance that had previously been guaranteed. The apparent gains of 1861 had proved short-lived, although the situation was not as grave as appeared on the surface. The need for a training institution had been amply demonstrated and although there was no general recognition of this on the part of the Legislature of the time, the Training School was beginning to assume a greater level of importance. Admittedly its role was still seen as an adjunct to the pupil-teacher system as a means of obtaining teachers and the Training Master in 1863 could report that the training classes served a useful purpose because, although the pupil-teacher system had been firmly established, "it will be a long

¹ibid., 1863, 75.

²ibid., 1865.

time before this system will be sufficiently developed to furnish anything like the number needed."¹ This view was to be held for a long time before the combined efforts of Peter Board and Alexander Mackie could dispel it at the beginning of the twentieth century.

The advantages that the Denominational Schools Board started with in 1848 were more apparent than real. Unlike the National Board it already had a system of schools and teachers employed by the various denominations. Not only were these schools inefficient and educationally unsound at the time the 1856 Report was published but also they lacked the psychological and material advantages the new National system quickly procured. It had the support of the clergy and powerful public figures such as Charles Cowper, but the various denominations were rarely interested in education to the exclusion of all else.

The Denominational Schools Board lacked the unity of purpose that the National Board had by function of its establishment. It lacked the control over the employment of teachers that the National Board could exert and, to all intents and purposes, was merely a

¹B.N.E. Annual Report, 1863, 22.

disbursing agency for government funds. Furthermore, since grants to the Denominational Board were made on the basis of the 1846 census there was little to look forward to unless the powerful sectarian influences could join long enough to sway the legislature in their favour. This was unlikely especially as the gathering momentum of secular liberalism was having a profound effect upon the populace at large. A number of writers have commented upon this phenomenon,¹ but Suttor makes the point effectively when he states:

The 1850s were the turning point in Australia, somewhat earlier, it is my impression, than in England or Germany when it comes to the defection of the masses from Christianity. 'Espouse the cause of a national education', said the (London) Tablet in 1855, in an argument the Freeman endorsed, 'and this is to will the triumph of rationalism.' This saying had more point in Australia than in England at the time.²

Noting the emotional appeal to the Irish Catholics and the bland approach of the Moore College Anglicans and the consequent loss of contact with the "real life" he continues:

It was not much to throw up against the great achievements of the nineteenth century that now overwhelmed the intellect by their rapid succession: the theory of organic evolution, the table of the chemical elements,

¹vide G. Nadel, op. cit., chaps. 13, 14, 15 and R. Ward, op. cit., chap. VII.

²T.L. Suttor, op. cit., 254.

Maxwell's equations of electromagnetism, refrigeration, cheap steel, and all the rest of it.

While this may be underestimating the power of the churches at this time there is little doubt that their influence was waning comparably to what it had been prior to 1848. Similarly, as returns to the Denominational Schools Board reveal, many of their schools were denominational only in that they came under the aegis of the Board as the pupils of one school frequently came from many religions.

The National Board, on the other hand, started with what was virtually a clean slate without the residue of interdenominational bickering and collection of schools whose establishment had not always been made on the grounds of educational need or even efficiency and economy of operation. The National Board's need to face the challenge of creating an educational complex from nothing gave it the major advantage of being able to build its organisation without the debilitating need for compromise of working with a system already established whose members were very jealous of their prerogatives. The National System also had the incalculable advantages of having William Wilkins and the support of Henry Parkes, both publicists, in different ways, of a very high order and capable of

presenting the case for a system of national education with irrefutable argument.¹ Parkes early showed his colours:

Firmly believing as we do, in the great superiority of the national system of education, we would not give our support to any person who would be likely to interfere with the experiment now going on to test its efficacy.²

and later charged,

that in this department the religious parties and the government are in such strange modes of both antagonism and alliance that between them the education of the country is involved in an inexplicable maze.³

Although Parkes was not always so direct in his support of the National System there is strong reason to believe that his was a major influence in guiding the growing public belief in the superiority of the National Schools.

The Denominational Schools Board had begun with the best of intentions regarding the training of teachers in its charge. It intended to establish Model Schools to:

. . . give each Denomination some degree of uniformity of system, to provide against incompetent parties being appointed Teachers, to ensure a ready supply of competent candidates for the Office, and to excite the

¹cf. Wilkins' arguments in his letters to the press and in such pamphlets and books as:

²Empire, 2nd. August, 1851.

³ibid., 21st. September, 1854.

emulation of Schoolmasters, by placing before them the best Model both of School and Teacher that the Denomination could afford.¹

The aims were laudable but the reality resided in the last words. The Denominations could not afford the type of training, nor even the type of candidate that the National Board was to become increasingly dissatisfied with. By the time the Public Schools Act was passed some advances had been made in the training of teachers by the different denominations, but the total effect was slight, and the influence on the course of teacher training in the State as a whole was negligible. The significance of the vain attempts at training made by the denominations was a negative one as far as they were concerned. The result was to strengthen the hand of those who saw in a centralised training institution the only means of securing that supply of candidates and pupil-teachers that the growing population required for staffing its far-flung schools.

The Denominational School Board had clung to the monitorial system despite the strictures of the Select Committee,² although each denomination followed its

¹V. & P. Leg. Council, 1849, II, 842.

²D.S.B., 1859, letter from W. Cuthbert to Bishop of Sydney, 1st. October, 1859.

own line as far as finance and staffing would permit. The Catholic Training School at St. Mary's Cathedral was established in 1861 along the lines of Fort Street Model School and training of candidates lasted for six months, although this could vary according to the exigencies of the situation.¹ Pupil-teachers were employed in some of the schools, although the number was never considerable² and difficulty was found in competing for applicants with the National Board whose stipends were generally higher.³

Although the Denominational School Board attempted to emulate the innovations of the Board of National Education, the results were in general melancholy. Wilkins and the National Board had laid the foundations for future progress by both the Training School and the Pupil-Teacher system, but they had also attempted to deal with the teacher, already employed, who was still in need of further training. To this end were established the systems of inspection and of classification by examination, conventions that served their original

¹Fogarty, op. cit., 88.

²D.S.B. Annual Reports, 1861, 9, 1865, 26.

³An account of the pupil-teacher system under the Denominational School Board can be found in K.V. Mathews' A History of the Pupil-Teacher System in New South Wales, University of Sydney, 1961.

purposes so effectively that they were expanded until they assumed a rigidity not always beneficial to the progress of education.

Although Wilkins had been appointed Inspector and Superintendent of National Schools in 1854, the system of inspecting schools was not an innovation in New South Wales. Turney¹ has noted elements similar to later inspectorial practices as early as 1819 in the Rules and Regulations of the Male Orphan School, while the duties of Reddall and Scott involved the visiting of schools under their charge. It is doubtful, however, whether the scheme of inspection that evolved after 1856 had its origins in New South Wales. The Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, dated August, 1840, include a series of "Instructions to Inspectors of Schools" which were sent out over the signature of James Phillips Kay. These instructions set stringent limits to the powers of the inspectors. Generally the employment of inspectors was to afford promoters of schools an opportunity of ascertaining:

. . . what improvements in the apparatus and internal arrangement of schools, in school management and discipline, and in the methods of teaching, have been sanctioned by the most extensive experience [and] that this inspection is not intended as a means of exercising control, but of

¹op. cit., 151.

affording assistance; that it is not to be regarded as operating for the restraint of local efforts, but for their encouragement . . . the Inspector having no power to interfere, and not being instructed to offer any advice or information excepting where it is invited.¹

In New South Wales in 1856 Mr. W. McIntyre, who had been trained overseas, was appointed Organizing Master and the terms of his appointment were similarly modest.

He was appointed for:

. . . the purpose of offering his advice and assistance to the teachers in improving the organization, discipline and instruction of their schools, but without enforcing any changes; to teach himself, so as to set before the masters an example of appropriate methods . . .²

The similarity between the two sets of conditions of appointment is marked, especially when we consider Wilkins' relationships with Kay. But this appointment seems to have been a temporary measure for the Report of the Educational Commissioners presented the same year states plainly:

The appointment of Inspectors seems to us absolutely essential for the successful working of any system . . . they must be practically acquainted with the business of teaching, and have acquired some distinction in the profession . . . [otherwise] their appointment will be productive of more evil

¹J. Maclure, Educational Documents, op. cit., 48.

²B.N.E. Annual Report, 1856, 4.

than good.¹

The Report proceeded to reject the English belief noted above where the Inspector's function was primarily advisory and recommended:

In this Colony, the Inspector should have power to make such alterations in the management of the school, as he deems expedient; so long, at least, as there is such a large number of imperfectly trained masters.²

The Inspector's role was seen, therefore, by the Commissioners to be much different from that envisaged by the English Committee of Council. To some extent the Inspector was to help make up for the deficient training of the teacher by requiring a rigid adherence to the stated pattern. The dangers inherent in this procedure were not immediately obvious and the question arises that even if these dangers could have been envisaged whether there was any alternative. Schools were widely dispersed, local patrons were unwilling, even if capable, to oversee school procedure, and the burden fell upon a group of men, Inspectors of Schools, to maintain the unity and efficiency of the National schools and to encourage, goad, reprimand and evaluate the "large number of imperfectly trained

¹Report of Commission, 1856, op. cit., par. 66.

²ibid., par. 67.

masters". Again, as so often happened with Wilkins' changes, the new system worked so well that there was little need seen to change it even though new ideas and different times were creating a changed climate.

By 1861 Wilkins, then Chief Inspector, had organised a system of District Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors with functions extending far beyond the advisory duties of the original Organizing Master. The Instructions to Inspectors commence, "Inspectors are to bear in mind that they are not administrators of the National System of Education . . .".¹

Although not administrators the dual functions of training and evaluating that Wilkins set before them were to continue into the present time.

¹Circular to District Inspectors, Board of National Education, 29th. August, 1861.

1863.

of

PROGRAMME OF LESSONS for the THIRD CLASS, during the Second Quarter of Enrolment, for the Quarter ending constructed to accord with the provisions of the STANDARD OF PROFICIENCY.

TIME.	READING.	WRITING.	ARITHMETIC.	GRAMMAR.	GEOGRAPHY.	OBJECT LESSONS.	DRAWING.	ANALYSIS.	MENTAL ARITHMETIC.
1st week.	Third Book, I.N.S.R., pp. 9 to 12	In Copy Books—	Notation, Multiplication, and Division, as— $6271074003 \times (3019-97)$ 301796 — 5754	Noun—kind, Number and person.	New South Wales History. Boundaries and extent.	Snake.	Fowles' Series, Drawing Book No. 2, 3rd page 1st fig.	Simple Sentence definitions	$\sqrt{\frac{(72 \times 2) + 2}{5} + 4}$
2nd "	" 12 " 16	Large, Round, and	Avoirdupois Weight. (Addition.)	"	Inlets.	Coal.	2nd "	Simple Subject.	"
3rd "	" 17 " 19	Small Hands,	Subtraction— Quotient = 4006 Divisor = 5108 Rem. = 87. Find dividend.	Gender.	Capes.	Ivory.	3rd "	Simple Predicate.	In £7 10s. 0d. how many sixpences and how many fourpences, &c.?
4th "	" 20 " 23	as	Troy Weight.—(Addition.)	Nominative case.	Natural Divisions.	Kangaroo.	4th "	Enlargement of Subject by Adjectives.	Price of scores.
5th "	" 23 " 25		Subtraction.	Objective case.	Great Dividing Range.	Salt.	5th "	"	In £3 3s. 0d. how many florins, &c.?
6th "	" 25 " 27	MITTAGONG	Avoirdupois and Troy Weights. 750863 ÷ 5½, &c.	Possessive case	"	Rice.	6th "	By Nouns in Possessive Case.	Scores.
7th "	" 28 " 30	RANGE,	Long Measure—(Addition.) Find product of two numbers— Greater = 1147015 & diff. = 57913.	Verb. Number and person.	Eastern Spurs.	Shark.	7th "	By Adjective and Nouns in Possessive Case.	Scores.
8th "	" 30 " 33		Subtraction.	Transitive.	Western Spurs Coast Ranges.	Iron.	8th "	By Nouns in apposition.	Price of gross. In 36,854 florins, how many threepences, &c.?
9th "	" 33 " 35	highest summit	576983 + 7½, 304, &c.	Intransitive.	Interior "	Coral.	9th "	By Adjectives, Nouns in Possessive Case, and Nouns in apposition.	Gross. 1 gross, at 4s. per article, how much less than 3 guineas, &c., &c.?
10th "	" 35 " 38	JELLORE.	Square Measure—(Addition.) (7108)² ÷ (2057)²	Tense.	Isolated Peaks. Drainage. Different slopes.	Wool.	10th "	By Prepositional Phrases.	and how many sixpences less, or half-crowns?
11th "	" 38 " 41		"	Mood.	Rivers of E. slope.	Lion.	4th page, 1st fig.	"	100 articles, at per article.
12th "	" 41 " 43		Subtraction. Find product of two numbers— 1st = 31057, 2nd = 3 times 1st.	"	Rivers of W. slope.	Gold.	2nd "	"	N.B.—The operations indicated in 1st week's work to be continued every week during Quarter.
13th "	Recapitulation.		Recapitulation.	Recapitulation	Recapitulation	Paper.	3rd "	Participial Phrases and Analysis of Simple Sentence.	

CHAPTER IIITEACHER TRAINING AND THE COUNCIL OF EDUCATION

Clause 13 of the Public Schools Act of 1866 provided for the establishment of a Training School for both males and females where all teachers would be trained under the auspices of the State. Although attempts were made during the period that the Council held office to implement the Act, energies were mainly directed to the organisation of a national system of education whose genesis had occurred under the previous administration. Where the training of teachers was seriously considered the system immediately thought of was the pupil-teacher system. The Training School existed partly as a place for training mature candidates and, after 1867, more for those pupil-teachers who had completed their term and could pass the entrance examination.

The emphasis, as it had been under the Board, was directed along two lines. One was the securing and training of young people before they could become involved in other pursuits, by binding them as pupil-teachers. The other line of emphasis was the training of teachers already in the service whose attainments

N^o. 68. 3327Council of Education Office,
Sydney. 20th April, 1868.

Madam,

I have the honor to acquaint you that the Council of Education has appointed you to be the Teacher of the Public School at Tourang, with salary at the rate of sixty pounds per annum, such appointment being effective from the date of your taking charge of the school.

£60.



2. You will, therefore, be good enough to make arrangements for at once proceeding to Tourang and entering upon the duties of the office to which you have been appointed.

On arrival, it will be necessary for you to exhibit this letter to Mr Thomas Grubb, the Honorary Secretary to the Local School Committee, as evidence of your official appointment by the Council.

Miss Agnes Deane,
Appointed Teacher of the
Public School at
Tourang.

I have the honor to be,

Madam,

Your most obedient servant,
H. Wilkins,
Secretary.

were generally scanty. These points emerge in Wilkins' circular to teachers early in 1867:

The elevation of the teaching profession to its proper rank in a civilized community has been regarded by the Council as one of the most effective means of improving the character of public instruction. To this end the Regulations have been framed in such a manner as to afford to intelligent and faithful teachers opportunities of extending their acquirements, of improving their professional qualifications, and of raising their social position
 . . . ¹

Wilkins continued by pointing out the personal, moral and religious qualities desirable in a good teacher and emphasised that personal professional improvement was essential:

A high authority has pronounced that a teacher requires to know more than he is called upon to teach, in order that he may teach with intelligence and with taste; and this view has led the Council to arrange for the successive examination of teachers, until they have gained a respectable rank in the profession.²

Considering the raw material that he had to work with, Wilkins' statements, though obvious, show the necessity for concentrating on training through every means at his disposal. The Training School was only

¹"Brief Exposition of the Objects of the Public Schools Act", 27th. March, 1867.

²ibid.

one medium for effecting a change in the calibre of teachers and potential teachers. And since the pupil-teacher system was proceeding so successfully, more time and effort was expended perfecting something that would present the Colony with an adequate and continuing supply of trained teachers at little cost.

Wilkins' problems were vast. He had created a system of education virtually single handed that now had to be maintained. The Denominationalists were still not convinced that the secular approach was either desirable or completely effective and politicians through most of the period were to seek a return to the days when the churches maintained their own system of education. To combat this Wilkins had to remain alert on a number of major fronts. Schools had to be provided and staffed wherever the Regulations governing their institution were complied with. Courses of instruction had to be devised so that the children in isolated country districts were not left to the whims of a partially trained teacher. A regular supply of recruits had to be ensured to maintain staffing at the present and for anticipated expansion. Adult candidates had to be given what training they and the Council could afford before being sent to take charge of schools. All of this had to be achieved in the

face of a legislature not completely convinced that widespread education of the people was desirable and anxious, too, that expenditure be kept to the barest minimum. There is little wonder that Wilkins concentrated on the schemes that appeared most productive of the results wanted--the pupil-teacher system and the scheme of training teachers by requiring them to study for and sit for examinations.

At the beginning of the Council's regime the ideals propounded by the Commissioners in 1856 were still not realised. Candidates for the Training School were required to possess an elementary knowledge of the subjects taught in the schools--reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar and geography. They had to pass an examination before the Headmaster of the Model School, and had to attend for a sufficient period, usually a month, to become familiar with some of the methods of teaching and of managing a school. The fact that Training Masters pointed out that the Model School was scarcely a model of what the candidates would find when they actually reached their schools was not considered significant by the Council.

After 1867 the number of pupil-teachers applying for admission to the Training School increased to a point where entrance examinations were imposed. Adult

candidates were also required to pass an entrance examination and if successful would be admitted for a period of one month, three months or six months depending on the needs of the Council and the state of the candidate's knowledge. The exigencies were such that few candidates appear to have remained longer than three months. An allowance of £7 a month was made to married candidates and £5 to the unmarried.¹

Early in 1867 Wilkins had written² to Mr. T. Harris, Inspector of Schools at Goulburn, asking for specific recommendations regarding the organisation of the Training School. Harris had been Training Master at the Model School for more than three years before his transfer. In a letter to Wilkins marked "private" he noted his "Suggestions as to Training School" which included:

1st., Period: not less than six months - admission only at beginning of each Quarter.

2nd., Division of Students: two classes, viz., Senior and Junior.

3rd., Division of Subjects taught:
 (a) Literary (b) Mathematical
 (c) Professional.

4th., Practical Skill: students to

¹Report of the Council of Education, 1867, 11.

²19th. January, 1867.

Time Table For Untrained Teachers

Daily Routine :
Morning

{ At 9.15 pupils to assemble in playground, all school materials to be prepared.
At 9.25 pupils are drilled in playground and marched into school.
At 12.25 rolls to be called and marked.
At 12.50 the school to be dismissed.

{ At 4.45 pupils are to assemble in school playground, all school materials to be prepared.
At 4.55 pupils are drilled in playground and marched into school.
At 3.55 rolls to be called and marked.
At 4.00 the school to be dismissed.

Time	Monday			Tuesday			Wednesday			Thursday			Friday				
	Class	1	2	3	Class	1	2	3	Class	1	2	3	Class	1	2	3	
9.30 - 10.15	Reading	Arithmetic	Reading	Writing	Arithmetic	Reading	Writing	Arithmetic	Reading	Writing	Arithmetic	Reading	Writing	Arithmetic	Reading	Writing	Arithmetic
10.15 - 11.0	Writing	Geography Oral	Dictation	Reading	Composition	Writing	Arithmetic	Dictation	Reading	Geography Oral	Reading	Geography Oral	Writing	Arithmetic	Reading	Geography Oral	Writing
Recess for 10 Minutes																	
11.15 - 12.0	Arithmetic	Reading	Reproduction of Geography	Arithmetic	Grammar	Arithmetic	Reading	Writing	Arithmetic	Reading	Writing	Arithmetic	Reading	Writing	Arithmetic	Reading	Writing
12.0 - 12.30	Drawing	Geography Writing Oral	Tables committed to memory	Drawing	Object lesson	Drawing	Geography	Writing	Tables and Mental Operations	Reproduce Geography	Writing	Tables and Mental Operations	Writing	Geography	Reproduce Geography	Writing	Geography
Recess for Dinner																	
2.0 - 2.45	Reading	Writing	Arithmetic	Writing	Arithmetic	Reading	Arithmetic	Reading	Grammar on Slates	Arithmetic	Reading	Grammar on Slates	Writing	Arithmetic	Reading	Grammar on Slates	Writing
2.45 - 3.30	Arithmetic	Reading	Object lesson	Writing	Object lesson	Writing	Arithmetic	Reading	Arithmetic	Reading	Object lesson	Arithmetic	Reading	Arithmetic	Reading	Object lesson	Arithmetic
3.30 - 4.00	Writing	Reading	Dictation	Spelling	Reproduction Object lesson	Dictation	Spelling	Reproduction Object lesson	Dictation or Spelling	Grammar on Slates	Reading	Grammar on Slates	Dictation or Spelling	Writing	Reading	Writing	Grammar on Slates

be distributed among the best schools in Sydney at stated times, and the Teachers of these schools to be furnished with instructions as to dealing with them.

5th., Teaching Staff: Principal and Assistants: Former to have opportunity of seeing the students at work in the schools, as well as to take a prominent part in their instruction. The whole of the front part of the lower floor of the old building at Fort Steet will be required for the Training School.¹

Finance remained a problem during the whole of the period. In 1868 the Council informed its opposite number in Adelaide, the Board of Education, that "no special buildings were erected for the purpose of a Training School but that two rooms each twenty feet square . . . were converted into Class Rooms".² The estimated cost was less than £100.

In 1869 the Council began to find that the pupil-teacher system, although effective, was not the complete answer:

The difficulties recently experienced in providing superior schools with suitable teachers have led the Council to consider the expediency of enlarging the scope of the Training School, and of providing a more

¹1/731 MS In-Letters, 23rd. January, 1867.

²7874, MS Out-Letter Book O, 22nd. October, 1868.

complete professional education for teachers.¹

The change in attitude was more apparent than real. The sentiments of the Council in the previous year were still the dominating forces. Referring to the developments taking place in England at the time with pupil-teachers and candidates receiving a more extensive training in the Colleges, the Council believed:

. . . we deem it inadvisable to establish a Training School after the model of those in the Mother Country, but consider it preferable to continue in force the existing provisional arrangements for the training of teachers.²

The favoured group were undoubtedly the pupil-teachers. In 1867 the Council stated its belief in the system:

. . . much importance is attached by the Council to the employment and training of pupil-teachers, a class from whom the teaching body in the Colony will in all probability be largely recruited.³

In 1872 the length of the training period was increased from three months to six months. As Inspector Harris had also suggested five years previously, the candidates were divided into two classes, an "Upper" class and a "Lower" class. The Upper class student

¹Council of Education Report, 1869, 10.

²ibid., 1868, 26.

³ibid., 1867, 11.

took English, Euclid, Algebra and Latin. The females took French instead of Latin. At the end of their training the students were eligible for a Second Class classification provided that they reached a sufficiently high standard in teaching skill.¹

The following year there were two sessions at the Training School, each of six months' duration. The problem of finding teachers who were qualified and yet prepared to teach in the isolated country districts was becoming increasingly acute. District Inspectors were authorised to recruit local men who, being inured to the rigours of the bush, would not find the same difficulties that the city teachers were. After observation and training at an approved school and the passing of a simplified entrance examination, they would be employed. As an extra inducement, "the prospect of admission to the Training School was held out as a reward for successful teaching for three years".²

In 1875 new Regulations were promulgated. Three classes of candidates would be admitted to the Training School. First Class candidates were those who had completed their term of service and teachers who had been trained elsewhere. Second Class candidates were to

¹ibid., 1872, 8.

²Report of the Council of Education, 1873, 10.

consist of teachers who had been in charge of bush schools, but who were untrained. Third Class candidates were to be those persons entering the service for the first time.¹ In 1876 the first twelve month course was offered and six men and nine women who had gained their Second Class certificate after the first six months were permitted to remain for a further six months for advanced training. However, the exigencies of the service were such that no student managed to complete an uninterrupted term.²

The pupil-teacher system had more direction about its administration. The Training School appeared for some time to become somewhat of an embarrassment as the Council changed policy in accord with the funds available and the availability of pupil-teachers. In 1870 the Council discussed the admission to the Training School of those pupil-teachers who had completed their apprenticeship and stated:

This is at once the natural termination of a Pupil-Teacher's career as such, and the most reliable source of supply of teachers for the future. As the number of Pupil-Teachers increases, the candidates in training will mainly consist of those who have successfully completed their apprenticeships in that capacity, and who being familiar with

¹Clause 54.

²Report of the Council of Education, 1876, 22-23.

all details of school management are possessed of much knowledge which others differently circumstanced can acquire only after long experience or careful study.¹

Although towards the end of their term of office the Council seemed to come to terms with the Training School, and had gone so far as to purchase the Hurlstone estate for a residential College, there was little indication that they meant it for much more than a Training School for pupil-teachers who showed evidence of being able to profit by an additional period at an advanced level.

An anonymous comment made some years after the end of the period made the point more clearly:

The Training School established by the Council was calculated to meet the actual pressing needs of the time, rather than to exemplify an ideal conception of the professional education to be desired for teachers.²

Training under the Council introduced few innovations. Essentially it was a period of consolidation. Gains had been made under the Board and commitments had been entered into. The Council attempted to meet as many of the needs as was possible and new and original ideas rarely appeared. However, the period of training

¹ ibid., 1870, 12.

² Official Publications - collections of unpublished papers on New South Wales, 1884, 52.

was, somewhat reluctantly, increased and the idea of a residential Training School advanced. It was a period that was to prepare successfully for the changes that were to come with the passing of the Public Instruction Act and the development of a professional administration concerned with the training of its teachers.

CHAPTER IVTHE ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL BACKGROUND
TO THE PERIOD AFTER 1880

Sir Henry Parkes in the debates preceding the passing of the Public Instruction Act of 1880 asserted that:

The outstanding features of this Act are, firstly that all teachers will now be under control by reason of their being made civil servants. Secondly, it establishes the Golden Rule that only trained teachers shall be employed in our schools.¹

Circumstances, both economic and social, were to prove the first more readily attainable than the second for during the whole of the period covered by this investigation successive annual reports by the Ministers of Public Instruction demonstrate the inability of the contemporary system of teacher training to supply trained teachers to all the schools under the control of the Minister.

Although the situation was not regarded as parlous by the politicians and the administrators, existing evidence points to the mounting tide of dissatisfaction and informed criticism that viewed the system of

¹N.S.W. Parliamentary Debates, 1879-80, First Series, I, 270.

education in general and the training of its teachers in particular as having failed to maintain its initial momentum. Crystallising this dissatisfaction early in the new century the Professor of Logic and Mental Philosophy at the University of Sydney used the normally innocuous occasion of the Annual Conference of Public School Teachers to deliver a trenchant blow at the quality of the State's system of education:

We are sometimes told that we in New South Wales have 'the most perfect system of education in the world'. But those who make this modest boast rarely venture upon details or supply us with data sufficient to enable us to test the extent of their information, or the accuracy of their judgment. There are undoubtedly many points in our system which have earned deserved praise, but in other respects our methods are in comparison with those of other countries, grievously defective, while in some, judged by her own former standard, New South Wales is degenerating and losing ground.¹

The importance of the speech lies not so much in what was said--others had been saying as much for most of the previous decade--as in its timing. As will be shown below it was made public at a time when the State was prepared and, equally importantly, able to turn its collective attention to the task of closely examining its system of education and the methods of training its

¹Francis Anderson, The Public School System of New South Wales, Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1901, 4.

teachers. The inevitability of an educational renaissance was not as obvious to those who controlled the system of education as it was to Professor Anderson nor was the need for sweeping change regarded as being so pressing. It is difficult to avoid examining the past with the preoccupations of the present, but it is important to recognise the existence of the multifarious factors influencing society during this period which had contributed to an educational stasis and to attempt to account for the reasons why the change, when it did come, gathered momentum so rapidly. Professor Anderson himself, as partisans tend to do, oversimplified the process some thirteen years after his seminal speech:

There was little or no dissatisfaction with the educational defects of the system, which had to wait, until the end of the century brought a wave of reform which shook the educational fabric in almost every State in Australia. It was only the working of the administrative machinery which, at the time, was thought to be defective.¹

In actual fact the administrative machinery was working well, perhaps too well since experienced administrators such as Macredie and Bridges felt little need to make any but minor and foreseeable adjustments to maintain its smooth running. Dissatisfaction with the

¹Francis Anderson, "Educational Policy and Development," op. cit., 512.

defects of the system there was in plenty and critics comparatively numerous existed both inside and outside the Department.

Although the crest of the "wave of reform" certainly appeared at the end of the century, it had gathered much earlier and it would be a mistake to see in the dramatic events at the beginning of the new century a sudden volte face. In fact, the circumstances leading up to the reorganisation of the Department's structure and goals after 1905 can be traced back at least as far as the twenty years immediately preceding the end of the nineteenth century when the social, political and economic factors played a major part in determining the course the educationists were to follow.

In the main, educational historians have tended to view the eighties and nineties as historical wastelands--periods of comparative educational stagnation. On the one side there lay the excitements of the great secular-clerical debates of the earlier period and on the other the virtual rebellion and reconstruction of the new century. Yet viewed in perspective the period has great significance, for during these years were laid the foundations of the later changes. Furthermore, the period shows the workings

of a stable Department under a responsible Minister subject, after an initial period of calm, to the stresses of a violent period. Perhaps the most significant feature that emerges during this period is not that there was so little progress made, but that the educational administrators were so successful in retaining what they did in the face of economic crisis and Parliamentary retrenchment. If we are to avoid being educationally egocentric we must recognise, too, that the training of teachers scarcely loomed large in the public mind at this time. The land problem, the electoral issue, immigration and, during the nineties, economic depression and the confrontation between labour and employer were all major issues that tended to supplant education in the public's interest. And yet financially education continued to receive a reasonably large share of the Government's funds. The lowest grant made during the depression years, £651,307/0/4 in 1896, was higher than in all but two years of the previous decade when boom conditions predominated. This reflects, of course, the increase in population during this period, but in one way it is also a tribute to the administrative skill of the Department's leaders. The vote of money was insufficient to permit experimentation on a wide scale, but tentative

efforts were made in the field of Kindergarten work and some attempt made, albeit largely ineffectual, to make closer the ties between the Training Schools and the University. There was still more, however, that was recognised as necessary but impossible of achievement without additional funds, as the Chief Inspector frequently noted in his annual reports to the Minister. Relatively the Department of Public Instruction was not as badly situated as Irwin makes out when he stated that "The Education Department was always the Cinderella of State Departments in New South Wales and the amount voted by Parliament for the needs of the schools was miserably small for many years."¹

Administering the Department of Public Instruction during this period could not have been easy, although control had been effectively centralised. Furthermore, the professional administrators of the Department, the Under-Secretary and the Chief Inspector gained increasing power. Between 1880 and the appointment of John Perry as Minister of Public Instruction there were fourteen changes of office and twelve different Ministers. Under the circumstances no Minister would have had

¹R.A. Irwin, "The Sydney and Suburban Pupil-Teacher" in A. Cousins (ed.), Some Experiences of the 1885-1886 Session of the Fort Street Training School for Teachers, 1943, Typescript.

sufficient time to establish himself in office and leave his imprint on the Department and he would be more than usually reliant upon his permanent officers. And these men, able as they undoubtedly were, had a rigidity of mind that caused a contemporary who would have known them well professionally to assert that, "Above all, the men in charge of the administration had been trained within the system, and were apparently unable to grow beyond the system . . . the 'pupil-teacher mind' dominated the system from top to bottom."¹ Politically, socially and economically the period after 1880 was one of rising nationalism in the Australian Colonies when the ties with Britian, though still strong, were being examined with a critical eye. There was little to wonder at, then, that the educational system of New South Wales should be regarded as being as good as anywhere in the world by its inhabitants, slight though justification might have been for such a belief. The report by the Herald was echoed by many, including the legislators:

So much attention has of late years been given the educational requirements of this colony and so great improvements have been made in this respect that the Public School

¹F. Anderson, op. cit., 520.

System is now looked upon as pretty well complete.¹

As will be shown below the period was conducive to such purblind nationalism and it was not until the conferences of 1904 that they were, educationally at least, publicly dissipated. The attitude carried over into Teacher Training for, as Alexander Mackie has pointed out,

" . . . the arrangements for training are devised to equip teachers to carry out the dominant current ideals of schooling and these again reflect social conditions and ideals."²

To recognise the need for change it was first necessary to accept that the existing system was not entirely satisfactory and the times made that a difficult thing to do.

In 1903 T.A. Coghlan noted that Australia had until then undergone six separate industrial periods, the last being from 1872 to 1903.³ Coghlan was too

¹S.M.H., 10th. October, 1891.

²Alexander Mackie, "The Training of Teachers in New South Wales," Record of the Education Society, No. 22, Sydney: Government Printer, 1914, 4.

³T.A. Coghlan and T.T. Ewing, The Progress of Australasia in the Nineteenth Century, London: W. & R. Chambers Ltd., London, 1903, passim.

close to the period to gain adequate perspective, however, and few modern economic historians would agree with his assessment. Most accounts of Australia's development follow that of Fitzpatrick¹ who saw in the pastoral industry the determiner of the country's economic health. These accounts note the rise of the agricultural and pastoral industries to a position of eminence after the decline of gold production in the 1860's and see the depression of the nineties as being caused by the failure of urban speculation, bank failures, the loss of British capital and the fall in export prices for wool. Such a view concentrates the attention upon the country rather than upon the city and fails to account for what was actually happening in the field of education during the period. The increasing emphasis during the late eighties and the nineties on technical and what might be loosely called "vocational" education,² the growth of the urban school building programme, the difficulties encountered in competing with other sectors of the economy for suitable staff, and the changes in methods of recruitment made necessary by teachers' general

¹Brian Fitzpatrick, The British Empire in Australia: An Economic History, 1834-1939, Melbourne: M.U.P., 1941.

²cf. E. Combes, "Something about Technical Schools," Sydney University Review, No. 4, December, 1882.

reluctance to teach in the outback, among other things, suggest that the traditional view of New South Wales as an essentially agricultural State is not sufficiently explained by the usual view of the country's development. In addition, the rapidly growing urbanisation of the State affected the public outlook especially as it concerned the degree to which the State should interfere in the provision of goods and services. After the vaguely Benthamite liberalism of the middle nineteenth century had come an interest in and a concern with Darwinian theory which, although interpreted according to one's class interests, suggested the inevitability of an evolutionary development of society. Interest had, perhaps, been stimulated by knowledge of the visit of Charles Darwin earlier in the century, although he had certainly found little to his liking in the Colony, saying on his departure:

"Farewell, Australia! You are too great and ambitious for affection, yet not great enough for respect. I leave your shores without sorrow or regret."¹

Be this as it may there is little doubt that the economic and political theories of Marx, Spencer,

¹C. Daley, "Charles Darwin and Australia," Victorian Historical Magazine, XVII, 1938-39, 69.

Henry George, Edward Bellamy and his disciple, William Lane, were all widely discussed.¹ Combined with the political adaptations of Darwin's evolutionary theory and natural selection, debate increasingly concerned itself with the amount of interference that the State could justifiably exert.

After the granting of responsible government considerable support grew for a laissez-faire approach to development and opposition to government interference was strong and well organised. Thus B.R. Wise, later Attorney-General in New South Wales, felt that the State should only intervene provided the following conditions held:

. . . 2. The State should not do that which might be done as well by private persons.

3. The State should never act in such a way as to weaken individual self-reliance. . .

But where the object to be gained is one of national importance, which the efforts of individuals cannot accomplish, and when it can be gained without discouraging any from making efforts on their own behalf, or from entering into union for a common purpose, then all the conditions are present which are required to justify State action.²

¹R. Gollan, Radical and Working Class Politics, A Study of Eastern Australia, 1850-1910, Melbourne: M.U.P., 1960, 110-127.

²B.R. Wise, Industrial Freedom: A Study in Politics, Melbourne: 1892, 164.

Far more doctrinaire in his opposition to State intervention was William McMillan a member of the Legislative Council who expressed his interest in the laissez-faire approach virtually in classical terms. He felt that individuals and industry should be "left free in the struggle of capital, brains, labour, and thrift." And would confine the State "as much as possible to the duties of the policeman and the sanitary inspector."¹ Although these views were certainly not subscribed to universally, neither was there universal acceptance of the principle that the State should involve itself with, say, education to any greater extent than it was then doing. Views of what was proper for the State to concern itself with changed fairly rapidly as an aftermath of the depression of the 1890's, but even as late as 1909 W.P. Cullen, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Sydney and a Member of the Legislative Council, could see in the State's having to control and to administer education an indication of the general public's apathy and lack of interest, although he could pay tribute to the disinterested motives of the government:

¹W. McMillan, "The Services of the State," Australian Economist, IV, 1894-97, 575.

Our own system may be far from perfect, we may perhaps deserve many of the censures cast upon us. We cannot possibly deserve them all . . . The one prime justification for our Public School system at all is that till the State took the matter in hand there was no organisation sufficiently powerful, sufficiently wealthy, sufficiently earnest, or sufficiently trusted to cover more than a fraction of the field.¹

The development of education and its ancillary services in the thirty years following the passing of the Public Instruction Act in 1880 depended, at one level at least, on the economic growth of the State. Factors like the increasing urbanisation of the population and the rapid growth of secondary industries, apart from the general economic health of the community, were going to affect the attitudes of the people towards the kind of education they required. It appears now that the comparative lack of innovation and experimentation that occurred at an official level after 1880, when it might be expected that change might be favoured, was due as much to external factors as to administrative stagnation.

Butlin's studies of Australian national product after 1860 suggest the possibility of a different interpretation of the country's development from what

¹W.P. Cullen, Annual Address to the Students of Sydney Training College, 23rd. October, 1909, Sydney: Government Printer, 1909, 2.

has been generally accepted.¹ He sees Australia's economic growth following the classic pattern of successful development, beginning as a highly productive rural economy and developing with the aid of outside labour and capital in a remarkably short time into an industrially oriented community. The rate of growth of gross national product at approximately 4½ per cent per annum outpaced the European countries and was eclipsed only by the United States.²

Population was growing at a similar rate. In the forty years between 1861 and 1900 population increased at between 3½ per cent and 4 per cent per annum as compared with about 2½ per cent in the United States and no more than 1½ per cent in the United Kingdom.³ About half of this increase was due to immigration, the rest being due to a high rate of natural increase, although immigration both assisted and private declined rapidly after the mid-eighties. Natural increase also declined so alarmingly after the depression of the nineties that a Royal Commission was constituted in 1904 to enquire

¹N.G. Butlin, "The Shape of the Australian Economy, 1861-1900," Economic Record, XXXIV, April, 1958, 10-29.

²ibid., 12.

³ibid., 13.

into the reasons.¹ For much of the period under review, then, population was increasing rapidly making the task of assimilating new migrants more difficult and throwing increasing administrative burdens upon the new Department of Public Instruction whose task was to provide accommodation and teaching staff for the children. Under the circumstances the insistence upon maintaining the pupil-teacher system as one means of coping with the additional numbers is understandable if not educationally laudable.

Significantly, however, the rapid increase in population was not accompanied, until the depression, by attendant unemployment. Unlike other countries at the time, the government was borrowing heavily for the building of railways and public works and was competing for labour with the private sector which was engaged in borrowing for home building and pastoral improvements. Much of this borrowing was for the future rather than for short-term profit. Although the excess capacity thereby engendered was to aggravate the depression, it also meant that the economy could pick up again quite rapidly once the upturn began. And, in fact, this actually happened after about 1897.

