DUNSTAN, Ross Howard
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PRIMARY EDUCATION IN NEW SOUTH WALES
1880 - 1910

A study of the development of the Primary system of education with special reference to continuity and change in established patterns, and to the emergence of the New Education, and its influence upon the curriculum.

Ross H. Dunstan, B.A.

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

1969
HEAD OFFICE, EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

(occupied from 1881. New building commenced 1912.)

- N.S.W., Three Years of Education, Sydney: Govt Printer, 1913. Frontispiece.
As with any statement of religious ethics, or of philosophy, so with the enunciation of the principles of education. They are true only for the time, condition of thought, and development of the people who make them; and can only be rightly understood in their relation to the conditions under which they existed. But the wiser course is not to condemn the old system, under which the grand and great men in times past grew to be intellectual beacons, and by which we have grown to be what we are prone to consider ourselves — not only the latest, but the greatest and best development of civilisation; but to devote our energies to preventing people from attempting to make them still serve under a new condition of things. Whether that condition is an improvement does not affect the argument. It is the only possible condition until a new one is brought about.

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Mrs. Hart, and Rev. Roberts, of the Presbyterian Church;

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Mrs. McCann and Mrs. Hussey who typed the script;

Dr. C. Turney, who as supervisor offered invaluable advice and criticism;

My family upon whom fell much of the burden of encouragement, criticism, proof reading and collation.
The New Education in its most easily comprehensible form might be defined as resting upon the scientific bases of Herbartianism and Kindergarten while embracing philosophies which may be traced back through Pestalozzi to Rousseau. To this basis came contributions from the various philosophies originally underlying several distinct movements including Manual Training, Science, Moral Instruction, and Experimental Psychology. But revolutionary change had not always to be made in the best contemporary educational practice. Procedures might be justified upon perhaps more sound bases than those of their original proponents, but general acceptance appeared to stem from the fact that the ideas of these educators seemed to work and could be justified in terms of current educational theory and usage.

This study has undertaken the task of searching out a New Education, indefinable except within a given context and at a given time, in all its manifestations in the Primary schools of New South Wales, and against a complex environmental background. There has been no attempt however, to follow through the development of New Education after its initial introduction for the study has been limited in its scope to the thirty years following the passage of the Public
Instruction Act of 1880. This period has been selected as allowing a reasonably detailed study of the precursors and initial impact of the reform of the 1900's.

The underlying theme of continuity and change in established patterns has grown out of a belief that a comprehensive and analytical account of educational progress at the turn of the century might be contributed. Thus an attempt is made to revise the over-facile interpretation of the preceding years as ones of stagnation, to provide evidence of the factors which gave rise to the New Education, and to place its contribution to educational progress in New South Wales in a factual context.

The achievements of the Act which was to determine the organisation of education throughout the period are assessed and the legacy of the past determined. Organisational and administrative aspects of education essential to the determination of progress and understanding of later interpretations and discussion are surveyed. Against this background and that of complex contemporary technical, social, political and economic development, the New Education is defined and its assimilation in New South Wales explained. Developments of curriculum and method are traced as providing practical expression of the New Education and means for its dissemination. The investigation of the possible influences
of private schools upon reform and the sifting of evidence to reveal the condition of these schools, completes the exposition the main themes of which are then summarised and commented upon.
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ABSTRACT

This study of the development of Primary education in New South Wales, 1880 - 1910, seeks to investigate the emergence of the New Education, together with continuity and change in established educational patterns. Upon the basis of a survey of educational development preceding the 1880 Act, its achievement is assessed and the legacy of the past determined.

Following this introduction, Chapters II and III provide a survey of the organisation and administration of the system under the Act in order to note trends and to allow progress before and after 1900 to be determined. Details important to the understanding of later discussion and interpretation are included incidentally to the main themes. The educational Conferences of the 1900's are seen as representing a gradual evolution of Departmental communication processes. From the viewpoint of the teacher the dominance of established procedures proves still to be the underlying theme. Improving prospects and morale in the service at the turn of the century are shown to have been short-lived in the face of ineffective Departmental reorganisation of classification, promotion, salaries and training. In the routine of school life little change was apparent and in conformity lay reward by the system.
The introduction to Chapter IV seeks to place in perspective the continuity and change inherent in contemporary technical, social, political and economic developments. The complex known as the New Education is defined, particularly in relation to its manifestations in England and the United States and its assimilation in New South Wales, for the term is held to be indefinable except within a given context and at a given time. Herbartianism and Kindergarten are finally examined as forming the scientific bases of the New Education, although greatly modified in the New South Wales environment.

Four Chapters next trace the development of the Primary school curriculum, relating practical expression of the New Education to its psychological bases. Following a summary of the background development of each subject area, the post-1880 patterns of development are examined in an attempt to assess the degree of change and areas of impact of the New Education.

In Chapter V dealing with Manual Training and Drawing, the dominance of an English-inspired technical training is seen ultimately to force the sacrifice of principles such as those advocated in Sweden and America. Needlework develops into a broader Domestic Arts course while Drawing is interpreted as providing a vehicle for dissemination of new
ideas.

Chapter VI notes not only the psychological factors influencing Physical Education, but also the role of personalities, social factors and outside organisations upon its teaching. Child Study, the Cadet movement and athletic associations are treated in some detail.

The effective teaching of Nature Study and Geography is regarded in Chapter VII as one of the most promising of the changes wrought, but the treatment recognises the need for the greater professionalism of outlook on the part of faddists, which might have come from an effective training system. History teaching is depicted as being less adaptable to the new methods and therefore somewhat neglected.

Changed emphasis upon subject groupings is illustrated in the survey of Music, English and Mathematics, which forms the eighth Chapter. All three subject groupings provide evidence of resistance to new methods and ideals. Particular note is made of the Library movement of the nineties as a vehicle for the introduction of much of what the New Education was to reinforce. A review of overall curriculum development draws out the dominant theme that pre-1900 developments in each subject area significantly limited the impact of the New Education and its effect upon teaching practice in particular fields.
Possible influences of the private schools upon the New Education, and the sifting of evidence to reveal the condition of these schools, form the main subjects of Chapter IX. The organisation and development of the various categories of private schools reveal a failure in most sectors to provide effective means of education. Lack of government supervision and control is found to be partly the product of Catholic demands for recognition and financial support for their schools, but the failure of the State to evolve an effective compromise is nevertheless recognised as having prevented effective reform in many schools throughout the State. However, in schools associated with the Teachers' Association (Guild) is found some consistency of progress, modified by the adherence of such schools to the English Great Public School tradition. The role of the girls' schools in the development of the Kindergarten movement in both State schools and those of the Kindergarten Union, is assessed as the main contribution of the private schools to the reform movement.

The final Chapter summarises and comments upon some of the main themes.
CHAPTER I

TRADITIONS AND DEVELOPMENTS IN EDUCATION TO 1880

In selecting the year 1880 as a starting point for an interpretation of educational developments in New South Wales Primary education, the historian finds an advantage in being able to define in the Public Instruction Act an initial event of some moment while yet being able to avoid too arbitrary a division of the events of the ensuing years from their antecedents. Even to the casual observer the paternal role of Henry Parkes in relation to both the Public Schools Act of 1866 and the Act of 1880 suggests a continuity of influence preceding the latter.

Only in relation to tradition may the achievements of the 1880 Act be meaningfully explained, for its claim to provide one State-supported system of free, secular and compulsory education must be seen in some respects both as a compromise with 1866 principles and a consolidation of the establishment. Implied in the Act yet transcending it, the factor of centralism was also to influence profoundly the post-1880 educational system in compounding the bureaucracy of the newly-formed Department. The pre-1880 legacy
therefore becomes increasingly meaningful as the growth of centralism is traced through the growth of the Denominational schools and the importation of systems of education.

The Public Instruction Act of 1880 in Perspective

On 16th April 1880, Royal Assent was given to a Public Instruction Act replacing the Public Schools Act of 1866. In that this Act marked the culmination of a long series of developments, the assumption might be drawn that here was a turning point in New South Wales elementary education. Visible, undeniable change there certainly was. The Council of Education created under the Public Schools Act of 1866 was dissolved and in its place was set a government Department of Public Instruction responsible through its own Minister to Parliament, with its officers henceforth enjoying the status of civil servants of the Crown. All aid to Denominational schools was to be withdrawn, the State being empowered to set up Public schools for primary education; Superior Public schools for educational extensions to be later defined; Evening Primary schools; and High schools. In addition the need for Provisional schools and itinerant teachers in sparsely populated areas continued to be recognised. Education henceforth was to be secular (but with allowance
for religious instruction in schools); compulsory between the ages of six to fourteen; and "relatively free", the weekly fee for Public schools being 3d per child up to a maximum total per family of 1/- . Provision was made for relief from fees when inability to pay was shown and also for free rail travel.¹

Hailed in 1920 as "the foundation stone of the present educational system"² no feature of the Act could be said to be entirely new. Each clause grew out of a long history of established practice, for the late 70's were years of "febrile excitement", "unreal thinking"³, and unstable government, neither party nor minister exercising continuous and effective governmental control. In such a political atmosphere it would be unrealistic to expect the tottering ministries to have attempted any but the most obvious reforms. There was little incentive for the various factions in Parliament to develop a comprehensive governmental policy. As there was little chance of identifying the "Opposition" as

¹vide, N.S.W., Public Instruction Act of 1880, Sydney: Govt. Printer, 1908.


we know it today because of the unreliability of faction support, it was impractical for a cohesive alternative to be set against government proposals. Politics in the 1870's centred not upon parties but upon patronage:

The parties ... were in fact fluctuating groups of members who acknowledged ... leaders in the hope of getting paid cabinet posts, of great importance when the ordinary Members of the Legislative Assembly were unpaid, or particular public works in their electorates, at a time when there was no local government, or public service posts for their supporters, at a time when patronage was the basis of service recruitment.1

There was hope in these circumstances of only a conservative degree of change where major issues were involved:

(Election issues) fell into their normal pattern of vague general questions and peculiar local matters affecting particular constituencies. There was no hope ... at any election before 1891 of competing general party programmes being put before the whole electorate.2

Such a political structure did not however, preclude significant progress being made in isolated instances. The minimal reform achieved by Parkes in the 1880 Act is explicable within such a political context. Since election campaigns tended to centre upon personalities involved,


2 Ibid, 7.
factions with an eye to winning a majority of votes naturally gathered around leaders whose past performances inspired some confidence. Such a one was Parkes. A faction thus identified with the policy of their particular leader was unlikely to yield easily to pressures for change which were not firmly related to the traditional policy which the electorate had come to recognise. In the continual re-grouping of factions the governing personality might perchance find himself in power without a direct mandate from the people.¹ Parkes, faced with such a situation, needed to pursue a policy designed to expand or at least keep intact his faction supporters while yet appealing to the electorate upon which his future depended. In this respect contemporary politics was little different from that under the modern party system. Policy was determined by the degree to which support from other factions and individuals could be attracted through concessions without alienating Parkes' own supporters. It is in this context that his concessions to the secularists may be reconciled with his conviction as to the correctness of his 1866 solution.

In attempting a brief introduction to the background of the 1880 Act the dangers of over-simplification must be

¹As in the case of Parkes' ministry following the defeat of Farnell and the resignation of Robertson, December, 1878. vide, C.E. Lyne, Life of Sir Henry Parkes, Sydney: Robertson, 1896, 373 ff.
avoided by pointing to Parkes' undoubted leadership characteristics which enabled him to attract a limited amount of disinterested support. No doubt the pervasive character and local impact of the New South Wales education system also played an important role in rallying support for the Bill. The schools themselves were very much the concern of local politics but egalitarianism and the tradition of centralised control which had been exercised by Wilkins and the Council of Education meant that what was done for one had to be done for all. Interest at the local level had however to be organised and made articulate on a State-wide basis if it were to have any tangible effect. Whatever their motivations disputes such as occurred between Parkes and Greenwood acted as instruments focussing vague demands for reform upon particular aspects of the educational scene - compulsory attendance, fees, higher and technical education and the sectarian issue. 1 Each of these, and a host of ancillary questions had arisen before. They had not previously been solved and they were not to be solved by the Act of 1880. What ultimately affected the man in the street was not the parliamentary Act but the labyrinthine niceties of its administration. Legislation could only point the

way for a sympathetic administration.

The passage of the Public Instruction Act was no more than another milestone in the development of some important educational issues which had come under periodic public review. The long journey continued under conditions very similar to those previously encountered and those travellers who sometimes had the uneasy feeling that they had been this way before, were not always under a delusion. An otherwise unremarkable piece of legislation, the 1880 Public Instruction Act has attracted attention by the fact that it was "perhaps the most significant and enlightened achievement" of an era of parliamentary ineptitude. This spurious claim to fame has tended to distract attention from the real significance of the Act - that it itself typified and further entrenched the established tradition whereby change was to be incorporated in the New South Wales educational structure. The Act simply gave legal effect to what had been already clearly established and in claiming to have settled the major problems facing the system paved the way for its characteristic preoccupation with administration.

\[1\] Nairn, op. cit., 5.
Plagued as the government was during the 1870's and 80's by the gyrations of the free trade and protectionist "parties", it is inconceivable that it could have effectively functioned as a leader of radical social change even if such a function of government had then been recognised as legitimate. There is certainly little practical evidence of government's attempt to overcome the natural conservatism of society in the face of the already evident demands of developing technology. There is, on the contrary, evidence to suggest government resistance to social demands through motives of political expediency and self-aggrandisement. The struggle which Greenwood and the Public Schools' League faced in trying to have a predominantly secular system of education recognised as such by Parkes in the 1880 Act has been interpreted by Morris¹ partly in these terms. It is certain that Greenwood felt Parkes to be at least six years behind public opinion in delaying the Bill until 1880 through his pandering to the ecclesiastical vote.² In the wider sphere of potential government concern, Nairn has summarised the results of what he terms the inept, individualistic approach to politics from 1856 to 1891:

¹Morris, op. cit., 205 ff.
²Parliamentary Debates, 1879-80, I, 338.
The franchise and the procedure for amending the Constitution were liberalized, and the ballot gained in the 1850's; the electoral system was reformed in 1880; payment of members conceded in 1889; operative from 1891. There were complex Land Acts in 1861 and 1884, various regulatory Acts connected with the shipping and mining industries, land boilers, trade unions, friendly societies and employers' liability for injury. Public health was hardly touched, the practice of medicine virtually unregulated. Legal reforms were often delayed, especially divorce reform. Social services were left largely to private charity; working conditions generally to trade unions.¹

The initiation of change appeared in these times to lie not with the Parliament but with outside bodies. Greenwood's entry into Parliament as a champion of the Public Schools League² forms in this context something of an innovation which may be seen as strengthening the hand of the secularist lobby to the extent necessary to force concessions.³ The political environment of factionalism and its implications for policy-making nevertheless severely limited the likelihood of thoroughgoing reform in state-dominated institutions such as the schools had come to be.

The main function of reform then was to bolster the "establishment". The basic factor determining government

¹Nairn, op. cit., 4.
²Lynn, op. cit., 353 ff.
³For an assessment of Greenwood's role in the passage of the 1880 Act vide, Morris, op. cit., 272 ff.
educational policy until late in the nineteenth century was how to incorporate in the system a minimum of reform to satisfy outside agitation without at the same time alienating the mass of New South Wales society content to let things take their course so long as equanimity was preserved. Renewal of sectarian rivalry was a disturbance demanding solution, yet with a minimum of interference with the status quo. More thoroughgoing reform would have required more than the modicum of leadership and cohesion which the times provided. A later change in public attitude and some political maturity was required before something approaching a deliberate educational policy could emerge. Meanwhile, personal attacks on the government by people like Archbishop Vaughan\(^1\) could quickly cause Parkes' policies on education to crystallize, even though this might mean renouncing his previously uncompromising views on the sectarian issue, compulsion and fees in the schools of New South Wales.

\(^1\)Vaughan is credited with having precipitated the bringing down of the 1880 Act through attacks upon the Public schools contained in a Joint Pastoral Letter and other letters of his own composition. (\textit{vide}, C. Turney, \textit{The History of Education in N.S.W. 1788-1900}, unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Univ. of Sydney, 1962, III, Ch. XXXV.) It should be remembered that Vaughan's statements were however the culmination of a series of similar attacks dating from the passage of the 1866 Act. For earlier examples \textit{vide}, E.J. Braggett, "The Public Schools Act of 1866 and its Aftermath", \textit{J. of R.A.H.S.}, LII, Sept., 1966, 180 ff.
Traditionalism and Achievements of the 1880 Act

K. Gollan's assessment of the 1880 Act provides a suitable basis for its discussion as a legal statement of the educational developments to that date resulting from a process of amendment of tradition: "Henceforth, New South Wales was to have but one State-supported system of education, dominated by the great principles that education should be 'free, secular and compulsory ...'."¹ The discussion of the elements of Gollan's appraisal will in turn require a reassessment of the Act as one of compromise and consolidation of principles established up to 1866.

- "One State-Supported System"

Prior to the passage of the Public Instruction Act of 1880, New South Wales schools were supported financially in one of three ways. Public schools relied upon the State for all finance except that derived from fees payments. Certified Denominational schools received payments from public funds for salaries, books and apparatus, travelling expenses in a few cases and also received a proportion of Church and Schools Estates revenue.² Private schools were

¹K. Gollan, op. cit., 33, my emphasis.
completely dependent upon their own resources. The withdrawal under the 1880 Act of State aid from Certified Denominational schools\(^1\) meant from the financial point of view that only the Public school system continued to receive State support. In this sense there was to be "one State-supported system". This interpretation however overlooks the fact that the Public and Certified Denominational schools prior to 1880 were integral parts of the one educational system for both were subject to the Act except in regard to religious instruction.\(^2\) State financial support distinguished the schools of the Council of Education from Private schools in the same way as the schools of the Department of Public Instruction later were to be.

Financial considerations apart, after 1880 the old Denominational schools, now Private schools, retained their right to continue sectarian teachings within the State-dominated system. This right was the ultimate in State aid. The State recognised and in this sense supported both Public

\(^1\) Under the Act aid was not to be actually withdrawn until 31st December, 1882. *vide,* Public Instruction Act, 1880, *op. cit.*, Sect., 28.

\(^2\) *vide,* N.S.W. Public Schools Act of 1866, Sydney: Bone, 1875, Sections 9 and 11.
and Private schools as part of its educational system, attendance at Private schools being accepted as complying with the attendance provisions of the 1880 Act.¹

Although the significance of the Public Instruction Act cannot therefore be adequately conveyed by "one State-supported system", the phrase does stress features of New South Wales education before and after 1880, which help to place the Act in perspective. That Act effected a solution to the State's educational problems which was dictated by dominant trends in educational development rather than sudden perception by a government ahead of its time, of the need for radical social legislation to lead and mould public opinion.

It is not denied that the withdrawal of State aid was a step of some political magnitude. Parkes resolutely opposed such a move until renewed sectarian bitterness threatened a disruption more serious than that which he sought to avoid. He had to expect a hostile reaction not only from the Roman Catholic Church but also from the Church of England which maintained in 1879 sixty-seven Certified Denominational schools as against the Roman Catholic's eighty-three. Total enrolment in these Anglican schools was only 1,029 pupils

¹vide, N.S.W., Public Instruction Act of 1880, Sect. 20.
### ANNUAL NUMBERS OF SCHOOLS UNDER THE COUNCIL OF EDUCATION

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<td>181</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>878</td>
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<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>396</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>902</td>
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<td>1873</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>942</td>
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<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>420</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>461</td>
<td>262</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>1,030</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>503</td>
<td>279</td>
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<td>181</td>
<td>1,073</td>
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<td>1877</td>
<td>561</td>
<td>266</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>178</td>
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<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>620</td>
<td>285</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>1,187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>684</td>
<td>317</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>1,268</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N.S.W., Reports of the Council of Education for 1879, op. cit., 7.
The strength of the Denominational movement had however been greatly undermined by the restrictive provisions of the 1866 Act. Aid had been made conditional upon Denominational schools being certified, two of the requirements being an attendance of thirty pupils at the Denominational school and of at least seventy pupils at a Public school within five miles of it. Although established Denominational schools had to comply only with the provision requiring at least thirty pupils in regular attendance, the number of Denominational schools halved over the years between the Acts while the number of Public schools more than doubled.

Therefore since the late 60's there had been a clearly established growth towards the fully State-supported Public schools at the expense of the State-aided Denominational schools. That people of all denominations supported the

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2 N.S.W. Public Schools Act of 1866, Sect. 9.

3 Ibid.

4 Vide, Table page 14.
Public system is suggested by figures given in applications for these schools. In 1879 of the 3,242 children whose attendance was promised 1,537 were Anglican, 970 Roman Catholic, 401 Presbyterian, 286 Wesleyan and 48 unspecified religion. Given a few more years the virtual monopoly of the educational system by the Public schools might have been complete. However, the Catholic Church, already alarmed, tried to turn the tide and persuade Catholic parents not to send their children to the Public schools. The reaction of the government to this attack upon the Public schools and to the threat of renewed sectarian discord speeded up the evolutionary process, but the practical aspect of educational provision within New South Wales remained relatively unchanged. Those Certified Denominational schools that survived the withdrawal of State aid joined the ranks of the Private schools which, though dominated by the Public schools, remained legally and ethnically part of the one New South Wales system of education. However, though supported by the State in principle, the Private schools remained distinguished from the Public schools by their


2 This was apparently Parkes' own view. vide, Morris, op. cit., 233.
freedom from State control in an otherwise centralised system.

- "Free, Secular and Compulsory"

Free education in New South Wales did not become a reality until the passage of the 1906 Free Education Act but the myth of free education was associated with the 1880 Act and perpetuated over the years. In repeating the slogan "free, secular and compulsory" in reference to the Public Instruction Act, commentators have justified their distortion of fact by pleading the excuse that education was "virtually free". Gollan's statement is typical:

As a matter of fact the word "free" must be used relatively, for I believe there is no doubt that the Act favoured free education. In fact, I believe that free education would have been adopted entirely in 1880, had not Parkes, the framer of the Act been influenced otherwise. Consider, firstly the amount of the fee. It was very small, (3d. per week), and could be evaded with a good excuse. Again, when we remember that the largest amount ever collected from fees barely covered one-tenth of the total cost of education, we see that it was never intended to make the pupils pay the full cost of their education.

The argument is specious for Gollon's "matter of fact" is an opinion which, although claiming to place the question of

1K. Gollan, op. cit., 40.
school fees in perspective, does not state by what standards education was "relatively free". If related to the average fee of 6d. per week payable under the Council of Education, fees payable by the average family after 1880 apparently would have been halved. However according to figures given in the 1879 Annual Report the average amount paid per year by pupils enrolled was between 10/7½d., (1874) and 10/10½d., (1879). Allowing for five weeks' holidays the average pupil therefore actually paid between 2·7d. and 2·8d. per week. Even allowing for duplication of enrolments, the prospect facing pupils' parents after 1880 was in fact little changed, for although on the face of it the set fee of 3d. per child per week might have represented a reduction, attendance was to be compulsory and the fee therefore payable for every week of the school year. That compulsory attendance failed has little effect upon the argument that, as proposed by the 1880 Act, the real cost of fees remained practically unaltered and education under that Act was to be no freer than before. The failure of the compulsory clauses does however help to explain the apparent reduction

1 N.S.W. Report of the Minister of Public Instruction 1880, Sydney: Govt. Printer, 1881, 10.
3 vide, Sect. 88, Regulations under 1866 Act.
in fees reflected in the fall in fees revenue from £73,227 in 1879\(^1\) to £56,800 in 1880\(^2\) and £47,097 in 1881\(^3\).

When related to the economic circumstances of the time, school fees certainly cannot be dismissed as being less significant than before the 1880 Act in their effect upon education in New South Wales. Although the late 70's and early 80's were years of rising money wages and falling retail prices\(^4\) there was nevertheless poverty among an increasingly vocal working class\(^5\). The fact that, as K. Gollan indicates, parents "with a good excuse" tried to evade payment of fees\(^6\) suggests that it was worth their while to go to this trouble. The other argument, that because fees were not high enough to meet the major portion of the cost of schools, these schools were "relatively free",

\(^1\)Council of Education Reports, 1879, loc. cit.)

\(^2\)Minister's Report, 1880, 14.

\(^3\)ibid, 1881, 18


\(^6\)Francis Anderson also claimed the fee helped to foster irregular attendance. vide, F. Anderson, The Public School System of N.S.W., Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1901, 7.
overlooks the importance of the incidence of the burden of school fees. Wage-earners could not be expected to console themselves with the fact that the cost of education was more than they contributed directly in fees. The point was that they, with few exceptions, had to pay a fee for the education of their children such education being "compulsory".\(^1\) Education for them most certainly was not "free" in the sense that it could be paid for from State revenue having a more indirect relationship to the wage-earner's pocket.

The reason for the retention of school fees is probably to be found in Parkes' strong sense of the need for local support of education\(^2\) and his denial of the need for compulsory education to be also free\(^3\).

There was an obvious economic problem as well. The proposed expansion of the Public school system under the Act, the setting up of the new Department of Public Instruction, and the replacement of the Council by a Minister of Public Instruction\(^4\) would place additional strain upon the already

\(^{1}\)This was a prominent feature of debate on the Bill. \textit{vide}, Morris, op. cit., 247 ff.

\(^{2}\)Parliamentary Debates, 1879-80, I, 270.

\(^{3}\)ibid, 1046.

over-burdened financial resources of the government. To this Parkes could not have been expected to add the additional and perhaps unnecessary burden which would have resulted from the absolute abolition of fees.¹ Thus although the direct payment of teachers from fees was abolished as not being in accord with Parkes¹ avowed policy of raising their professional standing,² the fees themselves were retained, a circuitous method of payment being evolved whereby fees paid to the teacher were remitted to the government's Consolidated Revenue Fund. The teacher in turn was paid from the Fund which now had to meet the added expenses of collection and redistribution of the monies. If in addition the cost of free rail passes to the nearest school, Public or Private,³ were to be subtracted from the total amount of revenue from school fees, it is probable that the government gained little from the extremely close (29 votes to 23) decision to continue to charge fees.⁴ "Free"

¹For discussion of Parkes¹ arguments for retention of fees vide, Morris, op. cit., 247 ff.

²S.M.H. 13/9/1866.


education therefore meant that the cost to the government of maintaining the system was much the same as if no fees had been charged, the expenses of collection saved and the need for concessions such as free rail passes obviated. As it turned out the introduction of such concessions ultimately resulted in education becoming "freer than free" i.e., being subsidised by the government, for by the time the Free Education Act had been passed in 1906, people had come to regard it as their right that free travel to school be afforded their children.

However, as explained above this sort of argument did not appeal to parents faced with the weekly prospect of paying from 3d. to 1/- to the teacher, especially as this was not the whole direct cash demand for their children's education. The gradual abolition of slates, for example, meant an increasing charge for stationery and other items not supplied by the Department.

Since the 1880 Act continued the clearly established pattern of fees payment with but slight, if any, lessening of the incidence of the levy, the description of education after

\textsuperscript{1}vide, Minister's Report, 1896, "A good many children suffer in their handwriting from having no copy books, sometimes for long intervals. The parents are often too poor to provide the necessary 2d., ..."
1880 as "free" when, according to the conventional use of the word it was not, may be questioned. The answer lies in a wider definition of the term, apparently encouraged by the authorities. It was put abroad that things were going to be "easier" from the financial point of view. Thus, not only were fees to be "reduced" from the level fixed under the 1866 Act but the idea developed that exemptions from fees payments were to be easier to obtain. This is clearly implied in the Minister's Report for 1880. After alluding to a reduction in the amount expected to be derived from fees in 1881, the report continued:

Applications to be relieved from the payment of fees continue to be received, and the inquiry invariably made as to their merits proves that, except in very few cases, the circumstances of the applicants justify their exemption from liability to pay.  

The number of exemptions granted was in fact almost halved from one in 16.5 pupils in June Quarter, 1789 to one in 29.6 pupils in June Quarter, 1880. Also conveyed by the term "free" when applied to education under the 1880 Act was the sense of equality

1N.S.W. Minister's Report, 1880, op. cit., 14

arising from the fact that henceforth fees were to be the same for everyone. Whereas previously fees had been directly related to school attendance, the compulsory attendance provisions of the 1880 Act implied that all pupils through being forced to attend regularly, would be liable to pay a similar annual amount of approximately 11/9d. This was about the same amount as was shown above to be the average paid under the Council.

This uniformity was the real financial innovation of the Act although the motives of the government in introducing it may be questioned. The spirit of the Act which made all teachers civil servants required that they be not subject to the financial pressures associated with being rewarded partly from fees. This combined with Parkes' concern for the professional standing of teachers and a growing sense of the inappropriateness of piece-payments in a system purporting to educate. Centralised collection of fees (by teachers acting as agents of the government) demanded uniform rates and the government, though committed to the retention of fees had also to avoid the alienation of the substantial minority

\[1\text{vidē, e.g., Morris, op. cit., 254, "... it is by no means fantastic to conceive that he (Parkes) refrained from making public education free in order to save the place (from Greenwood) with posterity that seemed to be his for the claiming.".} \]
which favoured abolition of fees. Supporters of the Act naturally were anxious to represent changes in the basic structure of school finance as being in the direction of the free education being so vehemently demanded. Thus arose the myth of free education under the 1880 Public Instruction Act.