¹C.M.H. Clark, Select Documents in Australian History, 1851-1900, Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1955, 667

Also since the increasing demand for labour in Australia and consequent wage increases were taking place in a context of falling world prices the Australian working man was comparatively well off.¹ Professor Ward has noted that this was the most noticeable difference between Australia and elsewhere at this time, "Judged from the viewpoint of its effect upon the people, the greatest single difference between the old environment and the new, was that in Australia there was a perennial labour shortage."² Unions increased in strength and collective bargaining won both recognition of the unions and better conditions for the workers. This lasted until the onset of depression so that Nadel's comment that after the fifties adult education was not so much regarded as being necessary to fit the labourer into his class or to enable him to participate in political government as to help him to fill in his leisure in a profitable manner still held good for much of the later period.³

Butlin also feels that Australia's problems were

¹N.G. Butlin, op. cit., 23.

²R. Ward, The Australian Legend, Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2nd. ed., 1966, 34.

³G. Nadel, op. cit., 177-78.

basically dissimilar to those of Britain in the nineteenth century and have a "peculiarly modern flavour".

He states that Australia's history at this time:

. . . was not a footnote to the Industrial Revolution nor was Australia a sheep-walk for the benefit of British imperialism . . . Australian living standards appear to have been considerably above those of Britain; the rate of growth in Australia was far higher than that of Britain; the course of Australian economic activity was rather steadier than that of Britain . . . the rate of Australian growth was not intimately dependent on export receipts; and the composition of output and the rate of growth appear to have been determined predominantly by local Australian considerations.¹

The pastoral industry, therefore, appears to have had less influence upon the course of the country's development than might have originally appeared. Although the pastoralists' influence was still considerable in politics it was waning here, too, in the face of the attack by the energetic middle class whose bent was industrial, commercial and professional. The growing strength of these groups stemmed mainly from the expansion of industry during the period. By 1881 secondary industry was responsible for as much as twenty five per cent of the national product.² The

¹N.G. Butlin, Investment in Australian Economic Development, 1861-1900, Cambridge: C.U.P., 1964, 5.

²N.G. Butlin, "The Shape of the Australian Economy," op. cit., 20.

growth of railways and the heavy investment in communications by the various governments after 1861 also influenced the rate and the nature of the change.

A significant factor, frequently overlooked, is that the governments of Australia borrowed on an unprecedented scale for investment in long-term capital development. Government expenditure on capital development had its bases in the nature and origin of early white settlement and was essentially influenced by geographical distance and the dispersal of the population. If distance were to be conquered, if industries were to be encouraged and the staple primary products grown and marketed it could not be left entirely to private enterprise. Thus there was conditioned a belief in the government as being responsible for certain sectors of development in a manner that did not exist in the United Kingdom nor develop in the United States. The instability of the various legislative coalitions in New South Wales during this period saw, too, the growing power of the administrative permanent heads of departments since few Ministers retained the same portfolio for a sufficiently long period to give effective leadership. As these administrators largely determined the spending of government funds they could and did influence

more than the peculiarly professional aspects of their duties.

Above all, however, and of significance for the directions that education was increasingly forced to take was the rapid urbanisation of the people. Professor Russel Ward's interpretation of one of the more enduring of the Australian myths¹--the belief that every Australian is a bushman manqué--serves only to point up the prodigious rate at which the Australian was becoming an urban creature. By the turn of the century some two-thirds of the population of New South Wales lived in towns and cities, a proportion not matched by the "newer" countries like the United States until 1920.² Reasons for this rapid urbanisation of population in Australia are not complex and fit in with the general re-orientation of the economy that took place after 1861. Population was growing rapidly, a new technology required increasing investment in communications, industry, domestic building and pastoral activity. Added to this was the general availability of British capital and the protection that distance gave to infant production. We must remember, too, that the pastoral

¹R. Ward., op. cit.

²N.G. Butlin, Investment in Australian Economic Development, op. cit., 181.

industry required comparatively fewer workers as it became more mechanised and as it acquired most of the capital equipment in the way of dams and fences it required.

Although New South Wales became an urban rather than a rural colony by the end of the century, Sydney did not completely dominate the State as Melbourne did Victoria. Lacking the smallness of Victoria and the one dominant waterway it had, New South Wales built up a large number of towns and cities to act as regional centres and markets. It seems likely that after 1890 when the population of Sydney had begun to expand significantly the railways helped centralise the capital as the concentration of wealth and influence. However, the larger towns were of an importance they scarcely achieved in Victoria and, paradoxically, the rural community, although decreasing by comparison with the urban was a stable one. This meant that as far as services were concerned the Government was responsible for attempting to satisfy a community that was not only disparate but also geographically dispersed. For the administrators of the Public Instruction Act the urbanisation of the population, the growth of population and the swing towards industry rather than agriculture raised



problems whose solutions demanded an immediate attention to bread-and-butter issues perhaps at the expense of a more thoughtful and theoretical approach.

POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN N.S.W. AT EACH CENSUS

<u>Year</u>	<u>Rural</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>% Urban</u>
1861	206,588	144,272	41.1
1871	250,948	253,033	50.2
1881	318,561	433,907	57.7
1891	391,400	740,834	65.5
1901	437,130	922,003	67.8

* * * * *

Urbanisation to such a degree meant that, administratively, educational problems would tend to assume a direct relation and proportion to the economic and social problems of the community. The outlook of the people was no longer one of compliancy, although, as was mentioned earlier interests and pre-occupations were with industrial matters rather than with educational. As Dr. Gollan has noted,¹ the replacement of the liberalism of the 1850's in England by the "new imperialism" of the 1880's was partly responsible for the Australian turn to nationalism by

¹R. Gollan, op. cit., chap. 7.

way of reaction. The Trade Union Act of 1881 had removed most of the restrictions on trade union activity, but this activity was still largely restricted to the industrial unions. Teachers' Associations were still, to use the jargon of the day, "tame cat unions" and their influence on policy was slight. Their industrial confreres had, as early as 1874 when they had sponsored Angus Cameron for the Legislative Assembly, put forward their platform which had included free, secular and compulsory education, legalisation of trade unions and the stipulation of the eight-hour day in government contracts and, until the depression, were in a fair way to seeing the achievement of these aims.¹ None of these concessions were made by the employers in any spirit of industrial liberalism; that they were made points simply to the importance labour had assumed during this period.

During the early 1890's the period was one of acute industrial unrest as labour found itself once more in a buyers' market. Collective bargaining between employer and employee was swept aside as strikes racked the country. The reasons for the Depression do not concern us especially, although the importance of industrial growth does. Since

¹S.M.H., 5th. December, 1874.

investment, both private and government, had provided for so much surplus capacity, when the upswing did occur industry was able to take advantage of it and the return to prosperity took a remarkably short time. By the time of the Annual Conference of the Teachers' Association in 1901 the economy was in such a viable condition that Anderson's comments could be regarded in a proper perspective.

During the Depression of the 1890's, as will be noted below, teachers' salaries were cut, although not as much as other Public Servants', teacher training was substantially reduced and valuable contacts with the University suspended. Pupils tended to remain longer at school owing to the contraction of the labour market and the Ministers' annual reports show the increasing importance of vocational and technical education. Examinations assumed greater importance in the schools as entry to the Public Service was through competitive examination after 1895.

On a positive level, however, the burgeoning of industry after 1896 and the growth of technology demanded a workforce with skills that had never before been necessary. Furthermore, the decline of immigration and the falling birth rate cast a new light on the individual and the skills he would need in life.

Wilkins had made this point in his lectures on education, but the times were not with him. However, when Peter Board introduced his new syllabuses early in his Directorship they were generally hailed as harbingers of a new educational dawn. So had times and customs changed in twenty years.

Dr. Gollan has summed up the consequences of the Depression by suggesting that the government was impelled to concern itself with economic affairs to an increasingly greater extent. Although not all would agree with the statement that economic expansion was still decreasing after 1900, he notes:

In the crisis and depression that followed, the staple industry was severely affected and the repercussions were felt throughout the whole economy. Other industries, by their increased productivity, compensated in some measure for the decline in the wool output, but in general the twenty years after 1890 witnessed a decrease in the rate of economic expansion. To meet this situation and to find means of overcoming the crisis in the relations between workers and employers, the state began to intervene in economic affairs to a greater extent than had ever been attempted in any other, with the possible exception of New Zealand.¹

One might take this a step further. The stage had been set by the economic, political and social situation so that the state not only began to intervene, but

¹op. cit., 155.

it began to be accepted that under certain circumstances the state should intervene. So that by the time Professor Anderson's remarks were widely published in the metropolitan press the general feeling was that the Minister of Education, as the State's representative, should do something either to refute the charges or else to correct the abuses.

Politically the State was not so much anarchic as atomistic. Members tended to owe allegiance to certain "leaders" and the various small groups sought power through coalition. Under such circumstances the life of any cabinet would be precarious and limited by the current government's ability to satisfy the often conflicting demands of its supporters. However, the fifties had seen a major change in the type of government within the Colony without any corresponding upset in the life of the community. Surprisingly to its critics it appeared as a viable form of government with the various groups tending to join together in the late eighties and form the nucleus of the major parties. If Ministerial control over the major departments was rarely strong it was due to lack of knowledge caused by brevity of tenure rather than to any lack of authority by the government itself. In fact by the eighties:

The government had become a more complex structure of interdependent institutions but it functioned with a minimum of friction and, despite criticism of it, particularly for inefficiency, its operations provoked no movement for fundamental reform. Parliamentary government in the broadest sense had clearly been established in the fifties and sixties and by the end of the eighties was strong enough to withstand approaching economic and political crises.¹

Furthermore the growth and diversification of the economy and the grouping of the population meant that outside pressure groups would become of increasing significance. Thus the election of Angus Cameron by one such group meant that individual allegiance would afterwards tend to belong not to the leader but to the body which had elected him. The growth of political parties in the modern sense, the Liberal Party in 1889 and the Labor Party in 1891, sounded the death knell for the old system of faction government. The system that Parkes had exploited in 1866 when the Public Schools Bill finally went through only with the support of two opposition leaders and their followers² was finally disappearing.

Government was becoming increasingly centralised, but for this very reason was probably easier to

¹P. Loveday and A.W. Martin, Parliament Faction and Parties, Melbourne: M.U.P., 1966, 151.

²ibid., 69-70.

influence by outside pressure groups than when it depended upon an amorphous mass of shifting allegiances. It might be wondered whether the opposition that Parkes had to contend with in 1866 and 1880 would have been too strong under a more stable and organised government for his Bills to have gained even a second reading.

T.A. Coghlan writing of the period at the end of the eighties underlines the comment of two modern writers on the uninterested, self-seeking attitude of many among the electorate and the legislators that "Principles and programmes were of even less interest to the voters than to the average 'practical' member of parliament" when he notes:

There was in fact a scramble amongst the parliamentary representatives of country constituencies for as much local expenditure as they could procure for their individual districts. In N.S.W., railways of an expensive character were constructed entirely without regard to any consideration other than satisfying the clamour of the parliamentary representatives of the districts served¹ . . .

Education, unless in the form of school buildings, had nothing so tangible to offer the electors and so tended to fall behind in the scramble.

In the thirty years following 1880 Australian

¹T.A. Coghlan, Labour and Industry in Australia from the First Settlement in 1788 to the Establishment of the Commonwealth in 1901, London: 1918, 1419-1420.

writers and painters found their major problems to lie in creating an imagery and a language that would adequately express the still alien environment in their own terms. By 1880 attempts had been made to grapple with the stifling legacy English Romanticism had left the colonial artists. Although these attempts were rarely successful and never sustained, by the turn of the century there had emerged an "Australian" style of writing more notable for its strident nationalism than for its literary quality. The major problem faced by poet, novelist and painter alike was an inability for most of the nineteenth century to accept the environment on any other than English terms.

The founding of The Bulletin in 1880 and the institution of Archibald's "Red Page" in 1896 provided a focus and a rallying point for those who could slough off old skins only by a sharp reaction to anything not genuinely Australian. In many ways the period could be summed up by Furphy's "temper democratic; bias, offensively Australian". However, from the frequently crude appeals to national feeling came the vision of a social utopia to which a new country, untainted by the evils of the old, might aspire. This was the theme behind much of the new radicalism that emerged in the eighties and that Professor Ward has argued

was forged in the "mateship" of the earlier period.¹
 It emerges from the pages of William Lane's Worker
 as it does from the pamphlets, stories and ballads.

Joseph Furphy saw the new country as being;

Committed to no usages of petrified
 injustice; she is clogged by no fealty to
 shadowy idols, enshrined by Ignorance, and
 upheld by misplaced homage alone; she is
 cursed by no memories of fanaticism and
 persecution . . .²

And Bernard O'Dowd, preoccupied with his vision of
 the country as waiting to be formed in man's perfect
 image, believed:

She is the scroll on which we are to write
 Mythologies our own and epics new:
 She is the port of our propitious flight
 From Ur idolatrous and Pharaoh's crew . . .³

Painters such as Julian Ashton, Tom Roberts, Conder,
 and Arthur Streeton in New South Wales by using the
 techniques of impressionism strove to see the country
 through Australian eyes rather than as an exotic
 backdrop for the delectation of audiences overseas.

Although such a survey is not sufficiently
 comprehensive to be able to suggest that during this

¹The Australian Legend, op. cit., 180.

²J. Furphy, Such is Life: Being Certain Extracts
 from the Life of Tom Collins, Sydney: Angus and
 Robertson, 3rd. ed., 1948, 81.

³Bernard O'Dowd, The Bush, Melbourne: Lothian,
 1912.

period were laid solid foundations for the evolution of an indigenous culture, there is little doubt that during this period the various colonies reacted with some unanimity against the mother country. Although ideas and theories were generally imported from overseas there was no mirror-like acceptance of them. They were transmuted and moulded to fit the colonially pragmatic needs. For example, William Wilkins on his return from England reported, "As regards constitution and government the Training Colleges and Normal Schools of England are not calculated to furnish models suitable for initiation in the Colony".¹ But there was general acceptance, not fundamentally shaken by the Depression, that Australia had something to offer the world and the individuals in it that the worn-out older countries could not. As early as 1880 there was a general belief in the superiority of the newer countries in fields such as education:

Australia and Canada now have as large a reading population as the United States . . . fifty years ago but an examination of actual statistics affords a better proof of the determination of the people of Australia to provide their children with education, and the efficacy of the means employed to carry out that determination. Australia and Canada are in advance of the rest of the world in promoting public Education: and

¹Council of Education Report, 1868, 26.

it is a thoroughly established fact that in those countries in which education has been thus popularised that crime . . . has decreased exactly in proportion to the increase in the number of persons able to read and write.¹

An interesting statement since it heralds the nationalism to become rampant in the following years and yet clings to the older view of formal education as a panacea for social immorality.

Under the circumstances it is not a matter for shocked disbelief that administrators and legislators could find little wrong with the educational system in New South Wales at the turn of the century. The remarkable feature is that it took so little time to take an objective look at the picture in the light of overseas experience and then take steps to remedy the major weaknesses.

In England there were vague stirrings during the period which were to culminate in positive action to improve the lot of teacher training.² The **Cross** report presented in 1888 appeared both as a majority report and a minority report. Although the minority report was more critical of pupil-teachers, neither suggested the abolition of the system. Since 1884

¹S.M.H., 26th. October, 1880.

²This section is amplified in the specific examination of occurrences in New South Wales at this time.

in England pupil-teachers were required to teach only half a day, the rest of the day being spent at a pupil-teacher centre for academic instruction.¹

Although an enquiry into the training of teachers was instituted in 1896, the main recommendations were aimed at improving the pupil-teacher system by raising the entrance age from fifteen to sixteen rather than seeking the abolition of the system. There were still more than five hundred pupil-teachers in England as late as 1938.² In 1900 the period of apprenticeship for pupil-teachers was reduced to three years and the Act of 1902 by increasing the number of secondary schools and training colleges made it possible to reduce the system until it catered only for those in isolated rural areas.³

Although there was no slavish adoption of English practices, the very fact that prestigious Boards and Committees of Enquiry had decided in favour of retaining the pupil-teacher system at the expense of previous training would be a strong incentive to continue along a path that was by no means obviously the wrong one.

¹S.J. Curtis, History of Education in Great Britain, London: University Tutorial Press, 5th. ed., 1963, 285-370.

²ibid., 329.

³ibid., 325.

That English reports were known in New South Wales can be seen from frequent references to them in the Ministers' Reports. In 1887 Chief Inspector J. Maynard in a submission to the Minister defending New South Wales education against the critical report of T. Brodribb,¹ Inspector and later Secretary for Education in Victoria, noted inter alia:

In England the wisdom of employing even pupil-teachers is beginning to be questioned. The feeling is growing that it would be better to pay more and to get older people. During their first year of service here, the youth of the pupil-teachers is a source of weakness . . . ²

Frederick Bridges as Chief Inspector stated in 1898, again speaking of pupil-teachers, "I am aware that the employment of pupil-teachers has been unsparingly condemned by educational authorities in England and elsewhere . . . "³ Letters from the Agent-General⁴ make frequent reference to reports of the various educational authorities in England and Europe being sent to the Department of Public

¹In 1894 in disagreement with Ministerial policy Brodribb retired, came to New South Wales and entered the Department of Public Instruction. J.O. Anchen, Frank Tate and his Work for Education, 50.

²MS. Memorandum to the Acting Under Secretary, 26, 519, 8th. November, 1887.

³Minister's Report, 1898; 117.

⁴e.g. MS. letter 52964, 19th August, 1904 from Agent-General noting despatch of Regulations of the Board of Education, and a Report on The Gemeindeschulen.

Instruction in New South Wales.

There is, then, good reason for noting the external factors likely to have influenced the course of teacher training during the period under consideration. European influences impinged upon the growing national consciousness, but they were filtered through the radical nationalism of the times and rarely were received with unadulterated force. Generally, the modification was sufficient to create a new outlook. Occasionally colonial "common sense" would work against the best interests of the colony, as when Bridges noted the opposition to one form of training, the pupil-teacher system, that was mounting overseas, but resolutely declined to change until popular pressure working through a progressive Minister initiated the inevitable.

The condition of the economy and the social outlook of the period were as important as any educational philosophy, no matter how significant, in rough hewing not only the educational ends but also the means of achieving them. Economically the community suffered a setback which, though temporary, was extremely severe. The perturbation caused by the Depression aided a quickening of the trend towards state intervention, at first in purely economic

matters then, and increasingly, in most matters of the public interest. The laissez-faire exponents had been proved incapable of preventing human misery and the hands of those who saw salvation in the State were strengthened. After 1900 when the economy had recovered from the worst of the downswing progress was rapid in most fields. But what happened depended in large part on the general re-orientation of the economy that had taken place between 1861 and 1900 when the emphasis on primary industry had been changed.

One might, therefore, in the light of the remarkable changes in society, in industry and in the creative arts that had taken place in a very short period, query Suttor's assessment of Australia at this stage as being a follower of overseas leadership and of achieving "no reconstruction of language to deal with the new cosmos."¹ The evidence seems to point the other way.

¹T.L. Suttor, op. cit., 10.

CHAPTER VTHE PUPIL-TEACHER SYSTEM AS AN ASPECT OF
TEACHER TRAINING

The Public Instruction Act, "An Act to make more adequate provision for Public Education",¹ dissolved the Council of Education and transferred "all the powers and authorities" to the Minister of Public Instruction. Apart from the natural expansion of the Public Schools with the growth of population, the new Act set lower numbers (twenty) for the provision of a Public School and provided for provisional schools. In addition, provision was made for the establishment of Superior Public Schools, Evening Public Schools and High Schools for both boys and girls. It was obvious that not only were more teachers going to be required, but there would be need for teachers of a higher calibre. However, the issue was alive--the rhetoric of Vaughan and Parkes had seen to that--and if public interest could be maintained something might be achieved.

¹Department of Public Instruction, The Public Instruction Act of 1880 and Regulations Thereunder, Sydney: Government Printer, 1912.

But, and perhaps not surprisingly for it was not a very colourful nor dramatic issue, the training of teachers received scant attention. Section 24 provided for training, stating specifically that:¹

Training Schools shall be established for the education of teachers both male and female and the teachers so trained and educated shall be classified according to their attainments and skill in teaching and shall receive certificates of competency which shall qualify them for corresponding grades in the School Service.

With the omission of the emphasis that such training must be secular there is virtually no difference from Section 15 of the Public Schools Act of 1866.²

Obviously the whole question of teacher training was regarded as being of less importance than the more superficially necessary clauses. At none of the readings of the Bill was there discussion or debate on Section 24 and it was finally passed on the 25th. February, 1880 by forty votes to six.³

Parkes claimed to have framed the Bill himself without aid from the parliamentary draftsman⁴ and,

¹ibid.

²30 Victoriae no. 22, Sydney: Government Printer, 1867.

³S.M.H., 26th. February, 1880.

⁴Letter to his daughter in D.C. Griffiths, Documents on the Establishment of Education in New South Wales, 1789-1880, Melbourne: A.C.E.R., 1957, 163.

as his work with the Council of Education would have shown him the unorganised condition of teacher training, it is a wonder that he did not lay down more specific provisions. From his early days with The Empire Parkes had been generally sympathetic towards teachers. And Sir John Robertson, moving the second reading of the Public Instruction Bill in the Legislative Council, quoted a statement Parkes had made in the Assembly in 1876 regarding the requirements of teachers. He stated at that time that:

The school service comprised 1,400 men and women . . . [they] had to receive a purely technical education themselves, they must have an aptitude for teaching, and must have the intellectual and physical power necessary for holding a class of strong, growing children in check; and they must be trained in the art of teaching.¹

The problem lay less with the framer of the Bill than with the administration of education in the state. The efficiency of Wilkins and his Inspectors and the spectacular success of the pupil-teacher system overshadowed the fumbling attempts at training that were provided at Fort Street Model School. As a politician it was difficult to look beyond the superficial glitter, despite Wilkins' occasional requests to do so.

¹S.M.H., 11th. March, 1880.

ENGLAND AND WALES.
Indenture of Pupil Teacher's Apprenticeship.

This Indenture

made the first day of *May*

18*61*, between *Eden Richardson* of the Parish of *Grant* of the first part; *William Richardson* of the Parish of *Grant* of the second part; *The Hon. Percy Ashburnham* of *Springton Park* in the Parish of *Grant* and *the Hon. Henry Ashburnham* of *the Parish of Grant* Trustees of *the said* and *Elizabeth Solomon* of *Grant National* school, of the third part; and *William Richardson* of *the Parish of Grant* school, of the fourth part;

WITNESSETH that the said *Eden Richardson* of her own free will, and with the consent and approbation as well of the said *William Richardson* as of the said

doth hereby place and bind her self apprentice to the said *Elizabeth Solomon* to serve her henceforth until the 31st day of December, 18*61*, (inclusive) in her business of a School, *Mistress* in the *Grant National* school aforesaid.

AND in consideration of the acceptance by the said *Elizabeth Solomon* of the said *Eden Richardson* into her service, and of the covenants on the part of the said *William Richardson* hereinafter contained, the said *William Richardson* doth hereby for himself, his heirs, executors and administrators, covenant and agree and the said *Eden Richardson* doth promise and engage with and to the said *Elizabeth Solomon* her executors, administrators and assigns, that the said *Eden Richardson* shall at all times during the said term faithfully and diligently serve the said *Elizabeth Solomon* in her business of a School, *Mistress* in the *Grant National* school aforesaid, and shall not, except from illness, absent her self from the said school during school hours, and shall conduct her self with honesty, sobriety, and temperance, and not be guilty of any profane or lewd conversation or conduct, or of gambling or any other immorality, but shall diligently and obediently assist in the instruction and discipline of the scholars of the said *Grant National* school, under the direction of the *Mistress*, and apply her self with industry to the instructions which shall be given her by the *Mistress*, and shall regularly attend divine service on Sunday.

And for the considerations aforesaid the said *William Richardson* doth hereby for himself, his heirs, executors, and administrators, further covenant with the said *Elizabeth Solomon* her executors, administrators, and assigns, that he the said *William Richardson* her executors and administrators, shall at all times during the said term provide the said *Eden Richardson* with all proper lodging, food, apparel, washing, medicine, and medical attendance.

AND in consideration of the covenants and agreements hereinbefore contained on the part of the said *William Richardson* and *Eden Richardson* the said *Elizabeth Solomon* doth hereby for her self, her heirs, executors, and administrators, covenant with the said *William Richardson* her executors, administrators, and assigns, and also as a separate covenant with the said *Eden Richardson* her executors, administrators and assigns, that she the said *Elizabeth Solomon* shall at all times during the said term, or so much thereof as she shall continue, *Mistress* of the said school, to the best of her ability teach the said *Eden Richardson* the business of a School, *Mistress* as carried on in the said school, and afford her daily opportunities (Sundays and the usual school holidays only excepted), of observing and practising the art of teaching in the said school, under the superintendence of her self the said *Elizabeth Solomon* and devote one hour and a half at the least in every morning or evening, before or after the usual hours of school keeping (except as aforesaid), to the further personal instruction of the said *Eden Richardson* in the several branches of useful learning usually taught in the said

Insert in the places where the undermentioned numbers occur particulars according to the following directions:—

- No. 1.—The Name of the Pupil Teacher.
- 2.—The Name of Father or Mother, or other relative or friend, who is a party to the Indenture.
- 3.—The Names and Residences of a quorum of the Committee of Managers, if there be such a Committee; and if not, then the Names of the Trustees.
- 4.—The Name of the Parish or District, and the designation of the School, thus:—"*Fulham National School*," "*Finbury British School*."
- 5.—The Name of the Master or Mistress.
- 6.—Here insert "Trustees" or "Managers" as the case may require.
- 7.—Here insert "Master" or "Mistress" as the case may require.
- 8.—Plural.
- 9.—Here insert "Father," "Mother," if a widow,—the degree of relationship of any friend.

N.B.—The Father, if alive, is to be a party to this Indenture. The Mother is to be a party only when the Father is dead; and another relative or friend only when the Apprentice is an orphan.

Parkes was more interested in the fact that he had finally created a national system of education that spread to the farthest reaches of the State and he harkened back to May, 1854 and the speech he made when first elected to parliament:

With regard to the great question of education, I have already declared myself, as systems at present stand, in favour of the National system; but so much importance do I attach to the work of mental training as the foundation of every social virtue, that I should be prepared to support any modification or alteration of that system which would more adapt it to the peculiar wants of the remote, thinly-populated,¹ and scattered districts of the colony.

The views he expressed on teachers and their training during his speech to the second reading of the Bill are difficult to understand, coming as they did from a man who had been intimately acquainted with the work of education with both the Board of National Education and the Council of Education. Even allowing for some journalistic licence there seems to be needless exaggeration when, after extolling the advances made under the late Council of Education he is reported in the following terms:

He thought that he might say that this progress made was a fair evidence of the success of the system, and of the beneficent work it was doing in all parts of the country with trained teachers.

¹The Echo, 22nd. November, 1879.

Would hon. members recollect that before 1867 there was not a trained teacher in the country?¹ Certainly in the Denominational schools, prior to 1867, when the Act came into operation, where the money was absolutely expended under the supervision of clergymen, so far from trained teachers being employed, the situation of teacher was in numerous instances given for no reason but to serve some unqualified person, and although there was a kind of training under the old Board of National Education,² still it was not so good as the training was at the present time. The council of Education has raised up an army in this country--he might well call it an army--of 1879 trained teachers. That represented an instrumentality for good which defied calculation³

Parkes is at present undergoing a Strachey-like re-evaluation at the hands of people amazed that Parkes should act like anything but the heroic image of the "father of education" and that he should be prepared to turn and to compromise and utter contradictory statements in order to protect and maintain his position, but it would have been interesting to hear Wilkins' comments when his pet schemes were so cavalierly dismissed. However, Wilkins, the great Public Servant, has left no extant notes of his feelings on this occasion.

¹Emphasis mine.

²Punctuation in original, emphasis mine.

³ibid.

The Bill passed each reading with a comfortable majority and debate was confined to such issues as the teaching of religion (Section 17), the "compulsory clause" (Sections 20 and 21) and the status of Denominational schools (Sections 28-32). An editorial in The Sydney Morning Herald deplored the intention to pay teachers by salary rather than by fees on the grounds that this would:

. . . reduce the educational system to a dead level. It will prove a premium on weakness and on indolence. Incompetent and indifferent teachers will have everything to gain by it, while earnest and able ones will have everything to lose. There will be no pecuniary inducement to put forth effort . . . once a teacher has received his classification he will gain no more by intensifying effort than by modifying it.¹

Oddly enough, this depreciatory forecast was to come uncomfortably close to the mark and later comments by District Inspectors and by the Chief Inspector were to show that in a system which regarded the teacher, in Peter Board's words, as "a superior sort of mechanic, who, with a degree of technical skill, could manipulate a class of 40 or 50 children into the acquisition of well marked blocks of knowledge" it was not always sufficient to then try to rely on the teacher's own professional instincts to keep him

¹6th. April, 1880.

educationally and administratively energetic.¹ In some cases other and more drastic methods were needed.

In the main, however, there were few unfavourable criticisms aimed at the educational provisions of the new Act. Time was to show that it was far easier to legislate for improvement in education than it was administratively to achieve it.

Regulation 77 recognised this danger and laid the onus squarely on the teacher himself:

Every teacher is required to make himself acquainted with improved methods of teaching and to practise them in his School. And, as the efficiency of Teachers will be judged of by the attainments, as well as the moral improvement of their pupils, results as well as the mode of instruction should be kept in view.²

This Regulation took on ironic overtones as the number of untrained rural teachers, first systematically employed in 1873 for service in the bush,³ increased during the period.

Section 20 of the Act, by requiring parents to send their children to school between the ages of six and fourteen, laid upon the Department of Public Instruction the duty of providing schools and teachers

¹Peter Board, "Professor Mackie, An Appreciation," Supplement to Schooling, December, 1926, no pagination.

²Minister's Report, 1881, Appendix A.

³Report of the Council of Education, 1873, 10.

for these children. Again it was easier to legislate for than to accomplish. As noted in the previous chapter the population was growing for much of this period at an increasing rate. Towards the end of the century the birth-rate actually declined by 20.8% for New South Wales as a whole and by 16.6% for Sydney.¹ However, the effect of this decline would not be felt until much later in the period and planning had to be done in the light of continually increasing numbers.

In 1881 there were 752,468 people in New South Wales according to the census of that year,² of whom 224,939 lived in Sydney.³ The Minister of Public Instruction reported that the gross enrolment of pupils at this time was 146,106 who were taught by 2,558 teachers. In two decades the population of New South Wales had risen to 1,359,133 and there were some 481,830 of these living in Sydney. At the same time there were 233,233 pupils and 5,000 teachers. During the period, then, the pupils and teachers under the

¹C.M.H. Clark, Select Documents in Australian History, Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1955, II, 667.

²vide supra.

³Clark, op. cit., 666.

control of the Department had virtually doubled and resources were strained to provide for them. At the same time a mild recession in the late eighties and the onset of depression in the nineties meant that much of this expansion had to be coped with on a limited budget that was constantly scrutinised with jealous eyes by anxious legislators. While the school population and teaching staff had doubled rapidly hence requiring a large outlay on capital works projects in the form of buildings and land the State Vote to the Department scarcely rose proportionately. In 1881 the State grant to education was £427,810/0/3, while in 1901 it was £761,636/10/10, less than it had been in 1883.¹ Under these circumstances it is possible to understand the apparent inconsistencies that occurred as the further training of teachers was encouraged and actually provided only to be reduced or removed altogether shortly afterwards.

The inconsistencies, hesitations and occasional apathy displayed by the Department cannot, however, be attributed solely to external sources. Administrators,

¹Comparing expenditure over this period raises some difficulty in that in New South Wales all government accounts were calculated in calendar years until 1895. At the beginning of July, 1895, accounts were based on the July-June financial year.

such as Chief Inspector Maynard in 1877, were not always ready to look beyond the immediate statistics and to take the longer view of teacher training. One suspects that the purposes of the Training Schools largely escaped men of the vintage of Maynard and Bridges and that they saw in them merely a means of adding a little polish to what had been essentially learned (and taught) during the years of the pupil-teachership. It is of significance, too, that when Parkes was extolling the virtues of the Act in the House, especially as it referred to teachers, his primary concern was with the administration of the service and only secondarily was he concerned that all should be trained:

The outstanding features of this Act are, firstly that all teachers will now be under control by reason of their being made civil servants. Secondly, it establishes the Golden Rule that only trained teachers shall be employed in our schools.¹

Superior Public Schools and High Schools had been envisaged by the new Act. These schools would carry the pupils further than had before been possible, but would make a demand on the Department for the provision of teachers whose qualifications were superior to the general run. While this demand would act as a goad towards closer contact with the University of

¹N.S.W. Parliamentary Debates, 1879-80, First Series, I, 270.

Sydney too much cannot be made of this. Although high schools were established they were not completely accepted for a considerable period of time by either the public or the Department and the number of teachers required until well into the new century was less than thirty. In the same vein Perry, Minister of Education, could define Departmental policy clearly as late as 1904, saying, "It must be remembered that our system aims primarily to impart a sound elementary education to all children."¹ So that although the feeling was there, and it was made explicit on occasions, that the Department required teachers with some form of advanced training and acquaintance with some form of tertiary education it was by no means generally held by administrators, by legislators or even by teachers themselves that the competent classroom teacher needed a great deal more knowledge than the children he was to teach. Professional competence was all and this could only be gained through actual practice in a real situation--or so ran the official view for many of the years of this period.

Although teacher training in the twenty years

¹Conference of Inspectors, Teachers and Departmental Officers to Discuss the Report of Education Commissioners, 14th. January, 1904, Sydney: Government Printer, 1904, 5.

after the passing of the Public Instruction Act tended to split distinctly into the continuation of the pupil-teacher system on the one hand and the development of the training schools into viable institutions on the other, both strands mingle and interweave at so many points that it would be impossible, even if it were desirable, to keep them separate. The significance of this period lies not so much in tracing chronologically the development of the various forms of training as in attempting to see why, after 1904, so many of the complaints levelled at the system could be either ameliorated or their removal foreseen. It was not, as has been sometimes suggested, a period of reculer pour mieux sauter since activity was frequently frenetic and opposition to training methods became increasingly vocal. But the activity lacked direction and too frequently was devoted towards a maintenance of the status quo. Alexander Mackie summed up the period:

In New South Wales the school system was suffering as all isolated and highly centralised systems are apt to suffer, from lack of ideas and in consequence there was undue rigidity, inflexibility and a lack of freedom and initiative on the part of teachers and administrative officials.¹

The foundations of the pupil-teacher system were

¹A. Mackie, "Remarks Made at a Farewell to Mr. S.H. Smith on Monday, August 28, 1930," Typescript.

laid under the Board of National Education, developments, modifications and extensions added under the Council of Education and very little change made until the beginning of the twentieth century. Standards were raised as examinations grew more difficult, but in general administration of the system meant oiling the machinery and replacing exactly any worn parts. There was no attempt at innovation, even after the retirement of the scheme's architect, William Wilkins.

The age limits were delineated in 1868 as being between thirteen and sixteen years. If younger than thirteen they sometimes proved physically unable of doing the work required of them while if older than eighteen they prove "less useful for the precise service for which they are needed than those who, being younger, are more easily moulded to the fashion required."¹ The minimum age was lifted to fourteen years in 1893² and in practice the actual starting age was generally higher as not all pupil-teachers who had passed the examinations could be immediately accommodated in schools. In 1904, for example, the Minister noted that since the turn of the century the minimum age at which a pupil-

¹Report of the Council of Education, 1868, 20.

²Minister's Report, 1893, 25.

No. 9 *8.4.112*

Department of Public Instruction,
Sydney, *7. Feb* 189 *8*

Sir,

I am directed to acquaint you that the Teacher of the Public School at *Mumberumba* has been instructed to employ you in that School for three months, on probation, in the performance of the duties pertaining to the office of Pupil-Teacher, in order to ascertain your eligibility to serve in that capacity.

*Public Instruction Act
and Regulations,
Instructions to Pupil-
Teachers.*

2. Should the reports upon you, at the expiration of the period indicated, be fully satisfactory, your name will be submitted to the Minister of Public Instruction, with a view to your continuance as a Pupil-Teacher. Your salary will take effect from the date of your entering on duty.

3. You should commence duty without delay.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

Gibson
for Under Secretary.

*Public School,
Mumberumba.*

14538 (11)

teacher received his first appointment was sixteen years.¹ That the rigours of the task were recognised can be seen from the proffered advice that:

Parents who desire that their children should adopt the teaching profession should, before taking any steps fully consider whether the health of these young persons may not be injured by introducing them to a pursuit for which they do not possess the requisite physical qualifications.²

Although pupil-teachers were not indentured as they had been in England they were expected to remain in the service and to "serve for three years in any locality to which the Minister may see fit to appoint them".³ They were also expected to apply for admission to the Training School at the completion of their apprenticeships. If this were not done the Department appeared to take serious view of the matter, as in the case of Miss Bailey, a pupil-teacher at Tooleford:

With reference to your letter of 8th. June instant, in which you state that present circumstances will not permit you to enter the Training School, I am to remind you that, on 24th. March, 1876, when making application for employment as a pupil-teacher, you signed a Declaration agreeing to serve in that capacity for a term of 4 years, and, at the expiration of that period to apply for admission to the Public Training School. On the

¹Conference of Inspectors . . . January, 1904, op. cit., 6.

²Report of the Council of Education, 1878, 19.

³Minister's Report, 1883, 107.

supposition that you would fulfil your engagement you were employed.

As it appears however, that you do not intend to make application for admission to the Training School during the ensuing session, your services will be discontinued from 30th. June, instant.¹

In the light of the limited number of places available, and known to be available, in the Training School in 1880 it is possible to wonder at the Department's unyielding attitude to what was obviously a Class I pupil-teacher who was not insisting that she be accepted for further training. This attitude is more difficult to understand in the light of the letter to Miss F.C. Hare a few days later. Miss Hare was applying to attend the examination for admission to the Training School as a candidate who had been neither a pupil-teacher nor an untrained teacher:

. . . it seems probable that the pupil-teachers just completing their services in that capacity, and Teachers due for training will somewhat exceed the maximum number of applicants that can be accommodated during next session. The question of your acceptance as a candidate for examination with a view to your admission cannot, therefore, be determined at present . . .²

However, it was found that some places would be

¹MS Out Letter Book 1/729, 80/2071, 23rd. June, 1880

²ibid., 80/2215, 2nd. July, 1880.

available to candidates, although preference would be given to married applicants who were successful in the examination. But Miss Hare could sit for the examination, "to be held at the Sussex Street Public School on Wednesday next, the 14th. instant on the understanding that, if a sufficient number of married candidates are not successful thereat, your claims will receive consideration".¹

That there was a disparity between the number of pupil-teachers who received First Class classifications and those who were admitted to the Training Schools can be seen from the numerical details of those classified as reaching Class I in any year and the number of students reported as entering further training, a disparity admitted by the Minister a few years later:

Hitherto, when they have completed their engagement, there has not been sufficient accommodation for all of them at the Training Schools and a certain number have had to wait till there were vacancies.²

Although conditions for pupil-teachers were not ideal and tended, even by the standards of the day, to represent unalloyed drudgery and even brutal neglect under less sympathetic Headmasters, there was no dearth

¹ibid., 80/2426, 12th. July, 1880.

²Minister's Report, 1883, 12.

of applicants for the positions available. Partly these were made up of females for whom teaching, even under the conditions then existing was one of the more socially acceptable occupations. For boys in the bush it provided an alternative to the drudgery of the farm or allied occupation in a small town. In the metropolitan area, however, labour was still comparatively in short supply and youths of promise could take their choice of a number of alternative occupations, most offering more money for less demanding work. Thus the Chief examiner could refer to this in the annual report¹ and note from time to time the general superiority of country applicants to male city applicants.

In the Report of the Minister for 1880, Regulation 45 laid down that "The remuneration of Pupil-Teachers will consist partly of instruction to be given by the Teacher, for at least one hour on every school day . . . "² But here, in the matter of what may be loosely termed academic training, the system was at its weakest. The pupil-teacher was at the mercy of the master for the formal training that he was entitled, by regulation, to receive. Even where the teacher was conscientious regarding his duties to the pupil-teachers

¹ibid., 108.

²Minister's Report, 1880, 29.

there was little guarantee that he was himself competent in all the subjects the pupil-teacher would need for his examination. The Council of Education and the new Department had attempted to alleviate this by establishing central classes for pupil-teachers under the direction of the Training Master, but these were for a long time restricted to the metropolitan area and dealt with the more difficult subjects. Thus a note to pupil-teacher, Mr. A. Gardiner, regarding his failure in Latin:

Before the question of your promotion can be considered, an opportunity will be afforded you of explaining the cause of your failure . . . Your statement that you could not do the Latin cannot be accepted as a sufficient reason.¹

Further correspondence shows that the hapless Mr. Gardiner had received little tuition in the subject, although the suspicion lingers that his own aptitude for Latin was not high.

Be that as it may the administrators recognised that here was a possible weakness that even close supervision could not overcome altogether. In 1882 the Chief Inspector warned that:

It is intended in the current year to inquire closely into the character of teaching given to pupil-teachers, the inspectors having received special instructions on the

¹MS Out-Letter Book, 1/729, 80/2117, 26th. June, 1880

point.¹

This was merely reinforcing the comment he had made just previously regarding the quality and nature of the instruction being given to pupil-teachers:

There are grounds for believing that the instruction given to pupil-teachers is in many cases very defective. Too many of these young persons fail to pass the prescribed yearly examinations, and . . . the fault would appear not so much with the pupil-teachers as with the teachers under whose charge they are placed. Instead of arranging their instruction on some well-considered plan . . . these teachers set tasks which the pupil-teachers are required to commit to memory.²

This is a damning indictment of a situation which had grown up over a number of years. While the unfortunate pupil-teacher suffered under these conditions it is not difficult to understand the attitude of the teacher who, burdened with his normal chores, would find the additional task of teaching advanced work to his pupil-teacher increasingly difficult and the temptation to set work to be memorised or worked at home an increasingly easy one to succumb to.

The same report also notes that thoughtless or unscrupulous teachers could use the pupil-teacher to alleviate his own work load at the expense of any

¹Minister's Report, 1882, 160.

²ibid., 159.

"practical" advantage the pupil-teacher might get from being in front of a class:

. . . it has been found that their energies have been over-taxed. They have been set to teach classes containing as many as 80 or 90 pupils in schools where the principal teachers have had under their immediate care not more than half that number.¹

Grounds for dissatisfaction with the system certainly existed. But the difficulties that teachers were obviously finding in coaching their charges to pass examinations and the doubtful value of much of the practice that they were getting were not seen as fundamental weaknesses of the system itself. Where imperfections were discovered they were corrected, but at no stage was the basic philosophy underlying the pupil-teacher system attacked or even seriously questioned at an official level. The system was regarded as unquestionably the best that existed, the administrators' tasks were to ensure that it ran as smoothly as possible. That there were points of friction were recognised and from time to time the Chief Inspector of the Minister had to remind teachers of their obligations to the pupil-teacher system. Thus Section 23 of Instructions . . . to Principal Teachers and Mistresses of Departments:

He will devote at least one hour daily

¹ibid., 160.

to the instruction of pupil-teachers and will see that all the prescribed subjects are duly studied by them. Suitable programmes are to be prepared, and a Register is to be kept showing (a) the time of commencing the daily lesson and the time at which it was concluded, (b) the exercise or home-lesson appointed for the day. It must be clearly understood that mistresses of departments are to perform a fair share of the work of instructing pupil-teachers.¹

Administratively the instruction was sound. Provided the registers were honestly kept, and this could be checked, the inspector could determine whether the pupil-teacher was receiving adequate tuition in terms of the instruction given. It could also spur the less conscientious teacher into teaching the pupil-teacher rather than acting as a marker of home lessons. More than that, however, it points up the difficulties that were involved in attempting to run a system of this nature in a State where teachers and schools varied so considerably in standard and where distance made the task of effective supervision virtually impossible. It is interesting to note that some mistresses had obviously felt that the work of instructing pupil-teachers was the Headmaster's responsibility for the tone of the last sentence is quite peremptory.

Despite these administrative attempts at ensuring

¹Minister's Report, 1886, 211.

that pupil-teachers were treated with all the consideration to which they were entitled, the note sounded by the Chief Inspector in 1884 that:

. . . some of them, however are overworked in schools, and the lessons set for them for home study are often far in excess of what they can possibly do in reasonable time.¹

continued to be heard in the reports of the Inspectors and Assistant-Inspectors well into the new century and the reports of the Examiner and the heads of the Training Schools frequently refer to the difference in training that individual pupil-teachers had received.²

The raw material from which, Prometheus-like, the Department of Public Instruction had to create teachers was not always promising and many of the failures by pupil-teachers were not attributable to poor teaching. The Chief Examiner, early in the history of the new Department believed:

Some pupil-teachers do study carefully, but these are in the minority. The majority appear to read little outside the bare confines of their prescribed course and even here the knowledge gained is to a large extent superficial. There must be more diligence in study . . . ³

¹ibid., 1884, 84.

²For examples see Ministers' Reports, 1886, 144 and 1887, 139.

³Minister's Report, 1881, 152.

Although there was some sniping at individual facets of the pupil-teacher system, until after the death of Bridges the official view of the system scarcely changed from the Chief Inspector's in 1881:

Not only are they in many cases more competent than well paid assistants, but they form the main source from which vacancies in the larger and more important schools are filled--The pupil-teacher element is one of the most striking features of our system of education, and is certainly one of the most hopeful.¹

So entrenched was the system that for many years opponents of pupil-teachers were scarcely taken seriously and little Departmental time was wasted in answering them. Even where the mother country was demonstrably anxious about the system New South Wales' complacency remained unshaken:

For a long time the training and the attainments of pupil-teachers in England appear to have been giving less satisfaction year by year. The English Inspectors complain that their pupil-teachers are badly taught, and at the close of their apprenticeship have a very limited knowledge of the few subjects in which they are required to undergo examination. The complaint is also general that they receive little or no beneficial instruction in the art of teaching . . . In this Colony there is no reasonable ground for complaint in regard to these subjects [arithmetic, geography, grammar, history], and there is every ground for satisfaction in regard to professional training . . .

¹ibid., 102.

But again where the machinery was not as efficient as it could possibly be administrative steps were taken to adjust it. Thus the report continues to state that since too many pupil-teachers in New South Wales were failing in Latin, French, music and drawing, classes were to be instituted in these subjects "at least twice a week at convenient centres, and to give them special lessons . . . The work will be undertaken by teachers selected for the purpose from Public Schools".¹

These special classes were a feature of the pupil-teacher system for over twenty years until they fell victim to the economies contingent upon the Depression in 1894. Although they did not approach the pupil-teacher centres which were such a feature of the English scene,² they did provide for some years virtually the only skilled teaching that many pupil-teachers could get in the higher branches of the option subjects. The classes were initiated under the Council of Education in 1873 and were held on Saturday mornings so that normal work would not be interfered with.³

The system of Saturday morning classes as

¹ibid., 1883, 11.

²The Chief Inspector had suggested the formation of such a centre (1882 Report, 159), but the idea was not taken up.

³Council of Education Report, 1873, 9.

instituted in 1884 consisted of special teaching in those subjects which pupil-teachers were finding it most difficult to get adequate instruction from their own principals. From 9.00 a.m. until 12.30 p.m. metropolitan pupil-teachers attended Fort Street Superior Public School to be taught French, Latin, drill, music and drawing. On Wednesday afternoons the male pupil-teachers attended the Castlereagh Street School at 4.15 p.m. for instruction in mathematics. These classes were, in general, favourably received as the examinations were an important phase of the pupil-teacher's life and they were not "deemed eligible for admission to training unless they have passed all the prescribed yearly examinations". A teacher who attended the first of these classes as a pupil-teacher felt that the classes were accepted as being useful, although the standard was not particularly high. He noted that the males took Latin at Fort Street on Saturday mornings, the females French and both took music. On Wednesday afternoons the males were formed into two divisions for coaching in mathematics. The top division was taken by the Principal of the Training School and the lower by the "Captain of the Senior Training School Session".¹

¹R.A. Irwin, "The Sydney and Suburban Pupil-Teacher," in A. Cousins, Some Experiences of the 1885-6 Session of Fort Street Training School for Teachers, Typescript, 1943.

The Minister concluded:

No regular examination of the classes by an Inspector has yet been held, but sufficient information respecting their condition and working has been gathered to leave no doubt as to the substantial benefits they are conferring on the young persons attending them. The classes as now organized have been in operation six months. Arrangements are in progress to extend as far as practicable similar advantages to pupil-teachers in the country.¹

In 1888 classes were established outside the metropolitan area at Wickham in the Newcastle district and at East Maitland. After the admission of matriculated training students to the University the classes in Latin and French took on an added dimension since these subjects were required for matriculation.

The Time Table for these additional classes shows the concentration on Drill that was then taking place:

TIMETABLE²

<u>Classes</u>	<u>9.15-10.15</u>	<u>10.15-11.10</u>	<u>11.20-12.15</u>
IV	Music	Drawing	Drill
III	Music	Drawing	Drill
	<u>9.15-10.45</u>	<u>11.00-12.15</u>	
II	Latin	Drill	
I	Latin		

..... The classes were compulsory and large numbers

¹Minister's Report, 1884, 33.

²Minister's Report, 1891, 235.

attended, generally of the order of four hundred or more until their closure in 1894.

The Principal of the Training School had doubts about the necessity for the Wednesday Classes, using arguments against them that were later to be proffered as among the reasons for their cancellation. He stated:

I cannot see that any advantage is gained by collecting the male pupil-teachers on Wednesday afternoons for instruction in mathematics. Most, if not all, of the principal teachers are quite capable of giving instruction in this important subject.¹

Conway's attitude towards these particular classes with which he was intimately involved would have been based upon a close knowledge of the schools and the qualifications of the "principal teachers", but as has been pointed out before, many teachers tended to shirk their responsibilities towards their pupil-teachers. The provision of special classes and the payment of qualified people at least meant that the work was being presented and the opportunity given for pupil-teachers to become acquainted with the material they would later be examined in. In 1894 Bridges testified to the efficacy of these classes by implication when he compared the Senior Students at Fort Street with the pupil-

¹ibid., 1888, 381.

teachers and found the pupil-teachers "well ahead" in mathematics.¹ Conway, too, was not at this time a well man and was suffering from the disease that was to lead to his suspension in 1893 and the appointment of J.W. Turner as Principal.

In 1894 the numbers attending the additional classes had dropped from a high of 506 in 1892² down to 279³ and a decision was made to close them. The decision to end the classes was an unfortunate one in many respects as not only were pupil-teachers afforded the opportunity of gaining additional academic qualifications, albeit in their own time, but they were also able to meet with each other and discuss common problems. Some thought later that this was the most valuable part of the classes.⁴ However, the decision to close the classes was forced upon the Department. Cabinet had insisted that stringent economies be effected in all branches of the Public Service and the vote for education was cut drastically by more than £50,000 and classes for pupil-teachers would not have

¹F. Bridges, MS. Report on Fort Street Training School, 28th August, 1894, 2.

²ibid., 1892, 506.

³ibid., 1894, 23.

⁴Unsigned page of "reminiscences" in Sydney Teachers' College Library.

rated a very high priority if, as was the case, there existed other means of accomplishing the same task. To accuse the Department of hypocrisy over the reasons given for the cessation of the classes is scarcely just. The Minister announced their closing in these terms:

The Saturday and Wednesday classes . . . were permanently closed at the end of the year, inasmuch as the expense of continuing them is not now warranted. When established, these classes were designed for the advancement of pupil-teachers in Sydney and the country centres, in . . . subjects of which, at that time, few principal teachers had the necessary knowledge. As the majority of teachers, however, are now fully qualified to give instruction to pupil-teachers in these subjects, there is no longer any sufficient reason for the continuance of these special classes. By their abolition, moreover, a considerable saving of expenditure will be made . . . and all the pupil-teachers will be placed upon an equal footing as regards preparation for their annual examinations.¹

As the century drew to a close the attacks upon the pupil-teacher system increased. Departmental officers, as might be expected, closed their ranks in defence of a system that most of them had worked under and were now responsible for administering. Although informed criticism reached a crescendo in the early years of the twentieth century when it burst with fury

¹Minister's Report, 1894, 23.

around the head of the hapless Bridges, there had been a continual questioning of the efficacy of the system since the early eighties. Through the medium of the Minister's annual Report opportunity was frequently taken to reply to critics. Thus the Chief Examiner in 1882:

The pupil-teacher system has been of immense benefit to the course of education in this Colony. It was established far back--for we find it existing in 1851. Starting from small beginnings, with a few highly qualified Young Persons of both sexes, it has steadily advanced in both public favour and usefulness . . . it is difficult to conceive how the late Board of Education and the Council of Education could have achieved the widespread and beneficial results which characterised their administration, without the aid of this valuable Branch of the Profession.¹

Frederick Bridges had little sympathy for those who attempted to disparage this institution and refused to accept any evidence that conflicted with his own predilections and the results of his experience and long observation. Even official reports from England and elsewhere were not sufficient:

I am aware that the employment of pupil-teachers has been unsparingly condemned by educational authorities in England and elsewhere; but as a result of a very large experience, I am convinced that not only do we get our best teachers from the ranks of pupil-

¹ibid., 1882, 108.

teachers, but that these young persons are much more useful than those taken on at a more advanced age would be.¹

While in 1902 with the criticisms of many prominent people resounding in his ears, he testily replied:

Attempts have recently been made to disparage our pupil-teachers and their work. A beginning of the work of teaching must be made some time, and a youth of 16 learns to teach more quickly than a young man of 21. Besides, the youth who takes up teaching as his life's work is more likely to succeed than an older person, who, having tried various occupations and failed, turns his mind to teaching as a last resource.²

The Minister's Reports were the main source by which Departmental officers could state their cases publicly and as they were frequently used for this purpose they give an insight into the beliefs of the officials not otherwise available. Bridges' defence of the system and the terms in which he defended it show a growing ossification and a failure to realise that current problems could not be solved by a formula growing increasingly dated, no matter how successful that formula had been under different conditions.

But Bridges was not alone in his defence of pupil-teachers as the best method of training teachers. Apart from his officers, most teachers were in favour of the

¹Minister's Report, 1898, 117.

²ibid., 1902, 77.

system, even if desirous of some modification. Mr. Swann, Vice-President of the New South Wales Teachers' Association, speaking at the Conference in April, 1904, referred to meetings of teachers held to discuss proposals made at previous conferences and by the Knibbs-Turner Report, said, "The teachers at those meetings were not prepared to vote for the abolition of the pupil-teacher system, but . . . not a single teacher advocated the retention of the present system."¹

In England the Report of the Royal Commission on the Elementary Education Acts, the Cross Report, published in 1888, showed that harsh things were indeed being said about the pupil-teacher system, but, as was to happen in New South Wales, the consensus of both the majority and the minority was to retain the system, but to modify it where it was not working successfully. Witnesses had attacked the method of requiring head teachers to tutor pupil-teachers as being wasteful and inefficient. The evidence of the various witnesses could almost have been taken from current attitudes in New South Wales towards the pupil-teacher system. For example, Dr. Crosskey regarded it as "at once the cheapest and the very worst possible system of supply". Mr.

¹Conference of Inspectors, Teachers, Departmental Officers and Prominent Educationalists, April, 1904, Sydney: Government Printer, 1904, 46.

Hance, clerk to the Liverpool School Board saw pupil-teachers "as being on the whole the best as well as the main source of supply of certificated teachers." The Principal of Battersea Training College came out very strongly for it as did many of the Inspectors. Mr. H.E. Oakley, Chief H.M.I. for Training Colleges for Schoolmasters, later to lecture in New South Wales as Sir Evelyn Oakley, felt that improvements were needed, but "the system affords the best means of keeping up the supply." The Majority Report concluded:

. . . there is no other available, or . . . equally trustworthy source from which an adequate supply of teachers is likely to be forthcoming; and with modifications, tending to the improvement of their education, the apprenticeship of pupil-¹ teachers, we think, ought to be upheld.

The Minority Report, signed by eight of the twenty-three members of the Commission, felt that a longer course of preliminary training should be undertaken before a pupil-teacher was entrusted with a class and:

In general we consider that the pupil-teacher system is now the weakest part of our educational machinery, and that great changes are needed if it is to be continued in the future . . . and we think rather that no pupil teacher should be entrusted with a class till he or she is at least 15 years of age; the first year or two of apprenticeship being almost entirely employed in learning.²

¹J.S. Maclure, op. cit., 131-132.

²ibid., 139.

But there was no feeling that the system was inherently wrong.

Commissioner G.H. Knibbs reported a similar attitude in New South Wales:

. . . it must not be supposed that the pupil-teacher system expresses the ideals of the entire staff of primary teachers in New South Wales. At the same time it must be admitted that at the Conference held in January, 1902, of Inspectors and Departmental Officers of the Department of Public Instruction, there was no definite dissent. On the contrary, the system was strongly approved . . . The conference affirmed that "the existing pupil-teacher system, with modifications, should be continued."¹

In the same vein Professor Knibbs continued:

This system was not defended on the ground that, though defective, it must necessarily be adopted from the pressure of circumstances; on the contrary . . . it was strenuously supported as an ideal system . . . The failure on the part of high officers to recognise and appreciate the inefficiency of such a class of teachers as the pupil-teachers, is very significant.

The pupil-teacher system had previously been somewhat warmly attacked. Those who realise with any clearness the inevitable effect of the employment of young, inexperienced, and imperfectly educated persons (children really) as teachers, and whose conception of the real nature of education forces them to appreciate the disastrous effect of this upon the educational development of any country, are likely to be vehement in any adverse reference to the system . . . The failure

¹Interim Report of the Commissioners on Certain Parts of Primary Education, Sydney: Government Printer, 1903, 18.

of the Department to avail itself of the world's educational experience, is the only possible explanation of the ardent defence of the pupil-teacher system, despite the continual criticism to which it had been subjected. The failure permeates the system.¹

This was a shrewd and telling summary, not only of the attitudes revealed at the 1902 Conference during which his fellow Commissioner had also strongly supported the system, but also of the general Departmental thought and feeling during the last two decades of the nineteenth century. These men not only had access to reports and writings from overseas, but they had read them in a spirit which had militated against any serious consideration of the new ideas. This is the more serious charge.

And yet powerful and eloquent attacks were made on the pupil-teacher system without creating a mite of the storm that gathered after Professor Anderson's speech in 1901. No historian would be so foolish as to suppose that a single speech would be able to provide the spark to set off such a conflagration had not the tinder already been gathered and dried. The process of arousing the public, and the political, conscience, was a slow one. Some of the earlier attempts on the pupil-teacher system bear consideration. It might be remembered that

¹ibid., 66-69.

these attacks were not private ones, but were widely published.

The South Australian, W. Catton Grasby, had visited Germany, France, Belgium, Switzerland, the United States and Canada and had found the pupil-teacher system, the British Empire apart, to be everywhere condemned. His report makes compelling reading, but the reaction to it, in New South Wales at least, was one of indifference. He stated:

We countenance many silly things, but few more idiotic than the attempt to educate children by means of boys and girls themselves uneducated . . . No progressive people outside the British Empire retains the stupid, baneful, pupil-teacher system . . . Supposing, for the time being, we grant that the system is cheaper, i.e., costs less money, what do we pay for our supposed cheapness? An apprentice to a carpenter, without being blameworthy, may spoil a plank which should have made a door. A pupil-teacher likewise, in his inexperience, is no more successful than the apprentice; but whereas the one merely spoils a piece of wood, the other does irreparable injury to the delicately balanced organism of the sensitive boy . . . From whatever side we look at, the pupil-teacher system, we find its influence baneful alike to the pupil and future teacher.

Grasby's influence seems to have spread beyond his own State. He mentioned in the pamphlet that he had refused an administrative position with the Department

¹W. Catton Grasby, Our Public Schools, Adelaide: Hussey and Gillingham, 1891, 15-17.

of Education in West Australia and echoes of his writings can be heard from both New South Wales and Victoria. One writer in New South Wales attacking the idea that teachers could learn their craft on the job wrote:

They acquire their knowledge of training and form management at the expense of the human souls committed to them. They learn to use their tools by whittling at the material given them to beautify.¹

The similarity of metaphors in this work and the work previously quoted suggests that Grasby's writings were not entirely unknown in New South Wales.

Not all comments were unfavourable, however. The point that impressed many observers was not the paucity of the type of training that the young people were getting but that they were being trained in an organised and systematic fashion. In an article entitled "Practical Suggestions for the Present Training of Teachers" Mrs. C.M. David, formerly first Lady Principal of Hurlstone Training School as Miss Caroline Mallett, declaimed somewhat fulsomely, "The State has, indeed, most liberally, provided training for those elementary teachers who are employed in State Schools."²

Professor Scott, whose interest in the training of

¹P.A. Robin, "The Training of Secondary Teachers," The Australian Teacher, No. 4, November, 1893, 1.

²The Australian Teacher, No. 7, May, 1894, 2.

teachers was unceasing, was not particularly enamoured of all aspects of the State system, but could pay tribute to the insistence that the Department of Public Instruction placed upon training. Giving the address as retiring President of the Teachers' Association he commented, "The State School teacher is accepted as qualified for a responsible position only after a carefully considered course of training which (including the pupil-teacher stage) extends over several years." He then proceeded to point out the academic deficiencies of the State training scheme which stood out by comparison with the length and quality of the training that students received. If, he noted, these academic deficiencies were not remedied at some stage during the student's course of training there was a strong chance that the majority of teachers would never remedy them on their own initiative for "a deficient general education is not likely to be satisfactorily completed under the stress and strain of a school-teacher's life."¹

The previous President of the Association, the Reverend E. Harris, D.D., had also commended the organisation of the State's system of training, "Teachers should be a trained and organised profession. In the

¹ibid., No. 13, August, 1895, 3.

State Schools, in which, of course, a rational system exists, there is a regular course of training."¹ These comments for and against a particular system of training serve to show that, among a section of the population at least, the question of teacher training was beginning to receive attention and to draw upon itself informed criticism. The report of a public address and the reaction to it demonstrates that the temper of the times was beginning to change. The lecture was given by Sir Evelyn Oakley, formerly Chief Inspector of the Training Colleges for Schoolmasters in England at the time of the Cross Report. Sir George Reid, Premier of New South Wales and sometime Minister of Education, was chairman of the meeting and current Education Minister Hogue was on the platform to hear the address, "The Progress of Elementary Education in England since 1854." During the course of his lecture Sir Evelyn noted, "New Methods of teaching by pupil-teachers were now in vogue. Pupil-teachers were not allowed to have charge of classes until the last year of their apprenticeship. That got rid of the derision levelled by many other nations against the English system of putting a mere child to experiment with other children (Applause) . . . The

¹ibid., No. 8, September, 1894, 10.

logical objective of the pupil-teacher's career was the training college."¹ This would be bitter gall to Chief Inspector Bridges, but we find little to show that he was aware of what had been said by a man with at least some pretensions to expertise in the field.

The point to be kept in mind is that dissension and debate existed and were in progress for a great part of the period under examination. Teachers were also aware of the shortcomings of the system under which so many of them had trained, but they were bound by Regulation from commenting publicly on the system which they served. But not all attacks were levelled at the type of training received, nor were they for similar reasons. The sporadic and scattered nature of the charges seems to have much to do with their lack of immediate effect and the ease with which they could be disdained by the responsible officers in the Department.

Professor Scott is a case in point. The energy and interest he expended in the cause of teacher training is praiseworthy, but his major source of dissatisfaction tended to lie with the lack of intellectual and academic training potential teachers received,

¹The Australian Teacher, No. 31, March, 1899, 14-15.

rather than with the nature and calibre of what we may loosely call professional training. Even Professor Anderson's strictures were as much concerned with the teacher himself and the effect of a particular kind of training on the potential teacher as with the possible effect that a poorly trained teacher might have on young minds.

In other Colonies the picture was equally depressing. In South Australia which had a Teachers' College since 1876 and had been praised by Professor Anderson for the lectures its staff gave to students in psychology and in the science and history of education, the system of pupil-teachers was still drawing unfavourable comment. Victoria, economically the worst affected of all colonies during the Depression, had closed its Training Institution in 1893 and did not re-open it until 1900. Victoria retained the monitorial system discarded by New South Wales and did not dispense with the pupil-teacher system until the 1940's.

However, Queensland was the colony that regarded the whole question of the training of teachers with the most suspicion. In 1875 it had been stated in the Legislative Council that:

. . . so long as trained masters can be obtained from the United Kingdom at considerably less cost than would be entailed by training candidates here at the

expense of the State, the Board will not be prepared to adopt the system of paying candidate teachers for simply allowing themselves to be taught.¹

This attitude was echoed to some extent in New South Wales in 1888 when a circular signed by the Under Secretary, Edwin Johnson, pointed out that the State did not believe itself obliged to pay wholly for training beyond the pupil-teacher stage.²

Queensland had a much larger proportion of its teaching staff as pupil-teachers than did New South Wales. The proportion of pupil-teachers to the total teaching strength was generally greater than 25%. As late as 1916 pupil-teachers formed a quarter of the total.³ In 1898 the notorious David Ewart, General Inspector, made his attitude abundantly clear:

There are no adult teachers to be had for the mere picking up . . . They have to be made and to grow and to be waited for. We have made them out of pupil-teachers all the time, and we must continue to make them that way until a better way is found; and a better way will not be sought for until the present way fails . . . The directness of the training of the pupil-teachers in the actual work of the schools . . . seems to particularly fit our needs and to make up

¹M.R. Anderson, "A History of Teacher Training in Queensland," Unpub. M.Ed. Thesis, University of Queensland, 1960, 13.

²"Training Institutions for Teachers," Circular, 11th. June, 1888.

³M.R. Anderson, op. cit., 20-27.

largely for the want of a more philosophic training; and I confidently appeal to the best of the teachers who have come to us from the training colleges of the home lands, if they have not had to let go some of what they were taught is scholastically¹ correct, in order to meet their work here.

The pupil-teacher system was to continue well into the first decade of the twentieth century. Despite mounting criticism at all levels it was still defended vigorously by Departmental heads who could not recognise that a once valuable means of training future teachers had reached a stage of intellectual and educational bankruptcy. That there were so few changes in the administrative machinery needed to keep the system working between 1880 and the end of the century serves only to underline this bankruptcy. The storm that was to break after 1901 had already begun to brew.

CHAPTER VITHE DEVELOPMENT OF THE TRAINING COLLEGESAFTER 1880

The most significant developments during the period after 1880 were the growth and expansion of the Training Schools, initially at Fort Street and after 1882 also at Hurlstone. Originally intended to train adult candidates in school procedure, lesson content and basic teaching techniques, they grew beyond this original intention to assume a significance greater than that of the pupil-teacher system. The development was never even and to look for a regular pattern would be useless. The development of the Training Schools reflects closely the lack of a coherent philosophy on the part of Departmental administrators to whom the period of training could be lengthened, shortened or otherwise varied to meet Departmental exigencies. Even the physical accommodation of students was never adequate during the whole of the period.

The official attitude to the Training Schools is marked by hesitation and a refusal by Departmental officials before Peter Board to accept the Training Schools as other than an adjunct to the pupil-teacher

system. Frederick Bridges, as Inspector, Chief Inspector and Acting Under Secretary was generally high in his praise of their methods and achievements as his inspection reports show. His official attitude was also favourable:

The benefits of training are so marked that I shall be glad when it becomes practicable to bring more of our teachers under the influence of the Training School. The lessons in the Training Schools are practical and full of encouragement as well as instruction . . . they are enriched with the understanding of those fundamental principles of school management that will enable them to devise good methods of their own when they go out in charge of schools.¹

But imbued as he was with the merits of the pupil-teacher system Bridges was unable to envisage the Training Schools as anything other than institutions to which select pupil-teachers might apply for a final polishing before entering the service as teachers. To him the Training Schools existed within the framework of the pupil-teacher system and he seems to have been honestly unable to comprehend them in any other way.

The principals of the Training Schools were a uniformly hard working group but they too reflected the attitude of their superiors. Before Alexander Mackie they uniformly accepted the belief that these

¹Minister's Report, 1890, 70.

institutions were a gloss on the real training that their students had received as pupil-teachers. The lack of anything like a coherent philosophy on which to mould their developing institutions is singularly apparent. The one possible exception to this, Miss Caroline Mallett with the advantage of an English Training College behind her, spent too little time at Hurlstone before her resignation and marriage to see her ideals take hold. Successive Training Masters and Principals had their educational energies dissipated in constant battles to maintain their Schools intact against a Council and a Department whose major aim was to reduce expense. When cuts were made the Training Schools were generally the first to suffer.

As early as 1868 the Training Master launched an eloquent appeal for an extension of the training period to six months:

When the fact is called to mind, that more than half the applicants are persons that have had no previous experience in, or training for, the work of teaching, but came, as it were, fresh from the plough, the workshop, the counting-house, the gold fields --from avocations but little akin to that of the teacher, and that in the space of three months they are expected to obtain a fair knowledge of the subjects set forth in the programme of studies, the time . . . is . . . altogether inadequate.¹

He saw the task of the Training School as a double

¹Council of Education Report, 1868, 24-25.

one. Not only was it to impart information for examination and teaching purposes, but the training should also:

. . . be an apprenticeship to the art of teaching, during which he shall have facilities for studying the nature of the material on which he will have to operate, frequent and regular opportunities of observing the methods of instruction employed by the best teachers . . . and be so influenced, by precept and example, as imbibe the spirit of earnestness and enthusiasm characteristic of the true teacher.¹

He also sought a Practising School closer to the conditions that teachers would meet in reality than the Model School could afford to be. Such a school would aid the general efficiency of teachers since "many of the existing defects in the management [are] attributable to ignorance rather than to wilful neglect".²

The reaction of the Council of Education to these reasonable requests was to propound a philosophy of training that was to bedevil the Training Schools until the first decade of the twentieth century:

We deem it requisite, before incurring any expense for the improvements pointed out by the Training Master, to decide what is the proper organization for a permanent Training School. This question is felt to be one of great importance, not only in this, but also in the neighbouring Colonies. Upon the answer

¹loc. cit.

²loc. cit.

will depend, in a great measure, the qualifications of future teachers, the status of the teaching profession, and the nature of the education to be imparted in Primary Schools supported by the State. The necessity of having teachers fully qualified in all respects for their duties may be assumed; the advantages to the country generally are apparent. But while the prospect of obtaining a sound and useful education at a cheap rate may attract large numbers to the Training School, of whom many may become most efficient teachers, the uncertainty that they will hereafter be adequately remunerated for their services, and the small inducements to remain in the profession, will dispose some to relinquish teaching whenever they can obtain other employment accompanied with greater emoluments. It is possible that the class of men by whom this course would be most frequently adopted would be precisely those who were of most worth as teachers; those who remained in charge of the schools being some who, from inferior energy and intelligence, were unable to enter the more highly remunerated occupations. Thus the very excellence of the Training School would be the means of frustrating its primary intention--that of rearing up a body of accomplished teachers. Until, therefore, the position of the teacher generally, his emoluments, and status, have been placed on a more satisfactory basis than at present, we deem it unadvisable to establish a Training School after the model of those in the mother country, but consider it preferable to continue in force the existing provisional arrangement for the training of teachers.¹

The problem, as it was seen by the administrators, was as much one of economics as education. The difficulty lay in the type of candidate normally applying for entrance to the Training School. If he could do anything

¹Council of Education Report, 1868, Section 59, 26.

else then, in the Council's opinion, he generally did. If he were to be educated to a level sufficient for him to teach adequately he would become increasingly attractive to the commercial world where salaries were higher and the Council would have lost its minor investment. The ambivalence of this attitude was still observable as late as the turn of the century when it was felt that highly educated teachers would prove an embarrassment, although the growing High Schools and the Superior Public Schools were exerting an increasing demand.

A matter of policy that was also never completely resolved was the question of who the Training Colleges were meant for. Were they meant for pupil-teachers who had completed their terms satisfactorily and passed the entrance examination, or were they also intended to act as training centres for the more mature candidates who were entering teaching for the first time? Apart from the difficulties the teaching staffs at the institutions must have had in adjusting to the varying requirements of students with such different backgrounds applicants themselves must have been frequently confused

Superficially the Regulations were sufficiently precise:

The Minister will authorize to be received into the Training School, established

in connection with the Sydney Model Public School, or in such other training school as he may establish, three classes of candidates, namely:- First Class--Pupil-teachers whose term of service has expired, and teachers who have already been trained elsewhere. Second Class--Untrained teachers who have been in charge of schools. Third Class --Persons entering the teaching profession for the first time. Qualifications:- . . . They must, except in the case of pupil-teachers, be not less than 20 years of age, and, as a general rule, not more than 30.¹

The Regulations further note that entrance examinations will be held in June and December and that the term of training will be of either six or twelve months' duration, "as may be found necessary".

The Regulations also mention the existence of a "bond", more binding than the "moral obligation to teach" that existed in England at the time:

Before admission, every candidate must make a declaration that he intends, in good faith, to follow the profession of a teacher in schools under the Minister, and that he will accept a situation in any district, as the Minister sees fit. He must also procure a guarantee from two responsible persons, that the whole expense of his training in the school will be refunded if, from any cause whatever, he shall not enter the service of the Minister, or shall leave it in less than a period to be agreed upon . . . ²

This was one way of overcoming the objections to

¹"Regulations for the Public Schools," S.M.H., 13th May, 1880.

²ibid.

additional training that the Council had raised in 1868.

These Regulations were open to interpretation by Departmental administrators and, at different times, we find teachers who were trained elsewhere, untrained teachers already in the service, and adult candidates excluded for varying reasons. Thus at the beginning of the period Wilkins could write to the father of a potential candidate stating that places were reserved for First Class pupil-teachers who were successful at the examination and that others could not be considered until these numbers were known.¹ The Regulations, however, stated very plainly where the different classes of applicants stood in the Department's estimation. Pupil-teachers were to be accepted above all others and, as places were generally insufficient for all pupil-teachers who sought them, the chances of others seeking training were indeed slim.

As early as 1877 the Council note the unsuitability of Fort Street as a Training School on the grounds "that the accommodation afforded by the present buildings is too limited, and that they are ill-adapted to the purpose".² The Model School was rejected as a

¹MS letter, Out Letter Book 1/729, 80/1800, 18th. July, 1880.

²Council of Education Report, 1877, 18.



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practising school because it was not sufficiently like the schools the teachers would meet in the country, and it was felt that students in training should have some supervision of their living quarters. With this in mind, 17½ acres of the Hurlstone estate at Ashfield were purchased for £5,250, "and it is proposed to commence the erection of the requisite buildings as soon as the plans are prepared".¹ The Minister's Report for 1881 again notes the intention of providing a residential college on the Hurlstone site, but that the female students would temporarily occupy the existing buildings.² Once more intentions were to run ahead of achievements and the residential college for all students failed to materialise.

In June, 1882, students in the upper class had their term of training extended to twelve months. The students in the lower class commenced teaching after six months:

For the Teachers who occupy the lower section, and who never received a higher grade than Class III, Section A, this time was ample; at least, it was as much as their circumstances at the time required.

¹ibid., The 1891 Report (47) notes that 26 acres were held by the Department, probably purchased for the practising school across what is now Yeo Park.

²Minister's Report, 1881, 14.

Being to a large extent persons of limited education, who had no previous experience in teaching, they received during this period quite as much information, both within the domain of knowledge and professional skill, as they could turn to profitable account . . . They are thus enabled to apply the knowledge they have gained, to work out the best results they can, to adapt where they cannot adopt . . . ¹

In 1881 Miss Caroline Mallett was brought out from England to become Training Mistress. Her credentials and testimonials were of the highest² and she embodied:

. . . a practical knowledge of the working of the English system and those new influences in the work of teaching which an English lady with her heart in her work would bring with her.

Parkes himself had been instrumental, while in England, in securing her services,³ and she proved until her resignation to be courageous and effective in pointing out the deficiencies of the training the students were undergoing.

Although attempts were obviously made to improve the calibre of the training, passes from one stage to another were not automatic. In 1881 the Chief Examiner noted that eleven pupil-teachers had failed the

¹ibid., 1882, 108-109.

²ibid., Appendix XVII, 154.

³Parkes Correspondence, Vol. 24, 23rd. May, 1882, also letter Parkes to Colonial Secretary, S.M.H., 28th. October, 1882.

examination to enter the Training School and 22 of the 85 already at the Training School had failed to gain admission to the Upper Division.¹ The Upper Division followed a more difficult course than the Lower, although the time spent, thirty two hours per week as against thirty one for the Lower, was not much greater. The subjects taken and the times allocated in the Upper Division are set out below;²

UPPER DIVISION

<u>MALES</u>	<u>hrs./ week</u>	<u>FEMALES</u>	<u>hrs./ week</u>
Reading and Elocution	1	Reading and Elocution	1
English Grammar	3	English Grammar	3
Geography	2	Geography	2
Arithmetic	3	Arithmetic	5
School Management (Theory)	1	School Management (Theory)	1
Practical Skill	5	Practical Skill	5
Euclid	2	Domestic Economy	1
Algebra and Mensuration	3	Reproduction of lessons in writing	1
English Literature	2	English Literature	2
Latin	2	French	3
Physics and Chemistry	2	Physics and Chemistry	2
Drawing	2	Drawing	2
Singing	2	Singing	2
Drill &c	2	Drill &c	2
	<u>32</u>		<u>32</u>

¹Minister's Report, 1881, 52.

²ibid., 184.