In regard to the "secular" nature of the education required by the 1880 Act change was again more apparent than real. Under the previous legislation the State system could not be said to be secular for there were Denominational schools receiving aid from the State and virtually functioning therefore as State schools. On the other hand, the Public as distinct from the Denominational schools were required by the 1866 Act to devote set periods to religious instruction both generally within the curriculum and of a sectarian nature under provisions for visiting clergy. A "conscience" clause allowed individual pupils to be exempted from religious instruction. These provisions for religious instruction in Public schools were continued after 1880 reflecting Parkes' personal conviction of religious training necessarily being an integral part of education. In that

1 Apart from a few machinery clauses, the sections of the respective Acts dealing with religious instruction (1866, Sect. 19, 1880, Sect. 17) were essentially identical, with the exception that whereas the 1866 Act required not less than one hour to be set aside each day for visiting clergy, the 1880 Act required not more than one hour.
State aid to Private schools was withdrawn after 1882 education financially supported by the State became "secular" if in fact the definition of the term can be stretched to include the religious training which was not just permitted, but required under both Acts: "... the words 'secular instruction' shall be held to include general religious teaching as distinguished from dogmatical or polemical theology ...". ¹

It is necessary to search further afield for any change in the situation after 1880 to justify the application of the catch-phrase "secular" to the teachings in the schools. There was obviously some emotional "carry over" from the sectarian issues which led to the withdrawal of State aid to Denominational schools. The popular conception of education after 1880 being somehow more secular than before is easily explainable in terms of this. Regarded as the final blow to sectarianism in State supported schools, the withdrawal of State aid meant to the public mind that the State schools were now "secular" and that the education imparted through them could be described likewise. In fact the term was used as descriptive of the State school system to indicate the

¹N.S.W. Public Schools Act of 1866, Sect. 30.
N.S.W. Public Instruction Act of 1880, Sect. 7.
severance of aid to the Denominational schools, the type of education imparted remaining much the same as before. If the definition of "secular education" contained in the Acts is accepted, the 1880 Act was not responsible for the secularisation of education in New South Wales but merely elaborated upon the provisions of the 1866 Act. Again we see the 1880 Act as a legal expression of changes already wrought. If one does not accept the definition of "secular" in both Acts,¹ the 1880 Act merely served to reinforce the type of religious instruction laid down in 1866, the product of a considerable history of sectarianism. From either point of view, the main claim of the 1880 Act to the advancement of "secular" education was its exclusion from State financial support of those schools previously not subject to restriction in regard to religious instruction.² They remained however an integral part of the system of education in New South Wales.³

¹ i.e. the requirement of general religious instruction with provision for exclusion of dissenters and the admission of visiting clergy with provision for segregation of groups and exclusion of dissenters.

² *vide* *ibid.*, Sect. 11, "In all Certified Denominational Schools the Religious Instruction shall be left entirely under the control of the Heads of the Denomination to which any such School may belong."

³ *vide infra*, 534
Though content to introduce only minor modifications to the proven secular education provisions of the 1866 Act,\(^1\) the framers of the 1880 Act were under considerable pressure to introduce compulsory attendance. The moment was opportune both in the moral and practical senses. The government by its failure at the same time to abolish fees showed that it was not entirely preoccupied with morality when practical considerations weighed heavy. It was obvious that the role of education in moulding the character of the population as a whole was unattainable without compulsory attendance, for in general those most in need of the protection of the State were those not attending schools.\(^2\) Partly a reaction to this demand for interference on humanitarian grounds, the government attitude to compulsion was also a logical extension of the egalitarianism of New South Wales society in that education was to be extended equally to all, whether they wanted it or not, in their own interests and in the

\(^1\) Cable sees the continued provision for religious instruction in the Public schools as being "a victory for the education position of the laity of the Church of England". \textit{vide}, K.J. Cable, \textit{The Church of England in New South Wales and its Policy Towards Education Prior to 1880}, unpublished M.A. Thesis, Univ. of Sydney, 1952, (no pagination).

interests of the State. The practical side of the question was perhaps harder to ignore. England had attempted to introduce compulsion by the Acts of 1870 and 1876 and was about to attempt to enforce attendance.\(^1\) This in itself was enough to justify similar action by her newly-weaned offspring. New South Wales in the midst of an economic boom was perhaps fortunate in being able to learn the relationship between education and economic survival from her mother country's bitter experience in the technological race in Europe.

But as so often happens, the coincidence of more mundane matters was probably of more immediate concern to the government. While teachers previously had been motivated by their retention of school fees and by the threat of reduction of their fixed salaries for poor pupil attendance,\(^2\) some attention to attendance of pupils could be guaranteed. The abuses associated with this device and its obvious failure to promote regular and universal attendance\(^3\)


\(^2\) *vide*, Public Schools Act of 1866, Sect. 49. "The above rates will be liable to reduction, in cases where the average attendance falls below thirty, and the Teacher is unable to satisfy the Council that this has arisen from causes beyond his control."

\(^3\) *vide*, Griffiths, loc. cit.
were themselves sufficient to justify compulsory attendance but the new provisions for payment of teachers wholly from Consolidated Revenue meant the removal of this ineffective method of securing attendance and threatened even more widespread absenteeism of pupils. The Act in doing away with the motivation associated with piece-payment of teachers, was forced to require compulsory attendance. The tendency to place one event before the other, as causal rather than resultant must however be resisted for it is also arguable that the compulsory attendance provisions enabled piece-payment of teachers to be abolished. It may be said nevertheless, that the interaction between various provisions of the Act of 1880 undoubtedly played an important part in determining the inclusion of particular points.

A most telling factor in favour of compulsory attendance was that the 1880 Act was an expression of the by now almost irrevocable committal of New South Wales to a State dominated and highly centralised system. To some of the framers of the Act, some form of compulsory attendance must have appeared almost mandatory in the light of the Act's organisational objectives. It is clear that Parkes himself could not wholeheartedly advocate compulsory attendance without abolition of
fees\textsuperscript{1} but those who succumbed to the fiction of free education were merely being consistent when they advocated enforcement of attendance. If education were free as they were told then surely when the State had gone to the trouble to provide the means, the indifference or deliberate obstruction of selfish parents should not be tolerated. In righteous indignation at the social evils of his time the Victorian moralist could easily vent his feelings upon the education system, especially for its failure to keep the baser elements of young society off the streets by locking them up in schoolrooms. And if this were not sufficient justification for compulsory schooling one had but to point with jealous rivalry to New South Wales' sister State Victoria where the introduction of compulsion was alleged to have resulted in the doubling of school attendance,\textsuperscript{2} so that by 1878 13\% of the Victorian population compared with only 8\% in New South Wales, attended school.\textsuperscript{3}

For these reasons compulsory attendance clauses were

\textsuperscript{1}Morris, \textit{op. cit.}, 242

\textsuperscript{2}S.M.H., 14/12/1874.

\textsuperscript{3}Greenwood in Parlt., 12/2/1878 - in Spaull, \textit{op. cit.}, 44.
incorporated in the 1880 Act. The story of their failure has often been told, reference being made by many commentators to the "defective" wording of the Act. But what was the real purpose of the "compulsory" clauses? If one studies the wording carefully it is clear that they are far from carelessly written. One might even be forgiven for coming to the conclusion that they were deliberately framed to convey to the casual observer the impression that in future, education between the ages six to fourteen was with certain exceptions to be compulsory. In fact this section was entirely dependent upon Section 21 which required each Public school district to be proclaimed by the Governor before the requirements of Section 20 could be enforced. The deliberate nature of this arrangement may be seen in Parkes' speech introducing the Bill: "... this provision will only be applied to proclaimed districts, so that it may be applied to one district where it is found necessary, and not to another, where it may be inapplicable."

1 cf. K. Gollan, op. cit., 41.

2 Francis Anderson while drawing attention to the fact that elementary education was not compulsory, claimed the compulsory clauses of the Victorian Act were "better drafted, and more efficiently carried out", vide, F. Anderson, op. cit., 6.

3 Public Instruction Act of 1880, Sect. 20.

Before further investigating the intricacies of the wording of the Act's provisions it is therefore possible to state at this point that the Act merely set up machinery whereby elementary education in New South Wales might be made compulsory. In other words, the passage of the Act into law did not make its provisions for compulsory attendance binding upon New South Wales citizens.

By the end of 1880 although twenty-one school districts had been constituted and defined mainly in the Sydney-Newcastle area, only ten had been brought under the provisions of clauses 20 and 21 of the Act. This ingenious example of political skulduggery was so successful in its projection of the idea of compulsion being incorporated in the Act that for some time after, the government was embarrassed for want of school accommodation to house the offspring of those parents who dutifully sent their children to school in the mistaken belief that the compulsory provisions of the Act were in effect. We have in the 1880 Report of the Minister of Public Instruction, evidence of the ludicrous situation which ensued. On the one hand the Chief Inspector enmeshed in the practical implications of the Act, drew attention to the unnecessary over-straining of the

1Minister's Report, 1880, 9-10.
Department's resources:

Immediately following the passing of the Public Instruction Act, a very marked increase was made to the number of children under instruction. This was partly due to the lowering of the rates of school fees, but chiefly to a pretty widespread impression that the compulsory clauses of the new Act were in force. Schools in all parts of the Colony suddenly became overcrowded; and great efforts had to be put forth by the department to provide the necessary accommodation. In many instances, temporary premises had to be rented in addition to the school buildings already in existence, and, where these could not be got school tents had to be used.¹

The Minister however, wrote at some length on the need for "delicate handling" of the matter of compulsory attendance referring to the provisions as though they were in operation even to the point of describing the success of the operations of the Principal School Attendance and Payments Officer and his four assistants. The insincerity of the political atmosphere surrounding the compulsory clauses can best be appreciated from direct quotation:

There should be a general understanding that the object of the Department in giving effect to the law is simply to secure what every parent must be assumed to desire - the welfare of his offspring. It is an essential part of this policy that parents should be left without the excuse that they did not know or comprehend their duty, or that adequate information or sufficient time was not given for compliance with the law.²

¹ibid., 48.
²ibid., 8.
The factors which were later to be put forward in the Minister's Reports\(^1\) as excuses for the failure of the Act to give rise to a system of compulsory attendance serve to underline the feasibility of the foregoing interpretation. The minimum attendance of seventy days each half-year\(^2\) gives the lie to any claim that a real attempt to enforce attendance was to be made, especially since the Regulations under the Act stated: "For all purposes of classification and examination, the actual attendance of a pupil in days shall determine his half-year in class such half-year to consist of 110 days".\(^3\) Similarly the liberality of the provisions for exemption\(^4\) cannot be explained away by pleading carelessness in drafting the Section. Carelessness in drafting might however explain the Act's failure to define a day's attendance which helped to compound the confusion. The vesting of much of the responsibility for attendance in the Public School Boards\(^5\) could not, on past experience, have

\(^1\) *vide, Minister's Report, 1881, passim.*

\(^2\) *Public Instruction Act of 1880, Sect. 20*

\(^3\) *Instructions to Teachers II, 14, in ibid., 1898, 20.*

\(^4\) *vide, ibid., Sect. 20.*

\(^5\) *Sect. 19 (iii) of the Act required Boards "To use every endeavour to induce parents to send their children regularly to School and to report the names of parents or guardians who refuse or fail to educate their children."*
resulted in effective administration in spite of, or because of, the responsibility of each Board for a school district rather than a single school as under the 1866 Act. In any case, only nineteen Public School Boards had been appointed by the end of 1880.\footnote{Minister's Report, 1880, \textit{op. cit.}, 10.}

As with the "free" and "secular" provisions of the Act, the "compulsory" attendance clauses were not all that they appeared. The Parkes–Robertson coalition must bear the responsibility. When the Bill was introduced in 1879 the coalition must have been aware of its increasing parliamentary support which was to result in the period 1880–2 being the only time between 1863 and 1887 that a faction, or more accurately a coalition of factions, constituted a majority of the House.\footnote{Loveday and Martin give the following figures for the period:}

\begin{tabular}{ll}
Steady supporters of Parkes and Robertson & 63 \\
Steady opponents of Parkes and Robertson & 19 \\
Unsteady supporters of Parkes and Robertson & 7 \\
Unsteady opponents of Parkes and Robertson & - \\
Independents & 21 \\
Undetermined & 12. \\
\end{tabular}


Noting with Loveday and Martin that factions in opposition were not necessarily in alliance themselves,\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}, 42.} it
is clear that in 1880 Parkes and Robertson were in a unique position to pass legislation of their own liking since members of the coalition factions tended to be bound by loyalty growing out of respect for their leaders and other elements. 1

- **Compromise**

Circumstance had forced Parkes to reconsider his 1866 Act but neither the attack by Archbishop Vaughan nor public and parliamentary criticism shook his belief in the correctness of the course he had taken in 1866. Minor changes of necessity had to be made but by 1880 Parkes had made no change in his fundamental belief that education could not be divorced from religion. Neither, in the circumstances in which the State found itself in 1880, could education in Parkes' opinion be free and compulsory. And yet the pressure upon the government to introduce "free, compulsory and secular" elementary education was so great that Parkes was forced to move. The result was a masterpiece of statesmanship - an Act which satisfied the demands of the groups pressuring the government, notably the Public

1Such as "expectation of favours to come", "ideological incompatibility with alternative leaders", and "the desire to preserve one's own political image". *ibid.*, 48.
Schools' League. The Roman Catholic Church was already alienated to a degree which enabled Parkes to solve the problem of State aid without regard to further electoral damage. By the processes described Parkes was able to take back with one hand much of what he had given with the other. The basic issue remained as before and though it appeared to be otherwise, education in New South Wales continued to be neither free, nor secular, nor compulsory. The innovations of the Act reflect to some extent the influence of Parkes' coalition partner, Sir John Robertson. In 1876 Robertson advocated amendment of the 1866 Act to abolish the Council of Education; establish a Department of Education under a Minister; restrict the growth of Denominational schools; increase teachers' remuneration; extend education to sparcely-populated districts; and provide night schools. It is interesting to note that the final Act included all these provisions. Parkes obviously noted the vote of 32 to 28 on the second reading before Robertson's Bill was ruled out of order on the ground that it had been improperly introduced. The exigencies of the

1 vide, Morris, op. cit., 239 ff.


3 Spaul, op. cit., 41-3.
latter coalition with Robertson certainly demanded Parkes' final support of the proposals which he had opposed at the time of their introduction into the House. Although there was much within the proposals with which Parkes agreed they were a blow against Denominationalism which prior to Archbishop Vaughan's interference he had pledged himself to support in the public interest.¹

Looked at in the light of the foregoing analysis, the Public Instruction Act appears to be less a product of a political genius than of an over-paternal and perhaps egotistical conservative but whatever his motivation, Parkes' political mastery was clearly demonstrated in his manoeuvring to postpone amendment of the 1866 Act until such time as he could introduce his own compromise with some certainty of being able to carry the House along with him. Archbishop Vaughan's utterances were the more significant for the time was already ripe for change.² It was clear that any change in the 1866 system would be at the expense of Denominationalism. Parkes' reaction to the attack was determined by his attitude that if the Catholics were to

¹vide, Fogarty, op. cit., 121, also Lyne, op. cit., 340.
²vide, Fogarty, ibid., 248 ff.
continue to fly in the face of attempts by the State to
steer a middle path in the controversy, then they forfeited
their right to consideration:

If the large privileges, which the system offered
to denominationalists, were to be spurned, with a
view to undermining and destroying the system
itself, then it was but natural that those, who
had given these privileges, should seek to
retaliate by abolishing them. But while some
persons were influenced by a feeling of
retaliation, others saw that, by removing the
remnant of denominationalism entirely from the
state-supported schools, the system would be both
purified and strengthened. While the enemy had
a footing in the camp, be it ever so slight, the
position was endangered. Exclude him, and it
was safe.