Time Table

Hurlstone Training College

Time	Monday			Tuesday			Wednesday			Thursday			Friday			Saturday			
	Under-Graduates	Home-Seniors	Juniors	Under-Graduates	Home-Seniors	Juniors	Under-Graduates	Home-Seniors	Juniors	Under-Graduates	Home-Seniors	Juniors	Under-Graduates	Home-Seniors	Juniors	Under-Graduates	Home-Seniors	Juniors	
8.10-9.0	Under-graduates								English									English	
9.0-10.0		Music ^{8.45}	Music ^{8.45}		University	French			English	Drill ^{6.50}		English		French				Drill	
10.0-11.0		French	Arith ^c		University	Algebra		English	Cooking Demonstrat ⁿ			Algebra		University	Algebra			School Method	
11.15-12.0			Criticism		University	English	Euclid		Cookery		English	Euclid		University	Arithmetic	Euclid			Arith ^c
12.0-1.0			Lessons		University	French	Latin		Practice		French	Latin		University	French	Latin			Kinder- garten
3.30-4.0		~ Drawing ~		2.30. Singing				Half		~ Drawing ~				~ School Method. ~				~ Half	
4.0-5.0		French		Algebra. Euclid Latin		3.30. Reading Arith ^c		Holiday		Physiology			Algebra Euclid Latin	Arith ^c				Holiday	
7.0-9.0	Study			Study				~ Physics ~ Study	French	Study			Study					No Study	

The Lower Division spent more time on Reading, Grammar, Geography and Arithmetic, but took neither Languages nor Science. After the move to Hurlstone the girls were unable to take Science in the Upper Division owing to a lack of facilities.

Viewed from the present the picture is one of unrelieved drabness with each step forward being frustrated a little further along the line. But there was some progress, much of it in the gradually changing attitudes during the whole of the period. The attitude that teachers needed to be taught only the bare minimum to enable them to pass their examinations and to manage a school with some facility appears at times to have been characteristic of Departmental thinking. But public opinion was not always in favour of further education--for teachers or children:

The child is simply put into studies which have no application to the reason of existence of primary schools--the ability to write and cipher. This is well known in the Department itself, so well known that the Department which exists for the purpose of primary instruction is continually seeking, as a matter of policy, to increase the standard of instruction, and offering a premium in higher salaries to such of its teachers as can take and establish higher classes . . . Surely our system of primary education has not been established to get up a class of cadets for the Civil Service;

and Euclid, Algebra, and even French and Latin are not required in the cultivators of our soil . . .¹

Such a point of view taken a stage further, would have little difficulty in wondering why the government was spending so much money on the training of teachers who themselves were being crammed with these dangerous subjects.

Francis Adams' tart comments on Australia are understandable in the light of the above when he noted, "The State provides for the mass of the people only the most primary of education, and any advance is in the shape of what will be of service to the direct creators of wealth."²

And yet the anonymous contributor above could also make the shrewd and perceptive assessment of one of the Department's major weaknesses:

. . . this departmental aiming at uniformity and making examination the test of study . . . if there was one thing that would squeeze out the life of the schoolmaster and destroy his vitality, it was red tape . . . the rules crushed him and those whom he taught.³

Against this we have to set the fact that the

¹A Parent, "The Public Education Act and its Workings," The Sydney Quarterly Magazine, March, 1886, 418.

²Francis Adams, The Australians, London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1893, 39.

³op. cit., 424.

responsible officers within the Department could be equally harsh and perceptive about their own inability to accomplish what they felt was necessary. Thus in the Report presented by Acting-Minister Joseph Abbott, trenchant criticisms are made of current conditions in the Training Schools that serve to point up the diversity of thinking within the Department. The Report stated plainly that:

Existing arrangements for the training of teachers are not as satisfactory as could be devised. The Training School for males is of a makeshift character. It consists of two rooms at Fort Street School. The students are not received into residence--they merely attend lectures during school hours. They are taken from all classes of applicants who satisfy the prescribed tests for admission, but the majority complete three or four years' term of pupil-teachership before entrance. A large number have been teachers of provisional or small Public schools . . .

The students are divided into two classes --senior and junior. The senior or upper class stays in training twelve months, and the junior or lower class six. Both periods are too short; they should be two years and one year respectively.

The training of the female teachers is carried on at Hurlstone Training School, near Ashfield. The school, originally built for a private academy, was purchased by the Department some years ago, and having undergone its necessary alteration, was converted to its present use. As a makeshift it does fairly well; its chief fault is that it does not afford the requisite accommodation. Sleeping room is needed for at least 50 students, whereas there is accommodation for only 28 . . . ¹

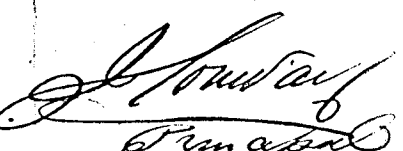
¹Minister's Report, 1883, 12-13.

Time Table - Fort St Training College.

Time.	Monday.		Tuesday.		Wednesday.		Thursday.		Friday.	
	Juniors	Seniors.	Juniors.	Seniors.	Juniors.	Seniors.	Juniors.	Seniors.	Juniors.	Seniors.
9.0 to 10.0.	Algebra _M	University ^{AK} Lectures	Test Lessons & Criticism _C	University ^{AK} Lectures	Conics _M	University ^{AK} Lectures	Latin _T	University ^{AK} Lectures	English _T ^{with}	University ^{AK} Lectures
10.0 to 11.0.	English _C	University ^{AK} Lectures	Criticism _C	University ^{AK} Lectures	Latin _T	University ^{AK} Lectures	French _T	University ^{AK} Lectures	Latin _T	University ^{AK} Lectures
11.0 to 11.15.	Recess for 15 minutes.									
11.15 to 12.0	Geometry _M	University ^{AK} Lectures	Latin _T	University ^{AK} Lectures	French _T	University ^{AK} Lectures	English _T	University ^{AK} Lectures	Physiology _T	University ^{AK} Lectures
12.0 to 1.	Trigonometry _M	University ^{AK} Lectures	French _T	University ^{AK} Lectures	Trigonometry _M	University ^{AK} Lectures	French & Latin _T (alternately)	University ^{AK} Lectures	French _T	University ^{AK} Lectures
1. to 2.30.	Recess for dinner.									
2.30 to 3.30	Music	Music.	Physics _T	Test Lessons & Criticism _C	School _C Management	Private _T Study.	Algebra _M	Test Lessons & Criticism _C	Music.	Music.
3.30 to 4.30.	Drawing	Drawing.	French _T	Criticism _C	Algebra & Arithmetic alternately _M	School _C Management	Geometry _M	Criticism _C	Drawing.	Drawing.

Note (a) - Juniors attend Carpentry lessons from 4.30 to 5.30 p.m. on Tuesdays.
 (b) - Seniors attend Carpentry lessons in groups on Mondays, Tuesdays, & Thursdays from 2.30 to 4.30 p.m.
 (c) - Seniors & Juniors receive instruction in Drill on Wednesdays & Thursdays from 4.0 to 5.0 p.m.

C = Mr. Conway Mess Alpen teaches music
 M = Mr. Maclary Mr Woodhouse - Drawing
 J = Mr. Taylor.


 J. Taylor
 Principal

Physics taught at Studstone on Monday morning during last quarter of the year by me J. Taylor

The Training Mistress added her voice to those pointing out the inadequacies of the Hurlstone Training School. In fact the lady appears, from her correspondence with the Chief Inspector and the Under Secretary,, to have been vigorous and formidable in seeking improvements for her charges. At times, however, there is a note of frustration in her submissions and memos as her requests for basic materials met non-comprehending opposition. Much of her time was occupied in battling for reasonable conditions under which to work--for the erection of a windmill, for the provision of a scullery or a long battle with the Departmental Architect before she could buy an additional cow.¹

In the main, however, she retained the support of Parkes and received as much sympathetic assistance from Departmental officials as they could probably give at this time without changing their whole philosophy regarding training. Chief Inspector Maynard revealed a rare touch of humour, even though he failed to recommend a request from the Lady Principal for four cricket bats (boy's size), four wickets and six cricket balls. On the submission Maynard wrote, "I do not recommend

¹For example, letter to the Under Secretary dated 20th. September, 1884, uncatalogued files of the Department of Education.

this. If girls are to play cricket, they may fairly be expected to do so without state aid." Edwin Johnson, the Under Secretary, did not, on this occasion agree with his Chief Inspector and authorised payment of the £3/18/0 involved.¹

A map drawn in 1885 shows the organisation of the Training School at Hurlstone.

The course of training at both the Training Schools was largely subject-oriented as the students were taught information and content that would help them pass their examinations and prepare them for future classification examinations and that would enable them to teach up to the level of the Fifth Class in the Primary School. By current criteria the standards the students were expected to reach were not very high despite the emphasis on examinations. Writing in 1943 of the 1885 course at Fort Street Training School, Arthur Cousins who had attended during this time commented that, "standards were not high at this time," and, compared with the 1943 Leaving Certificate, they were generally lower. Mathematics was lower, while Latin, Science and History were "considerably lower". He remembered that:

There was a struggle through one book

¹MS Submission 85/594, 7th. January, 1885, uncatalogued.

of Caesar. There were lectures in physiology by Dr. Roth and lectures in Chemistry and Physics by Mr. Edmunds, with experiments worked by the lecturer, not the students . . . there were no University men on the staff.¹

In actual fact, Mr. P. Edmunds who was appointed in 1884 to "fill the office of Lecturer in Chemistry and Experimental Physics" was a graduate of London University and held "high testimonials as to his qualifications from the officers of his University".²

The stringent remarks passed in the Minister's Report for 1883 regarding the state of the Training Schools were repeated in 1884. The Minister's Report in the late nineteenth century was much more of a public document than it was to become in the following century. It served not only as a means of informing the legislature of shortcomings within the Department, but was a useful way of generally publicising conditions. Otherwise one might reasonably ask the relevant Minister of Public Instruction why something had not been done to remedy the weaknesses admitted to. Under Peter Board's regime the Reports became far less informative of actual conditions within the Department. Once more the buildings were disparaged as being of, "a makeshift character, and but moderately suitable". A recommendation was made

¹A. Cousins, op. cit., 2.

²Minister's Report, 1884, 30.

that the Training School be moved to the suburbs where dormitory accommodation could be provided so that supervision of the students' studies and conduct could be undertaken.

The Report also notes the provision of a Practising School, separate from the Model School, in a "cheap wooden building":

The schoolroom is constructed so as to allow schools of different sizes being conducted within its walls. At one time, the students are shown how to organize and teach a small school without assistance; at another, they are instructed in the art of managing a school of larger size and with a larger staff. The lectures on the principles and methods of teaching which they receive in the Training School, they are taught to apply in the Practising School.¹

At Hurlstone, where a Practising School of 60 pupils had been established, model lessons were given to the children in the presence of the students. Each student, in turn, was required to give lessons before the group and criticisms were made by the Principal and by the students. The students' day was filled, although by the standards of the time not onerously. Hours of training were 9.00 a.m. to 11.00 a.m.; 11.30 a.m. to 1.00 p.m.; 3.00 p.m. to 5.30 p.m. On Wednesdays and Saturdays training finished at 1.00 p.m. and there was a half-day's holiday. Students were

¹ibid.

1. The first question was rather confused owing to the two senses of the word "good". You must omit questions "Put me in what" e.g. "16 square feet are they?"

2. Don't say "miss" or "you" so often - ring the changes.

3. Don't be sarcastic with the children.

4. Don't tell fibs e.g. "Take your elbow off the desk you'll be able to think". So much better. If you find a question for your class at all, give the best ones.

5. You are too fond of giving me the word "now" as the herald to every sentence.

6. You must always allow the children to mumble so as to make copying utterly impossible.

7. Why should children be taught to put their left arms round their states? ... to ...

8. ...

(a) General noise & general ...
 (b) ...

Teacher.	Date.	Subject.
Miss Gair	March 26 1885	Arithmetic Class Division of Squares
Manner ... 10		Pleasant, teacherlike & earnest. Hammer impressive & firm. Teacher decided & energetic & minute-like.
Language ... 7		Constant repetition of phrases - awkwardly constructed questions & sentences - Voice clear, pleasant & well modulated - No errors of pronunciation or enunciation. The rough sketches came in well - Writing on the Bk's fairly good & quickly done - No awful pencil for the chalk. Figures good & quickly done.
Illustration ... 10		Introductory questions made the children think - Unobtrusive questions good - Last sum met with difficulty for result - 3 ...
Subject-matter ... 10		Well prepared & thought out - Pleasantly imparted - Questions in good proportion - 3 explanations good both for how & why.
Class ... 9		Attention & hard working with one or two exceptions - Well awakened by the teacher's manner.
General Estimate ...		Good Pleasant

expected to study from 7.00 p.m. to 9.00 p.m. and lights were put out at 10.00 p.m.¹ This regime contrasted very markedly with that of the conscientious pupil-teacher as described by delegates to the Conference in April, 1904.

The general programme of work at Hurlstone changed little before the transfer to Blackfriars. A more detailed timetable shows the work of students under Mary Everitt, Caroline Mallett's successor as Principal:

- . 7.30 Breakfast
- Matins
- 8.45 Lecture on theory of music
- Practical work in music at Practising School
- 10.00 Lecture on Arithmetic
- 11.00 Recess
- Demonstration lessons at the Practising School by the students, with the remainder criticising. Three would give lessons each of 25 minutes.
- Dinner
- Private Study
- 3.00 Lecture on Geometrical Drawing
- 4.00 Lesson on French
- 5.00 Walking--compulsory and supervised by the recreation monitor
- 7.00 Close study till 9.30
- 10.00 Silence²

Criticism lessons were frequently the bane of the student's life, but the Principal appears to have handled her criticisms of the students with sympathy and good humour. It is of interest to note just how little a supervisor's comments have altered in eighty years.

¹ibid., 1883, 136-138.

²Educational Gazette, II, 3, August, 1892, 42.

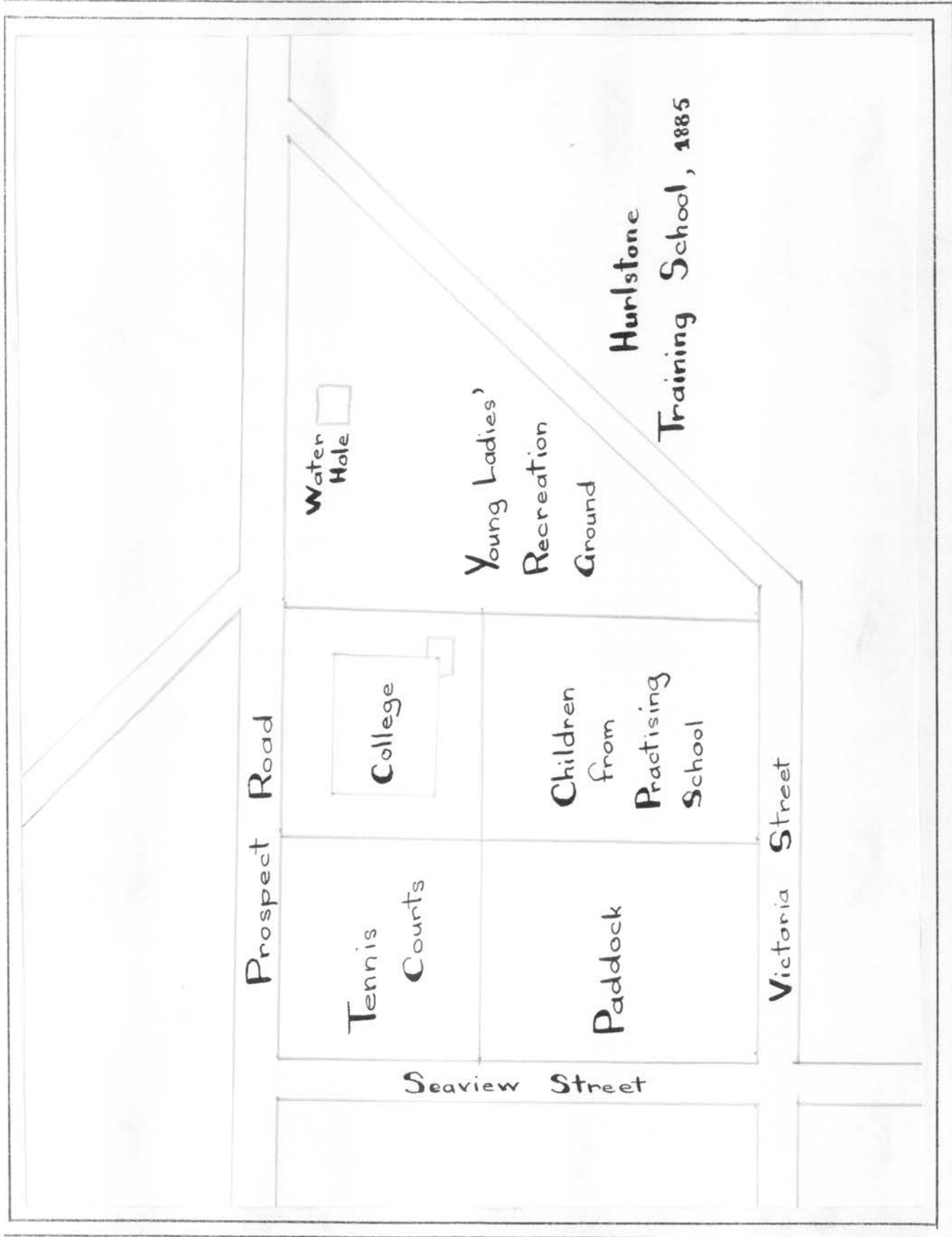
The following comments in Miss Mallett's handwriting refer to Sarah Hopper, teaching Natural History to Class I on April 18, 1885:

- Manner: Careful and painstaking--pleasant and kind and encouraging--suitable to little children--Perhaps a little too fussy and anxious and nervous.
- Language: Rather wordy and talky--Too many pet phrases--the "i" is very badly pronounced "mild" and other words--Language not very fluent or varied. Continual interrupting for rebuke.
- Illustration: Good and well prepared--the book hurried round too quickly--Black-board scheme very poor indeed.
- Subject - matter: Carefully but not well prepared--arrangement poor--notes bad--plenty of information--instruction better than education in this lesson.
- Class: Attentive--and many were interested, the whole class did not work or even pretend to do so.

Among the general points made on Miss Hopper's teaching were:

It is of no use having an illustration unless it is carefully and slowly exhibited with just so many remarks as will help the children to observe in such a way as to remember clearly . . .

Teacher nearly got out an elliptical question "It is called a _____? What is the name of it?" . . . You must not bring Holy Names into a lesson of this kind, especially just after having made a little joke . . . "Eyes to the roof, to me, it has very thick skin or hide, a girl sucking her fingers" &c. This is a specimen of the Teacher's language--If the whole lesson were written down it would have



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eclipsed any production of "punch". Was the lesson on the Deity, the Cow, the horse or the Zebu?¹

Possibly due to the urging of the Principal by the end of 1886 additions and improvements had been made to Hurlstone so that 50 students could be accommodated.² Fort Street also had improvements made at a cost of £2,613 during 1885 and 1886.³ These included two classrooms with Roth's adjustable desks to accommodate forty students each, an office, a library, a luncheon room for students, a laboratory and a lavatory. The balconies were enclosed for this purpose. The Minister claimed that the Training School at Fort Street would now be able to accommodate up to one hundred students at a time. While the alterations were being made students were moved to the Public School at Blackfriars.

After numerous requests over at least twenty years some attempt was made to ensure the students' moral welfare when they were away from the School. Lacking the residential facilities of Hurlstone, the Training Master was empowered by the Minister to approve three boarding houses as being suitable for students who were

¹Criticizing Note Book for Model Lessons: Hurlstone Training School, from uncatalogued files held by the Department of Education.

²Minister's Report, 1886, 146.

³ibid., 27 and 145.

not living at home. This proved to be somewhat unsatisfactory, however, and requests for a residential college became more pressing.¹

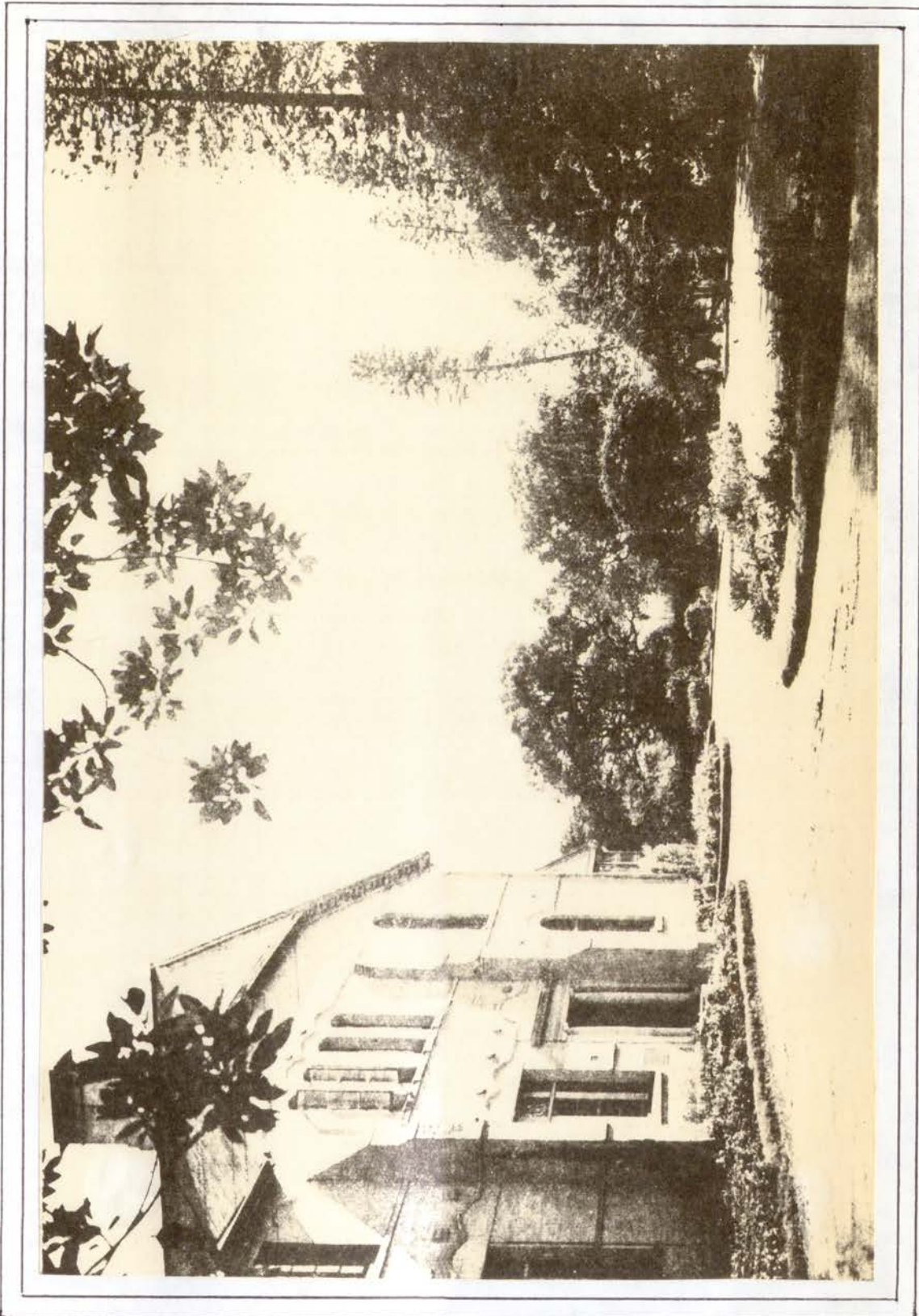
The Principals of both institutions were beginning to find that the much vaunted pupil-teacher system was not providing them with students as competent and as adequately prepared as they felt that they should be. Caroline Mallett suggested in her report for 1883 that the pupil-teachers should be better prepared before entering the Training School or else the term of training should be extended.² John Wright, Principal of the Fort Street Training School, made similar comments a few years later, "Many of the students have shown a want of self-reliance in mental work which evidently points to some defect in their training while pupil-teachers . . . they expected their teachers to do all for them."³

In 1887 a bombshell was dropped when the Minister baldly announced that the number of students admitted to Fort Street would be considerably reduced as "suitable employment cannot be found for all the male second-class teachers turned out by the Training

¹ibid.

²Minister's Report, 1883, 138.

³Minister's Report, 1886, 144.



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School".¹ Since the females tended to leave the service with much greater frequency there was to be no change at Hurlstone. Administratively this would be to the good as, "It is confidently expected that the changes likely to be made will tend to secure increased economy and efficiency in the management of our training establishments."²

This move was a significant one especially in the light of the additional changes announced the following year. Owing to the importance that these policy changes were to have for the Department as well as for the light that is thrown on the personalities and policies of the protagonists it is necessary to examine the background to the Political-Departmental relationships that led up to the Minister's announcement in some detail.

In May, 1887, John Wright, the Principal of the Training School died suddenly. In a submission dated 27th. May,³ Chief Inspector Maynard recommended that John Dettman, Vice-Principal of the School and formerly Superintendent of High Schools and Headmaster of Bathurst Superior Public School, be appointed to

¹Minister's Report, 1887, 86.

²ibid., 29.

³MS Submission, 87/9255, 27th. May, 1887, uncatalogued

succeed Wright. He recommended further that no appointment of a Vice-Principal be made, but that Mr. Edmunds, the Assistant, be paid a further £50 per annum to compensate for the additional duties. This would save the Department some £550 per annum. In support of his recommendation he added that, "As the number of male teachers holding Second Class certificates is in excess of the present requirements of the Department, it is not now necessary to train so many male students." The Minister, J. Inglis, refused to accept the recommendation and called for the list of applicants. In a marginal note he queried Maynard's statement about needing fewer students asking, "How can this be if the Department is still growing?" Maynard apparently regarded the query as a reflection upon his administration and proceeded to write supporting memoranda to justify his original recommendation.

In a memorandum dated 7th. June, 1887,¹ Maynard answered:

There are now 75 male ex-students of the Training School employed temporarily in Sydney Schools pending openings for them in country schools. Of these 73 hold Second Class Certificates . . .

In addition another 18 were to quit the Training School at the end of that month. These teachers were

¹MS Memorandum 12,736, 7th. June, 1887.

eligible to take schools up to the Third Class with salaries of £180. Eight ex-students had been waiting for appointment for over two years. He recommended that the ex-students be employed in 9th Class Schools at a salary of £120 as a means of clearing the backlog and providing a saving to the Department.

It will also have the effect of placing the young Teachers concerned in positions where they will gain useful experience and be able to render satisfactory service for the pay they receive.

In a further memorandum, 10th. June, 1887,¹ Maynard made a statement that is interesting in the light of the findings of those who have read the statistics of the Annual Reports in a way that suggests that large numbers of qualified pupil-teachers were being denied access to the Training Schools. Apparently where exclusion occurred it was mainly women who were kept out or else pupil-teachers who had failed to qualify in the terms laid down. Maynard's comment is:

In accordance with the present practice, all male pupil-teachers who complete their course, and pass the final examination, are admitted to the Training School,² and as the supply exceeds the requirements for trained teachers, the number of those for whom temporary employment in Sydney has to be found is added to each session. The engagement

¹MS Memorandum, 13,042, 10th. June, 1887.

²Emphasis mine.

of these young men to do the work which would otherwise devolve upon pupil-teachers makes the Sydney Schools unduly costly, and, if continued will eliminate the pupil-teacher element from these schools--a result to be deprecated.

To overcome this "evil", as he called it, Maynard proposed reducing the number of students admitted to Fort Street to 10 in each session or 20 for the year. These were to be the best students at each examination. Pupil-teachers who passed the examination but who were not admitted to the Training School should be appointed to small schools at a salary of £96 per annum and after twelve months "be permitted to undergo examination for classification".

The Minister approved of this remedy, but asked somewhat acidly, "let me know . . . how it is that such a state of things has been allowed to go on without any recommendation of a remedial nature, and why this was not told me sooner." To this, through the Acting Under-Secretary, Maynard noted that he had, in fact, repeatedly kept his superiors advised of developments.¹ The Acting Under-Secretary then had to report this situation noting, however:

The course pursued by the Chief Inspector has certainly been rather embarrassing, inasmuch as full light was not thrown upon all the

¹MS Memorandum, 14th. June, 1887.

surroundings of the case in the first instance . . . It may be here observed that the existing supply of trained teachers is not, as a whole, in excess of the wants of the Department. The difficulty that now presents itself appears to have arisen from the ex-students, who are young inexperienced trained teachers, being allowed to expect appointment to positions of a grade corresponding with their classifications, instead of being required to take comparatively small schools for the first few years and gradually to work up to the higher classed positions.¹

The resulting Ministerial direction dated 22nd.

June, 1887:

1. Required classified ex-students of the Training School to take charge of small schools.
2. Limited the number of positions at Fort Street to twenty.
3. Required pupil-teachers who were successful at the examination, but were unable to be admitted to Fort Street be appointed to small schools and after 12 months be eligible to sit for the classification exams.
4. Directed that all pupil-teachers spend at least twelve months in each class.
5. Abolished examinations for applicant pupil-teachers until further notice.
6. In the light of the existing situation directed that teachers from "outside" were not to be employed.²

¹MS Memorandum 15,144, 23rd. June, 1887.

²MS Minute 15,161, 23rd. June, 1887.

Dettman failed to become Principal, the job going to Conway. Dettman, however, was offered the post of Head Master of Fort Street Superior Public School and Master of Method at the Training School with a rise of £50 per annum to make his salary equal to that of Conway.¹

Not only are the exchanges interesting in themselves for the light they throw upon the internal workings of the Department, but they serve to demonstrate the power an able Chief Inspector could gather to himself. Miller, the Acting Under Secretary, and Inglis, the Minister of Public Instruction, had obvious qualms about following the course that Maynard had charted. In the end, and however reluctant they may have been, neither man had the necessary experience or knowledge to defeat the Chief Inspector's recommendations, although his choice of Principal was not acceded to. Ironically, Maynard's choice of Principal would probably have been the better one in the light of Conway's later suspension, censure and removal from office as Principal of the Training School.

At this time serious and considered attacks were made on the training supplied by Fort Street and Hurlstone as well as on the pupil-teacher system. Among

¹MS Memorandum 15,141, 23rd. June, 1887.

the first of these was the series of recommendations, in Professor Threlfall's handwriting, to the Minister by Professors W. Scott and R. Threlfall, respectively Professor of Classics and Professor of Physics in the University of Sydney. The undated memorandum, entitled "The Training of Public School Teachers", was apparently received on 5th. September, 1877, and a reply called for from Maynard. The Chief Inspector again proved himself a doughty opponent and the Minister was again to accept his advice regarding the policy of the Training Schools.

They proposed:

1. . . . that more use should be made of the University in instructing teachers in those subjects specified in the "scheme" as "attainments".
2. That the Training School and the machinery of the Department of Public Instruction should continue to be used in training and examining teachers in the subjects of "School Management"; "Art of Teaching" etc.
3. That with a view to a more liberal curriculum the details of examining and grading teachers should be subject to a revision. The revised scheme to be adapted so as to fall in as far as possible with the existing system of University Public Examinations.

They felt that their proposed alterations would have the advantages of economy, since the University could handle the extra work "at no serious additional expense";

instruction for the higher grades not currently provided by the Department; and the companionship of students aiming at other professions. They felt, too, that Science, neglected under the present scheme, would receive fairer treatment by the University.

In specific detail they suggested that there be five grades to which teachers might aspire: III A, B, C; II A, B; I A, B. These qualifications were to be classified on Competency, Skill and Attainments and they recommended:

1. The passing of the Senior Public Examination . . . to be accepted as qualifying for the highest grade of the third class certificate.
2. The passing of the First-Year Examination of the University of Sydney to be accepted as qualifying for the highest (sic,) grade of the second class certificate.
3. The passing of the Second Year Examination of the University of Sydney to be accepted as qualifying for the higher grade of the First Class Certificate.¹

Maynard responded to these recommendations with the alacrity of a bull to a red rag. He opened his reply to the Minister by stating succinctly his (and presumably, since there is no contradiction of it, the Department's,) views as to the functions and policy of

¹MS letter (undated) from Professors W. Scott and R. Threlfall, received by the Department 5th. September, 1887.

the Training Schools:

The Training School is practically a Technical School whose aim is the formation of efficient teachers of young children. The course of study is that which experience has shown to be best fitted for the work the men have to do. No great importance is attached to subjects which they will not be called upon to teach, but no subject is omitted which will be of use in their schools. At present the period of training is limited to one year, and bearing in mind that the cost is borne by the Government, the time may be considered long enough for all State purposes.¹

The last sentence regarding the cost of training to the State, and the consideration as to whether the State was really justified in paying students "merely for being taught" were to arise in varying forms during the next few years²--before, it might be noted, the major Depression was even hinted at. On the other hand, to demonstrate the pragmatic thinking of the time, in less than two years students of sufficient calibre were to be permitted to attend the University.

In following remarks Maynard noted that University Latin would be of little value since all Training School students had not reached matriculation level in this subject, that University Mathematics at degree standard

¹MS Submission, "The Training of Public School Teachers," 21,639, 7th. September, 1887.

²vide Minister's Report, 1888, 39 "f. . . the State is not bound to defray the whole cost of the training . . ."

was lower than that taught in the Training School and the Science was a continuous course over a number of years so that students from the Training School who, perforce, could attend for only one year would not receive any great advantage. In addition students would still have to be taught the management side of teaching so that there would be no saving in staff at the Training School.

He felt that the proposals to mark papers and classify teachers was somewhat ingenuous since they had not taken into account the examinations of pupil-teachers, "about 1,000 in number", and the total number of papers, "about 2,500 sets of papers to be examined and reported upon annually, and it is certain that the Professors . . . could not deal with these without neglecting their own duties . . ." ¹

Maynard then proceeded to argue against the proposals on the grounds that if this occurred the Department would lose its authority over teachers:

The fact is that the elementary education of the whole Colony is too big an affair to be handed over in any of its branches to the control of peoples irresponsible to the Government. The old Council of Education, and, since the passing of the present Act, the Minister, always retained in their own hands the power

¹"The Training of Public School Teachers," op. cit.

with the consent of the Executive not only to modify their own rules and regulations, but to administer them.

If the University were to begin regulating teachers either the Minister would have to assume some control, which he did not have, over the course of University studies or else abdicate his responsibilities.

Having satisfactorily disposed of the University as a training centre for teachers and candidate teachers, the Chief Inspector suggested that if the University authorities really wanted to assist teacher training they could best do so by permitting teachers to sit for examinations without having to attend lectures, as did the Universities of London and Melbourne:

What we really require to encourage our best men to continue their studies after leaving the Training School is examination for degrees without attendance at the University . . . Till our University does this, it will never be fully in touch with all the varied interests and educational institutions of the Colony.¹

The Minister, politically, declined to send the text of Maynard's reply and simply wrote:

. . . having carefully considered the whole position, the Minister deems it undesirable to adopt their proposals. At the same time the Minister desires to express his appreciation of the interest displayed by the Professors in the subject of public education.²

¹ibid.

²ibid.

Professor Scott was to maintain his interest in education as his later work in the Teachers' Association showed. After this the question of co-operation between the University and the Department of Public Instruction seems to have lapsed, although two years later selected students from the Training Schools could attend University lectures with Departmental blessing.

During the eighties the Colony of Victoria sent a number of visitors to neighbouring colonies to report upon their systems of education. Two of the major reports concerning New South Wales were presented by Inspector Brodribb in 1887 and 1889 by the Inspector-General, J. Main, and the Principal of the Training College, C.A. Topp. In general the reports were favourably disposed towards New South Wales and are valuable in that they illuminate aspects of that system from outside and comment upon contemporary practices.

Following the presentation of Brodribb's Report the Minister requested a confidential comment upon it from Chief Inspector Maynard. Maynard extracted sections from the Report and replied to them in detail. Brodribb had stated:

No fewer than 29 per cent [of the Teachers of New South Wales] are unclassified; these, naturally, are mostly employed in very small schools. Victoria compares very favourably in this respect

with New South Wales. In our schools we have not a single unclassified teacher.

To which Maynard replied:

The difference is one of terms. The teachers of our Provisional and other small schools have all received a certain amount of training, are certified as being able to teach and discipline classes, keep all records and perform the school duties required by the Public Instruction Act and Regulations. They have also passed the literary examinations conducted by the Inspectors. In Victoria teachers of corresponding standing hold a "license (sic) to teach" and are counted amongst the "classified". We do enrol ours amongst the "classified" till they have served with credit for at least a year, and have then passed a second and more severe examination.

Entrance to this examination depended upon a satisfactory report on teaching ability.

Brodribb had called attention to the lack of monitors in the schools of New South Wales, noting that, "the use of monitors is not allowed in New South Wales, and to my way of thinking, this is a real defect in the system." Maynard's comment upon this statement is illuminating in the light of his previous statements about pupil-teachers and demonstrates a recognition of overseas thinking not followed by his successors:

In England the wisdom of employing even pupil-teachers is beginning to be questioned. The feeling is growing that it would be better to pay more and get older people. During the first year of

their service here, the youth of the pupil-teachers is found to be a source of weakness, but we draw the line firmly at pupil-teachers and never go lower and allow the children to teach each other. It would be cheaper, but that is about all that can be said in its favour.¹

The penultimate sentence of the comment underlines much of the Departmental thinking, at this stage and into the twentieth century, that monitors were "children", but the pupil-teachers, in view of the gradually increasing age at which they were being accepted for appointment, were no longer children.

However, it was Brodribb's comments on the differences of training methods for teachers between the two colonies that drew Maynard's most eloquent defence of the New South Wales system. Brodribb had claimed that the Victorian training course was "twice as long as that of New South Wales". Maynard felt the difference to be again one of terms:

None but ex-pupil teachers who have completed their course of service and passed all their examinations enter our Training Schools. Their final examination as pupil-teachers is more difficult than the examination of the Victorian students at the end of their first year. They therefore commence their one year's training on a higher level than the Victorian student commences his second year. These Victorian

¹ibid.

students during their first year are not really in any Training School, but simply act as supernumerary teachers in various schools throughout the colony. If, after spending a year in this manner they succeed in passing the prescribed examination they are then eligible for admission to the Training School and may serve a year there. During their first year they are somewhat in the position, so far as training is concerned, of our candidates for Provisional and other small schools . . . I am disposed to think that it [the Victorian Training School] is not as useful to our neighbours as our own is to us. We have what they appear to want--a steady flow of first-class pupil-teachers more than sufficient to fill both our Training Schools. These young people have been trained and severely tested in their professional work for four years, and they enter the Training School only after passing an examination higher in some respects than that which the Victorian teacher has to pass when he completes his two years' training.¹

The lines of Departmental thinking regarding the Training Schools were being drawn and the attitude of the administrators was hardening. Since attendance at a Training School would result in personal benefit, ran the argument, it was only fair that the student should bear some of the cost of this. In a circular, "Training Institutions for Teachers", sent out on 11th. June, 1888 over the name of the Under Secretary, it was noted that:

The temporary and imperfect character of existing arrangements

¹ibid.

for the management of the Training Schools under this Department is well known, and the desirableness of a more extended term of training for Teachers has long been recognised. In connection with the question, it has also been considered that Pupil-Teachers who successfully complete their four years' term of service should be qualified to act as Assistants, and to manage small schools; and, therefore, that any further special training, necessary to render them eligible for higher positions in the service, should not be wholly paid for by the State.¹

The circular made four major points:

1. From that year pupil-teachers would be examined annually in December.
2. From the examination for the top fifteen males and the top fifteen females would be admitted to the Training Schools for two years on scholarship. The next ten males and ten females were to be awarded half-scholarships and the others, where room existed, would be admitted providing they paid their own maintenance.² Students who failed to reach Second year would be awarded III A, B or C teaching certificates.
3. After two years' training students could receive a Class II, or a Class II with Honours Certificate. The three highest students

¹"Training Institutions for Teachers," Circular, Department of Public Instruction, Sydney: 11th. June, 1888.

²Minister's Report, 1888, 319--full scholarship students received £6 per month, half-scholarship students £3 per month. Students at Hurlstone received nothing since they lived in residence.

receiving the Class II with honours were to be permitted to undergo a third year of training which could include attendance at the University for lectures leading to a B.A.

4. Ex-Pupil Teachers who were not admitted to the Training School and those candidates who possessed sufficient qualifications were to be employed as Teachers or Assistants and, after two years would be eligible for a Class III certificate, and for a Class II after a further three years' satisfactory service.¹

It was thus made obvious for the first time the advantages that were to be gained by attending the Training Schools. The new elite that were thus formed would have an incomparable advantage of anything up to three years or more over those who had entered the ranks of the pupil-teachers at the same time, but who had failed to gain admission to the Training School for one reason or another.

The Minister's Report for the same year, after noting that the arrangements would come into operation from the 1st. January, 1889, re-iterated the point about the State not being wholly responsible for the cost of a pupil-teacher's further training:

At the same time, however, it is a sound and just principle, and one

¹ibid. These provisions, in the form of 'A' and 'B' scholarships remained in force until the end of 1911, (Minister's Report, 1911, 3).

thoroughly recognised in Great Britain, that the State is not bound to defray the whole cost of the training of pupil-teachers beyond the period for which these young persons are first engaged . . . it is deemed very desirable that a few of the Training School students among those showing marked ability should, before completing their course, become connected with the University.¹

The Minister also noted that each Training School would be limited to a maximum intake of 53 students with annual admission. Furthermore, the classifications awarded at the end of either the pupil-teacher's term of training or after the student had completed training at the Training School was only provisional. To be confirmed in his mark the teacher then had to receive a satisfactory report from the Inspector after three years' teaching.²

It was hoped that with such inducements:

. . . the advantages to be obtained by gaining admission to the Training Schools will encourage pupil-teachers to study, and to endeavour, to the utmost of their abilities and opportunities, to qualify themselves to pass high in the examinations; while, on the other hand, those unsuccessful in obtaining admission to the Training Schools will not be debarred from eventually gaining high classifications and positions . . . ³

¹Minister's Report, 1888, 39-40.

²ibid., 41.

³Minister's Report, 1888, 42.

Other advantages that would accrue to the Department from this re-organisation would be a reduction in the annual increase of Second Class teachers, as proposed in the previous year, give additional training to those Second Class teachers who did emerge, reduce the cost to the State in scholarships and provide a number of trained teachers for the Superior Public and the High Schools.¹

The effect of this decision on pupil-teachers was extremely depressing as Inspectors' reports were later to show. The Department, however, did not think future prospects would be affected in any way, "with the improvements recently made in their position and prospects, little difficulty will be experienced in future in finding suitable candidates . . . "

University authorities had proved themselves more than willing to co-operate with the Department of Public Instruction, as records show. The matter was introduced in a memorandum to the Under Secretary from the Chief Inspector drawing attention to the hardships students would face were they expected to pay fees at both institutions.² A letter was immediately despatched to the Senate of the University requesting the

¹ibid.

²MS Memorandum 89/12680, 25th. March, 1889, uncatalogued.

waiving of fees for those matriculated students of the Training School who had Departmental permission to attend University lectures.¹ The Registrar, H.E. Barff, replied to the Minister on behalf of the Senate agreeing to the attendance of matriculated students at the University without the payment of fees, either by the students or by the Department.²

In the main the University was inclined to adopt a co-operative attitude towards teachers who were seeking degrees, although it stood fast on its refusal to contemplate external degrees and was reluctant, despite pressure to grant students the right to sit for examinations without first attending the lectures. As early as 1887 a letter signed by Charles Badham, Professors J. Smith and Liversidge, and others felt that exemption from lectures might be granted to ministers and teachers on the grounds, "that the occupation on which they depended was incompatible with the attendance required". They felt, too, that "encouragement thus given to clergymen and teachers to encourage literature and science is a distinct public benefit".³ However, little came of this proposal. Not

¹MS Letter 89/2422, 25th. March, 1889.

²MS Letter 89/18349, 24th. April, 1889.

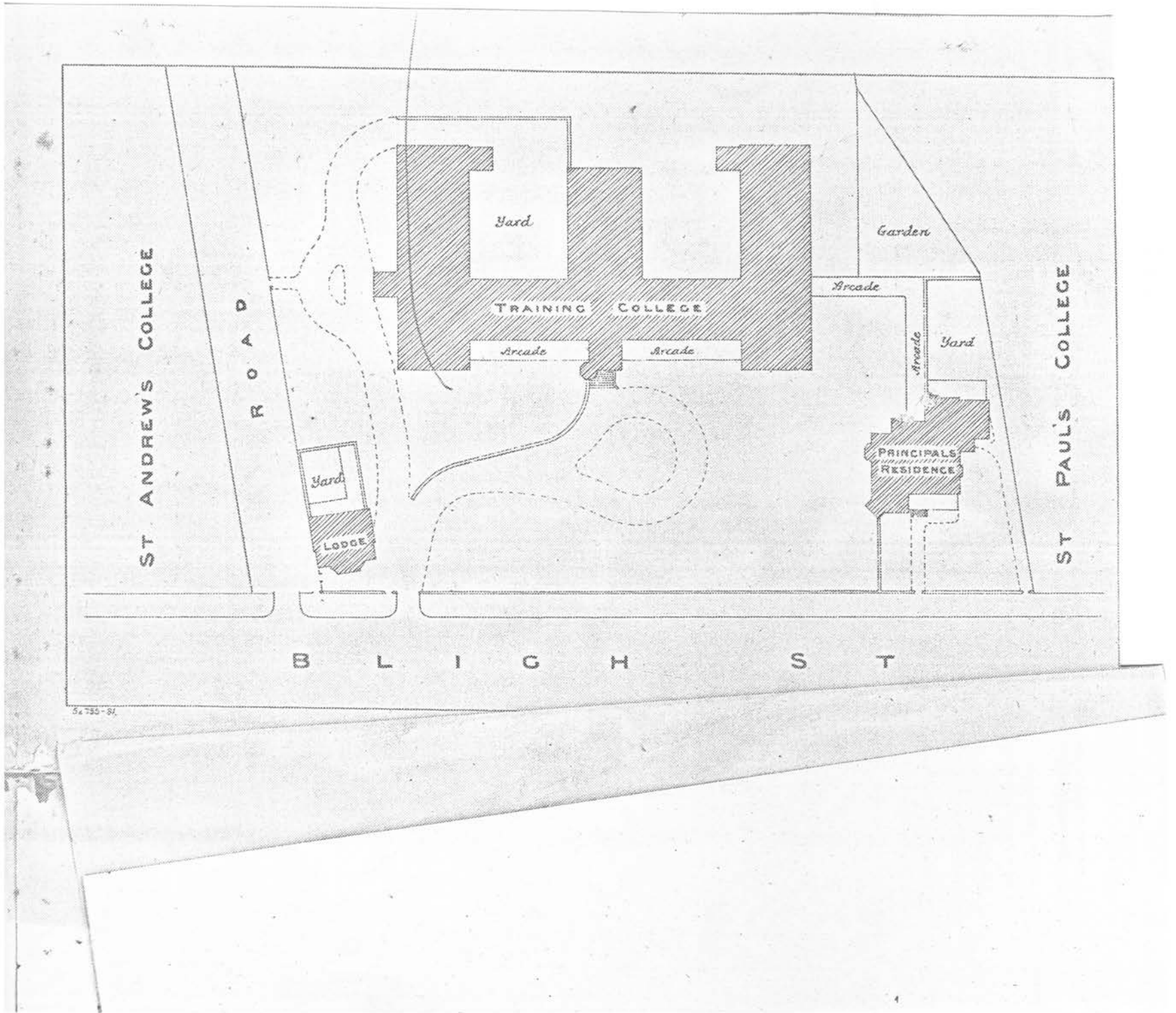
³S.M.H., 22nd. July, 1880.

all agreed that the University should consider the claims of those who sought University training as an aid to their professions and an editorial in The Sydney Morning Herald discussed an attack on the Chancellor who had spoken of the need for endowments and the place the University could play in the training of men for the professions. The pamphleteer had sought a return to the Arts degree only since courses in medicine, engineering and music were turning the University into a technical school. Asking for a realistic approach the editorial noted that the Arts curriculum could still be turned to professional ends, "Schoolmasters, professors, clergymen, and others, have attended lectures and taken degrees simply as stepping stones to promotion."¹

Teachers, however, were frequently in favour of attending the University--their main complaint being that their occupation occasionally made it difficult to attend lectures. Members of the public tended to agree. Referring to the matriculation of a teacher, one writer commented, "if his example be followed by any considerable number it will give a firmer status to the public teaching profession . . . "² The

¹S.M.H., 31st. July, 1880.

²ibid., 31st. August, 1880.



PROPOSED SITE OF TRAINING COLLEGE, 1890

Minister of Public Instruction also noted the benefits that a University education conferred upon a teacher's capabilities and felt that it would "raise the tone of the Department".¹

In the initial honeymoon period between University and Department it was intended to erect a Training College for males within the grounds of the University and "to establish the institution as 'A College Within the University'".² Furthermore, "In view of the important character of the educational work required of our State School Teachers, this comprehensive and complete course of education and training to qualify them for such work may be considered absolutely necessary."³ Students graduating from the University would spend two or three years as assistants in large city schools and then be appointed in sole charge of country schools.

It was estimated that the buildings would cost £37,500 and house 51 students. The Principal would be, ex officio, a member of the University with the rights and privileges of Principals of Affiliated Colleges. Management of the College and appointment of staff would remain vested in the Minister, but the students

¹Minister's Report, 1889, 280.

²ibid., 1890, 65.

³ibid.

would be "amenable to the rules and regulations of the University".¹ From the map provided it appears that the intended site was approximately situated between where the Women's College and Wesley College now stand. Unfortunately for these far-sighted plans, the Parliamentary Committee on Public Works did not agree immediately and the onset of the Depression caused them to be shelved.

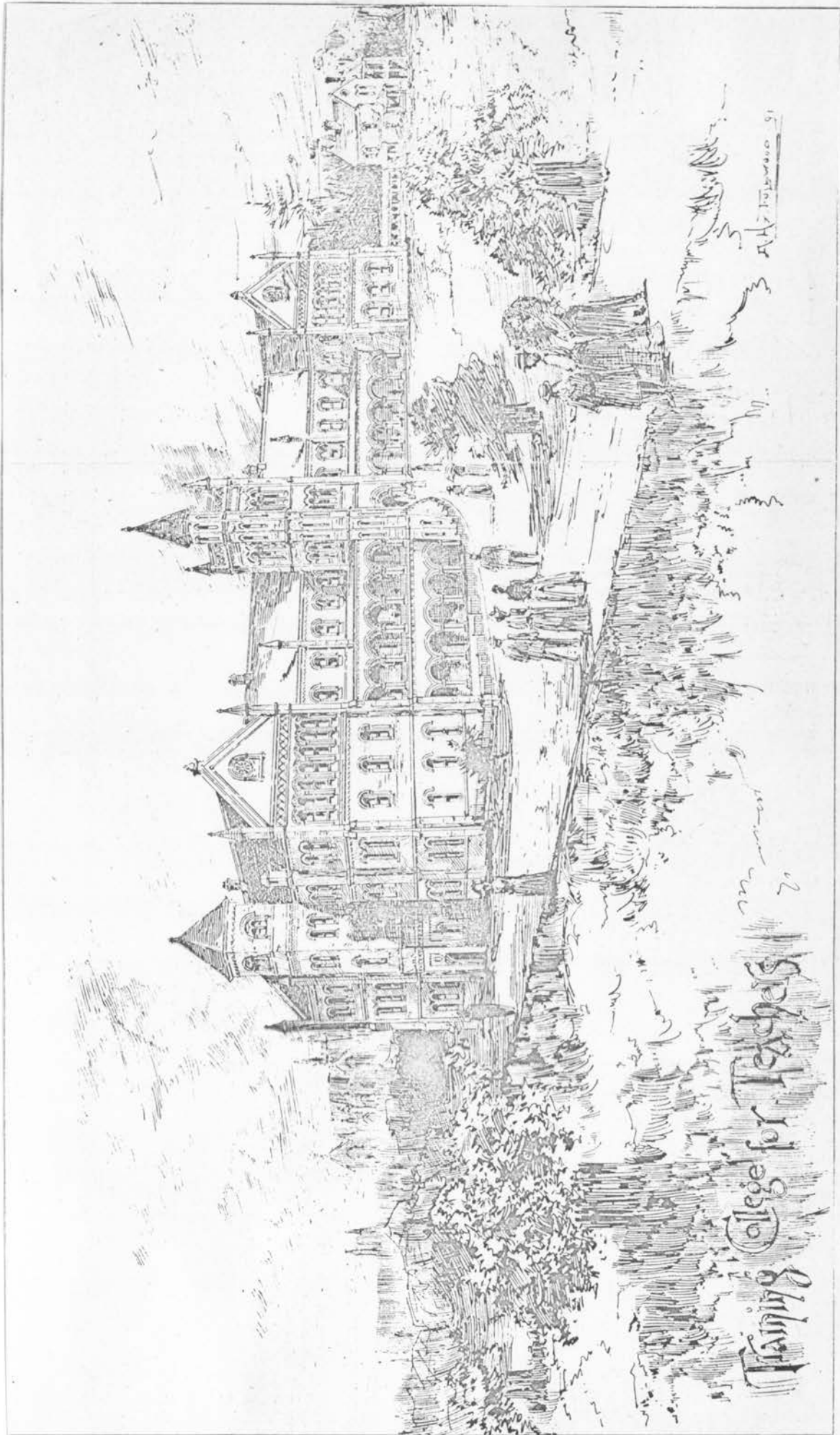
The advantages of this scheme of training as the Department saw it were economy, the attraction of a better class of student, a more favourable public opinion, and "the general education of the people will be made more thorough and complete".²

Students from the Training Schools continued to attend the University in increasing numbers. In 1893, 42 of the 54 students at Fort Street attended the University and "next year arrangements may probably be made that will enable every one to attend. The students' afternoons are spent in practical work in the schools, or attending lectures bearing on School Management."³ That this actually happened the following year may be seen in the Minister's Report:

¹ibid., 66.

²ibid., 65.

³MS Memorandum, Chief Inspector to Under Secretary, 47,940, 12th. October, 1893, uncatalogued.



Training College for Teachers

PROPOSED TRAINING COLLEGE, 1890

All students, matriculated and unmatriculated, attended the Sydney University, and went through the course of study for first, second, or third year as prescribed by the Senate. They attended the Training School every afternoon for instruction in professional subjects . . .

The reversion to a harsher system, dictated by lack of finance in the main, was to come as a distinct and unpalatable shock.

Students found the atmosphere a heady one. After the rigours of the pupil-teacher system one can understand the delight of the young lady who gushed, "In no other country in the world have trainees such advantages as fall to the lot of those in New South Wales."² All teachers did not have the same unqualified praise, especially those who had trained in an earlier period:

. . . it is one of the anomalies of our educational system, that the teachers who are laying the foundation for the future attainments and culture of Australians, are practically debarred from sharing in the advantages of a University course. It is unnecessary to remark, that under a system such as ours, employing thousands of teachers, the great majority must always be unable to attend University Lectures.³

¹Minister's Report, 1894, 23, also 94/4086, Minister's Minute, 22nd. January, 1894. It appears however, that students could remain at the Training Schools, 94/2094, 3rd. April, 1894.

²Educational Gazette, II, 3, August, 1892, 42.

³ibid., I, 5, October, 1891, 103.

The writer then proceeded to argue for the right of teachers to sit for University examinations without the necessity of attending lectures, along the same lines as London University. Although a number of letters were written expressing similar sentiments, the University authorities obviously felt that the provision of evening lectures and extension courses to near country districts¹ was sufficient.

Inevitably, points of friction arose between the University and the Department, but attempts were made to keep these at a minimum. The University lecturers found the Training School students unruly from time to time, and complaints were made to the Principal of the Training School. Conway wrote to Maynard requesting that in the light of "the alleged disorderly conduct" the University professors furnish term reports on the conduct of students from the Training School. Maynard very sensibly replied that, "I do not think we should ask the University Professors to make distinctions between our students and others. The Professors have their own regulations for securing discipline."²

¹H.E. Barff, A Short Historical Account of the University of Sydney, Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1902, 110.

²MS Submission to Chief Inspector, 93/29259, 16th. June, 1893.

This complaint had arisen from an earlier letter in which Conway had complained that not only did the physical distance between the University and the Training Schools create problems for afternoon lectures at Fort Street,¹ but this was compounded by other factors:

. . . as the majority of the students attend the University in the mornings, I have so arranged my Time-Table as to bring the study of the above-named subjects [School Management, Music, Drawing, Drill, Carpentry] into the afternoon's work. Last year, however, my arrangements were much interfered with . . . owing to the number of students who attended the University in the afternoons for honours subjects . . . In addition to these, extra days were frequently asked for, for various purposes, and on the 8th. August, a new feature was introduced, viz., the keeping in, by a University Professor, of a whole class which included several of my students, on account of the disorder of a few members.

As this, if continued, will simply paralyse the work of the Training School, I beg to recommend in the case of all students, except those in their third year, that no University work be allowed to interfere with their attendance at the Training School in the afternoons.²

Maynard agreed with this.

Bridges, Deputy-Chief Inspector and later Chief Inspector, was no friend of the University which, he felt, tended to inculcate students with ideas that were inimical to Departmental discipline. He was

¹cf. similar complaint, Minister's Report, 1890, 254

²MS Submission 93/12920, 16th. March, 1893.

also dubious about the value of University training. In a report he made on the Hurlstone Training School in 1894 he criticised the University teaching of French as relying too much on written work and so being deficient in oral practice. He also claimed that the University vacations were irregular and confusing to students and that too much time was wasted in travel to and fro.¹

In the light of these administrative problems regarding the attendance of students at the University it is little wonder that some change was made. Sensibly, the Training Schools should have been moved closer to the University, practically this was impossible with economic conditions as they were. If students were to get as much of the "teaching" side of their training as was considered desirable they would have to be separated for some period from the University. At the same time Maynard was casting a wary eye at the finance and, noting that the estimates for training had been reduced by £1,500, he recommended very early in the year that the period of training be reduced to one year and University attendance by students of the Training Schools cease.²

¹MS Report on Hurlstone Training School, 94/50582, 29th. August, 1894.

²MS Memorandum to the Under Secretary, 94/1845, 11th January, 1894.

The Minister declined to accept this recommendation, but the Report for 1894 does note the travelling difficulties of students and the burden of the added study:

It has, therefore, been determined that in future the students shall spend the whole of the first year of training at the respective Training Schools, and that attendance at the day lectures of the University shall be arranged for after the examinations at the end of such year.¹

Although this scheme was to commence at the beginning of 1895, financial conditions worsened so much that Maynard's recommendation was put into effect and, "The arrangements under which students attended the University during their course was discontinued, and the period of training was limited to one year."² Matriculant students who gained the classification of IIA with honours would be granted a scholarship at the University for twelve months with the chance of extending it if they passed their examinations.³

Under the conditions the Department of Public Instruction appears to have done all that it felt that it could to ensure that students who deserved University training received it. Only a short time before this

¹Minister's Report, 1894, 74.

²ibid., 14-15.

³ibid.

period the Departmental officers had argued against complete State involvement in financing training, then all students were permitted to attend University and, only under the pressure of financial stringency was the training period again reduced. A further argument against the Department's having a prior intention of reducing the training period or removing students completely from the University lies in the correspondence concerning the censure of the Principal of Fort Street Training School, his removal from his position and his re-appointment as Headmaster of Cleveland Street Superior School, with a loss in salary of £258 per annum. After noting the number of students attending the University, and remarking that this appeared to be a continuing process with ancillary attendance at the Practising School or at lectures on School Management in the afternoon, Maynard felt that the Headmaster of the Model School could attend to both duties:¹

The Headmaster J.W. Turner of Fort Street School is really therefore in the best position to superintend this part of their training. While we have a good Headmaster there is no necessity under the present arrangements for a separate Principal of the Training School.

¹MS Submission 93/47940, 12th. October, 1893, Chief Inspector to Under Secretary, uncatalogued files, also Minister's Report, 1893, 28.

Turner's salary was to consist of £600 per annum comprising:

Salary as H.M. Fort St. Model School	£380
Rent as H.M. Fort St. Model School	£100
Superintendent of Training School and Saturday Classes	£120
	<hr/>
TOTAL -	<u>£600</u>

The Headmaster of the Model School was not appointed as Head of both institutions in an attempt to downgrade the Training School, but since so much of the time was being spent away from the School it was sensible administration to appoint one man to undertake the reasonably slight additional duties. That Turner was a man of outstanding ability was to be shown in his later work as an Educational Commissioner and that students would be so shortly withdrawn from the University could not be foreseen.

The Educational Conferences of the next century were to call for a closer relationship with the University, despite Bridges' opposition and Peter Board's reservations. However, once the trainees had been removed from the University it was to take until 1902 before students were again permitted to attend that institution with Departmental assistance.

The Training Colleges were inspected at regular two-monthly intervals, usually by Bridges. His comments

on the work done by the students were generally favourable, especially as most of the students had served their apprenticeships as pupil-teachers. However, in one report on the Fort Street Training School Bridges felt that the Junior Division was not proceeding at a suitable pace, but believed that this was not the fault of the Teachers as much as of the students. These he stated were "not a bright lot". To this comment the Minister administered a stinging rebuke:

What am I to understand by the phrase, "not a bright lot"? Is there any way in which the students could be brightened which is not being tried? If so I would like to know how this can be done. Are all of the Junior Division dull or only a few? I would really like to have some less vague information about the lads.¹

A timely rebuke from a Minister obviously concerned with the progress of education to an educationalist somewhat prone to revert to clichés to establish a point.

Students were not always the docile creatures that they tended to appear in the annual reports. They tended to take matters into their own hands and, although retribution could be swift and uncompromising they occasionally won their points. Discontent generally occurred with the small allowances and with their future

¹MS comment by Minister on MS "Report on Fort Street Training School", by Deputy-Chief Inspector Bridges, 7th. June, 1887.

prospects in the teaching service. The existence at this time of a large body of ex-students teaching in Sydney while they awaited appointment as Assistants or Teachers-in-Charge in the country provided a focal point for the disaffected. The files of the Education Department contain numerous petitions to the Minister on these points.

In August, 1886, the Daily Telegraph¹ reported the proceedings of a public meeting called and attended by a number of ex-students and students of the Fort Street Training School to draw attention to their conditions. Maynard as Chief Inspector reported this to the Minister with a three-page reply to the charges made.² He also noted that the meeting was in gross breach of Regulations and recommended suspension of all those attending. Letters of explanation of their conduct were demanded and received from the three ring-leaders.³ They were suspended pending an enquiry into their actions and finally had their classification grades reduced and were transferred from Sydney. Bridges as Deputy-Chief Inspector wrote a homily upon

¹Daily Telegraph, 14th. August, 1886.

²MS Memorandum, 86/27216, 21st. August, 1886.

³MS Submission, 86/28276, 1st. September, 1886.

the duties of "employés",¹ an interesting document when one remembers that Bridges himself had been suspended under somewhat similar circumstances twelve years previously.²

However, the battle for better allowances and conditions continued. A frequent and, it appears, justified complaint was that they, as ex-students who had undergone a long and arduous course of training, would receive a smaller salary than contemporaries who had "gone into commerce". The Minister, in 1889 compared the salaries of a junior clerk and an ex-student. A junior clerk after six years' service received £115 per annum and £152 per annum after eight years. An ex-student after six years (including four years as a pupil-teacher) received £120 and £154 after eight years service.³ The implication was that the students, and those who had recently left the School, were comparable with clerks, both in the Public Service and in the business world and were receiving their just and fair rewards.

¹MS Report, 86/30288, 2nd. September, 1886.

²MS Council of Education Minutes, Fair Copies, Book 7, 1289, 29th. June, 1874. Bridges at the time was Head Master of Fort St. Model School and President of the Teachers' Association.

³Annexure to MS letter from the Minister, 9th. January, 1889.

But all through this period there were signs that the administrative officers of the Department of Public Instruction were taking a more lenient approach towards the further training of teachers and were gradually coming to share the feeling and belief in the general efficacy of training. Bridges in 1899 repeated publicly what he had been writing in reports for years that, "The benefits of training are so marked that I shall be glad when it becomes practicable to bring more of our teachers under the influence of the Training Schools."¹ However, the Department still regarded the training of teachers beyond the pupil-teacher stage as a refinement that students who shared in should be grateful to the Department for. The general reaction when students or ex-students protested against conditions was one of puzzlement, followed by an attempt to justify what was being done.

From the 1st. July, 1893, salaries of teachers, students and pupil-teachers were reduced by five per cent. Maynard, reporting on this to the Minister, presented a summarised version of contemporary Departmental thinking that presents their point of view more accurately than any published Report. Speaking of

¹Minister's Report, 1899, 70.

pupil-teachers and students he stated:

Up to the present time, they have been privileged to enter the service at the low age of 13 years, four years younger than they could gain admission to any other branch of the Service. Instead of paying a premium, as apprentices are required to do in any other profession, from the date of their entry on duty they are paid liberal salaries and receive painstaking and valuable training and instruction daily from the best teachers under the Department. As an evidence of the consideration shown these young people, in 1890 the salaries of all male pupil teachers were raised from nearly 17 per cent in the case of the lowest grade to over 9 per cent in that of the highest. At the end of their course, if they show the necessary qualifications, they are admitted to the Training School where they undergo a further course of special training at the cost of the State, either being boarded and lodged free or receiving a monetary allowance. Added to this they have the supreme advantage of going through the University course without payment by them of the usual fees, have free use of text books necessary in connection with their studies, free access to apparatus and are in the class of the female students provided with free conveyance to and from the University. In point of fact, the students are absolutely maintained by the State except as regards clothes and pocket money. Even in this last particular, the Department was at one time generous enough to make the females an allowance of £20 a year. This lasted from July 1883 to 31st. March 1884 on which latter date, the grant was discontinued.

An important point to remember is that, on leaving the Training School, they are provided with uninterrupted employment while waiting for permanent

appointment as teachers. This applies also to pupil teachers who have finished their course but have not done well enough to secure admission to the Training Schools, and is a concession which is not granted, as far as is known, by any other country in the world.¹

Frequently, too, the evidence produced during these attempts at justification is invaluable in the light that it throws not only on conditions in New South Wales, but on conditions in the other colonies. In August, 1894, students and ex-students petitioned the Minister for higher allowances and salaries. As part of the evidence assembled by the Department were the answers to telegrams sent to Departments of Education in Queensland, South Australia and Victoria. The questions asked were:

1. Are trainees paid any allowance during their term of attendance at the Training Schools? . . .
2. Do you provide ex-trainees with temporary employment pending their appointment as teachers? . . .
3. Are pupil teachers who have completed their course provided with employment pending their appointment as teachers?

Queensland's reply was to the point:

We have no training school and no trainees except pupil teachers. Pupil teachers are dispensed with when their pupilage expires, and they are offered appointments to Provisional Schools as

¹Typescript report, Chief Inspector to Minister, no date.

vacancies occur.

South Australia replied that they paid trainees an allowance, but they had to wait for a vacancy to occur before they were appointed to a school. Their treatment of pupil-teachers varied from New South Wales:

Pupil teachers whose course completed (sic) are not eligible for appointment till after passing through training. Must leave at 20 years of age unless they go to College or take unclassified schools.

Victoria noted that they had closed their Training Institution in 1893. Their pupil-teachers were kept in their schools until a vacancy occurred. Employment was not guaranteed, but in general temporary employment was granted to all pupil-teachers who had completed their term.¹

Under the conditions existing in the other colonies Maynard and Bridges felt justified in their former attitude and felt, too, that since pupil-teachers and trainees in New South Wales had such advantages they should not be granted any increase in allowance. Ex-students awaiting appointment as Assistants or Teachers-in-Charge should also be sensible of their advantages and not press for a higher salary. The Department was

¹Typescript papers attached to 94/49120, "Petition to the Minister," 29th. August, 1894.

reinforced in its attitude by the economic conditions of the time and the lack of money at its disposal. In the Minister's Report for the previous year the position was plainly stated:

. . . a policy of vigorous retrenchment was adopted in the administration of all Branches of the Department. The strictest economy was practised, and the expenditure restricted by every possible means.¹

This had involved the reduction by ten per cent of the salaries of all officers earning more than £200 per annum and the abolition of the positions of School Attendance Officers. By their lights teachers and students were not too badly treated.

The Depression struck savagely at the Department's policy of increasingly liberalising training through the Training Schools. Despite the promises of 1894 the Department was forced to cut the period of training back from two years to one year, although students who had passed at the end of that year with a classification of IIA with honours and who had matriculated at the March examinations, were enabled to attend the University at no expense to themselves. Provided they passed that year a further year's training could be extended to them.²

¹Minister's Report, 1893, 35.

²Minister's Report, 1895, 14-15.

The Depression also struck at the supply of pupil-teachers. It had long been recognised that the entrance examinations for which the applicant pupil-teachers sat were an effective method of regulating the number of teachers who would enter the service in the next five years. Thus, depending upon the estimated number required, the pass mark could be raised or lowered to permit more or less in.¹ In 1894 and 1895 a minimum number were employed and those who were already undergoing "pupilage" were reluctant to spend further time at the Training Schools and tended to seek minimum classification and appointment to a school. In 1895 an announcement in the Educational Gazette² informed pupil-teachers who had successfully completed their apprenticeship, but had not gained entry to a Training School that they would be accepted for twelve months' training provided that they paid their own board and were neither examined nor classified at the completion of the course. As Bridges later pointed out, in most cases those who accepted such terms were actually permitted to sit for the examination and were classified. Departmental policy on such matters was rarely so rigid or as unyielding as a superficial reading of the

¹Vide, for example, Minister's Report, 1895, 171.

²Educational Gazette, IV, 10, March, 1895, 185.

Ministers' Reports would tend to suggest.

With the dearth of pupil-teachers in 1894 and 1895 few candidates were eligible for admittance to the Training Schools in 1898 and 1899. Only sixteen were eligible to attend Fort Street and twelve eligible for Hurlstone. This provided a problem since Hurlstone had to be maintained and to do so for twelve students was scarcely economical. Thus Bridges, now Chief Inspector, reported in 1899:

In order to keep Hurlstone employed, it was decided to offer special scholarships to ex-pupil teachers who had gained classification. The privilege of being trained without cost was thrown open to competition and thirteen teachers proved themselves worthy of that privilege.¹

This last sentence smacks of unfeeling complacency, but it states the views of Bridges and the Department with great clarity. In his eyes further training was desirable--he stated this unequivocally in the same Report--but the State had just suffered a Depression of unprecedented size and it was felt that the State should not have to bear the whole cost of further training. This attitude, which he shared with Maynard, and a firm attachment to the pupil-teacher system as a proven method of training, was the crux of Departmental policy. And it accounts in large measure for an

¹Minister's Report, 1899, 71.

apparent inconsistency that did not exist in fact. When the pupil-teacher system came under telling fire after 1900, the Department instinctively defended itself against what was, in effect, a serious indictment of its own procedures. As a result, supporters of the system tended to defend the status quo ante with a more unqualified vigour than logic alone may have called for.

The academic nature of the courses at the Training Schools have been noted previously. K.R. Cramp, a pupil-teacher who had won entry to the Fort Street Training School, University graduate, lecturer at the Training School from 1904 and finally Inspector of Schools, underlined the academic nature of the courses in his manuscript reminiscences, "Notes on the Sydney Teachers' College".¹ Most of the courses were given by members of the Practising School staff, including the lectures in Education.

A student's classification depended upon his academic record and the results of a test lesson or lessons given before the Chief Inspector:

. . . a student would be given two or three half days free to enable him to prepare his notes for these lessons and comb all possibilities for specimens . . . I got into touch with the University, the Technical

¹K.R. Cramp, "Notes on the Sydney Teachers' College," MS reminiscences.

College, the Botanic Gardens and the Hawkesbury Agricultural College for material for one lesson of 45 minutes' duration . . . A final Test came when the Chief Inspector (then Frederick Bridges) appeared at the end of the course to watch each student give a sample lesson of which he (the student) prepared three . . . the Chief Inspector selected which of the three lessons the student should handle under his observation. As Fort Street had a long main room, four such test lessons would be treated at full speed simultaneously with the Chief endeavouring to assess the teaching worth of the four students in operation . . . ¹

K.R. Cramp went on to note that:

. . . his classification depended on (1) results in an academic examination in about a dozen subjects and (2) Skill as a teacher assessed through the test lessons which the Chief had observed. A student who gained the mark 7 for teaching and an average of 65 per cent in the academic examination was deemed worthy of a provisional classification of 2A and this mark had to be confirmed for three consecutive years at school inspections before it was made permanent.²

These marks, as were school marks at this time, were treated with a literal accuracy with little thought to either their validity or reliability. Thus a student he recalled as a most competent teacher and who gained the required teaching mark of 7 was "granted a 2B classification because his examination percentage

¹ ibid., 3.

² ibid., 4.

was 64½ and not 65".

It points to the hold that the pupil-teacher system had on those who had trained that way when a man with the vast experience of Mr. Cramp could refer to the pupil-teacher system and the system of previous training in the following terms:

It was my opinion, then, and perhaps I have not greatly modified it since, that both systems had their defects. A four years' experience would tend to give a teacher fixed methods and ideas which it might be difficult to break down in the College, whereas the lack of any previous experience would tend to force a student to listen to lectures on the principles and practice of teaching which, without some background experience would be comparatively meaningless theory. My view was that if a student could have had a few months experience as a teacher under supervision, he would thus be brought face to face with some of a teacher's difficulties and problems and be in a position to extract far more value from the pedagogical course given at the College . . . ¹

The end of the century saw little change in the conditions prevailing in the Training Schools. Although some more attention was being paid to pedagogical principles, the Training Schools still regarded themselves as having to teach sufficient content to the students to enable them to either pass on to the University or else be adequate to teach in the Superior Public Schools, although the number of vacancies in these

¹ibid., 5.

latter was never great. The curriculum was formal and traditional with great emphasis on English Grammar and Mathematics. Mary M. Everitt, retiring as Principal of Hurlstone Training School, noted that:

History and Geography, dismissed from the syllabus more than six years ago to make room for Latin, Algebra and Geometry, were re-introduced this year, but only on a very small scale . . . A small portion of History was selected, and that exclusively English . . . ¹

However, the winds of change were stirring. Attacks on those seeking the abolition of the pupil-teacher system had been generally unsuccessful, although neither was there much official thought of altering what existed. This impasse was to be broken early in the new century, but as yet the winds were scarcely zephyrs. The pupil-teacher system still survived in a form little different from that first devised by William Wilkins half a century before, but again small divisions were beginning to occur in an edifice once regarded as monolithic. Teaching methods had changed little--the object lesson still held paramount sway--and there was little official recognition of the children's having individual needs that could not be satisfied by mass teaching, rote learning and extensive demonstration by the teacher.

¹Minister's Report, 1895, 164.

The pupil-teacher system had served a need that the Colony had, and had served it well. It had replaced a system vastly inferior to itself and had placed New South Wales in the vanguard of progress. Alexander Mackie, no friend to the system as such, publicly recognised its initial value, stating that it had been responsible for, "a supply of fairly competent teachers during a difficult period".¹ The problem was that because it had been so successful, there was little incentive to seek elsewhere. This was the problem of the men who administered the Department. That it was done so successfully was one of the educational triumphs of the new century.

¹A. Mackie, "The Training of Teachers," Report of the Twelfth Meeting of the Australian Association for the Advancement of Science, Brisbane: Government Printer, 1909, 713.

CHAPTER VIISPECIFIC ASPECTS OF TEACHER TRAINING -
THE RURAL TEACHER AND THE KINDERGARTEN TEACHER

Although there is little apparent justification for considering these two aspects of teacher training together, the Department tended to take a similar attitude to the training of both of these groups. Initially, both groups tended to grow to meet specific needs with little in the way of official assistance. Both groups were eventually recognised and specific steps taken to overcome their immediate problems. Before this stage was reached, however, a great deal of suspicion and occasional hostility had to be overcome.

The treatment of the untrained rural teacher is not one of the brighter spots in the history of the Department of Public Instruction, nor of its predecessor, the Council of Education. Like the pupil-teacher system the employment of the bush teacher grew up to meet a pressing need to provide teachers and schools wherever the numbers warranted it. Unlike the pupil-teacher system it did not emerge as a planned and thought-out series of graded steps whose successful climbing would assure promotion. It emerged rather as an expedient

whose very success guaranteed its continued existence, although most Annual Reports mentioned it in a shame-faced manner, generally with the comment that untrained teachers would soon disappear entirely from the service. Apart from the evil of exposing children to teachers who were going to achieve any training or experience at their expense, was the fact that in practice there was little chance of such a teacher receiving any assistance except from the irregular visits of an Inspector of Schools. Although the bait of being eligible to attend a Training School after two years meritorious service was constantly dangled before them, for most it was an unattainable ideal.

In 1873 it was reported that forty small country schools could not be staffed because there were insufficient applicants willing to undergo the rigours and the loneliness of life in the bush. The average city-trained teacher had not proved suitable even where he was prepared to go out into the country because his background had not prepared him for his new environment. Therefore, District Inspectors of Schools were empowered to:

. . . receive applications for persons resident in the country districts, and accustomed to the usual mode of living in the bush, and to direct those applicants to attend a good school for the

purpose of receiving instruction of an elementary kind, and to acquire some practical knowledge of schoolkeeping.¹

In 1877 people who entered the service in this way were to be admitted to the Training School after three years' satisfactory service, provided that they could pass the entrance examinations.² In practice, by the very nature of the persons applying for such positions and with the competition from pupil-teachers and other candidates for places, this concession was a virtually unattainable ideal. In 1881, after the passing of the Public Instruction Act and with Parkes' statement about trained teachers in all the schools of the Colony still ringing in the ears of the people, the Minister's Report could refer to the growing number of untrained teachers as being, "as a rule, defective in every subject requiring original thought".³

By 1884 the regulations governing the employment of such teachers had become codified. They had to be at least eighteen years of age, "of good moral character, and possessed of the prescribed minimum attainments". They were to receive their "training" in a Public School conducted by a teacher holding a

¹Report of the Council of Education, 1873, 10.

²ibid., 1877, 18.

³Minister's Report, 1881, 185.

classification not lower than IIIA. At the end of this they were to be furnished with a certificate of competency to manage a small school. At this time there was to be no payment made to the candidates, although the 1872 Report had noted that they would receive £4 a month while training.¹ The 1884 Report also noted:

There are several advantages arising from this mode of obtaining teachers. The Inspectors take the entire responsibility of providing them; their training costs the State nothing; they are accustomed to the bush, and they are usually to be found at short distances from vacant schools, and can be moved thereto at short notice and little expense.²

A year later³ conditions had changed little, except to note that candidates, "are expected to make their own arrangements with the teacher, and to defray the cost of their training". Also at the end of two years they may, "be declared eligible for an extended course of training". In Departmental eyes the genius of the scheme lay in the fact that the Department incurred no risk since no undertaking was given to the candidates that employment would be granted them. A further advantage was that, "The great bulk of the Public

¹op. cit.