Change there must be, but provision for withdrawal of
State aid to Denominational schools did not mean that the
rest of the tried and tested 1866 system had to be scrapped.
Parkes was convinced that his original plan for New South
Wales education was still the best offering. The test of
his political skill was to satisfy as many of the
educational demands of society as possible but, from both
his own point of view and that of the public, at the least
sacrifice. This gave rise in practice to reaffirmation in
the new Act of the basic principles of that of 1866. The
schools, the main point of contact with the people,

1Lyme, op. cit., 384.
continued in the old accustomed ways and yet the public was told that an educational revolution had taken place. As the nineteenth century progressed presenting a continuing complexity of governmental problems to be solved, education tended to be regarded as a relatively settled question. After all, a new system had been introduced in 1880 and the problems most disruptive of society had been quietened, if not laid to rest. But the educational system which entered upon the new century was not merely twenty years old. It dated back in most of its elements to at least the 1860's, with each of these elements in turn moulded in a long-forgotten environment. In the meantime, New South Wales society had undergone rapid change associated not only with its adolescence. Also responding to kaleidoscopic foreign influences at the turn of the century and under the maturing influence of Federation, it was natural that she should look with horror upon the \textit{gaucherie} of earlier years. What might be termed the forces of heredity as distinct from those of contemporary environment were not however easily overcome.

\textsuperscript{1}vide infra, 241
Consolidation of the Principles of 1866

If the twenty years before 1900 had been characterised by compromise between what was being demanded by extremes of opinion and what was in the opinion of political leaders, feasible under the circumstances, this trait of democratic government did not change with the century. In fact, from one point of view the protagonists of the New Education of the early 1900's had less room to manoeuvre than had Parkes in his heyday. The system reflected in Parkes' legislation was more singularly a domestic accomplishment. The character of education in the early days of the colony was determined as much by social need as by foreign pressures and therefore took on a distinct local character though naturally based on the English model. In the origins and nature of the colony we may trace the beginnings of aspects of the New South Wales educational system which even today mark its individuality - factors within whose framework Parkes was free to manoeuvre in order to achieve what to him at the time seemed the best solution to the educational problems of the state. However, in carrying through the 1866 Public Schools Act he put an end to the phase of relatively free evolution of the system. The already indelible imprints of 1866 were impressed again under the
guise of reform in 1880 and if this were not enough a monolithic Department of Education was brought into being, buttressed against attack by the "advantages" extended to all teachers by requiring them in their new role of civil servants to be so circumspect in their public statements as to discourage healthy criticism. If there had previously been a progression towards centralisation and a "closed shop", the Public Instruction Act gave it such clear expression that the fact could not in future be ignored. Similarly the evolution of other educational traditions was, as a result of Parkes' legislative activity, brought virtually to a standstill.

Those who later were to seek innovation found that the inherent supineness of tradition had been so augmented by legislation as to invest even minor departures from precedent with the aura of revolution. In such an environment the advocacy of extensive and perhaps more advantageous change was futile, as much to their chagrin the Commissioners Knibbs and Turner were to find. The Public Instruction Act was passed at a time when countries of British heritage were just beginning to feel their way in the area of social legislation aimed at forcing what was deemed to be worthwhile social change. Although its
advertised aim to make New South Wales education "free, compulsory and secular" conformed to that ideal, its final achievement was to set the viscous system further in the mould. Compromised by political necessities this Act, perhaps the most thorough-going attempt at social manipulation to that date, nevertheless was not framed with the foresight which would have enabled a certain amount of fluidity to be retained.

Change, the life-blood of society by modern standards, was hindered rather than encouraged. It is indeed difficult to see how legislation of such a prescriptive nature could do other than lead to stereotyped administration. Spaul has remarked upon Parkes' early foresight in providing for change and flexibility within the 1866 Act. Referring to the section of the Act giving the Council power to make regulations, he states:

This provision is worthy of notice, as it affords evidence of foresight in the framing of the Bill. Parkes realised the impossibility of providing in a Bill for all the needs of the system he was about to create. So he wisely left the details of management to a body of experts, and at the same time placed a check upon arbitrary action on the part of that body, by reserving to Parliament the right of veto.¹

¹Spaul, op. cit., 25.
The delegation of legislative authority to statutory bodies was and still is normal practice\(^1\) and therefore its use by Parkes was not remarkable, but setting this aside, Spaul's statement serves to focus attention upon the dilemma regarding the degree of prescription which faces all framers of parliamentary Bills who, realizing an enlightened administration of an Act by the Department concerned can do much to overcome the unavoidable deficiencies of legislation, find it difficult to define "enlightened administration" let alone guarantee it through legislative forms.

- The Pre-1880 Legacy

It has been suggested above that the framework of the New South Wales educational system was laid early in the days of the colony. It remains now to relate these basic directional factors to the thirty years after 1880 - the period under review - in order to support the proposition that there were in fact traditions of a relatively fixed nature which to some extent pre-determined post-1880 educational development. Though incorporating direct importations, this evolution naturally responded to local

\(^1\) cf. also the argument that Parkes dominated the Council. vide, Milne, op. cit., 237 ff.
needs and conditions. It is claimed that the residual effect of this early experience, typified in the feeling that the period of adjustment was over, reinforced the natural resistance of society to change. In short, by defining the extent to which attitudes and events after 1880 had their antecedents in the years before it is hoped to place the contribution of later influences in perspective against a background characterised by the linking of education with religion, a tendency to centralisation and increasing dependence upon the English educational model.

- The Linking of Education with Religion and the Growth of Denominational Schools

The history of education in New South Wales till 1880 is in one sense the story of the gradual transference of emphasis in the system from the early complete dominance of the Private, predominantly Church schools, in favour of State schools. While much of the growth of the State schools was at the expense of the Private it was soon apparent that the future role of the Private school would be

1The term is used in its popular sense and includes not only schools "conducted by their principals for their own profit or other purposes", but also "corporate" or "collegiate" schools. vide, C.E.W. Bean, "The English Public School - And the Australian", J. of R.A.H.S., XXXVI, Pt. 4, 1950, 229.
by no means insignificant. While the Roman Catholic Church
and to a lesser extent the Church of England remained
convinced of the need to combine their own brands of
religion with schooling,¹ there was little doubt that
Private Church schools would continue to exist unless banned
outright. There remained scope too for those who preferred
to send their children to Private schools for other than
religious reasons:

... Class feeling creates, especially in the
cities, a certain prejudice against the Public
School. So far as this prejudice rests on
anything but snobbishness, it is due to a
preference for the discipline of a boarding
school or for the greater individual attention
which can be given by a private teacher.²

¹The Roman Catholic position is expressed by Francis
Anderson as follows:
The Roman Catholic Church, however, does not
believe in the separation in the education of
the young of the spiritual and the secular. It
denies that in the absence of definite dogmatic
teaching a residuum of undenominational belief
can be retained, sufficient to supply the
sanctions which are necessary for public
morality, more especially for the morality of
the young. 'To the Catholic authorities a
system of education forms one whole, the
elements not being separable.
F. Anderson, "Educational Policy and Development", in Brit.
Assn. for Advancement of Science, Federal Handbook,
Melbourne: Govt. Printer, 1914, 516.

²B.R. Wise, The Commonwealth of Australia, London:
Pitman, 1909, 81.
The citizen of New South Wales was therefore not denied the right to send his child to a school dictated by his beliefs. The Act of 1880 in providing this freedom by the simple but negative device of making no provision for established or new Private schools,\(^1\) unwittingly further cleared the way for a new class of Private school inspired by one of the grounds for exemption from the "compulsory" clauses: "That the child is being regularly and efficiently instructed in some other manner".\(^2\) Since there was no other provision in the Act for the inspection and supervision of Private schools purporting to instruct regularly and efficiently, one way of avoiding schooling was to enrol at one of the Private "schools" set up to take advantage of this loophole in the "compulsory" schooling provisions.

The largest proportion of the Private school population attended Denominational schools which existed in spite of the Act's provisions rather than because of them.

\(^1\)The 1880 Act in Section 28 provided only that existing Certified Denominational schools could remain functioning virtually as State schools until 31st December, 1882, unless their certification was withdrawn under Section 29 for failure to retain a minimum attendance of 30 or because of "the dilapidated or unhealthy state of the building in which the school is held".

\(^2\)Public Instruction Act of 1880, Sect. 20.
They were the products of a tradition which can be traced back to the efforts of the Rev. Richard Johnson and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts in the early 1790's.¹ Government inaction had led to a situation where the first schools in the colony owed their existence primarily to the exertions of the clergy and the financial support of English Societies. The government was however very soon forced to support the teachers of these essentially Private schools by victualling them from its stores. The early dominance of the Anglican Church was further recognised by the setting up of the Church and Schools Corporation. Both the Anglican Church and its schools were to receive government support, in that one-seventh of the land of the colony was to be set aside for their maintenance, two-sevenths of the income from this land being devoted to education. The Archdeacon was to assume control of the Corporation's schools.

From this early linking of educational affairs with one Church grew the opposition of other church organisations which resulted in their demanding the equality of support which was eventually granted by the 1836 Church Act. Whereas grants previously had favoured the Church of England,

¹For a detailed account of the period, vide, Turney, op. cit.
henceforth all denominations were to receive aid on the basis of one pound for every pound subscribed. However the thirty-two Anglican and Roman Catholic schools founded before 1836 continued to receive aid in the form of salary payments, provision of buildings and a halfpenny per day head money for pupils who could not pay fees. This confused and costly state of affairs was rationalised to some extent in 1841 by the placing of an upper limit of £25 on aid received each quarter by any Denominational school and by revoking payments of rent, head money and salaries in the case of schools founded prior to 1836. All denominations had by this stage successfully asserted their right to conduct their own schools and be treated equally by the State.

With the advent of National schools modelled on the Irish National System and owing allegiance to no particular denomination, the Church schools faced a new threat to their security. The government, committed to the National System primarily as a means of overcoming wasteful expenditure would not necessarily have to extend to Denominational schools the same support as it gave its National schools.

For a time an attempt was made to maintain some equality under the Dual Board system of 1848 but the continued success of the National schools culminated in the abolition of the Dual Boards and the setting up of the Council of Education under the Public Schools Act of 1866 to control both National and Certified Denominational schools. In order to qualify for State aid Denominational schools had to conform to virtually the same standards as Public schools while numbers qualifying for aid were further reduced by having to conform to Sections 8 and 9 of the Act aimed at preventing unnecessary duplication of facilities. 1 In the light of

1 Sections 8 and 9 of the Public Schools Act of 1866 state:

8. A Public School may be established in any locality where after due inquiry The Council of Education shall be satisfied that there are at least Twenty-five children who will regularly attend such School on its establishment.

9. It shall be lawful for The Council of Education in any locality where a Public School may be established which has in attendance thereof not less than Seventy children to certify as a Denominational School any School situated not more than Five miles from such Public School on such Council being satisfied after due inquiry that there are at least Thirty children in regular attendance at such School Provided that no School shall be so certified in any case where such School shall be within Two miles by the Shortest Highway of any Public School unless there shall be in regular attendance at such School and at the nearest Public School together not less than One hundred and twenty children. Provided also that all Certified Denominational Schools shall be subject to the same Course of Secular Instruction the same Regulations and the same Inspection as may be prescribed in reference to Public Schools with such modifications not being inconsistent with any express provision of this Act as may be judged to be expedient by the Council of Education.
their earlier established claim to equal treatment, the Roman Catholics felt victimised by this Act for unlike the Protestant denominations they could not in conscience vacate the educational field in response to the provisions for religious instruction to be given in the Public schools.\(^1\)

The State on the other hand was equally bound by the developments outlined, to make no exception for a particular denomination. By the withdrawal of all State aid in 1880 the definition of future development of Denominational Private schools was confirmed. They were to be treated as other Private schools, having no claim upon the government except the right to exist and be recognised as providing education in terms of the "compulsory" education provisions of the 1880 Act.

The traditional linking of education with religion remained a factor in the New South Wales education system after 1880 despite the process of gradual evolution which has been outlined. The fact that the Roman Catholic Church refused to support the settlement of 1880 could not but affect the Public school system in numerous and often subtle ways. It was of course obvious that the State was freed from the responsibility of educating many children who

otherwise would have been thrown upon State resources, and these in areas where there was most pressure upon school facilities, for the restrictions contained in Sections 8 and 9 of the 1866 Act were deliberately\(^1\) framed so as to encourage Denominational schools only in places where they could help the Public schools to cope with large numbers of pupils. There is no way of assessing the extent to which this allowed the new Department of Public Instruction to cope more effectively with its already mammoth task of reorganisation, but the knowledge that the Roman Catholics would continue to provide schools even if State aid were withdrawn must have been an important argument in support of the government actions in 1880. From other points of view the decision of the Catholics to maintain their schools had a more negative than positive influence upon later events. The conservative and as some would have it even reactionary nature of the Church held little hope that here would be a counterweight to the inbred, self-satisfied and bureaucratic tendencies already apparent in the Public school system of the State. In fact, under the additional burden of having to occupy a minority position, dependent upon the State for their existence, the Roman Catholic schools were content to

\(^1\)vide, Parkes, op. cit., 649.
copy the Public schools. The result was a further bolstering of the State system already adequately supported by the need to make the 1880 solution work. Finally the Catholic decision itself and the sectarian strife which preceded it contributed to a lowered public estimation of Denominational schools in particular and Private schools in general, the State schools again profiting from the comparison. The Private school to the public mind was associated with religious dissension and the conservatism of the past. At best it came a poor second to the new order of Public schools.

The effects of the Protestants' virtual withdrawal from the educational scene were also significant for the development of the next thirty years. Foremost was the fact that the assumption of Protestant support for the Public schools enabled the settlement of the religious problem to be undertaken in the manner laid down in 1880. While opening the door to the establishment of a comprehensive Public school system the Protestant submission at the same time undermined the potential strength of the Private school movement after 1880 and effectively terminated the variety of approach to teaching which had

\text{vide infra,}
been noted by the 1855 Report of the Commission on Education and which had been already compromised by the conformity imposed upon Denominational schools certified under the Act of 1866.

Speaking generally there were marked long term effects of the growth of Denominational schools and the linking of religion with education. The need to solve the sectarian issues and the failure of successive attempts to provide effective and efficient means of education in the State, accounts to some extent for the stress placed upon administrative efficiency. Centralisation of educational resources was in part required by the wasteful duplication which resulted from sectarian rivalry. State control was suggested by the early support of Church schools from government resources and the later overall failure of Church school systems to meet the changing requirements of New South Wales society. However, the strength of the earlier link with religion guaranteed a place for religion in schools which although perhaps unsatisfactory educationally appeared to work from an administrative point of view. The incongruous position of religious instruction in a "secular" system in turn further emphasised prescription and

1The Commissioners identified four systems, viz. the Individual, the Monitorial, the Collective and the Mixed. (vide, Gollan, op. cit., 28.)
regulation as safeguards of pupils' and parents' consciences.

Early provision of schools in connection with the various religious denominations was also no doubt one factor militating against the development of local interest in education and the much-neglected local Boards. Assumption of the educative role by the Churches removed the need which might have called forth local effort, especially since the Churches from an early date received State support.