²Minister's Report, 1884, 29.

³ibid., 1885, 36-37. This was repeated in the same words in the Report for 1890, 60.

Schools of the Colony become practically Training Schools . . . "

Although such sentiments smack of complacency and suggest a smug lack of feeling for the unfortunate candidates so engaged upon the task of learning to teach, it would be less than fair not to draw attention to the conditions existing in the colony at this time, when society itself did not regard the right to employment as inalienable. Furthermore, there was certainly no dearth of applicants as the 1885 report points out.¹ There were 271 of these teachers admitted to the service in 1884, 269 in 1885 and in 1909, towards the end of the period under survey there were 157 trained under these conditions. The facility with which such teachers were obtained and the slight cost involved in transporting them to their schools meant that they tended to be used in schools where trained teachers were required. In 1887 the Minister, J. Inglis, noted that there were 728 unclassified teachers in the service, while there were only 376 schools to which such teachers should be sent.² Admittedly, there were unclassified teachers in the service who were not trained in bush

¹op. cit., 36.

²MS Minister's Minute Respecting Ex-Students of Training Schools, Pupil-Teachers and Others, 15, 161, 23rd. June, 1887.

schools, but the proportion of these would be slight compared with those who had been trained in this way.

The teacher who had been trained in a bush school generally found the going hard. His only real method of obtaining promotion, the classifying examinations, was not as easy as it was for his more adequately trained colleagues, and their methods of school management were more open to Inspectorial criticism than were those of the men who had begun as pupil-teachers. One more literate gentleman describing the conditions under which these untrained teachers laboured stated:

In the country districts of New South Wales there are scores of teachers of this class who never had, and unless provision is made for them, never will have a chance of being instructed in the details of arrangement and method which are essential to successful teaching . . . Inspectors visit them, in the majority of cases, but once in twelve months, and complete the inspection . . . in the course of five or six hours . . . these sources of instruction are very small indeed. It may be urged that no candidates are accepted by the Department until certified by competent teachers to be able to manage a class . . . but is it not a fact that many teachers who certify to the ability of candidates have themselves never been trained, and in their teaching prove themselves of medium ability only, by obtaining year after year, marks such as tolerable.¹

To this *cri de coeur* the editor replied that, "This is

¹Educational Gazette, I, 4, September, 1891, 81-82.

being every day remedied by the gradual introduction of trained teachers in country districts."¹

However, this editorial comment was not to go unchallenged. In the following issue an untrained teacher using the nom de plume of "Another of Them" pointed out that, "Your editorial note . . . does not . . . amount to much, for, though trained teachers are now frequently appointed to small schools, still such appointments are, in many cases, but temporary."² Further letters emphasised the disadvantages these teachers suffered and the disadvantages they suffered in consideration for promotion by comparison with trained teachers.

That these untrained teachers were a source of continual embarrassment to the Department may be implied by the frequent references to them in the Ministers' Reports. In 1894 it was stated, after years of self-congratulatory statements about the cheapness and availability of untrained teachers, that:

The untrained teacher is fast disappearing from the Service. Nearly all those counted . . . as unclassified have had four or five years' training as pupil-teachers in large schools under our most able and experienced teachers.³

¹ibid.

²ibid., I, 5, October, 1891, 103.

³Minister's Report, 1894, 73.

In the following year the Report could again note:

The smaller schools are steadily improving in efficiency, owing chiefly to the fact that, as vacancies occur, they are placed in charge of ex-pupil teachers, who, having been trained for four or five years in the larger Public Schools, bring considerable experience and skill to bear on their work.¹

By 1898, however, it was again admitted, "The great demand for schools in sparsely settled districts rendered it necessary to bring into the Service a number of young men . . . "² And so the melancholy tale continued to unfold. In 1902 the Minister again noted that, "There is no difficulty in obtaining excellent teachers . . . where the necessities and conveniences of life can be obtained . . . " and remarked further that "the hardships that teachers have to endure . . . are such that in many cases they are compelled to relinquish charge by either resigning or seeking removal."³ The 1903 Report sympathised with the small salaries paid to teachers of small bush schools and again paid tribute to the difficulties under which they laboured.⁴

The official attitude was beginning to change.

¹Minister's Report, 1895, 81.

²ibid., 1898, 2.

³ibid., 1902, 13.

⁴ibid., 1903, 80.

From being regarded as worthy of little consideration, they were now being regarded as necessary to the maintenance of education in outback districts and deserving of sympathy if little practical help. But again it must be noticed that there was no shortage of applicants. In 1903, 469 sat for the entrance examination, but only 82 were accepted. The training period was now three weeks.¹

The Knibbs-Turner Report traced the history of the employment of untrained teachers in small bush schools and recommended a change in the methods of selection and training. Examples of examination papers for which the applicants sat reveal the paucity of the standards required of them and explains, in part at least, the thinly veiled contempt with which they had been regarded. The notice to the teachers of the schools to which they repaired for training shows the type of training regarded as desirable for such candidates--the making out, carefully and neatly of official returns!² Any training in teaching methods or general school management was left to the discretion of the teacher of the school, and the comments in the

¹ibid.

²Interim Report of the Commissioners on Certain Parts of Primary Education, Sydney: Government Printer, 1903, 287-291.

Educational Gazette suggest that these men were not always of the highest calibre.

J.W. Turner had made the position of the Commissioners towards untrained teachers abundantly clear:

While granting that some untrained teachers have risen to very superior positions in the profession, it cannot be denied that the system generally does not tend to high educational ideals. As a substitute system it should no longer exist.¹

This was taken up by speakers at the April, 1904 Conference. Peter Board agreed with the others that the system needed reviewing and that opportunities should exist for further training for those who so desired it.² Mr. C. McDougall, Teacher-in-Charge of the Public School at Dumaresq Island advanced the suggestion that while training in the Training School was a fine idea and one to be pursued for rural teachers, a more practical suggestion would be to utilise the Model District Schools which the Conference had earlier recommended establishing. As the intention was to staff these schools with teachers who would be able to demonstrate the best techniques of school management, potential rural teachers should be sent to one of these schools for a period of six months for intensive

¹ibid., 287.

²Conference of Inspectors, Teachers . . . , April, 1904, 76.

training before taking charge of schools of their own.¹
 This suggestion for further training of rural teachers
 was supported by Senior-Inspector Willis,² but the
 meeting declined to take up their cause.

Although the cause of the rural teacher was not
 hotly debated at the April, 1904 Conference, gradual
 changes in their training were taking place. In 1907
 Peter Board noted:

Three examinations were held of Small
 School Candidates . . . As a rule the latter
 class undergo, after acceptance, a course of
 training and tuition lasting three months at
 an efficiently conducted school, but owing
 to the demand for teachers of Small Schools,
 the period of training had, in some cases,
 to be cut short.

The Department in providing that even
 the smallest and most remote school shall
 be supplied with a teacher from year's end
 to year's end, undertakes a responsibility,
 which only a copious supply of applicants
 willing to face the isolation and occasional
 hardship of bush life, can enable it to
 shoulder successfully.

However much it is to be wished and
 aimed at as an ideal that every teacher of
 a small rural school should pass through
 the Training College in Sydney, it is very
 plain that years must elapse before the
 ideal is realised. The Small School Can-
 didate who becomes the Small School teacher
 must be with us for some years, and the
 problem is to give him the best possible
 training and tuition before his appointment.³

¹ibid., 149.

²ibid., 150.

³Minister's Report, 1907, 39-40.

This, at least, was a realistic assessment of the situation. Two years later the Principal of the Training College took up the question of the Small School teacher, as he was now being called. Mackie stated his belief that:

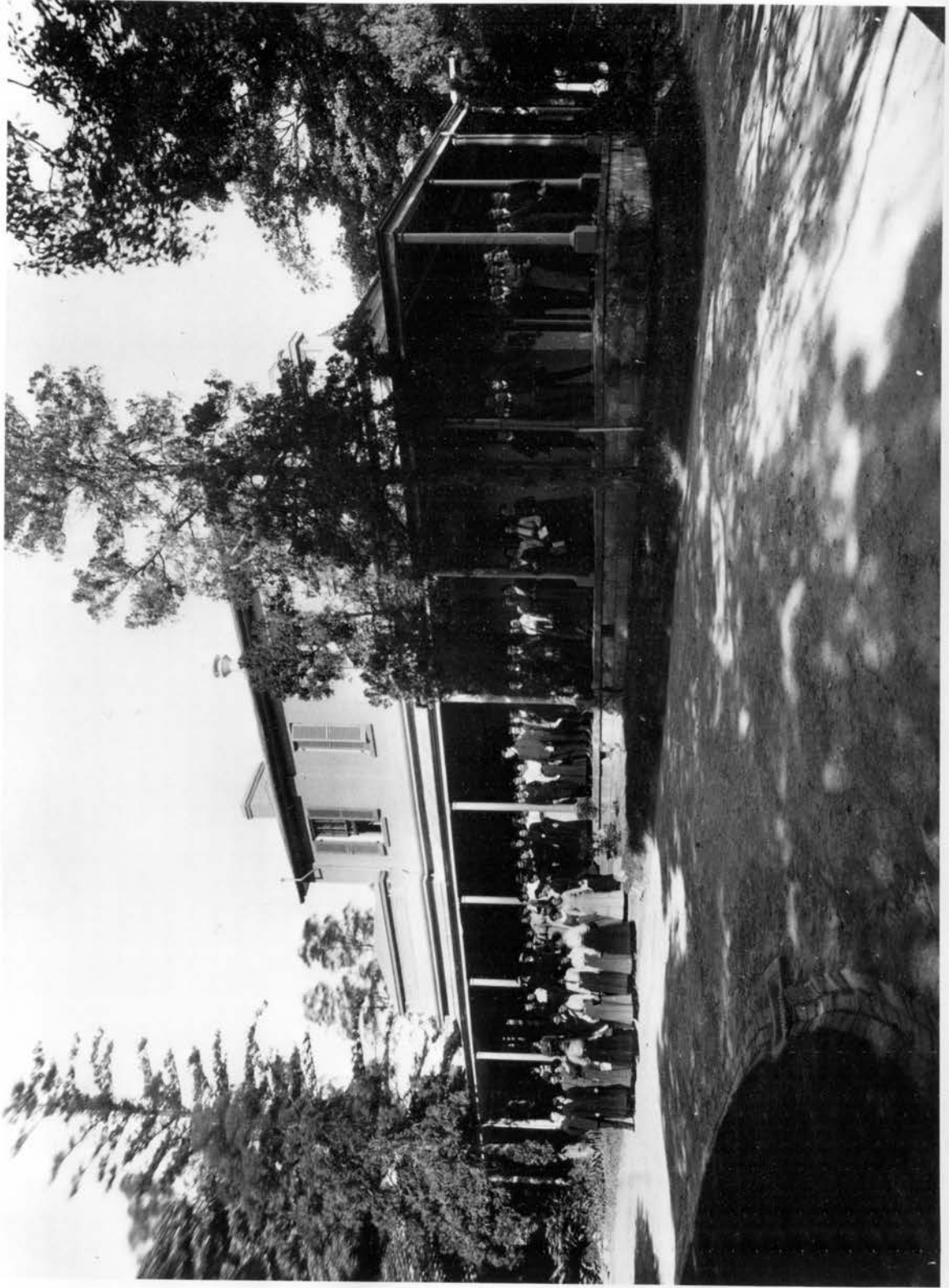
It is very desirable, in my opinion, that some provision should be made for the more systematic training of the prospective small school teacher. At present he fares badly and is passed out to isolated schools practically untrained.¹

Now that the Small School teachers and prospective teachers were having increasing attention paid to their plight there was some possibility of Departmental action. Mackie reiterated the point above in a number of formal and informal notes to the Director of Education, and Board agreed.² However, the problem was that the Training College itself was badly in need of improvement and both Mackie and Board turned their attention towards Blackfriars, with only the occasional glances at the problems of the rural teacher.

However, the Department found itself able to provide a solution for the potential teachers of Small Schools earlier than it had anticipated. In 1894

¹ibid., 1909, 60.

²Marginal notes to letters and copies of letters held by the Department of Education and the Sydney Teachers' College.



HEREFORD HOUSE - 1911

estate agents, Hardie and Gorman had offered to the Department a large house, "Strathmore", built by John Macarthur. The house stood at the corner of Strathmore Street and Glebe Road, Glebe Point and was offered for sale for £4,500. The distance from the existing Training Schools and the cost of alterations had led to the offer being rejected, although a pencilled note suggested that a similar house near the University could be utilised as funds became available.¹

Apparently the idea, although rejected at the time, had germinated. In 1910 Hereford House on the corner of Glebe Road and Bridge Road, Glebe, was purchased for £4,675/0/0 for the training of Small School teachers. The house no longer stands and a park now occupies its site. Photographs show it to be as "commodious" as the Minister's Report was to describe it. It occupied 1 acre, 1 rood, 36 perches and alterations to make it suitable for training cost £901/15/6 . . . ² Its purchase and function were described by the Minister:

. . . the commodious residence known as "Hereford House", at Glebe Point, was

¹MS Memorandum, Chief Inspector to Under Secretary, 94/8946, 16th. February, 1894, uncatalogued.

²Carbon typescript from Architect to Director, 30th. December, 1910.

acquired towards the close of 1910 and fitted up as a College, to provide a six-months' course of training for candidates desiring appointment as teachers of small schools or as assistants in country schools.¹

The first session commenced on the 20th. February, 1911 and lasted until the 22nd. July. The next session commenced on 3rd. October and extended into April, 1912.² The "short course" of training lasted until 1918 when it was extended to twelve months. In 1937 it was again extended.

The training of teachers for isolated areas, although still not as adequate as might be desired was thus, by the end of the period under examination, put on some form of regular footing. As with the original Training School at Fort Street its beginnings, in the twentieth century, were modest and it was to take an unconscionable time to achieve what its more respectable relation had. But the needs of the Small School teacher were finally beginning to be recognised and the ideals of Parkes of seeing trained teachers in all schools were on their way to achievement.

As was noted above, the treatment of rural teachers was not something the Department could view with pride.

¹Minister's Report, 1911, 17.

²ibid.

Whatever strictures Professor Anderson could level at the pupil-teachers could be levelled three-fold at the Small School teacher before the opening of Hereford House in 1911. Teaching skill, where it existed, could have been gained only at the expense of the children while the gradual restricting of the avenues by which teachers recruited in this way could hope to attend any course of professional training made the educational lot of the pioneer a risky one.

Admittedly the contemporary situation did not put pressure upon the Department of Public Instruction to provide early training for such teachers and the predominantly urban community was more concerned with the training of teachers for the larger school. Furthermore, the Department itself seems to have regarded the acceptance of untrained teachers as a necessary but unpalatable and temporary remedy for a thorny problem. Limited by lack of sufficient finance during most of the period and driven by the provisions of the Public Instruction Act, it is difficult to see what else could have been done under the circumstances. And the protestations of the various Chief Inspectors that they were attempting to remove the untrained teacher from the system should probably be taken at their face value. It could be argued, however, that a different outlook

and a more determined attempt at recruitment and training could have produced something better for the isolated country teacher condemned in the main to remain at the one level by the sheer lack of opportunity for progression.

The training of teachers for Kindergarten classes in the Public Schools followed a somewhat similar pattern to that of the Small School Teacher. Early attempts were made to introduce special teaching for the lowest grades in the schools, but lack of finance and an inherent suspicion that Froebellian methods were essentially antipathetic to the real work of the school made their continuation and adoption somewhat sporadic. The development of Kindergartens and the slow-growing understanding of their underlying philosophy has been examined elsewhere,¹ so that this examination will be concerned mainly with the training offered to teachers by the Department of Public Instruction.

The work of overseas educationists in the field of teaching infants, not necessarily Kindergarten, was known to Wilkins. He noted the influence of Pestalozzi on his methods of teaching reading at Fort Street² and

¹Mary L. Walker, The Development of Kindergartens in Australia, Unpublished M.Ed. Thesis, 1964, held by the University of Sydney.

²B.N.E. Minute Book, 2nd. April, 1851.

the work of Fröbel, Stow and Wilderspin, although their methods would need modification for local use.¹ Wilkins also recorded his concern with the quality of the teaching of infants. Miss Walker has commented that this was not a Kindergarten in the true sense of the term, but rather a Babies' Class.² Here we are less concerned with the correct application of Kindergarten principles than with the recognition that infant children were not simply adults writ small, and that the problem loomed large enough in educators' minds that they should seek special methods for training the teachers.

Frederick Bridges claimed in 1904 to have established a Kindergarten of sorts at Mudgee in 1862, "I had a talk with the Mistress of the Infants School there and between us we evolved something to teach the children. They were taught on kindergarten lines . . ."³ However, by the time of the 1902 Conference he believed that sufficient provision was made for Kindergartens in New South Wales:

I have seen the Kindergarten schools at work under our Department and under the so called Free Kindergarten principle and I have come to the conclusion that as far as the outside schools are concerned there

¹V. & P. Leg. Ass., 1857, 510.

²op. cit., 120-121.

³Conference of Teachers . . . op. cit., 139.

is very little educational training done. The children go there to play and to amuse themselves and they are certainly not under discipline. The teachers of our own schools who get the children afterwards find them the most troublesome children to deal with.¹

Bridges was not antagonistic towards the Kindergarten method, but he and other Departmental officers wanted to see it fit into the approved methods of instruction. To its devotees the Kindergarten system, for so it should probably be called, demanded the fullest possible freedom for both child and teacher--a method which smacked of licence to those brought up under a more authoritative regime.

The Public Instruction Act of 1880 had specified that certain classes of schools be set up, but no mention was made of Kindergartens. In general, the official view was to regard the Kindergarten method as an introduction to the Infants school, to be adopted until a child was sufficiently old to begin a formal education. That this was not according to what the Kindergarteners believed need not detain us here.

In 1884 the Minister outlined current Departmental thinking on the place of Kindergartens in the New South Wales system of education. As the administrators saw it, the method was incorporated within the Infants

¹Conference of Inspectors and Departmental Officers, 1902, Sydney: Government Printer, 1902, 124-125.



KURRI KURRI PUBLIC SCHOOL - USING THE GIFTS

school:

For thirty years or more, the more important principles of the Kindergarten method of teaching have been incorporated with the Public School system of the Colony . . . With a view to its successful application in Infants' Schools, lessons on Common Things, on Number, and on Form and Colour are made easy and interesting by constant appeals to objects . . . Two attempts by the same teacher within the past two years to introduce the Kindergarten pure and simple have proved abortive. Not only did the public fail to support the movement, but the results of both efforts were, from an educational point of view, extremely poor. It would be well nigh impossible to incorporate the Kindergarten pure and simple with a State system of education, more especially with one of a compulsory character.¹

The immediate anxieties of the Minister are of interest. In words following these remarks he went on to state that parents would object since employment of the Kindergarten system would mean that children would take longer to reach the prescribed standard of education, hence would have to remain longer at school. The additional expense involved in setting up such a system would also be difficult to justify especially since the experiment just carried out by an apparently well-qualified teacher at Crown Street Public School had proved demonstrably unsuccessful.

The Minister also quoted one of Her Majesty's

¹Minister's Report, 1884, 27-28.

Inspectors to the effect that Kindergarten method meant that children were wasting, and worse knew that they were wasting, their time:

Children know very well that they come to school to. They want to do something of which they can see the purpose . . . The Kindergarten gives them nothing which seems like work--it does not train them to overcome difficulties.¹

The Report further comments that, "the principles of the Kindergarten are carefully explained and illustrated to the female students at Hurlstone". This was done by the Principal, Miss Caroline Mallett, who "is conversant with Kindergarten teaching,² and is temporarily assisted by a certified Kindergarten teacher, whose duty it is to apply the Kindergarten method in actual teaching".³

This is a significant statement in the light of the disillusionment expressed earlier in the same Report. As was to happen later, in the early twentieth century, the Department recognised that a need existed for a new approach to education and was prepared to continue with an experiment that showed promise even though it appeared that this approach would need modification

¹ibid., 29.

²Miss Mallett had been on the staff of Whitelands Training College.

³ibid.

before being generally adopted. This attitude led, in the first decade of the twentieth century, to students attending the Technical College for instruction in Science and going to the Hawkesbury Agricultural College for work in Agriculture. Slight though it might appear by present-day standards, progress was being made.

The Principal of the Hurlstone Training School in the same year, 1885, noted that a special Kindergarten class had been established at the Practising School, "but the essential principles of the method have been established in our leading Public Schools for years past".¹ This interest in aspects of Kindergarten was indeed no new thing. In September, 1884 the Principal had written to the Chief Inspector informing him that Miss Jessie Green, Miller Street, St. Leonards, had offered to give "a series of lessons on Geometry according to the Kindergarten method".² Miss Green's testimonials, which were included in the letter, showed her to be well qualified. Testimonials were included from the examiner of the London Fröbel Society and from the former Principal of Stockwell Kindergarten College where she had spent three months in 1879.

The Chief Inspector agreed that Miss Green should

¹ibid., 235.

²MS letter, 3rd. September, 1884, uncatalogued.

"give a quarter's lessons (12) in the Practising School before the students in training and be paid £30 for such service".¹ The Under Secretary added a note to this to the effect that, "I approve of this being done, as a means of shewing the method to the students and its partial adoption can be considered hereafter." That the lessons were given is testified to by the account Miss Green rendered at the end of January.² The £30 paid Miss Green for twelve lessons seems somewhat generous by then current standards. In 1908 for example, Miss Newcomb was appointed to give twenty lectures, each of two hours, for approximately the same fee.³

In 1887 the "teacher of Kindergarten" at the Hurlstone Practising School, Miss Emma Weaver, resigned to be married. She was not replaced for a number of reasons. The method was felt to be also of value to males who would be taking charge of schools in the country and Hurlstone was an inconvenient place to attend for demonstration lessons. Also it was easier for a teacher to travel than for groups of students to

¹Appended note to above by Chief Inspector, 17th. September, 1884.

²Marginal note by Under Secretary, 22nd. September, 1884.

³vide infra.

do so and any teacher newly appointed could travel to both institutions.¹ Until then a class of children had been taught at the Practising School for up to six and one half hours a week. More time than previously was allocated so that the students could learn to use the new materials. The students attended twice a week to observe demonstration lessons and to give "criticism" lessons. A fortnight's practice teaching was done under guidance at the school by each student. The Minister noted in the Report for 1886 that:

As regards the introduction of Kindergarten work into the Public Elementary Schools, there is nothing of principle in the system that cannot be made to harmonize with our school methods in use.²

The following year Chief Inspector Maynard recommended the appointment of Miss E. Banks, teacher since 1886 at the Kindergarten School, Riley Street, to lecture to students at Fort Street and at Hurlstone. This was agreed to and Miss Banks undertook lecturing and demonstration duties at both places.³

Miss Everitt, Principal at Hurlstone, felt that more attention should be devoted to the Hurlstone

¹MS letter to Chief Inspector, 11th. March, 1887.

²op. cit., 22.

³MS Memorandum from Chief Inspector, 87/10,463, 13th. June, 1887.

students than to the men at Fort Street,¹ but this was disregarded and Miss Banks continued to lecture at Hurlstone only on Saturday mornings. In 1889 Miss Banks was appointed to the Model School at Fort Street and, after 1891 all demonstrations and practice teaching were done there.²

General Departmental policy, then, was to regard the Kindergarten system as a method, albeit a valuable method, to be incorporated within the Infants School. It was not to be regarded as something separate and beyond the accepted concept of the Public School. This attitude, despite a certain liberalising possibly due to the formation of outside training bodies, was to remain until the end of the period.

The Australian Teachers' Association, following a paper read by Mrs. C.M. David, formerly Miss Mallett, entitled "Practical Suggestions for the Present Training of Teachers"³ set up a Board of Management of ten members, including Professor Scott, H.E. Barff and an Inspector of Schools.⁴ The intention was to appoint lecturers and examiners and to issue Diplomas for Kindergarten,

¹Minister's Report, 1888, 149.

²ibid., 1892, 40.

³The Australian Teacher, No. 7, May, 1894, 2-4.

⁴ibid., No. 8, September, 1894.

Primary, Lower Secondary and Higher Secondary Teachers. Lectures were to be given in the Science of Education and the Art of teaching and students were to spend at least three months in a school approved by the Board observing and teaching. At the end of the course examinations were set and the standard of teaching observed.¹ After 1904 this work of training was taken over by the Kindergarten Training College, the work of which has been fully described elsewhere.²

Departmentally the feeling was still that Kindergartens should be integrated within the Infants School, although the Education Commissioners' experience overseas led them to recommend otherwise. G.H. Knibbs in a discussion of "The Curriculum in New South Wales Schools" noted:

The introduction of kindergarten is important . . . that in the public schools belongs rather to the transition from kindergarten to the primary school. It is good as far as it goes, but it is not proper kindergarten, . . . Further, there are not a sufficient number of teachers who have studied kindergarten thoroughly, and have command of the psychology of the subject.³

At the April Conference called to discuss the Report of the Commissioners, Frederick Bridges moved "That this

¹ibid.

²Mary L. Walker, op. cit.

³Interim Report, op. cit., Chap. IV, 24.

Conference strongly recommends the immediate establishment of a Kindergarten College for the training of teachers."¹ However, he left little doubt that Kindergarten training would only be a means to fit teachers so that they could use the method more effectively within the already established framework. The motions passed reflected his thinking:

1. That a Kindergarten Training College be established as soon as practicable.
2. That as soon as there are sufficient trained teachers of Kindergarten, the subject should be taught in all infant schools with a first class where female assistants are employed.
3. That until the Kindergarten Training College is established students in Hurlstone Training School should be regularly instructed in the subject, theory and practice.²

Although such a Training College failed to achieve an independent existence efforts were made by the Department to ensure that the best instruction available was given to its students. The limits had been defined, Kindergarten was not to exist separately from the existing system of Primary education, but within those limits students would be as competently taught as possible. Students interested in the method were permitted to

¹April, 1904 Conference, op. cit., 139.

²ibid., 141.

spend the second year of their training studying the subject.

A letter from Mackie to Peter Board in 1907 noted that there were 25 students in Second Year proceeding to their Kindergarten and Infant School Certificates and that they were regularly attending at Blackfriars, Fort Street, Riley Street, Australia Street, and Sussex Street for practice. Mackie requested the appointment of a "Lady", either Miss Newcomb or Miss Arnold, to give sixty lectures in the Theory and History of Kindergarten and Infant Education during 1908.¹

This was acceded to, although not on the scale that Mackie had desired. A letter to the Director in the following year acknowledged that Miss H.C. Newcomb, The New School and Kindergarten, Shirley, Edgecliff Road, Sydney, had been appointed to give twenty lectures, each of two hours, on Kindergarten Principles. Miss Newcomb was to be paid thirty guineas for the course.² These lectures were continued for some years by Miss Arnold after Miss Newcomb's return to England.

The increasing attention being paid to Kindergarten training led to students who had volunteered to complete

¹Typescript, Alexander Mackie to Director, 07/74511, 29th. November, 1907.

²MS 08/24086, 14th. April, 1908.

the course at the Training College receiving intensive training. Thus Mackie wrote to the Director requesting additional remuneration for some Kindergarten teachers for their services in training students. In the course of the letter Mackie mentioned that students attended the schools every day, especially Fort Street, Riley Street, Australia Street and Kegworth. The request was declined.¹

In 1910 Mackie commenced the first of his Extension courses for Kindergarten and Sub-Primary teachers. The course was limited to twenty and met three times a week for two hours a night for thirty weeks. Lectures were given by members of the College staff and also by Headmistresses from the Practising Schools. Fees were paid by those attending.² Mr. K. Matthews, sometime Registrar of the Sydney Teachers' College, had worked with Mackie as a young man. He stated:

For a few years Professor Mackie organised, without P.S.B. [Public Service Board] approval, evening refresher courses in a number of subjects. They were advertised in the Education Gazette, and at this stage, I would think they began in Peter Board's time.

The scheme was self-financing.

¹MS 08/43072, 17th. July, 1908.

²Typescript memorandum signed by Mackie, 8th. June, 1910.

Teachers attending paid a fee of about 15/- or 30/- or so. The money went into the College Fund (what is now Public Moneys a/c) and Professor Mackie paid from it the remuneration of the lecturers . . .

S.H. Smith is said to have killed the scheme. When running, the courses covered a number of subjects, but Professor Mackie was especially interested in Kindergarten. Apparently they were sufficiently well attended to make financial ends meet.¹

The Kindergarten Teachers were better treated Departmentally than were the rural teachers. Although the scheme was regarded with some suspicion, the only real opposition was to the degree of its implementation in the Public Schools. Departmental thinking restricted it to a place amidst Infant School methods. Enthusiasts believed that the principle had more to offer. Possibly the degree of public involvement and the possible rivalry by an outside body stirred the Departmental conscience, but by 1910 a reasonably adequate system of training in Kindergarten methods, for Infant teachers had been instituted.

¹MS Reminiscences, K. Matthews, 16th. September, 1955.

CHAPTER VIIIHARBINGERS OF CHANGE

The beginning of the new century provides a convenient, if somewhat tenuous, watershed to divide the old from the new. It is convenient because the speech of Professor Anderson at the Annual Conference of the Public School Teachers of New South Wales was given in June, 1901 and there is little doubt that there was a causal connection between the public response to this speech and the events which led to an almost immediate reform. It is tenuous because public and political opinion had been subject to a stream of similar criticism during the past decade which must have had some cumulative effect. Furthermore, without the changing economic and social outlook, the initial opposition of the legislators could have been more prolonged and effective.

This is not to disparage the effect Anderson created nor to depreciate the significance of his work. It is to suggest that Anderson's speech was the final cause, though not necessarily the sufficient cause, leading to change. He was, to change the metaphor,

the catalyst that hastened the reaction; the agents and reagents were already present. C.B. Newling, paraphrasing a later article by Anderson, noted that the State's educational system at the beginning of the century was "dominated by a group of men who were proponents of a past pedagogic creed . . . authoritarian administrators who had successfully applied the famous Parkes' Act".¹ Against these men the struggle had to be waged if the necessary changes were to be made. Teachers were bound by harshly policed Regulations not to publicly enter a fray that was of such vital concern to them. If the first breach was to be made in this wall of reaction it would have to come from outside. Francis Anderson, Professor of Logic and Mental Philosophy in the University of Sydney, was the prestigious outsider who was able to make just such a breach.

To the historian of the period the Report of Knibbs and Turner and the Conference of April, 1904 are also equally significant documents. The Report of the Commissioners commented fairly objectively, for the first time, on the condition of education within the State and attempted to compare what existed with

¹C.B. Newling, "The Coming of a New Dispensation in New South Wales, 1901-1951," Journal of Inspectors of Schools of Australia and New Zealand, XV, 1, December, 1951, 4.

what they had gathered at first hand of conditions elsewhere. The April, 1904 Conference provided teachers, again for the first time, with a forum from which to air their views. Under the urging of the Minister these were frequently put with such vigour as to upset the authoritarian, but ailing Frederick Bridges. The three Conferences held between 1902 and the end of 1904 indicate the change that could take place in the thinking of the protagonists as facts were aired and conclusions sought. First Turner and then Board changed their views as the Conferences progressed and the type and nature of education in New South Wales was also changed.

Anderson attacked what he saw as the smugness and complacency of an administration that believed that the educational system of New South Wales was "the best in the world".¹ His major shafts were reserved for the system of training teachers, both in the Training Schools and as pupil-teachers:

If New South Wales is to be judged by what she does, or even attempts to do, in the training of teachers, she must be content to take a place very far back in the congress of nations. We have in this state no systematic training of

¹New South Wales Parliamentary Debates, 1902 Session, First Series, VII, 2902.

teachers which deserves the name.¹

His attack upon the pupil-teacher system of training used the conventional arguments--the arduous nature of the apprenticeship, the faulty and sporadic instruction they received and the large classes they were set to teach. The main inadequacy was lack of training:

Throughout their apprenticeship, pupil-teachers have really no systematic training in their business . . . A smart pupil-teacher with a little help will no doubt pick up his trade and the tricks of his trade--the bad tricks as well as the good tricks. He will teach as he has been taught. At the end of four years, if he has passed the inadequate tests prescribed for him during that time by the regulations, he is declared qualified to enter the Training College.²

This privilege was not open to all, of course, and many more were turned away than were admitted. Even where the pupil-teacher was admitted to the Training Schools he was not getting all that he should have been entitled to:

Our local colleges, however, in spite of the ability of the existing staff, are not equal in range of study or equipment to a second-rate training college in England.³

¹F. Anderson, The Public School System of New South Wales, Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1901, 22.

²ibid., 24.

³ibid.

Anderson pleaded for a more liberal policy towards the University training of teachers and the close physical connection of a Teachers' College and the University. Such a College should be a "working body of men and women, not an expensive boarding house". To anticipated opposition he proposed that:

Some may object that our teachers do not require to be so highly educated or that we give them an education above their positions, and so tempt them to leave it. These are discreditable objections . . . They are relics of a time when anyone was thought good enough to be a teacher. If he were not altogether blind, lame, or impotent, his ignorance mattered little . . . in the preparation of our teachers we still . . . trust to things muddling out alright in the end.¹

The climax of the speech lay in his plea for adequately trained teachers:

The indispensable preliminary to any effective change in our national system of education is to teach the teachers. We have been content to stereotype the faults of past generations, with the result too often that the product of the system have been men who forget nothing and learn nothing.²

Rhetorical though it sounds to modern ears it was inspired polemic and still ranks with the better political pamphlets in its wide ranging effects on the State

¹ ibid., 27.

² ibid., 25.

at large. If there was little that was new, so much the better. Here was no prophet speaking a strange tongue, but rather, as Alexander Pope put it, "What oft was thought, But ne'er so well exprest." The superb timing and the intense interest stirred up by the newspaper reports only added to the effect.

Before noting in detail the results stemming from Anderson's speech it is apposite to mention a speech given in the following year by Miss Margaret Hodge on "The Professional Training of Teachers". Her words anticipate the position taken by Bridges and others who shared his training and beliefs. She mentioned the superior German teachers and:

. . . the profound contempt they feel for mere empiricists, who stumble on complacently, delighting in their discoveries in the art of teaching; discoveries which only appear as new to them because of their own ignorance and overlooking their defects because they have no standard with which to compare themselves.¹

Of the untrained Australian teacher she commented:

The untrained teacher has, as a rule, an excellent opinion of his powers; he has never been taught self-criticism, and he has to consort persistently with his intellectual

¹M. Hodge, "The Professional Training of Teachers," Section J, Proceedings of the Australian Association for the Advancement of Science, Report 9, 1902, 780.

inferiors, whose attitude to him tends only to foster his own self-complacency . . . To assert the need for training to one who has dispensed with it with admirable results in his own estimation, is to provoke a long and hopeless discussion, and to leave the untrained teacher as convinced as ever of the curiously perverted version of the old adage about the poets, "The teacher is born, not made."¹

The newspapers took up the case presented by Anderson with unanimous attacks upon the government and upon the Department of Public Instruction. It has been noted previously that the mass-circulation newspaper was "the most important cultural innovation of the period",² and it is ironical to think that the administrators who had done so much since the passing of the Public Instruction Act to achieve universal literacy should be suffering the attacks of those organs whose success they had made possible.

A public meeting was called by the Leader of the Opposition and former Minister of Public Instruction, Carruthers, for November 13 in the Town Hall.³ From this meeting a deputation, which included Professor Anderson and the future Commissioner, G.H. Knibbs,

¹ibid., 782.

²T.L. Suttor, op. cit., 6.

³S.M.H., 5th. November, 1901. The Daily Telegraph, 14th. November, 1901, carried an account of it as a sub-leader entitled "An Educational Revival".

waited upon the Premier and upon the Minister. Although the Minister had previously talked of sending a young Headmaster or Inspector overseas for investigatory purposes, and of forming a Royal Commission, it was eventually decided to call a Conference of Inspectors and Departmental Officers and to send overseas two competent Commissioners.

The 1902 Conference, composed of Inspectors and Administrators, was, not unexpectedly, behind Bridges and to some extent antipathetical towards Anderson's proposals. Although the Conference was called to discuss the teaching profession as a whole, much of the time was concerned with teacher training. The Minister of Public Instruction, Mr. J. Perry, emerges from the three Conferences that he chaired with enhanced prestige. Originally against the idea that anything could be wrong with education in New South Wales¹ he appears to have become anxious for the truth to emerge at any cost and his balanced and sympathetic handling of the Conferences helped to offset the dictatorial methods of Bridges who would have stifled unfavourable comment.

After noting the existence of criticism the Minister referred to the importance of training:

¹S.M.H., 11th. December, 1901.

The training of teachers is, without doubt, the most important responsibility devolving upon the Department. I realise that our present system has succeeded in producing many admirable teachers whose work today is recognised from one end of the country to the other . . . We all learn by experience, but the man whom we can least permit to gain his experience while working is the teacher . . . The training of teachers is supposed to obviate, as far as possible, this loss to the children; and we should, therefore, commence early and continue the period of training for a sufficient time, in order to send our teachers properly equipped to their work . . . I am anxious to extend and improve, as far as possible, the conditions of our training colleges . . . ¹

He went on to mention the position of the University:

. . . there should be some deep and sympathetic connection between the University and the Public School . . . I do not wish to see the University to take sole control of training colleges; but . . . I do not wish our training colleges to lose the benefit of that higher form of education . . . ²

The soon-to-be Commissioner, J.W. Turner, Principal of the Fort Street Training School strongly supported the pupil-teacher system in a speech that he was later to recant equally as strongly. He remarked on the attacks recently made on the system, but felt "that our system of pupil-teachers is one of the greatest factors

¹1902 Conference, 14.

²*ibid.*, 15. Minister's Report, 1902, 77, noted students were attending the University from the Training Schools and receiving free tuition and texts.

for good in our educational work . . . ".¹ In this he was supported by all Departmental speakers who took the tone that Cooper, Superintendent of Technical Education, did, "It has done so much good that we hesitate to touch the system lest we be supposed to belong to the enemies' camp."²

The Acting-Under Secretary, Bridges, emerged as the major force for reaction, although none wished to abolish the pupil-teacher system. He agreed that too much was expected of pupil-teachers and agreed further with the proposal to reduce the period of pupilage to three years. To Cooper who proposed restarting Saturday morning classes he snapped, "They were a waste of time".³

Although the Minister had advocated improving relations with the University, the meeting was not unqualifiedly in favour of this. Peter Board, after noting the dual functions of the Training College--instruction and training--felt that either the instruction could be passed over to the University or, since, "The Arts examination is passed on such a minimum of work that to my mind, it is robbed of a

¹op. cit., 20.

²ibid., 23.

³ibid., 28.

great deal of its value",¹ the Department should arrange for First Year students taught at the College to be examined by the University. This was duly supported. However, the Conference did urge that a residential Training College be erected within the University along the lines of that proposed in 1890.²

Despite the debate in the Press, the Conference recommended few changes of a major nature. It was recommended, inter alia:

That the existing pupil-teachers' system, with modifications, should be continued.

That no successful pupil-teacher be appointed until sixteen years of age, and that before appointment he spend six months at a District Model School for instruction in content and the art of teaching.

That the course of training be reduced from four years to three years.

For Training College it was recommended that the superintendence of Fort Street Training College be placed under one officer, with no other duties, that students be admitted to the University, the time spent there after First Year depending upon the quality of their passes.

It was obvious that the forces of reaction were

¹ibid., 40.

²ibid., 88-89.

by no means routed. It looked as though Departmental complacency and inertia would hold the field. Such a belief could only be reinforced when the names of the Educational Commissioners, J.W. Turner and G.H. Knibbs, were announced. Turner had come out strongly on the side of the pupil-teacher system and it was felt that little change could be expected.

The Commissioners were appointed by Executive Council Minute on the 10th. April, 1902 and they left Sydney the same month. They returned in February, 1903. The Minister's Report for 1902 notes that £1,000 was set aside for the Commissioners,¹ and a further £75 was claimed in 1903. A copy of their voluminous report was placed in the hands of every teacher in the State and in 1904 two Conferences were called to discuss the recommendations made by the Commissioners.

Before the more extensive and better documented Report of the Commissioners was ready Bridges sent to all teachers a copy of the Report² made by Peter Board as a result of a private trip overseas. In it Board had obviously changed much of his thinking as a result of what he had seen. Regarding the training of teachers he felt that:

¹op. cit., 20.

²P. Board, Primary Education, Sydney: Government Printer, 1903.

. . . the properly qualified teacher must undergo two distinct processes: he must be educated, and he must be trained. Of these two, the candidate's education is fundamental, for on that his practical professional training must rest. It is in that fundamental requisite that our present scheme is defective; our pupil-teachers as a whole are not sufficiently educated for their profession.¹

He had come to the conclusion before the Conference of 1902 that to start children teaching too early in life was wrong and had urged the raising of the minimum age for pupil-teachers:

Those who begin to teach at 14 years of age, and have become skilled and cultured teachers, have become so in spite of their early apprenticeship, not because of it.²

Board then proceeded to set down his recommendations for the employment of pupil-teachers. His thinking was beginning to emerge from the enveloping chrysalis of his early training, but he had not yet begun to see beyond the bounds of the pupil-teacher system. As a realist he recognised that the State had to move slowly. He did not immediately see how readily the pupil-teacher system could be phased out once the decision had been taken. His recommendations anticipate, as he did at the Conference, the system of probationary

¹ibid., 10.

²loc. cit.

students that was to be introduced in 1906:

1. Pupil-teachers to be not less than 16 years of age in the case of boys, and 17 in the case of girls, at the time of their appointment.
2. The term of pupil-teachership to be two years.
3. Admission to be by competitive examination on a standard representing two years of secondary education beyond the termination of the primary course; test to include aptitude for teaching.
4. The two years of pupil-teachership to be primarily devoted to the acquirement of a knowledge of the fundamental principles of teaching and of skill in class management.
5. The studies of these two years to be supplementary to the pupil-teachers' preliminary studies, and in extent not to exceed that required for one year of a secondary course--i.e., the third year beyond the primary course. No examination till end of course.
6. At the conclusion of a two years' course, pupil-teacher to be admitted to Training College on passing the Entrance Examination, an option being allowed, under strict conditions as to future promotion, of appointment to a small school or as an assistant.

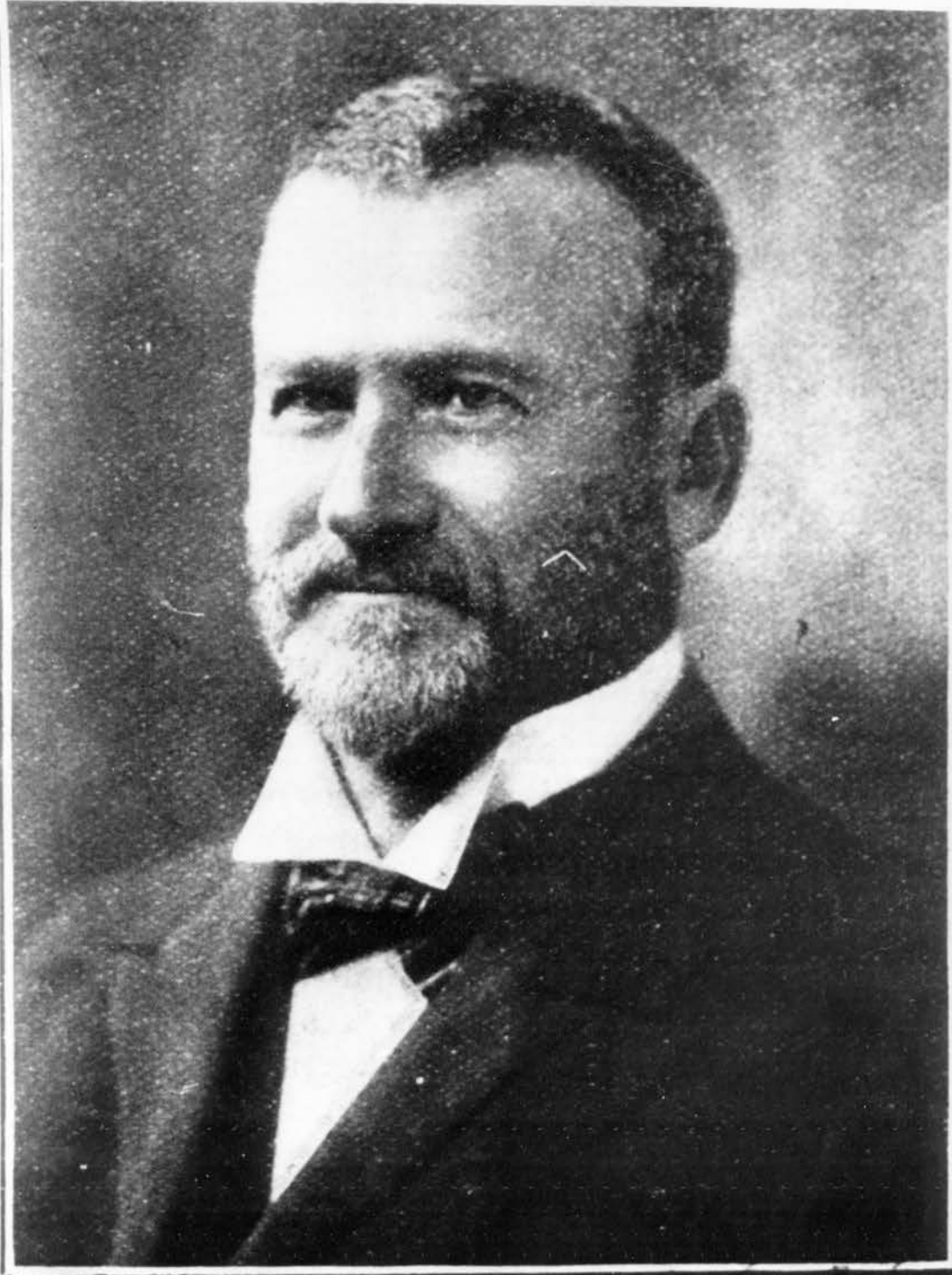
One of the purposes of this scheme is to secure as pupil teachers boys and girls whose education has passed two years beyond the primary standard in a secondary school, not the boy or girl who has been simply coached up for the Entrance Examination anywhere. The latter will come in under any circumstances to some extent, but the object

should be to restrict them as far as possible; hence, facilities for the attendance of intending candidates at secondary schools are necessary, as in the following outline relating to scholarships for intending pupil teachers:-

1. In order that bona fide intending pupil-teachers may lay a foundation of a sound general education before beginning service as pupil-teachers, scholarships to be made available for boys and girls of not less than 14 years of age, tenable for a period of not less than two years at a secondary school, or at a Superior Public School which has been organised with secondary classes. Examination for scholarships to be such as will guarantee that the primary course has been fully and satisfactorily completed.
2. In this secondary course of studies under these scholarships, intending candidates not to be treated separately or differently from all other pupils of the school going through the same courses with other future occupations in view. No specialising to be introduced.¹

By comparison with Peter Board's Report, the Report of the Commissioners was voluminous and admirably documented. They seem to have received extensive co-operation overseas and, at all stages, their findings added up to an indictment of the system of training then pursued in New South Wales. At later dates Bridges, with the support of many influential members of the

¹ibid., 11.



Mr. G. W. Turner.

J. W. TURNER, 1904.

service and the Teachers' Association, launched a series of rear-guard actions that threatened to delay or even abrogate the main recommendations of the Commissioners' Report. However, Bridges' powers were failing and the illness which was to lead to his death reduced much of the effectiveness of his opposition.

The Report of the Commissioners was not concerned solely with the training of teachers, although this is the aspect that will be noted here. Commissioner Turner's complete conversion is one of the more remarkable features of the period. From having been a supporter of the pupil-teacher system although desirous of modifications, he swung solidly against the system, especially as practised in New South Wales. His preparatory statement to G.H. Knibbs' Chapter on the training of Primary teachers makes this plain:

Although he left Sydney with an open mind to a certain extent on the Pupil-teacher System, he had already formed very definite opinions, and had not only formed them, but given very clear expression to them. When, therefore, he recants his previous view on the question, he can only be considered as one who has earnestly sought for the truth, and having found it, has adopted it regardless of any other consideration.¹

Turner's defection combined with the logic and the overwhelming evidence supplied by the Commissioners hit

¹Interim Report . . . , op. cit., 266.

Bridges hard¹ and must have helped many Inspectors and teachers to crystallise their views against the pupil-teacher system.

Knibbs saw the maintenance of the pupil-teacher system as inimical to the production of adequately trained teachers:

The most serious defect in the educational system of New South Wales is the employment, as teachers, of young people of immature education, . . . utterly without experience in teaching, and therefore without professional knowledge of its scope and significance
 . . . ²

His campaign against the pupil-teacher system attacked and overcame the very points at which its defenders believed it to be most impregnable. Thus Knibbs pointed out that the pupil-teacher:

Receives initially a very ordinary primary education.

Enters on teaching work without any special education and training.

Commences teaching at the age of 14 or 15.

Is not prepared by systematic study of theory, history, and psychology of education, and educational methodology.

Is immature physically, mentally, and morally.

¹MS marginal comment by Bridges on Memorandum to Minister, 07/329, 17th. January, 1904.

²op. cit., 16.



Mr. G. H. Knibbs, F.R.A.S.

The pupil-teacher has not a prepared mind, and has no adequate conception of the nature and responsibility of his task.

Is in general a poor disciplinarian, and has made no systematic study of the theory of discipline.

Cannot appreciate the physical, psychical, hygienic, and other conditions of school life and school education.

Is generally incapable of inspiring children with high ideals.

Starts with the idea that teaching is communicating information in subjects of instruction.¹

The result of this type of system, he believed, could lead only to deterioration in both teachers and taught:

The very fact of permitting mere children to teach implies, on the face of it, what would in Europe be regarded as an extraordinarily low estimate of what constitutes a normal qualification to teach.²

But Knibbs was no impractical dreamer. Children had to be taught and they deserved the best teachers that the State could provide. His complaint was not with training as such, but with the method of training and with what it achieved. Teaching was "an art depending upon a science", so that teachers would still have to learn part of their craft in the actual classroom and this would have actual practical benefits,

¹ ibid., 17.

² ibid.

but, important as this factor was, "it is undoubtedly subordinate to the higher part . . . ".¹

As far as actual training went Knibbs and Turner both had undoubted blind spots. Both were uncertain as to whether a University training would have sufficient benefits for the Primary teacher for it to be worth the Department's while to arrange for these prospective teachers to attend the University as part of their initial training. Certainly, Knibbs pointed out, it was no substitute for the special training that only the Training Schools could give. The University's special virtues lay partly in the advanced training in Science that could be given there, partly in the widening nature of the contacts that students would make and partly in the broadening of the individual's own outlook from the stimulus of intelligent minds in other fields. However, "a university education . . . is not a proper substitute for special education definitely aiming at the professional qualification of the teacher for his work."²

The training Schools also came in for a share of the Commissioners' disapprobation. The curriculum of such an institution, they felt, should be wide and

¹ibid.

²ibid.

varied, with some opportunity for students to study a few subjects in depth. The teaching staff should be men of the highest qualifications, not necessarily drawn from the teaching service of the State since this would lead to a certain inbreeding and a sterility of approach. The Head of such an institution would exert a considerable influence so no pains should be spared to choose the right man. In a passage that anticipated the actual choice of the first Principal of the Sydney Training College, Knibbs suggested such a man. He:

. . . should be liberally cultured and possess savoir faire so as to help form the disposition of the teachers during their professional education . . . As his personality must react on the teachers, so must the teachers react upon the rising generations of the State in order to reach the results desired.¹

In Chapter XXVIII Knibbs developed at greater length the proposals for reform that he had earlier foreshadowed. The attitude that the pupil-teacher system was of sufficient value to be retained despite its manifest and demonstrable imperfections he attacked vigorously:

The pupil-teacher system may be summed up as practically antagonistic to

¹ibid., 39.

the doctrine that education from the lowest grade to the highest demands, and is worthy of, high effort, great culture, and earnest preparation, stimulated by all that can come from a deep appreciation of what has been contributed by the great educationists of history . . . ¹

The Training Schools as were then constituted also came under fire for not providing the education and background that would meet the needs of candidate teachers. The defects of the Training Schools were summarised as:

- (a) The previous education of the teacher is insufficient.
- (b) The course is altogether too short.
- (c) It omits subjects of the very highest importance.
- (d) It pays insufficient attention to instruction in science.
- (e) Its teaching is not sufficiently specialised.
- (f) Its methodology is empirical, not psychological.
- (g) Its practising schools are imperfectly equipped.
- (h) Its teaching in certain subjects is not sufficiently in touch with modern development.²

To do it justice the Report should be quoted in full. Despite the short time the Commissioners were away and the even briefer time that was allowed them to complete and present the Report--general causes of its occasional imperfections and lapses--it presented to the teachers and the administrators a wealth of

¹ibid., 272.

²ibid., 369.

information, not only on systems overseas, but on the New South Wales system itself. As Mr. W. Hamilton, Assistant Chief Inspector of Schools in Victoria was to state at the April, 1904 Conference, "We are all their debtors, not only New South Wales, but also the other States."¹

In January, 1904, following the printing of the Interim Report, a conference of Inspectors, teachers and Departmental officers was called and presided over by the Minister. In his opening remarks he noted the Department's willingness to change its system provided that it could be shown that the change would actually be better than what was being supplanted. He made no mention of abolishing the pupil-teacher system, nor of extending the system characterised as "previous training". The New South Wales system of education, as he saw it:

. . . aims primarily to impart a sound elementary education to all children, next to carry as many as possible into the higher realms of education, and finally to place scientific and University instruction within the reach of any scholar . . . who displays native talent . . . ²

¹Conference of Inspectors, Teachers . . . April, 1904, op. cit., 63.

²Conference of Inspectors, Teachers and Departmental Officers, 14th. January, 1904, 5.



FREDEBICK BRIDGES

Withal, however, the Minister felt that the Department was proceeding at a reasonable rate already to bring about most of the changes recommended by the Commissioners:

. . . it may be said that many of the improvements and developments, steadily, unostentatiously, and yet effectively carried out, have, in numerous instances, anticipated the recommendations submitted by Messrs. Knibbs and Turner.¹

Turner and then Knibbs spoke to various sections of their Report. The Acting Under Secretary, Frederick Bridges, however, felt that the Department had received more than its share of blame:

The Department of Public Instruction has been treated very badly. We have not neglected the training of teachers. Thirteen years ago we drew up a scheme of a Training College . . . but the Public Works Committee squelched it in one act. . . . When we cannot get what we want, we do the best we can.²

In itself this was a fair and balanced statement. What Bridges was disingenuously avoiding was a reference, at this stage, to the retention of the pupil-teacher system which the Department had vigorously fought to keep.

Inspector of Schools, Peter Board, suggested caution when reading the recommendations contained in

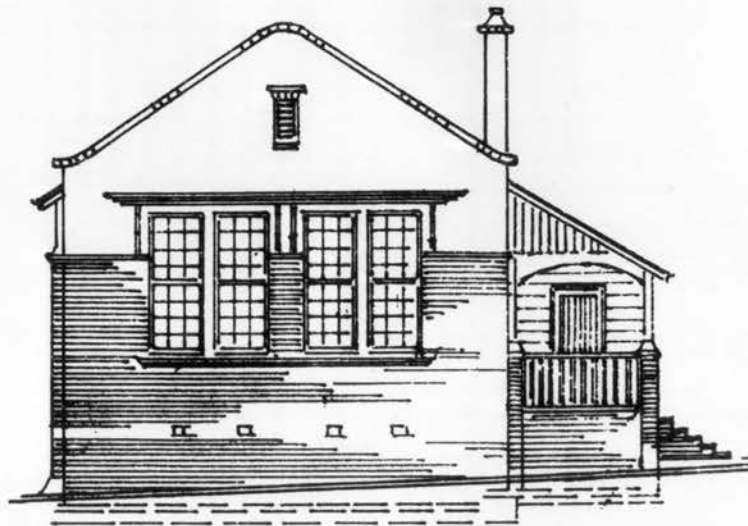
¹ibid., 5.

²ibid., 15.

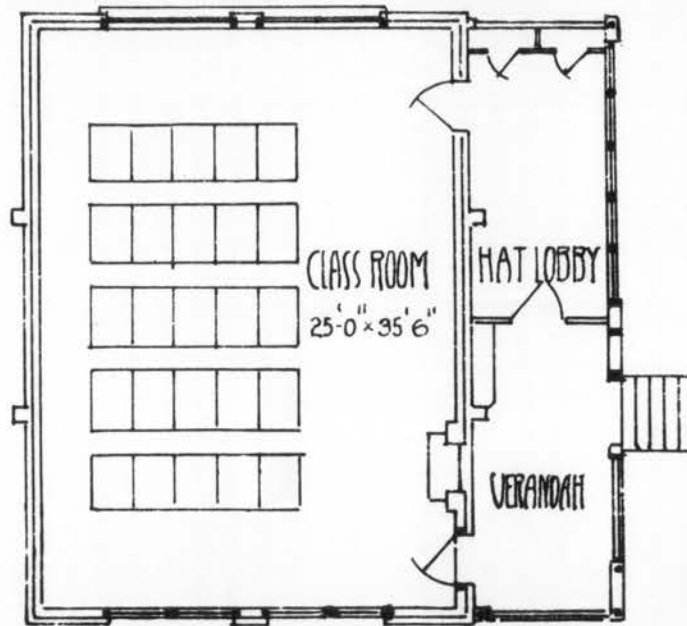
the Report of the Commissioners. In terms of money available he felt that a scheme should be drawn up as regarded teacher training that made realistic and specific recommendations to achieve measurable ends. He believed that, "The Commissioners are perfectly right in putting our system of training teachers at the very foundation of the fabric."¹ Board's lengthy speech showed that he had decided, at this time, not to support the Commissioners unequivocally, even in their remarks on the training of teachers. Most of the other speakers supported the retention of the pupil-teacher system, although not without extensive modification.

As most teachers and Departmental officers had not had sufficient opportunity to study the Report the meeting was adjourned and recalled in April. By this time Bridges recognised that battle would have to be joined with the innovators and had regrouped his forces. The old guard did not yet realise that they were being faced by Young Turks whose reliance upon logic and whose reading of current public opinion was unassailable. McCredie, appointed Acting Chief Inspector, stated adamantly in 1903:

¹ibid., 16.



FRONT ELEVATION



PLAN

LONG BAY PUBLIC SCHOOL: Plan and Elevation of a One-teacher School, equipped as an "Observation School" for training Students and Candidates for small country schools.

Much has been said of late in disparagement of the pupil-teacher system, but, notwithstanding the adverse views of others in regard to it, I am of the opinion that, with some important qualifications, no better system for the training and making of teachers worthy of the name is likely to be introduced to supersede it.¹

Knibbs commenced the April Conference by again levelling an attack against the pupil-teacher system. A new argument he introduced was that Headmasters and Assistants who were involved in the training of pupil-teachers were themselves suffering owing to the reduced time thus available to them for reading and professional growth. He requested that the pupil-teacher system be replaced by a system of "previous-training" as soon as practicable.

Predictably, Bridges swung immediately into the fray:

Professor Knibbs has condemned our pupil-teacher system and everybody who supports it with no unsparing hand . . . a more unfair Report was never published to the world . . . gross misrepresentation of the facts as regards New South Wales.²

Bridges noted that he had indeed supported the pupil-teacher system, although he had always advocated changes where necessary:

¹Minister's Report, 1903, 80.

²op. cit., 33.

I think the training should take at least two years, after which I would send them to such an institution as the Hawkesbury College . . . and then they should have twelve months in certain practical classes. I should establish a Normal School to give them a two years' course . . . but all this would mean money . . . the pruning knife is used so freely that we seldom get what we want . . .

While we do not believe that the pupil-teacher system is perfect, we will do our best to make it as perfect as possible. Ideals are always aimed at and not always hit . . . Until we can drop the pupil-teacher system for a better system we should keep it . . .¹

To these statements Professor Anderson replied with unerring logic that such modifications that had been proposed were merely patching a vehicle whose raison d'être had disappeared and was no longer efficient nor economical in any thing but money terms. Sensing the change he stated:

. . . the time of your conversion is coming, and I advise you to get into the spiritual state of mind needed for receiving it, for it is coming in a year or two.²

On Wednesday, 6th. April Peter Board as first speaker dramatically placed himself on the side of change, "I am at one with the two Commissioners in their advocacy of a previous training system." He

¹ibid., 35-37.

²ibid., 39.

felt that without some system of previous training:

We may get the work tolerably done, but we cannot get it well done. The question is whether we should put up with what is tolerable and cheap rather than seek for what is good and a little dearer.¹

Although the battle was by no means over, the war had, in effect, been won. Peter Board had established himself as the practical man who could yet look beyond demands of the moment. Board's change appeared sudden, yet it was a logical conclusion to the line of thought he had been following since his overseas experience. He had taken pains to state that his support of the Commissioners was not without qualifications, and these reservations were of a practical nature.

A further major point that emerged was also to reach fruition within a short time. Speaking to Question No. 17, Professor Anderson stated his belief that a Professor of Education should be appointed who was able to combine the theory and the practice of education. Ideally such a man should be Professor of Education, Principal of the Training College and "Dean of the Faculty of Education within the University".

Among the resolutions carried by the Conference were those calling for:

¹ibid., 47.

The gradual termination of the pupil-teacher system and the introduction of a system of previous training.

The introduction of a Chair of Pedagogy at the University of Sydney.

The provision of a Training School and an attached Practising School.

The provision for potential Small School teachers of District Schools at which they could receive training.

The Conference also asked that the Minister nominate a Committee "to draft . . . a scheme for the admission and partial previous-training of pupil-teachers, and for remodelling the conditions under which pupil-teachers are employed . . . ".¹

This Committee recommended the establishment of a Normal School, the establishment of a Chair of Pedagogy and a new Training College for male students.

A contemporary account by a gentleman who, being mindful of Regulation 32, coyly signed himself 'A Leading Inspector of Schools', noted that:

Mr. Bridges, the official head of the department, defended the pupil-teacher system on the grounds of its economy and its efficiency, but admitted

¹ibid., 6-7.

that it needed modification. There was strong official following in favour of Mr. Bridges' position and an attempt was made to retain the system with modifications.

However, Professors Harper and Anderson were strongly opposed to this and, "Everyone in the vast audience knew that the greatest of all great questions . . . had been decided on the side of progress."¹

The Department immediately attempted to put into operation reforms in the pupil-teacher system of training. The course was reduced from four years to three years, and Class III and Class IV pupil-teachers were permitted to sit for examinations that would qualify them for a higher classification immediately.² On 16th. November of the same year the last of the powerful traditionalists, Frederick Bridges, died. The end of an era could not have been more symbolically heralded.

¹A Leading Inspector of Schools, "The Educational Awakening," Review of Reviews, XXIX, 20th. May, 1904, 500.

²Minister's Report, 1904, 14.

CHAPTER IXTHE BLACKFRIARS ERA TO 1910MACKIE AND BOARD

This period was to see the closing of Fort Street and Hurlstone as separate Training Schools for teachers and the institution of the co-educational Sydney Training College at Blackfriars. It was also to see the initiation of a new spirit and a new philosophy of training with the arrival in New South Wales of Alexander Mackie. The co-operation between Mackie and Board and the interested and sympathetic assistance of Professor Anderson were to create a dramatic change that was spoken of by contemporaries in lyrical terms. The change had not come easily. The advocates of reaction had fought to the last ditch to retain the old, familiar and accepted systems of training. Yet the change had not occurred with the suddenness that those closer to the battle imagined.

From the longer perspective that time affords it can be seen that the forces that emerged as the "New Education" had their genesis in the previous century and that the changes, when they did come about, came as a continuation of, rather than as a break with, what

had gone before. As the Chief Inspector put it, "Educational progress in a democratic community depends on a general conviction of the necessity for progress",¹ and the necessity had been recognised. The kind and the degree of progress was to depend on the men who administered the Department and the Training College.

Peter Board was appointed Director of Education and Under Secretary by Executive Council Minute on 1st. February, 1905. He set up an Advisory Board to draw up a scheme for complete previous training of all teachers before their entry into the service. The recommendations of this Board differed little in substance from the resolutions passed at the April, 1904 Conference. They decided that all training should be received through the Training College, that the College should be established in or near the University grounds and that the course of training should be of two years' duration.²

It was impossible that a College of the type desired could be built immediately and rather than postpone the implementation of his scheme Peter Board sought temporary accommodation. The Trustees of St.

¹Minister's Report, 1904, 73.

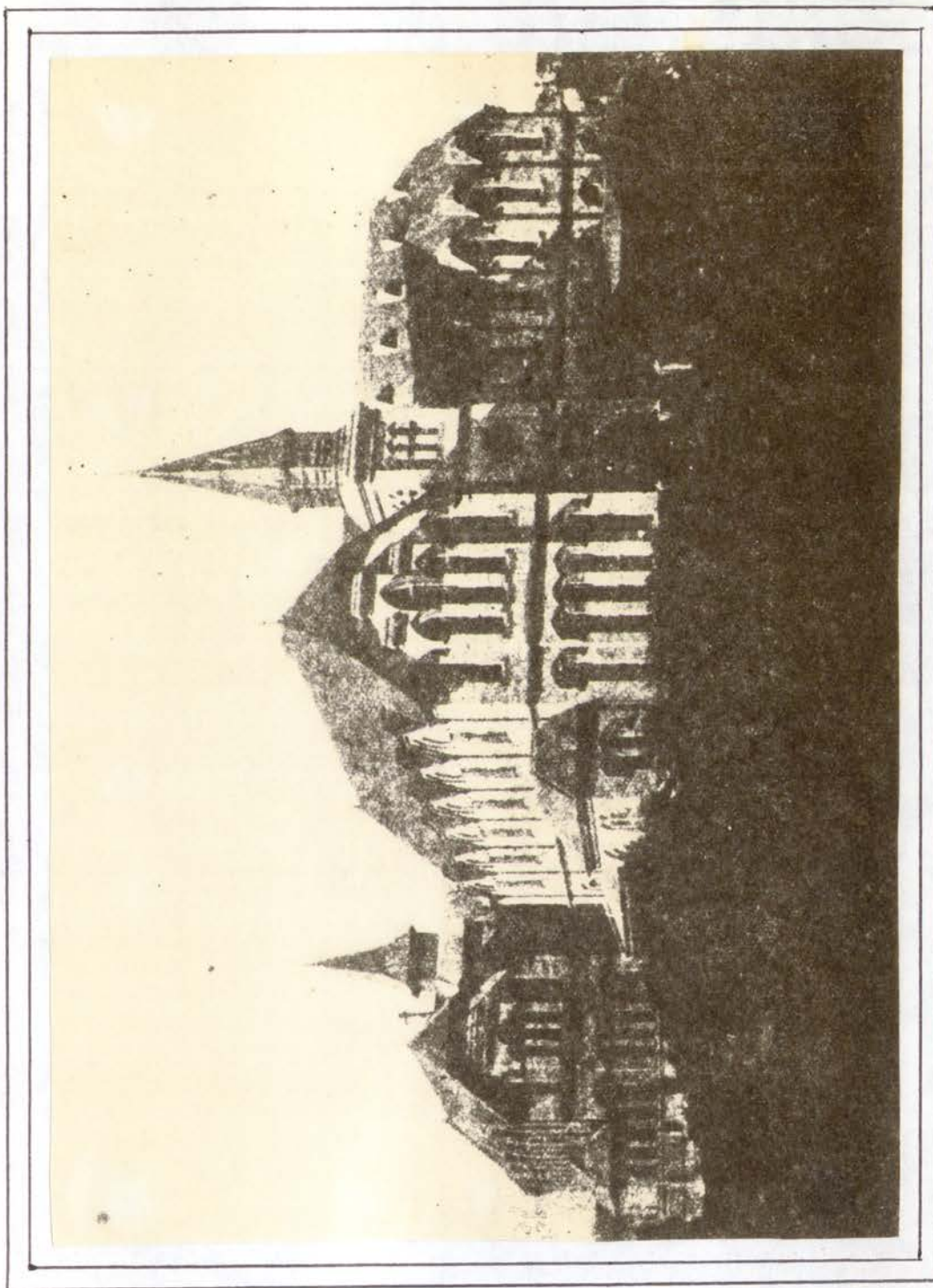
²ibid., 1905, 29.

Phillips Church, Church Hill offered the lease of their four schoolrooms for three years at an annual rent of £300.¹ This was declined as being unreasonable and the choice fell on Blackfriars Public School, where the male students were moved in March, 1905. The Sydney Training College, as it was now called, occupied four rooms upstairs: two classrooms, a Common Room for the students and a room for the lecturers. The downstairs portion and the other building were retained by the Public School which became the Practising School under E.A. Riley with Margaret Miller as Mistress of the Infants School.² Unfortunately, as so often happened the "temporary" premises took on a degree of permanence not anticipated by the Director and successive governments declined to alter a situation which, though obviously unsatisfactory, was actually in existence.

Old attitudes die hard and despite Board's manifest willingness to advance the cause of teacher training some sentences of his Report to the Minister could have been written by Bridges in the preceding century. Scholarships were offered to students attending the College--£20 per year and £30 to those living away from home--with the comment that "it is . . . reasonable

¹MS letter, 05/09738, 23rd. February, 1905, uncatalogued.

²K.R. Cramp, op. cit.



THE TEACHERS' COLLEGE, BLACKFRIARS

to require that parents who wish to place their sons and daughters into the teaching service should be prepared to make some sacrifice for that purpose".¹

The students felt that the curriculum of the Training School and the later College needed revision. They had complained to McCredie, the Acting Chief Inspector that their course was too wide, that they spent 34 hours a week at lectures and had to attend three nights each fortnight at the Technical College and that this left them too little time for study and reading.² This complaint had been rejected. Students and teachers had been attending lectures at the Technical College virtually since the formation of a Board of Technical Education in 1884. Classes had been organised in Drawing,³ Physics, Mathematics, Geology and Botany⁴ and exemptions had been given in the Classification examinations for teachers who had passed the appropriate Technical College examinations.⁵ And this continued until Blackfriars had sufficient

¹Minister's Report, 1905, 29.

²MS petition to Chief Inspector, 04/28434, 9th. May, 1904, uncatalogued.

³Report of the Board of Technical Education, 1885, 243.

⁴ibid., 1888, 21-22.

⁵Educational Gazette, 1895, 233.

laboratory space in 1907.

A further complaint about the impossibility of covering the course was made in 1905 and a promise was given that the matter would be attended to.¹ However, since the Technical College laboratory and lecture room were used by boys from the High School each Monday and Friday afternoon and for the whole of Tuesday and Thursday the only time available was in the evening.² A further promise was made at this time that the course would be revised when a permanent Principal was appointed.

It was proposed that applications be called for a Principal of the Training College, but in the interim an Acting Principal was required to carry on the work of training. Dawson, the Chief Inspector, submitted the name of the "Senior Lecturer of the Colleges", Mr. J.D. St Clair Maclardy, M.A. Dawson submitted that:

The complete reorganisation which is contemplated including, as it does, the provision of a college which all students, male and female, will attend, and the adjustment of the relations of such a college to the proposed Chair of Pedagogy at the University, must be a matter of time and money . . . the appointment of someone . . . to carry out the provisional

¹MS petition to Director, 05/12074, 6th. May, 1905.

²Typescript, Superintendent of Technical Education to Director, 05/16857, 24th. May, 1905.

reorganization contemplated--the union of the Colleges under one head, the organization necessary for the improved course of study already mapped out, for the introduction of the best methods of the teaching art, and for the most economical employment of the staff of lecturers--demands immediate attention.

If Maclardy were to be appointed, Dawson continued, "he would have to understand clearly that his temporary appointment would not entitle him to look forward to the permanent position".¹ Maclardy's current salary was £463 per annum.

The document presents a number of interesting points. The phrase underlined was crossed out by the Director before submitting it to the Public Service Board. This suggests that Peter Board had, for the time being, shelved this particular problem and suggests further that Mackie's much later claim² that he had been induced to accept the position because a Chair had been offered him by the Director was not entirely correct. Professor John Adams, of course, may have read this implication into the position, but Board's official letters were sent with Public Service Board concurrence and do not mention a position which the Department of

¹Typescript 05/4551, "The Training Colleges: Nomination of Acting Principal," Chief Inspector to Under Secretary, 22nd. February, 1905.

²A.R. Crane and W.G. Walker, Peter Board, Melbourne: A.C.E.R., 1957, 69.

Public Instruction could scarcely offer.

Then, too, it appears obvious that Board had determined to seek a man untrammelled by local tradition, a man who would come fresh to the scene with no Departmentally preconceived notions of how a Training College for teachers should be organised. Maclardy was appointed Acting Principal on 3rd. March, 1905 and the new College was ready to begin its work. Fifty male students were in the first Session at Blackfriars and most of the lecturers were appointed on a visiting basis. Maclardy still divided his time with Hurlstone where he lectured in Classics and Mathematics. Education was taught as a subject by Mr. William Williams who came from Fort Street for the purpose.¹

Maclardy, at this time, probably received less than fair treatment from the new Director who was involved in what was virtually a complete reorganisation of the Department. He suggested that the motto of the new College be a line from Seneca, Non Scholae Sed Vitae Discimus, but was told curtly by Dawson to wait for the appointment of the "Permanent Principal".² He applied for a higher salary on the grounds that he

¹K.R. Cramp, op. cit.

²MS letter to Chief Inspector, 05/20069, 7th. April, 1905.

was Acting Principal of one institution, he was lecturing in Mathematics and Latin at both with consequent travelling and that he was also the Assistant Examiner for the Department. Peter Board refused the additional salary, even by way of allowance, claiming that the amount Maclardy received was sufficient for the duties he performed.¹ Maclardy was appointed Examiner in 1907 and Chief Examiner in 1912, a post he held until his retirement in 1922.

The new College was to provide a two years' course from which successful students could pass with a Second Class certificate. Students could withdraw after one year and, after showing evidence of successful teaching, be eligible for a Third Class certificate. The majority of the 1905 intake comprised pupil-teachers, although thirteen had not served an apprenticeship. The minimum age for entry was set at seventeen years,² an age level that Mackie continually attempted to raise.

Although no entry examinations for pupil-teachers were held after 1904 there was a considerable back-log of older applicants who had passed the examination and who were either in the process of passing through their

¹MS submission to Director of Education, 05/15071, 15th. May, 1905.

²Minister's Report, 1905, 30.

pupilage or were about to be appointed. In 1905 there were still 922 pupil-teachers in the service and it was not until 1910 that the last 36 finished their courses.¹ This meant that the majority of students in the early years of the new College were ex-pupil teachers and courses were constructed with this in mind.

In 1905 Board had introduced his scheme of creating a group of probationary students.² As the Training College would not accept students younger than seventeen years of age, and as the pupil-teacher scheme had effectively finished, there was an initial problem of securing sufficient students who had reached a sufficient standard to gain admission to the College. District Schools were instituted in major country centres to serve as an adjunct to the existing Public Schools at which pupils could attend without paying the fees that the High Schools required. Students who indicated their intention of entering the teaching service were allowed to attend for the first year without payment of fees and were given a small allowance if successful in reaching the second year. Although the course of instruction followed the first two years of the High School course, some instruction in the

¹ibid., 1910, 33.

²ibid., 1905, 30-32.

principles of education was given and there was some teaching done by the Students. At the end of the two years the probationary students were eligible to attempt the entrance examination for the Training College. Board felt that by this means country children who might otherwise be forced to leave school at the end of the Primary course might be encouraged to remain and enter the Training College. He stated that, "The aim of the Department is, therefore, to draw its future teachers from all districts of the State."¹

All students did not receive their whole training at Blackfriars. In 1906 Peter Board recommended that teachers who were destined for country schools should have some training in Agriculture. This was increasingly important, he felt, with the introduction of District Schools. He directed, therefore, that ten male students should spend the second year of their training at Hawkesbury Agricultural College.² In December of that year the first ten students were chosen by Maclardy to attend the Agricultural College.³ At the end of 1907 this practice was varied and selected students were allowed to complete the two

¹ ibid., 33.

² Typescript Memorandum, 06/73076, 16th. August, 1906.

³ Typescript, 06/75598, 13th. December, 1906.

year course at Blackfriars and then spend a third year at either Hawkesbury or at the Technical College. Problems arose regarding payment and the Director recommended to the Public Service Board that such people be paid on entrance to the service at the rate applicable to second year ex-students. This was acceded to by the Board.¹

In 1905, following the establishment of the new College, Peter Board submitted to the Public Service Board that a Principal be appointed and that, "applications should be invited in England and Scotland as well as throughout the Australian States and New Zealand". He suggested as a Committee of Selection:

Professor John Adams, Professor of Education in the London University, Mr. John Struthers, C.B., Chairman of the Board of Scottish Education, and Professor Michael E. Sadler, Professor of Education in the Birmingham University.²

At a later date Board was to refer to "the valuable cooperation of Professor Francis Anderson"³ in the preparatory work for the selection of the new Principal.

The choice of the Committee, later ratified by the Executive Council, was Alexander Mackie, M.A.. Mackie

¹08/65813, 3rd. November, 1908.

²Typescript, 05/69291, 24th. October, 1905.

³P. Board, Professor Mackie - An Appreciation, op. cit., no pagination.

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PROFESSOR A. MACKIE

had graduated from the University of Edinburgh, had spent some time teaching in secondary schools in Edinburgh and, prior to his appointment in New South Wales, was Lecturer in Education at Bangor College of the University of Wales.¹ He arrived in Sydney on 22nd. November, 1906 at the age of thirty to take up his new appointment.

The College over which he was to preside for thirty four years was scarcely prepossessing in the beginning. Peter Board had referred to them in his initial report as being "far from satisfactory" and, over-optimistically as it turned out, stated that, "The provision of permanent buildings will need to be undertaken during the coming year."² Miss Elizabeth Skillen, who joined the staff at the beginning of 1906 from Hurlstone was less formal in her feelings, "Blackfriars was hideously dirty and woefully smelly . . . "³ Mackie himself pressed vigorously for a new College away from Blackfriars. In 1908, in supplying information to the Minister to reply to a question asked in the

¹I.S. Turner, "Professor Alexander Mackie, An Appreciation," The Forum of Education, XIV, 3, April, 1956, 84-85.

²Minister's Report, 1905, 30. The New College was not occupied until February, 1920.

³E. Skillen, Typescript reminiscences, in Sydney Teachers' College Archives.