Perhaps the most permanent effect upon the later system was that the nature of the settlement under the 1880 Act henceforth detracted attention from the Private schools. The Act having made no explicit provision for them, they with few exceptions tended to fall into the background which was a position that society was quite happy for them to occupy. A state of affairs had been reached which even from the administrative viewpoint left much to be desired in regard to the maintenance of minimum standards of education in the State, for government had yet to pursue its responsibility for regulation of Private schools as part of the overall system of education. This is not to say that there were not many Private schools which equalled or exceeded the standards of the Public school system but the "laissez-faire" attitude to Private schools reflected in the Act left the way clear
for the admission of an inferior class of school into the educational system. The influence upon the Public schools of Private school innovation and the criticism which sometimes accompanied it was far from negligible,¹ but the majority of Private schools were content to keep to themselves and remain in the wings of the educational stage venturing forth occasionally in a minor role.

Just as the Protestant Primary schools benefited from their association with the important Church Private secondary schools, so the co-ordination of Catholic primary and secondary courses leading up to the University matriculation examination meant that Catholic Primary schools began to benefit from the wider Church contacts in Europe.² However, the relationship resulting from the 1880 Act, between the Public schools and the Private schools proved an effective barrier to the Private schools' influence upon a system which merely tolerated their existence without recognising their special contribution in representing in the community various educational ideals.

It becomes obvious, indeed, that without some such institutions and ideals a serious gap would be left in the education system of the State. It

¹vide infra, 534
²vide infra, 544
is a gap which the State cannot be said to make any serious attempt to fill as things are now, and it is doubtful whether any effort it might make to fill it would be successful.¹

- The Growth of Centralisation

The unavoidable fact of centralisation in New South Wales' organisation and administration of education has made it one of the most obvious of the factors containing development of the system. In spite of the alleged dangers and disadvantages associated with centralisation it has always appeared to be an inescapable fact of educational life in New South Wales that at any given historical point the greatest advantage seemed to lie in the consolidation of this principle. Education was of course not the only social institution affected, but by its very nature it was destined to suffer more, not only through the magnitude of the imposition which developed but also because of the heightened susceptibility of true education to the effects of bureaucracy.

The origins of New South Wales' centralised system of education can be traced to the failure of schools based on

¹Brit. Assn. for Advancement of Science, Handbook for N.S.W., Sydney: Lee, 1914, 204B.
Church or private initiative to prosper sufficiently to satisfy the educational needs of the Colony. Early provision of schools was very much dependent upon individual personalities and reflected the personal convictions of those involved. Thus the rudimentary facilities resulting from Rev. Richard Johnson's personal initiative reflected not only a religious but a humanitarian motive. The government reacted to this by assuming a philanthropic attitude, giving support to those willing to teach, yet remaining uninvolved in the direct provision of schools. Missionaries from the London Missionary Society, for example, arriving in New South Wales from Tahiti were provisioned from government stores but the cost of their school was borne by the Society and local subscriptions. The government victualling of teachers during the first thirteen years of the Colony was significant in that it reflected the Governor's approval of the objectives of such schools in caring for the neglected children of the Colony and Hunter's recognition of the need for such schools being maintained and expanded.

1 vide, Turney, op. cit., 22 ff.

2 vide, Turney, op. cit., 98 ff.
It was a short but important step to King's Orphan School for Girls supported by government stores and money derived from harbour dues, customs duties, fines and donations. By the end of King's governorship there were three schools in Sydney, one at Toongabbie and one at Kissing Point receiving government support.\(^1\) Under Macquarie not only was further expansion of government-supported schools undertaken, but their re-organisation under one system was commenced by Rev. Thomas Reddall, who was later to be appointed Director-General of the Government Public Schools of New South Wales.\(^2\) Reddall introduced Bell's monitorial system which was known in England as the National System.\(^3\)

The die had been cast. A system of "National" schools had been established growing out of and further reinforcing the early centralising forces. Under the Church and School Corporation the government, committed from the outset to supporting the establishment of schools, found itself faced with spiralling subsidy payments while having

\(^1\)Ibid.

\(^2\)C.E.W. Bean, op. cit., 216.

\(^3\)For a short account of the background to the introduction of the National system vide, V.W.E. Goodin, "Public Education in N.S.W. Before 1848", J. of R.A.H.S., XXXVI, Pt. IV, 1950, 193 ff.
little control over the way in which these public monies were being expended. Complicated by sectarian demands for equality of treatment which culminated in the Church Act of 1836, government expenditure on schools rapidly reached the point where in the interests of responsibility and economy, cuts had to be made. The State could not however withdraw from its commitment to provide support for schools. The only solution was to develop an increasingly comprehensive system of Public schools as support to Private schools was withdrawn. The failure of attempts to encourage local support for schools, sectarian bitterness and the success of the Public schools served to hasten the process.

Reddall's early example of administration and inspection developing in conjunction with the established idea of organisation according to one system, paved the way for the final adoption of the Irish National System in 1848 which introduced to New South Wales the formula which was to successfully deal with denominationalism in the schools. In State schools of the future pupils of all persuasions were to be brought together for secular instruction, provision being made for separate religious instruction.

The practical suitability of such an organisation in New South Wales, itself further emphasised the tendency to centralisation but the practical application of centralised
organisation and administration to the public schools was mainly the work of William Wilkins who was brought out from England by the National Board and took charge of its Model School in 1851. Wilkins' proposals for classification of teachers and the introduction of the pupil-teacher system of training could only be implemented through a closer central supervision of the National schools. In his role of Inspector and Superintendent of National schools, to which he was appointed in 1854, Wilkins brought to fruition the reorganisation which he had foreshadowed in his work at the Fort Street Model School and as one of three Commissioners appointed to assist the 1854 Select Committee of the Legislative Council. The schools of the National Board prospered as Wilkins undertook reforms in the fields of training, examination and classification of teachers; inspection; extension of the National schools particularly through the institution of non-vested schools; broadening and definition of the curriculum through the "Table of Minimum Attainments"; and dissemination of his pedagogic ideas based upon those of Pestalozzi. His championship of the National System on the eve of the passage of the Act

\[^{1}\text{vide, Turney, op. cit., 766.}\]

\[^{2}\text{vide, ibid., Chap. XXVII.}\]
of 1866 in his new position as Secretary to the National Board without doubt influenced the final form of that Act.\footnote{ibid., 1087 ff.}

The setting up of the Council of Education unified the administration of public education.\footnote{For detailed discussion of events leading up to the Act of 1866, \textit{vide}, E.J. Braggett, \textit{loc. cit.}} The Act further provided for responsibility to the Legislature through the Colonial Secretary; the extension of education facilities throughout the State; limitations upon the numbers of Denominational schools; and increased efficiency and uniformity of Public and Certified Denominational schools.

An extension of the process of centralisation came with the withdrawal of State aid to Denominational schools in 1880 and the setting up of a separate ministerial Department of Public Instruction. Teachers were further subjected to control by being made civil servants under the Crown.

Thus by 1880, a system had evolved whereby the schools of New South Wales had become subject to a control which extended from the establishment of schools, through inspection, examination and classification, to the minute details of school routine.\footnote{\textit{vide}, Regulations, \textit{Public Instruction Act of 1880}, \textit{op. cit.}} In spite of provisions in the

\footnote{ibid., 1087 ff.}
\footnote{For detailed discussion of events leading up to the Act of 1866, \textit{vide}, E.J. Braggett, \textit{loc. cit.}}
\footnote{\textit{vide}, Regulations, \textit{Public Instruction Act of 1880}, \textit{op. cit.}}
legislation of 1866 and 1880 for supervision by local Boards, control of all aspects of Public schooling in the State was effectively vested in the Department located in Sydney. It was clear that the educational future of New South Wales would henceforth be closely related to the nature of this centralised administration and the quality of public opinion which could manage to express itself politically.

- The Importation of Systems of Education

The great challenge implied in the 1880 Act was for New South Wales to set about infusing life into the system which had been created. She had been fortunate in being able to find in the Irish National System a solution to the mechanical aspects of the educational problem but the very nature of the organisation which had emerged demanded a new approach to future development. In the past the fluid state of the schools and the predominantly British outlook of society had encouraged the adoption of mainly British educational techniques. This influence was still active as late as 1855 when the Final Report presented by the School Commissioners noted five such systems in operation throughout the colony - the Individual System, "in general use prior to the introduction of modern improvements in education"; the
Scotch Parochial System, "merely an unfavourable specimen of the Individual System"; the Monitorial System encouraged in most Denominational schools and "essentially defective"; the Collective System featuring only oral instruction; and the Mixed System, "demanding in the teacher higher qualifications for his office than any other system".¹

The adoption of the Irish National System, a logical extension of this dependence upon British educational importations, illustrates the practice which had grown up of deliberately selecting from amongst a variety of overseas institutions, that which was most suitable for conditions existing in the colony thus diminishing the need for modification and allowing the imported system to be instituted as a whole.² The all-embracing nature of the System interpreted by Wilkins and stabilised by the legislation of 1880 left little scope for innovation without at the same time affecting a series of related provisions and perhaps the educational system as a whole. Certainly, the comprehensiveness would discourage the assimilation of

¹Final Report of the School Commissioners, 9-10, quoted in Turney, op. cit., 772.

²c.f. also the choice of the monitorial system of Dr. Bell in preference to that of Lancaster.
new educational organisms unless they were modified to render them compatible with the new environment. Even if the mutations thus produced survived, there would be little chance of their being as effective as the organism in the original environment.

This was the contradiction facing the new Department of Public Instruction. Centralisation meant that the practice of importing complexes of educational ideas and methods had by 1866 reached a point close to saturation. A more accommodating reconstruction was not possible without threatened eruption of the smouldering religious question. There appeared to be only one way to avoid stagnation and that was from within. Under the New South Wales centralised system an enlightened administration still relied upon the capabilities of the man at the top who in turn through regulations for appointment and promotion had to be produced from within. Eventually the task of renovation was undertaken by Peter Board. It is a tribute to his administrative ability that he realised the futility of wholesale demolition and reconstruction.

The history of the development of Primary education in New South Wales during the first thirty years under the
Public Instruction Act is to a great extent the story of a monolithic Department of Public Instruction charged with the elaboration of a system designed to provide Primary education facilities for all, while recognising the rights of those who chose not to partake of it out of religious conviction or more controversially, out of purely temporal motives. The financial involvement of parents, the continuance of provision for religious instruction and the moral suasion of the attendance clauses were all orientated towards this pre-eminent object. It is also the story of bureaucracy working within the strictures of the 1880 Act but responding to forces social, political, economic and educational. By 1880 the legislature had designed the means by which the framework of the State's educational structure was to be strengthened and extended. These plans had yet to be effected.
CHAPTER II

THE ORGANISATION AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE SYSTEM

The system set up under the Public Instruction Act of 1880 was much as we know it today. Teachers thenceforth were to be responsible to a Minister of the Crown, who in turn was theoretically responsible to Parliament. Authority within the Department was to be delegated from the Minister to the Under-secretary who was the Permanent Head of the Department\(^1\) under the Colonial Secretary. Not until 1895 however, was the Department subjected to the organisation of the Public Service as we know it today. The Department was "virtually autonomous; and the Minister and his Departmental Head, although nominally responsible to the Governor-in-Council and to Parliament, were not effectively held responsible to anybody for the manner in which their Department was conducted".\(^2\)

Under such conditions it would have been possible for

\(^1\)c.f. the modern Director-General.

successive Ministers to exercise decided influence upon the New South Wales system of education — for better or for worse — but such leadership during the thirty years under review was generally weak for there was little security of Ministerial tenure. Ministers came and went with bewildering frequency in the political turmoil at the end of the century\(^1\) and things were not much better later, Peter Board finding himself serving under ten Ministers.\(^2\) If there was to be any continuous policy under these circumstances, it was left to the Under-Secretary and his Chief Inspector to face the task of shaping it, the Minister being merely concerned with the possible political and financial aspects of such policy. "The will of the Minister of Education", wrote a New Zealand Inspector of Schools, "is the will of his executive officers, whose authority extends into every schoolroom and influences the training of every child in the public schools."\(^3\)

This, in conjunction with the centralised system of education which was implanted by the Act of 1880, meant that

\(^1\) *vide*, Appendix.


the educational stage was almost certain to be dominated by personalities, the system thus giving rise to the means by which it was to set about perpetuating itself. Once a dominant personality had made his mark, the inbreeding of the system was such as to ensure that that tradition continued long after the eclipse of the originator. So strong was this to become that later forces of change were to be greatly modified by it in their practical effect on education in New South Wales.

To this scene came William Wilkins as Under-Secretary, already firmly entrenched as the foremost educator in the State following the success of his National System of education of which the crowning glory was the 1880 Act. His influence was to be perpetuated through the promotion of successive incumbents of senior administrative positions, within a system which placed a premium upon conformity. Thus both at Ministerial and Departmental level the administrative design was one which encouraged conservatism. Against a background of incipient nationalism reflected in a desire to excel, Wilkins' system was vaunted in terms of its pragmatism and what was thought to be overseas proof of its effectiveness.

The success of the centralised and authoritarian
organisation in making education available to all meant however, that realisation of the advantages of education spread concomitantly with the growth of the labour movement, itself an expression of the social and economic unrest of the dying century. The utilitarian education demands of labour resulted in a fillip for the cause of higher education which forced a reassessment of the role of the Primary school, at the same time determining the type of basic education the teachers of the next century were to receive.

Only when Wilkins' system had by the turn of the century successfully extended facilities for primary education throughout the State, was the time opportune for money and energy to be diverted towards an elaboration of the curriculum based upon a more utilitarian interpretation of the role of education. The system itself however, was to remain basically unchanged in its organisational and administrative functions, demanding of new influences an adaptation to the established pattern, which threatened to place in jeopardy the integrity of the whole movement.

An account of the organisation and administration of New South Wales primary education under the 1880 Act is therefore a necessary preliminary to an attempt to explain the origin, nature and effects of that educational
reorientation in the early years of the twentieth century which became known as the "New Education". The present chapter will trace and attempt to account for the growth of a bureaucratic machine, reliable and efficient in terms of contemporary practice and ideals, but nonetheless developing policies and policy-making procedures which were to play a significant role in determining the scope, nature and timing of future innovation.

Organisational Implications of the 1880 Act

Two branches of the Department were to be responsible directly to the Under-Secretary - those of the Chief Examiner and the Chief Inspector. Below the Chief Inspector were ranked the new District Inspectors, then Inspectors, Teachers-in-Charge, Mistresses of Girls' and Infants' Departments, Assistant Teachers and Pupil Teachers.¹

Public schools could be established "in any locality where after due inquiry the Minister shall be satisfied that there are at least twenty children who will regularly attend such school on its establishment".² Apart from these

¹Minister's Report, 1880, 40.
²Public Instruction Act, 1880, Sect. 8.
schools "in which the main object shall be to afford the best primary education to all children without sectarian or class distinction", provision was also made for the setting up of Superior Public schools giving additional lessons in higher education: Evening Public schools, to educate those who "may not have received the advantages of primary education"; and High schools for boys and girls. Teacher Training schools were provided for. In addition, Provisional schools, similar in function to Public schools, could exist where there were less than twenty pupils in regular attendance and Itinerant Teachers could be appointed in "areas of scattered population".

Fees not exceeding threepence for each child and not exceeding one shilling for one family were payable in Public schools such fees being forwarded by the teacher to be paid into Consolidated Revenue. Fees were also payable in respect of the other types of schools.

1 *ibid.*, Sect. 6 (i).
2 *ibid.*, Sect. 6 (iii).
3 *ibid.*, Sect. 24.
4 *ibid.*, Sect. 22.
5 *ibid.*, Sect. 23.
6 *ibid.*, Sect. 11.
Section 19 of the Act provided for the appointment of Public School Boards of not more than seven persons to preside over Public School Districts of one or more schools. The Boards' duties were to inspect and report on schools; to suspend teachers, in pressing circumstances, for misconduct and report them to the Minister; and to encourage and report on attendance.¹

Outside the Public school organisation, Denominational schools were to be free to exist, though unaided by the funds which they had enjoyed under the Council of Education, and subject to provisions of the Act regarding courses of secular instruction, inspection, regulation and fees.² Certification could be withdrawn when regular attendance fell below thirty or if the building was dilapidated or unhealthy.³

The Impact of the Act upon the System

In spite of these provisions the passing of the 1880 Public Instruction Act had little immediate effect upon the organisation of education in New South Wales. As far as

¹ibid., Sect. 19.
²ibid., Sect. 28 and 30.
³ibid., Sect. 29.
the teacher and his pupils were concerned the order might well have been "Carry on as before". This was literally the case in regard to "such of the late Council's Regulations as seemed applicable to the altered circumstances".¹

Transfer of power from the Council of Education to a Minister of the Crown was a mere formality for the 1866 Bill had provided for ministerial control by the Colonial Secretary. The setting up of the Department of Public Instruction was made necessary by the demise of the Council but for practical purposes the Department was merely an institutionalised Council enjoying similar powers of training, appointing, removing and supervising teachers along with the powers associated with establishing, maintaining and inspecting schools.

In spite of the Act education was not free, nor effectively compulsory, a situation which had pertained under the Council. It was still possible for a child to be absent for more than one third of school time and still be within the law. Compulsion in attendance was dependent upon the formation of Local Boards which were rendered even

¹Minister's Report, 1880, 1.
less effective than their predecessors under the Council, by their being required to deal with several schools rather than one.

This undramatic transition at the organisational level was not only to be expected but probably was also desirable given the circumstances of the time. The battle for a national education system had been fought and won in the 1850's and 60's. The attack on the 1866 Public Schools Act was centred upon State support of Denominational schools rather than upon the question of their right to exist. To Parkes, an organisation which continued to give scope to both Public and Denominational schools was the only conceivable one in 1880. Wilkins' systematisation of school administration - typified in his Table of Minimum Attainments, multiplicity of school records, and training, classification and inspection of teachers - was not under attack. Even in the field of compulsory attendance the Act could not be expected to effect any real change in the status quo, although this need had been one of the main arguments put forward in opposition to the Act of 1866. The weakness of the compulsory clauses of the 1880 Act reflected Parkes' indecision as to the Government's right to combine compulsion with payment of fees, no matter how liberal the provisions
for exemption from payment. New South Wales society could still not see its way clear to accede to Government the right to interfere with its freedom in order to be educated.

To appreciate the need for social change, society itself had to be educated. There is little doubt that the 1866 Act had done much to prepare the way for the acceptance in 1880 of a State-controlled, secular education system. Where the former Act had compromised, the latter achieved a permanent settlement, but in regard to compulsory attendance, the 1880 Act was itself a compromise. A permanent settlement was yet to be achieved.

From the organisational point of view, interest therefore centres not upon the changes brought about by the passage of the Act but rather upon the process of development and embellishment which could be undertaken now that the system had the stamp of approval and aura of permanence implied by its having been incorporated for a second time in a major education Act. Now that Wilkins' school system had passed its fourteen years of probation, the next step was to consolidate and expand within the limits of needs and available resources.

The circumstances of the earlier years of the colony had combined to determine New South Wales' secular, centralised system of education with provision for
Denominational schools. The problem in future would not be how to adapt the system to further social, political and economic changes but how to adapt new ideas to fit in with the system. For the first time in the history of New South Wales the State had arrived at a system of education which was generally acceptable as incorporating all that was best in overseas experience while at the same time recognising and preserving the distinctly colonial egalitarianism which expressed itself in the need to provide equal educational opportunity for all, irrespective of wealth, social position, religion or geographical position, through the central control of the State.

Who but William Wilkins could have been a better choice for the first Under-Secretary of the Department of Public Instruction? Not only had he been instrumental in determining the system which he was to control, but he had taken the opportunity in England in 1870 to compare the two systems.¹ Successful implementation of the government policy laid down in the Act depended upon its sympathetic administration. That the government expected the Act to be implemented in the spirit of the years before is shown by

¹C.C. Linz, The Establishment of a National System of Education in N.S.W., Melbourne: Univ. Press, 1938, 66.
their appointment of Wilkins to carry it into effect.

The adequacy of administrative arrangements in the light of modern educational theory cannot concern us here. The policies of government should only be judged in terms of what government seeks to do, although the historian may legitimately concern himself with an assessment of the worth of such objectives in relation to what he knows about contemporary conditions.

The main administrative aims of the time concerned the implementation of the Act which implied firstly, a consolidation of the work done by the Council and secondly, but necessarily at the same time, expansion of previous provision for education. Obviously the consolidating provisions of the Act needed to be put into effect almost immediately; the expansion would necessarily take place over a longer period of time. When the backlog had been overtaken, when every child was being educated in accordance with the Act, then would be time enough to look at the nature of the education being given.

Given the educational tradition up to 1880 and the political, social and economic climate of the last two decades of the century, it appears that government educational policy could not have achieved significantly
more than it in fact did. Educational policy till the close of the century was aimed at getting the students into the schools for this was the principle which had been compromised in the compulsory clauses of the Act.

The colonists' basically democratic outlook, rooted in the very foundation of New South Wales as a gaol society dependent on government support and direction, was now reinforced by city versus country arguments over protection of secondary industry and growing awareness of nationalist feeling as Federation increasingly held the political spotlight. It was not surprising that educational provision had to be strictly the same for all. Education was no longer a dividing but rather a unifying force in society. Equality of educational opportunity had not yet taken on the sophistication of later years which included in this concept the right of the individual to be educated in accordance with his capacity. This is not to say that such principles were not regarded as important by such educators as Wilkins but it is clear that it would have been a well-nigh impossible task to raise teachers in the field to the level of sophistication required to encourage individual diversity while maintaining equality in terms of public opinion reflected in government policy. The
question is of course hypothetical for neither the system of at best one experienced teacher to a school, nor the pupil-teacher system would allow of other than mass education techniques.

The immediate task of consolidation appeared indeed formidable. Not only had a new department to be set up, regulations framed and duties defined, but the various classes of schools required by the Act had to be established. Once the future of each Denominational school had been decided, steps had to be taken by the end of 1882 to replace them where necessary with Public schools. Through the operation of Section 22 of the Act, 148 Provisional schools where the average attendance reached twenty were converted into Public schools and forty-six new schools were opened making a total of 872 by the close of 1880.

The general misapprehension that the compulsory clauses were in operation unnecessarily heightened the demand on school accommodation, but the size of the task should not be over-emphasised. The closing of six schools in 1880 and the opening of forty-six new ones was not an

The conversion of Provisional schools to Public schools was mainly notational and reduced the number of Provisional schools by approximately half to which however, had to be added the task of forming fifty-nine new schools opened for the first time in 1880. Half-time schools remained rather static and the twenty-four Evening Public schools brought into operation left sixteen approved applications and ten undecided applications undealt with at the end of the year. Of the 150 Denominational schools in operation in 1880 only five closed during the year. Relative to the number of schools affected by the Act then, only a small number required much more than formal administrative action and the necessary extra time for this was found at the expense of inspection.

The Chief Inspector's Branch

It was upon the Chief Inspector's Branch and the individual Inspectors that the main burden of reorganisation fell.

\[^1\text{ibid.}, \, 12.\]
\[^2\text{ibid.}\]
\[^3\text{Although approximately } 64\% \text{ of schools were "inspected". ibid.}\]
Wurth's account of the state of affairs in New South Wales Government Departments before 1895 certainly did not apply to the Department of Public Instruction:

Most appointments to the staff were made under a system of "patronage". The way to obtain an appointment was to gain an influential introduction, preferably to the Minister, alternatively to the Under-Secretary; and there need not be raised any awkward questions as to character, qualifications or competence, or indeed as to the necessity for the appointment. Then, after appointment, promotion in the Department would depend either upon years of service or, for those who possessed it, political influence.1

Promotions of senior officers were, however, predictable if only for the reason that there were few qualified and experienced men from whom to choose. Thus the usual reward for the Deputy Chief Inspector was the position of Chief Inspector and for the Chief Inspector, the Under-Secretaryship. The first Chief Inspector, E. Johnson, followed Wilkins as Under-Secretary. Maynard, his former Deputy Chief Inspector, then became the Chief Inspector and Bridges Deputy Chief Inspector. By the time Maynard had progressed to Under-Secretary, McIntyre had been his Deputy Chief Inspector for five years, Bridges having been promoted to the position of Superintendent of Technical Education.

1Wurth, loc. cit.
Bridges, not McIntyre was given the Chief Inspector's job,\(^1\) McIntyre continuing in the position of Deputy until his retirement in 1901 when he was replaced by James McCredie.\(^2\) McIntyre's career illustrates the fact that the Department refused from the beginning to base its promotion policy on political patronage and seniority. McIntyre, though claiming seniority and political influence, in 1882 had been beaten to the Deputy Chief Inspector's position by Maynard and again, at the end of 1894, the principle of "fitness"\(^3\) operated against him when Bridges became Chief Inspector.

Peter Board's promotion to Under-Secretary with Dawson as his Chief Inspector was therefore not without precedent and in fact accelerated promotion for ability had already been applied before to Board himself in his promotion to the rank of Inspector over the heads of three senior men.\(^4\)

Following the Act seven District Inspectors were appointed from within the service, leaving seven vacancies which had to be filled with new men, three of these having

\(^1\)Minister's Report, 1894, 35.

\(^2\)Chief Inspector's Files, 27564, 8/5/01.

\(^3\)The term is an official one used to denote ability or suitability as opposed to status and seniority.

\(^4\)vide infra, 97
little experience of the service. ¹ This numerical increase did not mean an increase in real terms, for the District Inspectors were occupied for a good proportion of their time in the general administration of their districts while inexperienced Inspectors could not be expected to shoulder a full load from the start. District Inspector Maynard's Report for 1880 gives a good idea of the problem.

...from May till September the whole of my time was given to official work and the examination of schools was suspended till inspectors were appointed. Inspectors M'Cormack and Smith entered on their duties in September when there were 192 schools awaiting inspection. It was, of course, impossible for three inspectors to examine all these schools before the close of the year, and also to conduct the ordinary official correspondence.²

From September till December Maynard managed to inspect 26 schools, Smith 48, and McCormack 60. A similar load distribution was evident in August 1881 when at the time of applying for an additional inspector for the Maitland District, Maynard had 75 schools to inspect, McCormack 106 and Smith 90.³ McCormack of course was an experienced teacher from the service with IA classification.⁴

¹Chief Inspector's Files, 80, 26/7/80.
²Minister's Report, 1880, 67.
³Chief Inspector's Files, 15037, 25/8/81.
⁴Ibid., 80, 26/7/80.
Smith was a graduate with little experience of the system.

Under these conditions, the total staff of seven District Inspectors and fifteen Inspectors was woefully inadequate, a fact noted by Sir John Robertson in his Report for 1880.\(^1\) The provision of qualified inspectors was made very difficult, not for the want of applicants, but because of the scarcity of senior and suitably qualified men. In the total of twenty five applicants for the position in 1880 there were four of 1A classification, three of whom were appointed,\(^2\) the fourth being put aside in favour of W.H. Johnson (1B) because of unfavourable reports and continued inefficiency. G.E. Long, J. Dawson, and J.L. Smith had all received a university education and were appointed primarily with a view to their being suited for the inspection of Superior Public schools and High schools proposed under the Act.\(^3\)

It was in fact the Act's provision for the establishment of such schools which gave the excuse for the employment of inspectors drawn from the ranks of university graduates, for the Civil Service principle of preference to

\(^1\)Minister's Report, 1880, 6.

\(^2\)J. McCormack, J. McCredie, L.I. Finigan.

\(^3\)Chief Inspector's Files, 80, 26/7/80. For an explanation of the classification system, vide infra, 133
people already within the service was clearly established. In June, 1883, Johnson, in recommending the appointment of four graduates among eight assistant inspectors, stated his reasons thus:

1. That having regard for the existence of Superior Public Schools and the contemplated establishment of High Schools, it is desirable that the Inspectorial staff should include a fair proportion of University men.

2. That gentlemen appointed to the office of Inspector of Schools should not all be taken from the ranks of Colonially trained Teachers, it being desirable to avoid the danger of having a staff of men inclined to think and write in the same groove, and also to secure a healthy conflict of opinion.

3. That the practice under Sir John Robertson and Mr Suttor was to include in new appointments a fair sprinkling of University men - a practice which, so far, has worked well.

4. That at present only 6 out of 24 Inspectors are University graduates.

5. That if Teachers only were appointed, the reduction of the comparatively small number of First Class Teachers would have an injurious effect upon the school service and necessitate the placing of some of the most important schools under men of inferior ability.¹

Johnson implies in this statement his recognition of the desirable effects on the service to be derived from a capable body of inspectors, while in paragraph five ignoring

¹: ibid., 15596, 14/6/83.
the possible advantage of a good teacher's wider influence on the service if appointed as inspector rather than confined to a school, no matter how "important". It is however, conceivable that he regarded the effective organisation of "Model" schools to be as important to the school system as an efficient inspectorial staff. Be this as it may, Johnson's statement brings home somewhat forceably the chronic lack of capable administrators within the service in that there were not enough to staff both a minimum of schools and support an expanding inspectorial staff.

Evidently, even by the somewhat limited standards of the time¹ some of the cream of applicants when appointed, failed to satisfy, Johnson referring in his 1880 report to the standard of proficiency being applied "with more or less rigour by the different inspectors".²

Following the death of Mr. Inspector Jones, the District Inspector, McCredie, recommended the promotion of Mr. Thompson to fill the vacant position, Hoskins to succeed him at Parramatta. Johnson concurred but the Acting

¹"Efficiency in the work of inspection and despatch and thoroughness in dealing with questions that may arise in connection with the administration of the system of public instruction". Minister's Report, 1880, 48.