Legislative Assembly, he stated:

The accommodation is utterly inadequate . . . Class rooms are too few and are much overcrowded. Common rooms are quite inadequate, the provision for women students being especially bad; the men students have no means of recreation during the luncheon hour owing to restricted area of yard . . . Administrative accommodation is quite lacking and the provision of staff common rooms is very poor. The provision for Science teaching is very inadequate, and what does exist is very unsuitable being simply the late schoolmaster's residence.¹

Despite official promises to the contrary, little was done to improve the lecturing conditions. Improvements were added as necessity demanded, but these were make-shift. In his Report for 1908 Mackie denounced the accommodation and added, "I cannot believe that the gravity of the case is realised, or that the State knowingly permits the work of training its teachers to be carried on in such miserably inadequate premises."²

Hopes were high in 1907. Plans had been drawn up for a new College and inspected and approved by Board and Mackie.³ However, nothing came of it. Public

¹Holograph letter, Mackie to Under Secretary, 29th. October, 1908.

²Minister's Report, 1908, 85.

³Typescript 4048/593, 3rd. October, 1907. School Architect notifying completion of plans. MS note by Board that he and Mackie would inspect them at 10.30 a.m

opinion was very difficult to arouse, despite frequent publicity. In 1910 the Students' Council requested, "a place where the air is purer, apart from factories, and where the mind and body may both be trained".¹ Letters to the papers from the indignant parents of students were also a feature of the time.² Even the powerful A.G. Stephens was unable to shock the public conscience by stating, "New South Wales Teachers' Training College students train in what seems to be the most odorous slum in Redfern. Within, the College is best described as disreputable."³

Before Mackie's arrival towards the end of 1906 Peter Board had directed that students in the Training College should not attend University lectures. A deputation of students approached the Minister seeking a withdrawal of the direction. However, Board gave as his reasons for refusing permission to attend lectures the fact that students spent too much time on the University subjects needed for a degree and too little upon the other subjects that they also needed. This concentration upon the academic was often achieved at

¹MS Annual Report of the Students' Council, 6.

²Daily Telegraph, 4th. November, 1909, letter signed C.G.

³The Bookfellow, 15th. September, 1913.

the expense of learning to teach and:

These students are placed in the Training College with the primary and essential object of becoming teachers. Their principal business there is to acquire professional skill and the knowledge necessary for their work as teachers. Neither of these objects is involved in an Undergraduate University course . . . the glamour of a University degree is throwing into the shade the more prosaic professional qualifications of the primary school teacher.¹

His intention was not to prevent students from attempting University degrees as to ensure that they could teach before they ventured further afield.

He clarified these thoughts later in his Report to the Minister for 1906 when speaking of the intention to erect a College within the grounds of the University. This College would not be, unlike that proposed in 1890, an affiliated College within the University and so would need the passing of a special Act. It was not necessary for Departmental purposes, he stated, that all students should graduate, but it was desirable that all students whether matriculated or not should "attend selected courses in the University that will prove the most helpful to them in their preparation for the teaching service".² Under the influence of Mackie and Anderson he was to

¹Typescript Memorandum to Minister, 21st. March, 1906.

²Minister's Report, 1906, 27.

modify these views within a short period.

The Teachers' Association welcomed the proposal to appoint a man of distinguished attainments as Principal of the reformed College, but had reservations when Mackie's name was announced:

The Cabinet has at last decided the question as to who is to become Principal of the Sydney Training College. As was foreseen by this journal, the choice was limited by the smallness of the salary offered for the position. A man who had made a name and a position for himself in England or America was not likely to be tempted to the Antipodes for £700 a year. The result is the selection of a young man of twenty-nine. At that age no man can have had the breadth of experience that is desirable in one taking up the responsible work of directing the training of our teachers. There is one advantage probably in Mr. Mackie's youth: it argues capacity for adaptation, a matter of no slight importance when one used to educational conditions in Great Britain is called upon to direct the training of teachers in New South Wales.

This appointment is probably the most momentous event in the history of education in this State for a generation to come, and, in view of this fact, we are glad that Mr. Mackie comes to us bearing testimonials from leaders of educational thought in Great Britain of the standing of Dr. John Adams.¹

Mackie, the subject of this speculation, did not feel himself underpaid at the time, although the subject of salary and his ineligibility for superannuation was

¹Australian Journal of Education, 15th. September, 1906, 4.

to concern him increasingly during the regime of S.H. Smith with whom he waged so many battles over his status. In actual fact it was not much below that of the Director--H.S. Wyndham mentions that it was only six per cent less.¹ He proceeded to meet the staff and the students at Blackfriars on the morning of his arrival in Sydney, although he did not assume effective control until the beginning of 1907.

It was formally decided by the Director that the Teachers' College should remain under the control of the Department of Public Instruction,² although the policy overseas where control was less centralised was to separate the training institution and the authority which would employ its products. Board had indicated in his speeches at the Conferences of 1902 and 1904 that he was not happy that the University should control the training of teachers, although he welcomed their co-operation and assistance. He stated after his retirement:

In this State it is necessary that the student should get assistance towards his training from the authority that employs him, and he is, therefore, before

¹Dr. H.S. Wyndham, Address given at the official opening of Alexander Mackie Teachers' College, 20th. November, 1961, typescript, 2.

²06/63354, 15th. November, 1906.

being trained, placed under the obligation to serve the authority that undertakes to employ him afterwards.¹

Dr. Wyndham, referring to this "curious relationship" paid tribute to both Board and Mackie for preventing the abuse of such a system:

While teachers' colleges remain . . . institutions of a Department of Education, this relationship between preparation and employment could, at its worst, produce teachers who reflect the views and practices of the established order . . . It was what Board and Mackie were determined should not happen under the new dispensation.²

Mackie outlined his policy towards teacher training and suggested his underlying philosophy in his inaugural lecture in the Protestant Hall on 2nd. February, 1907. The students before him were mostly pupil-teachers who had experienced the unyielding training of a system that was fast disappearing. He emphasised the difference between "pupils" and "students", suggesting that although much greater freedom would be extended to the student, the responsibilities of the individual were thereby enormously increased. He drew a comparison between the previous aims of the Training College with its "school attitude towards learning" and "the growth of that independence of mind

¹Professor Mackie, op. cit.

²op. cit.

and intelligent apprehension which I regard as the characteristic product of a college training".

The aims of the College as realised through its students were threefold:

In the first place you seek to attain scientific professional knowledge, secondly, to acquire practical skill in handling and teaching children, and in the third place, you seek to advance your general culture.¹

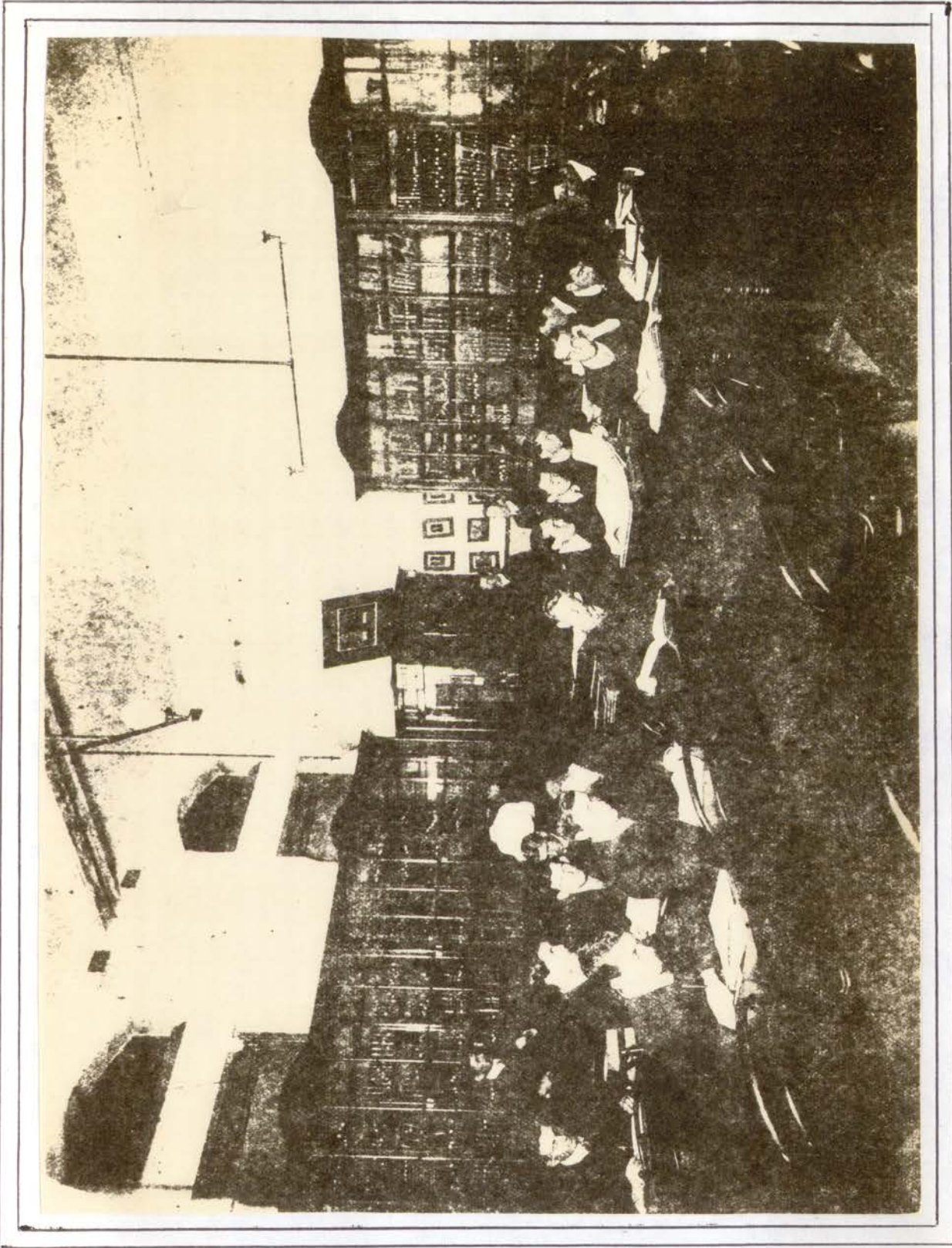
The College should also seek to promote, at every stage professional training in its widest implications rather than teach the tricks of a trade. Initially these aims might not be fulfilled as rapidly as might be thought desirable because:

The course of study in the training college is broadly determined by the economic and social features of the society which it serves. Hence at present the course is less distinctly professional than it will become in a year or two. But always the course must be planned so as to equip the students with reference to the requirements of education in such a State as N.S.W.²

It is not intended to attempt an evaluation of either Mackie's educational philosophy nor of his achievements. During this period he existed as a potential force who, as a new broom, could be relied upon to introduce a number of innovatory practices.

¹Typescript copy of Mackie's lecture in the archives of Sydney Teachers' College.

²ibid.



LIBRARY, BLACKFRIARS

However, Mackie's achievements owe more than to being merely the effects of novelty. They were based on a formulated and well thought out personal philosophy of education which changed remarkably little in its essentials during the thirty four years service he gave to New South Wales.

In many ways he resembled another major figure in Australian education, William Wilkins. Like Wilkins he was an expatriate who had received his early training elsewhere. Both were vitally and personally concerned in the education of teachers, both altered an existing system of education in a fashion that was to bear the stamp of their remarkable personalities for future generations and both spent an almost identical number of years converting their ideals into practice. Both men trained and influenced the future administrators of their State's education so that the most vehement defenders of their beliefs were those most able to propagate them and protect them. It is in the broader principles that they espoused rather than in the administrative details, which were influenced by the peculiar needs of their respective times, that the lasting value of such men lie.

Despite the interest and sympathetic support of his Director, the new Principal had many problems to

face. The College had extremely unsuitable buildings and the Government of the day, after its initial interest, appeared to shelve the question of teacher training. Students were entering the College with varying backgrounds and experience so that preparation of courses was difficult. A letter to the Minister in 1909 noted that those entering the College as students included pupil-teachers Class I, Class II and Class III, probationary students, ex-pupil teachers, junior Assistants, teachers of Small Schools and "Persons not in the service of the Department". The new College buildings would not finally be ready until 1924, a reasonably qualified student began to appear as the backlog of pupil-teachers was cleared and the Super-Primary and High School courses that Board had re-organised began to show effect.

In his first Report to the Minister, Mackie referred to the need for teaching the College student the actual academic content of the subjects he would later teach and hoped that the need for this would disappear:

In the past, Teachers' Colleges have largely of necessity devoted themselves to the improvement of the student's general education with a consequent neglect of their own proper business, a neglect resulting in a lower standard of teaching competence than is requisite in view of the

demands now made upon the teacher and school.¹

Students were still able to leave after the first year and seek a Third Class certificate, and Mackie sought to have this changed. He sought a balance between the professional aspects of a teacher's life and what he called a general culture which was "best gained from a study of subjects not directly useful in class teaching".²

He was still occasionally being sniped at by those who regretted the passing of the pupil-teacher system.

In 1908 he replied to his critics:

It is sometimes even yet objected that young teachers of the newer type have poorer powers of control than was possessed by the older type trained as a pupil-teacher. I do not think that the proportion of such weak teachers is greater, and it must further be remembered that the power of control comes mainly from responsible charge of a class. Certainly the pupil-teacher acquired this power in many cases, but he acquired it at too great a cost.

The greater maturity of mind and the better equipment of knowledge will certainly enable the student to reach a satisfactory level of teaching efficiency in a shorter time; but the two years of ex-studentship are imperative for the acquisition of the details of class-room technique, which can only

¹Minister's Report, 1907, 53-54.

²ibid., 53.

come from independent practice.¹

In the beginning Mackie made many changes. The outline of most courses was decided by him,² although as he came to know his staff the major points were thrashed out in staff meetings.³ The number of lectures given by staff members was reduced and the Saturday morning lectures to students were abolished. In their place was instituted a series of lectures to teachers, a policy he was to follow with evening lectures, mainly in Kindergarten subjects.

In March, 1907 Professor Anderson wrote to Board recommending that Mackie take charge of the "senior philosophical class" while Anderson was overseas. He was to be called Acting-Professor of Philosophy and was to include Education among the subjects he lectured on. Anderson suggested in his letter that this could lead to the Senate's agreeing to appoint Mackie as "Lecturer on Education" within the University.⁴ Board agreed to Mackie's assumption of additional duties and on 9th. May, 1907 Mackie wrote from the Australian

¹ibid., 1908, 53.

²E. Skillen, op. cit.

³K.R. Cramp, op. cit.

⁴07/19866 MS letter from Professor Anderson to the Director, 27th. March, 1907.

Club formally notifying the Public Service Board that, with approval of the Minister of Education, he had accepted the Senate's offer to fill the position of Acting-Professor of Philosophy during 1908.¹

Board had actually been quite enthusiastic about having Mackie accept the position. When Mackie had written formally to the Under Secretary advising him of the Senate's offer, Board had commented in a marginal note to the Minister:

It is a matter of great importance that the Teachers' College should be closely associated with the Faculty of Education in the University, and I can conceive no more satisfactory way of securing that, than by the Principal of the Teachers' College being lecturer in education as well. It is hoped that the filling of Professor Anderson's Chair by Mr. Mackie next year will bring about a more permanent association.²

In 1909 after serving as Acting-Professor for a year Mackie was offered the position as lecturer in Education and in the following year he accepted the Senate's offer of the Chair. The next year a Diploma in Education was instituted for Graduate students of the University thus satisfying one of Mackie's fears that the Teachers' College being primarily organised for two-year trained teachers would fail to train the

¹Holograph letter, 9th. May, 1907.

²Holograph letter, 6th. May, 1907.

Graduate and the teacher concerned mainly with Secondary teaching.

The difficulties of Blackfriars as a site for a College were increasing. Originally designed to accommodate three hundred students at most, it had become unsuitable and depressing. Temporary make-shifts such as enclosing a weather-shed for the women's common room, using the former Headmaster's residence for Science laboratories and renting a house in Abercrombie Street for administrative offices and a staff common room did not help project the image of a Teachers' College that Mackie envisaged.

His main aim was to gain a site within the University grounds, but official approval was not easily obtained. Board favoured Mackie's scheme, but the Parliamentary Committee on Public Works proposed initially the Deaf, Dumb and Blind Institution in City Road or the Asylum for Destitute Children at Randwick. Mackie originally suggested the Teachers' College should be accommodated within the University grounds by completing the University Quadrangle. In the same letter he suggested that the Teachers' College should become a University Department with all matters of administration vested in "a Delegacy of the Senate of the University". This Delegacy was to include

representatives of the University and the Department of Public Instruction.¹ The proposal was declined by the Minister.

In 1912 the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Public Works met to consider "the expediency of erecting a building for the purpose of a Teachers' College". At the hearings both Peter Board and Mackie argued strongly against the Deaf, Dumb and Blind Institution and the Randwick Asylum as suitable sites. Mackie argued that three major reasons made the University site preferable to any other. On the grounds of economy, the students from the College could use the Science facilities and take advantage of the advanced courses in Arts at the University. It would be more efficient because College students attending the University would not be completely separate from either institution. Finally:

There is an advantage in not setting up one group of students, who are to become teachers, by themselves. We should let them mix with other students. The College should not be a narrow, purely professional school. If it is made that, the College student would never have the opportunity of getting the point of view of other students. If it is close to the University, it will have that advantage. There is a great gain in University life from the intercourse of the student in

¹Typescript letter to Minister, 27th. May, 1911.

one faculty with the student from others, and this influence would be of special value to teachers.¹

The Committee recommended a site, offered free of charge by the Senate, immediately to the South of the Engineering School and overlooking City (now Parramatta) Road. On 26th. November, 1912 assent was given to the "Teachers' College Act, 1912"² vesting the land and buildings in the Minister of Public Instruction and giving him authority to erect the building. Assent was also given to the "Teachers' College Building Act"³ sanctioning construction by the Department of Public Works at a cost of £68,475.

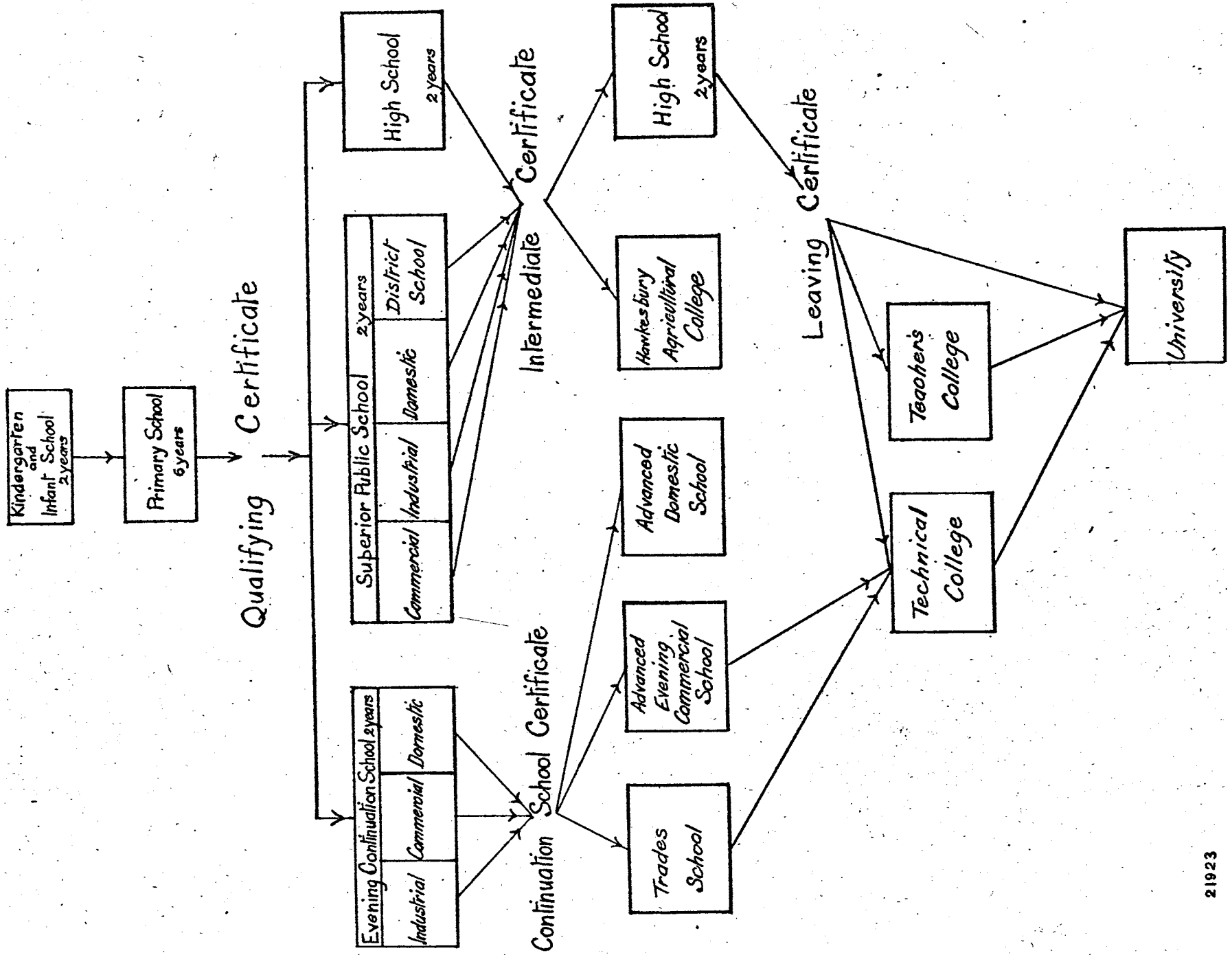
Although the Teachers' College had instituted a series of evening and weekend lectures for teachers, the Director had encouraged some form of in-service training from the time he had assumed his authority. The April, 1904 Conference had recommended the institution of Summer Schools for teachers and the payment to teachers attending of travelling expenses.⁴ The introduction of the new syllabus heightened the demand

¹Report of the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Public Works. Evidence given by A. Mackie, 11th. April, 1912, 17.

²No. 47, 1912.

³No. 48, 1912.

⁴op. cit., 18.



by teachers, especially those in the country, for instruction and guidance in the new approaches required. The Teachers' associations, aided by the District Inspector, organised courses of lectures. Senior Inspector Flashman of Goulburn reported:

It is, perhaps, interesting to note the peculiar manner in which the new movement developed during the year. As soon as the Syllabus appeared there was an almost simultaneous rush on the part of teachers to obtain the latest text-books dealing with the modern methods of teaching . . . In course of time, by means of the Teachers' Association, instruction was imparted, demonstrations were given and most of the difficulties in the direction of their proper use soon vanished, and the feeling was strong and the regret sincere that they had been for so long ignorant of such interesting means of instruction.¹

The Western Post, reported a lecture, "The Teaching of English", given for the Mudgee Teachers' Association in which the alphabetic, the objective and the phonic methods of teaching reading were compared.² The Minister's Report for 1905 carried a special section of Inspectors' Reports dealing with Teachers' Associations and the lectures given on various aspects of teaching.³ S.H. Smith, Inspector of Schools at Glen

¹Minister's Report, 1904, 83.

²The Western Post, Mudgee, 30th. November, 1905.

³op. cit., 80-85.

Innes organised Summer Schools and Camps on a District basis.¹ A Summer School was organised at the Hawkesbury Agricultural College in 1905 for teachers from all parts of the State and it was well attended. The Minister's Report for 1908 notes the continued interest of teachers in attending the School at Richmond and the lectures given in practical subjects at the Technical College where one of the courses was in the use of the Magic Lantern.²

Although teacher training was not confined to work with students, the efforts of the Teachers' Associations and the Department were aimed more at "method" work, the actual tricks of teaching a subject, rather than at seeking for basic principles underlying the educational practice.

Teacher Training had come a long way with the impetus given by Peter Board and Alexander Mackie. The period had seen the death of the pupil-teacher system and the growth of the "previous" system of training. Mackie's ideals were by no means realised. Rural teachers were being trained at Hereford House, but six months was still insufficient time in which to accomplish much of lasting value, especially as these

¹Australian Journal of Education, 11th. November, 1905.

²op. cit., 38.

students were not required to pass an entrance examination of the same standard of difficulty as the "long course" students did. In addition, until the end of 1912 the pernicious system of allowing potential Small School teachers to be trained by "observing" in a District School for three months was still retained.

Some advances had been made. Travelling Scholarships for ex-students of the College had been set up, and study leave for staff members of the College instituted. The major fact was that the "previous training" system had been firmly established and its products, who were starting to enter the schools in increasing numbers, were beginning to show the value of the new system.

CHAPTER XCONCLUSION AND EVALUATION

This study has attempted to examine the growth of a system of teacher training in New South Wales. The examination has been restricted in large part to the activities of the various government agencies in recognising the need for training teachers to staff the schools the government had set up and the manner in which the task was approached.

New South Wales, in common with the other States, by geographical and historical accident, had been obliged to enter the field of education as a State much earlier than had been considered either necessary or advisable overseas. From the early days of the monitorial system and its natural development, the pupil-teacher system, far-seeing people had recognised the need for training teachers. This feeling was not shared, however, by the great proportion of the population, nor by the legislators who controlled the purse.

Professor Mackie noted on frequent occasions that the particular aspect of training that teachers received at any point of time was contingent upon the social and economic conditions existing at that time.

To evaluate the system of training it is therefore necessary to consider, as far as possible, the particular context within which the system had to operate. The context within which the training of teachers began to emerge as a system was one wherein for the greater part of the period it stood well behind the necessity for providing school buildings in the public estimation. There was little feeling that the teacher required to have a specialised body of knowledge under his control. Provided he were generally moral, and this requirement was not always necessary, his own knowledge and abilities did not need to be greatly superior to those of the children he purported to teach.

The growth of the pupil-teacher system under the control of Wilkins was one of the more significant measures that had been taken under the State's aegis. Other measures instituted by Wilkins that lasted well into the next century were the classification examinations and the development of an Inspectorate. The system of classification examinations had been announced in November, 1854 and the first forty teachers examined in 1855. It had been devised originally to give some form of training to those teachers who had entered the service of the Board of National Education without passing through any recognised form of training, and

probably was not intended to become a permanent feature. However, they had proved a successful method of ensuring that teachers who were isolated from all types of educational influence apart from the occasional and itinerant Inspector were at least reading and studying acceptable material. To the pragmatic Wilkins the undoubted success of the system meant that it would be retained and extended. The examinations also served as a means of directing the attention of teachers towards preferred areas of study. The introduction of Summer Schools and the activities of the Teachers' Associations in the various Districts after 1904 were a more professional means of achieving the same result, but since the classification examinations were not voluntary they were, in the authorities' eyes a more certain form of training.

After 1859 classification examinations were made annual affairs for all teachers holding a classification lower than IIA. The 1866 Act and its Regulations continued the system, although teachers with good service records could move up through the grades of classification. The Public Instruction Act of 1880 provided for the employment of teachers who had been teaching in Denominational Schools. Allied with the system of "good service" promotion this meant that the

Department of Public Instruction was faced with a number of teachers whose attainments were virtually unknown. Since schools had been reclassified as well, the scheme of examinations provided a ready administrative tool for fitting teachers to schools and for providing a regulated system on which to base promotions and hence salary. That the new Department was prepared to be flexible is shown by its exemption from examination in 1885 of teachers over forty and the reintroduction in 1890 of promotion for efficient service without examination. The system was maintained throughout the whole period under review.

Although the system of classification by examination is one form of teacher training it has been examined at length elsewhere and passing reference only is made in this investigation. The system has been universally condemned as a system of training by teachers and other educationists. The condemnation in sweeping terms of classification by examination is not wholly justified, however. When it was introduced it served a useful and an educational purpose. In the days when communications were so poor and teachers were of such varied backgrounds any method which could induce teachers to make the necessary sacrifices of time and effort to improve their professional background could

do only good. Like other systems that outlived the purpose for which they were intended classification by examination tended to ossify. The mechanical rigidity in the late 1890's and the early years of the twentieth century by which teachers who had demonstrated their ability at the University were still required to undergo examination by the Department is indicative of such ossification.

The pupil-teacher system, too, was introduced to overcome specific problems of training sufficient teachers to staff the schools which burgeoned with the population increase. Like the classification examinations, the pupil-teacher system was so effective that it was maintained even in the face of alternative and superior methods of training. Wilkins, the originator of both schemes was in a position of authority and great influence for over thirty years and during the whole of that time few criticisms were levelled at his brain-child.

The geographical dispersion of the population, the immediate need for trained teachers and the cost of previous training, militated against the wider use of the Training School in the beginning even if the system of Normal School training had been sufficiently developed to accept all students. The pupil-teacher system was

cheap and undoubtedly effective. Again, its very effectiveness ensured its retention beyond the time when other countries were rejecting it in favour of superior methods of training.

In 1905, the Director of Education, Peter Board, summarised the feeling that thinking educationists had held for years:

Educational practice, prior to the renaissance that has swept over English-speaking countries in the last few years, suffered from a conservatism that retained the school methods and aims of an age when the sphere of education was much more limited than now.¹

Speaking specifically of the new measures being introduced for training teachers he noted:

Hitherto the entrance to the teaching profession under this Department has been almost exclusively through the avenue of pupil-teachership, and the preparation for future service received as a pupil-teacher was the only preparation that many teachers received . . . It was defective in that the pupil-teacher was not sufficiently educated before he began to teach, and he was placed in a position of responsibility without being prepared either to realise the responsibility or to discharge it, and was required to work under conditions that made it very difficult for him to qualify himself thoroughly for his vocation. Moreover the educational service suffered from the exclusiveness of the pupil-teacher, admission being denied to many suitable persons who, having gained a superior education by their own means, had reached an age which precluded their admission as pupil-teachers. There can be little doubt that the pupil-teacher system remained in

¹Minister's Report, 1905, 19.

operation so long mainly for the reason that it supplied a cheap teacher supported by the fact that frequently the teacher thus cheaply produced became, by his own force and energy, sound and skilful in his profession. Neither of these reasons, however, could justify the continuance of a system inherently defective.¹

By this time the pupil-teacher system was indefensible. However, the period during which the pupil-teacher system had remained the major means of training teachers had been long. Maynard and Bridges, both men of exceptional ability, were unable to see the inherent defects in a system that both had known so well.

Many of the defects in the system were due to the people most concerned with its day-to-day operation. Teachers were not prepared, and in many cases were not able, to give the pupil-teacher the attention he needed. Faced with a full teaching programme and the necessity of completing the returns the administration demanded, the teacher can scarcely be blamed for skimping the instruction the pupil-teacher needed.

Basically, however, the pupil-teacher system failed to give adequate recognition to the three groups vitally concerned. The apprentice had to learn his craft at the expense of the material he was working with. The pupil suffered because he was placed in the

¹ibid., 19-20.

hands of an inexperienced person, little older than himself, whose only progress could be achieved by copying the methods of the past. The teacher, if he were conscientious and able, was faced with an insuperable task of preparing his student and of preparing himself.

Despite these obvious weaknesses the pupil-teacher system survived for more than half a century and its passing was lamented by many experienced and able people, as the Conferences of 1902 and 1904 show. The system originally had much in its favour. By comparison with what had gone before it offered an organised means of attracting, training and keeping many teachers who would have otherwise been lost to the state. The system cost little for, by comparison with what would have to be paid to an adult Assistant, the pupil-teacher's pittance was slight. Furthermore he was taking charge of a class while he was being trained.

The previous training scheme by comparison faced many more difficulties. Although the Normal School antedated the pupil-teacher system its antecedents were less respectable. It had taken the broken-down book-keeper and the man fresh from the plough and, in a completely inadequate period of time, had tried to turn him into a person with a professional outlook and

professional capabilities. That this could not be done is tacitly admitted by the necessity for the classification examinations and by the reports of the Inspectors who inveighed, in Report after Report, against the inadequacies of the teachers in their charge.

Socially and economically, the period before the passing of the Public Instruction Act was unfavourable for the extension of any scheme of previous training. The pupil-teacher system was working effectively and overseas the same system had gained increasing acclaim, as the Cross Report suggests. Where difficulties existed the first thought was to improve the adequacy of the existing system. Where Training Schools existed, as one did in New South Wales, the overseas pattern was followed. Training Schools existed to implement the pupil-teacher system, not to supplant it.

The men who staffed the Training Schools were poured from the same mould. Parochial in outlook, they were prepared to work within the established framework. Turner, one of the Educational Commissioners, had been Training Master and Head of the Model School. Yet at the 1902 Conference he was adamant in his praise of the pupil-teacher system, although he agreed that it needed serious modification. Not until chance took him out of the country in the company of a man whose eyes

had not been blinkered by the system that had nurtured him did he realise that other, more effective alternatives existed. When he did, his conversion was complete.

Frederick Bridges appears, with some justification, as the villain of the piece. A man of undoubted ability, firm and courageous in supporting his beliefs, he had claimed to be the first pupil-teacher. He had grown within the system and reached the administrative heights. His complete inability to understand those who were not cast in his mould made him completely unable to see that a system he had devoted a lifetime to learning and then administering, could be basically unsound.

The Training Schools were not so fortunate. Under the Board of National Education and the Council, the existence of Fort Street was always tenuous. When funds were short the first thing to suffer was the previous training programme. The Training School was generally regarded as a refuge for the destitute, unless the student had completed an apprenticeship as a pupil-teacher. In such a case it was generally regarded as a luxury whose absence would be no essential loss. Cramped in dingy and unsuitable quarters the Training School was for most of the period the Cinderella of the service. Even where Bridges expressed his

admiration for what it could do, it was in terms of improving the already trained pupil-teacher.

The treatment of the rural teacher, although born of necessity, was a black mark against the administration. The Council of Education had realised that a source of supply lay in the country lad who would not demand extensive training and would serve in isolated outposts. Occasional sops were thrown to him in the way of additional training after a period of satisfactory service, but few could afford or were sufficiently able to attend the Training School in Sydney. At the end of the period under review the Small School teacher was still being offered less than a quarter of the training afforded his more fortunate colleague, and the old, iniquitous system of training by attendance at an approved school was still in existence.

The beginning of the new century saw the forces of reform gathering. Sparked by Professor Francis Anderson a train was lit that produced the Knibbs-Turner Report and the accession of Peter Board. The appointment of Alexander Mackie as Principal of the new Training College confirmed the renaissance that Board had heralded. The period of training was increased to two, three and four years. Links with the University were forged and strengthened as Mackie

became Lecturer in and Professor of Education within the University. His plans for a building within the University grounds failed to reach fruition until 1920, but his tenacity and the soundness of his personal philosophy of education helped him overcome, in large measure, the squalor of the surroundings.

Since the renaissance little has changed. Small School teachers receive as much training as other students trained for Primary Schools. But the period of training, for most purposes is still as it was when Mackie arrived at Blackfriars.

Professor Mackie had the vision to look beyond the immediate needs of his time and, after twenty four years as Principal of the College, he could publicly restate the faith that had sustained him:

There are, of course, still patches of reactionary opinion which holds that primary teachers need be no more than routine workers without grasp of principles or any real professional outlook . . . But the main current of opinion is with the doctrine so forcefully presented by Mr. Board when he compared a Teachers' College to the powerhouse of the school system. What we need is merely a fuller embodiment of these principles in our practice and this will surely come . . . ¹

Alexander Mackie's words still hold true.

¹Alexander Mackie, "Remarks Made at a Farewell to Mr. S.H. Smith on Monday, August 28, 1930, at 4 p.m.", typescript.

APPENDIX 1NUMBER OF TEACHERS EMPLOYED BY
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

	FORT STREET	HURLSTONE	PUPIL-TEACHERS	TEACHERS
1880	102	-	-	
1881	108	-	677	1,881
1882	94	-	796	2,130
1883	46	-	786	2,036
1884	63	-	823	2,352
1885	65	79	870	2,557
1886	65	81	931	2,703
1887	47	51	930	2,812
1888	24	51	990	2,892
1890	56	51	1,107	3,013
1891	56	45	1,196	2,274
1892	53	54	1,282	3,246
1893	54	54	1,147	3,272
1894	54	50	1,076	3,294
1895	32	29	1,000	3,416
1896	26	29	959	3,432
1897	25	28	1,005	3,542
1898	16	25	1,020	3,698
1899	23	24	1,052	3,785
1900	31	28	1,093	3,911
1901	28	37	1,110	4,037
1902	35	41	1,115	4,210
1903	31	71	1,035	4,499
1904	38	47	1,077	4,419
1905	50 (B'Friars)	45	922	5,542

APPENDIX 1 (Cont'd.)

	BLACKFRIARS	PUPIL-TEACHERS	TEACHERS
1906	185	759	4,546
1907	299	634	4,812
1908	313	362	5,052
1909	296	211	5,325
1910	303	36	5,561

APPENDIX 2TRAINING SCHOOL FINANCE 1880-1910

	FORT STREET	HURLSTONE
1884	£5,673- 2- 5	£4,573-15-10
1885	£6,098- 9- 6	£4,307-15- 4
1886	£8,350-10- 4	£3,461-15- 0
1887	£4,967- 5- 4	£3,433-11- 5
1888	£3,452- 7- 6	£2,990-13- 1
1889	£4,134-18- 1	£3,043-12- 1
1890	£5,324-19- 6	£3,563-15- 3
1891	£5,774-16- 2	£3,688-13- 4
1892	£5,006- 0-10	£3,473- 0- 4
1893	£4,727- 3- 3	£2,832- 7- 6
1894	£3,829-13- 2	£2,767-12- 0
1895	£2,145- 1- 5	£2,254-14- 8
1896	£2,015- 3- 9	£2,160- 1- 8
1897	£2,170- 0- 3	£2,234- 7-11
1898	£1,712-17- 6	£2,084- 3- 9
1899	£1,999-18- 7	£2,290- 6- 5
1900	£2,111- 3- 6	£2,887- 0- 5
1901	£2,084-15- 2	£2,666- 2- 0
1902	£2,297- 5- 3	£3,044-14- 3
1903	£2,180-15- 0	£2,912-17-10
1904	£2,177-19-11	£2,677-10- 2
1905	£2,327- 5- 6	£2,801- 8-10

APPENDIX 2 (Cont'd.)

	BLACKFRIARS
1906	£11,258-14- 3
1907	£15,704- 2- 2
1908	£19,504-13-10
1909	£19,905-17- 4
1910	£23,262-16- 9

APPENDIX 3DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTIONGRANT FROM STATE FUNDS, 1881-1910

1881	£427,810- 0- 3
1882	£567,488- 2-10
1883	£770,425- 8- 5
1884	£717,590-12-11
1885	£604,770-13-10
1886	£591,246- 8- 4
1887	£561,086-19- 4
1888	£527,548- 7-11
1889	£563,910- 0-10
1890	£632,433- 1- 0
1891	£769,565- 0- 0
1892	£768,395- 2- 3
1893	£715,219- 9- 7
1894	£661,054-15- 5
1895	£701,826-13- 6
1896	£651,307- 0- 4
1897	£692,395-10- 7
1898	£729,922- 0- 3
1899	£737,080- 7-10
1900	£780,215-17-11
1901	£761,636-19-10
1902	£814,883- 8-11
1903	£861,544- 6- 8
1904	£847,829-15- 9
1905	£839,976-18- 6

APPENDIX 3 (Cont'd.)

1906	£881,580-13- 8
1907	£922,295- 0- 5
1908	£1,085,019-13-10
1909	£1,094,009-16-11
1910	£1,174,538-12- 8

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