²Ibid., 50.
Minister J.P. Abbott, noted: "I am sorry that some of the Inspectors longer in the service that Mr. Thompson are not reported as being able to perform the duties attached to the office ..." adding that he knew Mr. Thompson "to be a vigorous man full of worth".¹ In August, 1897 three inspectors were cautioned regarding delays in dealing with official matters:

As the Department has been brought into disrepute and put to considerable trouble by your delays in furnishing reports upon matters referred to you and repeated reminders have been disregarded I have now to inform you that, in future, only one reminder will be issued from this office. If this fails to effect its object you will be called upon to return the papers at once with or without your report and your neglect of duty will be brought specially under the notice of the Minister. If at any time a matter is sent to you for report and you are not able to deal with it properly, you should return the papers to this office and explain why you cannot furnish the report required and state when you will be in a position to do so.²

There were, however, many able and well-qualified men who stood out from their fellows in the earliest days of the new administration. Their worth was quickly recognised by promotion within the system. Thompson for example was a Bachelor of Arts (Oxford). He arrived in Victoria in 1868

¹Chief Inspector's Files, 11061, 26/4/84.
²ibid., 46090, 4/8/97.
and was appointed Assistant Examiner to the Board of Education in Melbourne. From 1868-75 he was headmaster of a High school near Melbourne with such success that "several ... pupils left ... for English Public schools, Eton, Harrow, Rugby or Cheltenham, and for English Universities, at which institutions they did creditably". For health reasons in 1875 he took on the task of inspectorship in Victorian schools until appointed Inspector in New South Wales in 1878.\(^1\)

Maynard had been appointed Inspector in 1872 and held a classification of 1A by examination. Johnson described him as being "possessed of good natural parts, ripe experience, and a sound judgment. Is a facile, terse and vigorous writer. As a District Inspector he has evinced zeal, intelligence and promptness in the performance of his duties."\(^2\)

Bridges had been an Inspector since 1879 and held a classification of IIA by examination. "Has good natural ability and very fair judgment", wrote Johnson. "Was appointed District Inspector a short time after Messrs McCredie and Maynard, and in that position has worked

\(^1\) *ibid.*, 10778, 25/4/84.

\(^2\) *ibid.*, 81, 28/12/81.
zealously and efficiently. As yet, however, he has had but limited country experience."\textsuperscript{1}

John McCredie had entered the service in 1859. He was appointed Acting Inspector in 1865 while he was Head Teacher at Albury.\textsuperscript{2} After attaining a IIA classification by examination he was appointed an Inspector in 1867. He was described by Chief Inspector Johnson as "a painstaking, conscientious officer but requires plenty of time to get through his work. Although slow, he is, it is but fair to say, a very fairly efficient officer."\textsuperscript{3}

A survey of the reports written for the Council of Education by Inspectors in 1879 leaves little doubt that in Johnson himself, one of the best men in the service was chosen as Chief Inspector under the Department of Public Instruction. When the Civil Service tradition of promotion from within the service is taken into account, there was probably no better choice which could have been made. One paragraph of his report on the Sydney District will serve to illustrate that Johnson's educational thinking was probably

\textsuperscript{1}ibid., 81, 28/12/81.
\textsuperscript{2}ibid., 30218, 20/12/81.
\textsuperscript{3}ibid., 81, 28/12/81.
as "modern" as could have been expected - much the same criticisms may be made of our schools today.

The methods in use are a mixture of the analytic and synthetic, according to the subject treated. Practically, they are fairly understood and applied, theoretically, the knowledge respecting them is limited. Comparatively few teachers have applied themselves to the study of mental philosophy; the great bulk content themselves with whatever practical hints on the art of teaching they may have picked up during their period of training. They seldom inquire why one method rather than another is necessary to the successful treatment of any given subject, and it is therefore not infrequently a matter of chance that the correct method is selected. But after all the mere form in which a subject is presented to a class will not in itself ensure effective teaching; other important conditions are required, and the chief of these is the personal character of the teacher. Earnestness, energy, the power to discipline a school, a perception to discover at once whether or not a subject is understood; the ability to use appropriate tests to see that instruction is received - these are some of the qualifications of a successful teacher.¹

Every care appears to have been taken in later years to appoint to the position of Inspector, only those best qualified. By August 1891 there were nine District Inspectors and twenty-six Inspectors. Of these twenty-five possessed first class certificates by examination and eight others were university graduates who had not served the

Department as teachers and therefore were not classified. Two others had been appointed prior to the late Council of Education's system of examinations and were therefore not classified.¹

In general new Inspectors were normally appointed from the ranks of Assistant Inspectors, the job, as in the case of Alexander Lobban, going to the one who "by his marked efficiency established the best claim to the position".² A definite policy was instituted whereby a balance was maintained between appointments from within and from outside the service, which was quite liberal in the face of Public Service requirements. When the first eight Assistant Inspectors were appointed "four of the best available Public School Teachers and four University graduates were chosen for the positions". Later replacements, due to promotion, aimed at continuing this proportion. Thus Henry Skillman was appointed ahead of graduate applicants because he was replacing one of the original school teacher appointments and held "the highest certificate (1A) longer than any of the other candidates".³

¹Chief Inspector's Files, Draft for reply to question in Leg. Ass. for 19/8/1891.
²ibid., 11813, 11/5/84.
³ibid., 11813, 11/5/84.
Seniority was not the open door to promotions which it appeared to some members of the service to be. Numerous applications for promotion based almost solely on seniority grounds, are to be found on file - a great proportion of them being unsuccessful. An example was that of W. McIntyre who, in applying for the position of Deputy Chief Inspector in 1882, claimed to be the senior officer with 25 years in the school service of the Colony, having been first appointed in 1855. His career had progressed through Organising Master of Schools, Master at Fort Street Model school and twenty-one years as Inspector of Schools. In 1878 for good service the Council of Education gave him twelve months leave to visit Europe. Shortly after his return he was made District Inspector at Goulburn under the new Act. Due to ill health he was transferred to Sydney to the position of Emergency Inspector to perform special duties under the direction of the Chief Inspector. He appears to have had some political backing in that he claimed Sir John Robertson promised him the Emergency Inspector position.¹ He also claimed to be "well known to members of both houses of the legislature" but graciously promised not to seek

¹This seems to have been unofficial.
"political influence" in support of his application. His application was however unsuccessful, Maynard securing the position.

On the death of District Inspector D.S. Hicks, Maynard justified his recommendation of Alexander Lobban ahead of more senior men: "... length of service should not, in my opinion, determine the selection. I have therefore fully considered the general qualifications of the officers ...".

Fitness for the position and seniority were not, of course, the only factors determining appointments of Inspectors. Questions of economy were already playing their part in 1889 when to fill a vacancy in the staff of Inspectors caused by Mr. Maclardy's appointment to the Training Schools, Mr. D.J. Cooper, Chief Clerk in the Chief Inspector's Branch was temporarily appointed. This was justified as being beneficial to Cooper's health and as increasing his "usefulness as an officer largely concerned with the work relating to teachers, schools, and school inspection". Mr. Cooper was said to have had experience in school inspection and to be "well qualified to act as an

\[1\text{ibid.}, 1, 3/1/82, also 46369, 1/11/89.\]

\[2\text{ibid.}, 20915, 30/8/87.\]
Inspector". The arrangement was also estimated to effect a saving of £350 per annum. ¹

Generally however, within the Department one can point to quite a definite tradition of inspectorial promotion according to fitness for the position backed by the general requirement of seniority, a policy somewhat in advance of that of the Public Service in general. This policy was well established and continued to be implemented throughout the years at the turn of the century for in 1889 although there were three officers senior to him under the above terms, Inspector Friend was recommended and approved for promotion as being "the most efficient officer and most deserving of promotion". Similarly, Inspector Parkinson was promoted over the heads of two senior men, he being "much the superior". ²

The file concerning these promotions contains a policy statement which reveals an established practice of distinguishing between seniority in regard to service as a teacher and as an inspector:

It was decided by Mr. Suttor that when an officer left the teaching and joined the Inspectors' Branch any question of seniority that might affect

¹ ibid., 8071, 20/2/89.
² ibid., 27484, 4/5/98.
promotion in the Inspectors' Branch should be judged only by the time served in that branch, without reference to previous service as a teacher.\textsuperscript{1}

Following the death of District Inspector O'Bryne (Wagga), Charles Flashman was given the promotion in 1893 on seniority and suitability: \textit{"... he is a man in every way suited for the position. He has served as a teacher and inspector for over 35 years. He is now 48 years of age, and is an active and energetic officer."}\textsuperscript{2}

There is little to be gained from quoting further individual examples except to note that Mr. Peter Board, B.A., Headmaster of the Superior Public school at Macdonaldtown was recommended by Maynard in 1893 for the vacant position of Inspector in the following terms: \textit{"He is a man of irreproachable character, a hard worker, and thoroughly reliable. He is likely to make a good Inspector. He has served as a teacher since January, 1873, and is now 34 years of age."} His salary was to be £380 per annum, \textit{"considerably less than his present emoluments, but he has applied for the position"}. Three other applicants were senior to him. Saxby had applied for only certain districts and the other

\textsuperscript{1}ibid., 27484, 4/5/98.
\textsuperscript{2}ibid., BC, 6/6/93.
FREDERICK BRIDGES
two were deemed to be of lesser capabilities than Board.¹

It is interesting to speculate whether the "reforms" of the early 1900's would in fact have come at that point of time if the promotion policy of the Department after 1800 had been as conservative as has been popularly believed. That a flexible policy had been in force for some time is clearly intimated in Bridges' response in 1903 to a request from the Public Service Board wanting to know "whether all officers who have any claim to be considered in connection with the appointment to the positions of Inspectors, have had an opportunity of putting in their applications":

It is not the practice of the Department to advertise vacancies in the Inspectorial or Teaching staffs, as such a course would greatly hamper the administration. I have already set forth on previous occasions the qualifications considered essential for the position of Inspector of Schools. The claims of each Officer as regards service, efficiency and ability to meet essential requirements are, as you are aware, fully considered as vacancies arise. Of course there are always many men, who measuring their claims by each year or month's service consider they possess 'claims' for each and every vacant position, but to invite applications from such, when there is no intention whatever to recommend their appointment to certain positions, would to say the least of it be not judicious.²

¹ibid., BC, 6/6/93.
²ibid., 48990, 1/7/03.
The Department was sufficiently enlightened to realise that upon the Inspectorate rested the burden of implementing the system laid down in the 1880 Act. In spite of the political preferment and promotion according to seniority which was rife in other branches of the Public Service, the Department successfully prosecuted a policy of promotion according to standards laid down within the Department as best suited to the needs of education in this State. The liberality of the policy appears however, only in retrospect and when compared with the essentially unchanged policy of today. At the time, it appeared even to Board that seniority determined the selection of officers for higher positions.\(^1\) In the light of the available evidence, the Public Service Board justly reminded Board of his own preferment:

With reference to that portion of the Under Secretary's minute, in which he refers to 'the ordinary rules of promotion within the Service by which seniority mainly determines the selection of officers for higher positions' the Board desire me to point out that the Public Service Act provides that fitness, combined with seniority, shall be the determining factor in promotion, and that, for the higher positions, 'special fitness' usually determines the question,

\(^1\)ibid., 00673, 4/1/06.
the Under Secretary's own appointment being a case in point.¹

The Examiner's Branch

The examination of the various stages of progress from entry into the service to promotion was continued under the 1880 Act by the office of the Examiner. Specifically, this meant the examination of applicants for the office of pupil-teacher; all pupil-teachers; applicants for admission to training; training students; unclassified and assistant teachers; and teachers for promotion.

In 1889, following the retirement of Chief Examiner Gardiner and Examiner Forbes, the Examining Branch was reorganised and a Board of Examiners appointed, the members being:

E. Johnson, the Under-Secretary-Chairman
H.C.L. Anderson, M.A., Vice-Chairman
J.C. Maynard, Chief-Inspector
F. Bridges, Deputy Chief Inspector (later Organiser of Technical Education)
J. McCredie, District Inspector
Dr. Morris, Inspector

¹Sec. of P.S. Board, 00673, 4/1/06. Board's submission 00673 also.
EXAMINER'S REPORT ON A TEACHER, 1883

- Examiner's Files.

(State Archives)
This reorganisation grew out of early clashes between the Examiner and the Chief Inspector over the definition of their respective functions. Examiner Gardiner endeavoured to establish complete control over the qualifications of teachers, one of his earliest Memoranda to the Under-Secretary requesting the appointment of additional Examiners to overcome the position, "open to grave objection", whereby the teachers of certain subjects at the Training School furnished the questions and revised the examination papers of their own students. The Chief Inspector on 18th August, 1881, requested that in future the practical skill of students in the Training School when undergoing examination for classification, should be tested and reported upon by an Inspector of Schools operating under the Chief Inspector's directions. The Chief Examiner regarded this action as unnecessary and Wilkins, the Under-Secretary raised the further objection that the proposal would mean departing from the principle of "the desirability of avoiding such arrangements as would throw a Teacher's entire career under

1Examiner's Report, in Minister's Report, 1889, 280.
2Examiner's Files, 9912, 2/5/81.
the influence of one officer".  

The Chief Examiner also asked that reports by the Inspectors to the Chief Inspector be referred to him and that, for his purposes, such reports should be written in a form prescribed by him. Wilkins commented: "I think the Chief Inspector takes the correct view in deprecating such a course and I concur with him in the recommendation that a report received from the Chief Inspector and endorsed by him should be deemed sufficient for the purpose intended".  

Following this quarrel came criticism of the Examiner's Branch in the press during August, 1882. Gardiner angrily claimed "Ministerial Vindication for the Examining Department".  

Suttor's reply was that he believed "the Examining Staff are getting through the work as fast as possible and I trust they will continue to do so". During May, 1883 came further criticism in the "Freeman's Journal", the Examiner's explanation being accepted by the

1 ibid., Memo., dated 7/12/81.
2 ibid.
3 ibid., 792, 14/8/82.
4 The Minister.
5 Examiner's File, 792, 14/8/82.
Minister, Reid, as "Satisfactory but inadvertencies and accidents in these matters are much to be regretted".¹

The appointment of a Board of Examiners in 1889 was clearly a reaction against the internal conflict between senior officers in the Department and against public criticism of the examining system. Such a solution had been suggested in 1883 by Dr. E. Thibault, of Sydney University, when reporting upon the June Examination in French:

In every country in Europe ... the Teacher is 'ex officio' one of the Examiners ... In answer to an objection that may be raised to the Teachers of a subject being the Examiners I would direct notice to the fact that in this case the Examiner is not the only judge. He gives the percentage but the merits of the Examinees are decided by the Board of Examiners .... I trust the Department will do something in that direction and will take the lead, as it is, in my opinion, quite unnecessary and perhaps most undesirable that the columns of the newspapers should teem with controversies on a subject which is of such manifest importance both to the system of Public Instruction and to the teachers themselves.²

The underlying conflict of interests between the Chief Inspector's Branch and that of the Examiner, compounded by criticism from within and outside the service was clearly

¹ibid., 924, 22/5/83.
²ibid., 22306, 10/8/83.
indicated in the closing paragraph of Examiner Anderson's Report for 1889:

It is confidently hoped that the varied experience of the different members of the Board in all the offices of the Department has enabled them to formulate a scheme of examinations and make a definite series of regulations that will make our examining system equitable to teachers and satisfactory to the Department and the Public. ¹

Other factors undoubtedly worked in favour of the reorganisation. Johnson, the first Chief Inspector to clash with Gardiner was now Under-Secretary, and the retirement of Gardiner in June 1888, had provided the means for the abolition of the office of Chief Examiner. The further retirement of Examiner Forbes in 1889 set the date for the change. Financial considerations might also have played a part, for the Board's Report for 1890 was able to indicate that "a saving of fully one-third of the amount formerly expended" had been accomplished. ²

There was an immediate change in emphasis in the organisation of examinations to bring them into line with Departmental requirements. The new Board set about revising examination procedures and courses of study for

¹ Minister's Report, 1889, 280.
² ibid., 1890, 331.
teachers and pupil-teachers in an attempt to harmonise their work "as much as possible" with that of the university and in order to "simplify the work of principal teachers in instructing their pupil-teachers". ¹ Upon the resignation of Anderson ² in February, 1890, Dr. R.N. Morris held the office of Examiner and Vice-chairman of the Board until it was quietly dissolved in June, 1896. Morris however, continued as Examiner helped by five Assistant Examiners. ³

The original Examiner's Branch, in its control of the examination and classification of teachers had enjoyed virtual autonomy in its relations with the Inspectorate, subject to the determination of the Under-secretary and Minister. With its abolition, the work of the examiners had become more closely related to the policy determinations of the Chief Inspector. The abolition of the Board in 1896 marked a further erosion of the principle of examination by a nominally disinterested authority. Morris, an ex-Inspector, became now personally responsible for the implementation of policy which was apparently increasingly determined by the

¹ ibid., 1889, 280.
² Anderson had been an Examiner under Gardiner and Forbes. He became Director of Agriculture. vide, ibid., 1890, 331.
³ vide, ibid., 1890, passim.
Inspectorate. Thus one of the chief objects of the new standards of examination for teachers introduced in 1903 was a predominantly administrative arrangement "to ensure that teachers securing a classification in Class II or Class I would be competent to give full instruction to pupil-teachers ...".  

Again, in 1904 subjects were added to the Standard for pupil-teachers in order to secure candidates "better equipped to enter on the work of teaching", the number of eligible examinees being restricted to the immediate needs of the Department. 

There is little doubt that increased flexibility resulted from the closer linking of the functions of the Examiner with general Departmental policy, although the move involved further centralisation. The alternative had never been one which might have been expected to counter bureaucracy in the Chief Inspector's Office. Gardiner's objective had been to set up his own machine in a "federal" relationship with the Inspectorate. There was much to be said for the more direct lines of communication which were opened up through Morris, particularly since the revision of

1Morris in *ibid.*, 1902, 110.

2*ibid.*, 1904, 112.
teacher-training policy in the early 1900's called for an increasingly flexible examination system in the phasing out of the pupil-teacher and his replacement by the probationary student. The increased demands placed upon teachers by the 1908 revision of the Syllabus of Examinations for Teachers also called for much closer liaison such as was involved in provision for sectional sittings to compensate for the extra demands being made upon teachers in securing higher attainments.

The functions of the Examiner had therefore by the end of the period become more an instrument for the implementation of policy determined in the Chief Inspector's Branch than its previous status under Gardiner and Forbes had allowed. The effect upon the policy-making process appears to have been towards providing increased flexibility of procedures which were more adaptable to the demands of the first decade of the twentieth century.

1"Candidates sitting for Third, Second, or First Class certificates may take their examinations in sections. Not less than three subjects may be taken at any one sitting." vide, "Examination of Teachers' Regulations", Pub. Instr. Gaz., I, Aug., 1906, 159.

2vide, Minister's Report, 1906, 121.
Communication

Of utmost importance in the centralised system such as was set up by the 1880 Act, was the establishment of lines of communication between Inspectors and Head Office. The insularity of the system in regard to overseas educational theory and practice is commonly recognised but what of criticism and advice from within the service? Obviously the men in the field would be in a position to advise the central authority on matters of local application of central policy and at least to some degree to take part in the formation of that policy.

Before the evidence as to the amount and type of communication between Inspectors and Head Office is considered it would be as well to note the physical difficulties in communication due to the number of schools to be inspected; the difficulties and slowness of travel; the time-consuming method of inspection; the writing of reports; and the increasing pressure upon Inspectors to visit schools at least twice a year.¹ From the Head Office point of view there was the sheer magnitude of the task (even with relatively few Inspectors) of sending duplicate

¹Minister's Report, 1883, 53.
memoranda, awaiting their return when Inspectors concerned may have been on a tour of inspection lasting weeks, and collating replies for consideration.¹

One cannot too readily blame those who replied to such communications in favour of maintaining the status quo. Such an attitude on the part of some, reflected of course a lack of professional interest which could by modern standards give rise to doubt as to whether they were suited for their positions. Their superiors were usually aware of their attitude but the problem was who could better have been appointed in their place? It is also true that many competent officers must have chosen the easy way out through sheer pressure of work or perhaps due to their desire to accord leadership to their superiors and convey to them their willingness to carry out directives. There were also those who genuinely believed that under the circumstances no change was necessary.

However, in surveying the filed replies to invitations to express opinions on a variety of matters, one is struck by the fact that the most stimulating and thoughtful expressions of opinion were written by those Inspectors who were later to

¹vide, Chief Inspector's Files, 1880, passim.
figure prominently in promotions positions. This necessarily subjective assessment suggests that those least satisfied with the system and most prepared to criticise it were in fact recognised by promotion within the service.

- Early Conferences and Visits

The Conferences of Inspectors introduced earlier by Wilkins\(^1\) were continued under the Department of Public Instruction but by no means annually. One held in 1883 considered and reported "upon a number of matters affecting organisation, instruction, and management of State Schools, and several of the recommendations emanating from that Conference were afterwards adopted, to the great advantage and improvement of the school service".\(^2\) The 1883 revision of the Standard of Proficiency was the main outcome of this Conference, but it additionally recommended the abolition of special fees in Superior Public schools and classification of Training School students by Inspectors. The Inspectors also considered examination procedures, school attendance, school buildings and defects in the teaching of Drawing.

\(^1\)vide, Turney, op. cit., 922.

\(^2\)Minister's Report, 1889, 50.
Music and Drill. 1

The next Conference was not held until 1889, the official reason for its meeting reflecting the continuation of the advisory functions which, as has been noted, existed before 1880:

... several other important school changes having from time to time been proposed for consideration, it was thought desirable, in 1889, that another Conference should be held to consider and report upon existing school arrangements, with a view to improvement being effected. 2

Reports and other correspondence from Inspectors seem to have been the main avenues for proposing these changes, a Conference being called only when sufficient suggestions had accumulated to justify the calling together of Inspectors to express a collective opinion.

An innovation at the 1889 Conference was the invitation extended to representatives of teachers to join in the discussion of questions related to the practical working of the schools. Thus the thirty-four Inspectors were joined by the Superintendent of Technical Education, two representatives of the Cadet Force, the two Training School Principals, plus Head Teachers and Mistresses to a total of

1Chief Inspector's Files. No. and date illegible.
2ibid., 1889, 50.
The Chief Inspector's files for 1890 contain recommendations concerning decisions of this Conference. A proposal that Gymnastics be introduced into schools "wherever practicable" was approved, the Department to pay half the cost of "necessary appliances, on the understanding that the other half shall be contributed locally". 2

Conference decisions on "Home Lessons" were approved for

1 ibid., 50, 51.

Over five days, the combined Conference considered:
1. Minimum age of children to be admitted to school
2. Standards of Proficiency
3. Home Lessons
4. Punishments
5. Teachers acting as lay Readers and Local Preachers
6. Drill and Gymnastic Instruction: Cadet Corps
7. School Savings Banks
8. Calculation of Records of Enrolment
9. Compilation of a New Series of Reading Books
10. Teaching of Sewing
11. The working of the Compulsory Clauses of the Act.

The Inspectors alone discussed:
1. Forms of School Inspection Reports
2. School Inspection Standards
3. Appointment of a Lady Inspector of Infants' Schools
4. Appointment of a Lady Inspector of Sewing
5. Provision and Examination of Candidates for Small Schools
6. Provision of School Libraries
7. Technical Education
8. School Architecture
9. State Scholarships or Bursaries.

2 Chief Inspector's Files, 3685, 23/1/90.
embodiment in the Instructions to Teachers. Maynard reported: "The Conference was of opinion that it is desirable that circulating libraries be established, where practicable, in connection with Public Schools and that half the cost of such libraries be borne by the State". Although he agreed with this and recommended its adoption, the Minister, J.H. Carruthers, did not concur: "I think that we may well allow this matter to remain untouched in view of the existence of other libraries and the other work of the schools needing undivided attention."

In regard to standards of school inspection, the

1ibid., 3690, 23/1/90, viz.,

a. No home lessons or written exercise of any kind shall be given to children attending Infant Schools or First Classes in other schools.

b. Children in the Second Class shall have no written exercises of any kind, but they may be required to prepare lessons on Reading, Spelling or Tables, provided such work take up not more than half an hour each evening.

c. Children in the Third Class may be given home lessons four evenings in the week, the subjects being left to the discretion of the teacher, but such lessons must not take more than one hour to complete.

d. In the case of Fourth and Fifth classes, it is left to the discretion of the teacher to give such home lessons as he may consider necessary.

2Chief Inspector's Files, 3685, 23/1/90.
Conference decided unanimously "That, as a general rule, the estimate of a Teacher's practical skill shall be determined by the efficiency of the school under his charge". A schedule listed the marks corresponding to the various grades of classification. The Conference also revised provisions for staffing of Small schools asking that Inspectors be allowed to have at least three applicants already examined and ready for appointment. History was to be included in their examination, the range of examination being that set down for the first half-year of Fourth class. These recommendations were also approved.

The details given above naturally reflect some preoccupation with effecting improvements within the framework of the existing system but those concerning libraries and homework, if not radical for their time, were at least equal to modern provisions. The current provisions in regard to homework, though more detailed, are essentially the same wording as the original Conference recommendations, in regard to comparable age groupings.

1 ibid., 3692, 23/1/90.
2 ibid., 3687, 23/1/90.
3 vide, Dept. of Education Handbook, 1962, Sect. 2.6.6. (i) and 3.17.3 re. Library subsidies.
4 vide, ibid., Sect. 5.2.4.9.
In the decade after 1890, no record of similar Conferences being held can be found. The dearth of meetings may be taken as an indication of a lack of appreciation of the contribution they might make to the educational system, but the most likely explanation lies probably in financial problems of government at the close of the century.

The amount placed on the estimates for travelling expenses for Inspectors in 1893 was £1,000 less than for the preceding year. Instructions were therefore issued to all country Inspectors

... that in addition to other means of saving that may suggest themselves to you, no journey, except under exceptional circumstances, shall be undertaken this year to make ordinary or incidental inspections, unless they can be made without putting the Department to any expense for travelling.¹

In this economic situation it is difficult to imagine the Department undertaking the expense of gathering all Inspectors together. By 1900 travelling expenses for the Chief Inspector's Branch were still running at more than £2,000 below the £7,651 of 1890,² a figure not to be attained again during the period under review.

¹Chief Inspector's Files, Filed, 3/2/93.
²Minister's Report, 1890, 488, and 1900, 184.
However, under Bridges a programme of visits to country areas in the Wilkins tradition was put into immediate effect presumably in order to maintain personal contact between the senior officers of the Department and the Inspectors. Deputy-Chief Inspector McIntyre visited the schools at Wagga, South Wagga, Queanbeyan and Minto during December, 1894 to report on "the Skill of Teachers and other matters". He left again in March 1898 to visit the Richmond River District, "inspect schools and report on the Practical Skill of Teachers". This tour lasted almost a month. In April, 1901 another month's tour took him to Tamworth West, Boggabri, Moree, Emmaville, Black Mountain and Armidale.

Bridges himself undertook a tour of inspection on 30th September, 1895. This tour lasted until 11th October and covered Orange, Dubbo, Forbes and Parkes. A visit to inspect the Primary department at Richmond was made by him on 29th and 30th April, 1897 and a further tour of inspection was carried out starting on 5th May and covering

1Chief Inspector's Files, 64765, 1/12/94.
2 Ibid., 20834, 31/3/98.
3 Ibid., 22154, 13/4/01.
4 Ibid., 54613, 25/9/95.
Lithgow, Bathurst, Orange, Dubbo and Girilambone.\textsuperscript{1} In 1898 three candidates for promotion to Class IB were noted as having been personally inspected by Bridges.\textsuperscript{2} In August, 1899 he visited Broken Hill.\textsuperscript{3} He left on a further tour at the end of August, 1903 "to the South Coast, visiting the schools between Nowra and Bega and thus making myself acquainted with that part of New South Wales, the only part of the State that I do not know well. There are several 'Skill marks' of old standing to be dealt with".\textsuperscript{4}

The above are isolated examples, the incomplete records giving no indication of the regularity of such visits. The examples do, however, reflect Bridges' appreciation of the need for personal contact with his Inspectors in addition to the normal correspondence. Such communication was evident, if on a restricted scale, throughout the difficult years of the nineties.

\textbf{The Conferences of the 1900's}

There had thus been established at times of stress within the system, definite procedures for obtaining the

\textsuperscript{1}\textit{Ibid.}, 25055, 27/4/97.

\textsuperscript{2}\textit{Ibid.}, 88704, 27/6/98.

\textsuperscript{3}\textit{N.S.W. Edl. Gaz.}, IX, Sept., 1899, 74.

\textsuperscript{4}\textit{Chief Inspector's Files}, 60756, 28/8/03.
DELEGATES TO THE 1902 CONFERENCE


Third Row.—J. C. Maynard, Under Secretary, Department of Public Instruction. The Hon. John Peary, Minister for Public Instruction.


opinion of the Inspectorate before introducing changes. The Conference of Inspectors and Departmental Officers called in 1902 was in many respects consistent with this tradition. It had been called in the face of public criticism of the Department to consider areas in which change might be desirable. It was composed in the traditional way. It considered the perennial questions of the pupil-teacher system, standards of proficiency, provision of education facilities, technical education, compulsory education, salaries and so on.¹

In his opening address, Perry² introduced the second item on the business paper referring to "the instruction of pupils according to their natural bent of mind":

In very small schools, to discriminate in this way is an easy matter; but I recognise that it is difficult in a large school with large classes for this to be done to any great extent. I do not lose sight of the fact, however, that many of our painstaking teachers attempt much in this direction.... I should like (your) testimony as to how far this process is being carried out; and as to what additional steps are necessary for it to be made general.³

The response when this item came up for discussion can only

¹N.S.W., Conference of Inspectors and Departmental Officers, 1902, Sydney: Govt. Printer, 1902.

²The Minister.

³ibid., 14-15.
be described as one of bewilderment:

R.J. Hinder, High School, East Maitland:
... We may direct studies to a special end, but cannot otherwise assist. (Hear, hear.)

Dr. Morris, Chief Examiner:
... I do not think anything further can be done than is already provided for in ... the fifth classes.

F. Bridges, Chief Inspector:
... I think the best thing we can do in the matter is to leave it alone.

J. Dawson, Inspector:
I think natural aptitude is what is meant ... Sir Joshua Fitch ... gives the opinion that in the ordinary school, nothing much could be done; but that something could be done when exercises in manual training were more largely introduced .... 1

Taken in conjunction with the decision of the Conference that the existing pupil-teacher system, with modifications, should be continued 2 the narrow-mindedness of such an assemblage and the inadequacy of established methods of communication for the conveyance of new ideas becomes apparent. Bridges did however, move that the Conference be called again to consider the report of the proposed Commission to England and America, and thereafter at intervals of no longer than three years. 3 Inspector Willis even suggested that the report of the

1 ibid., 44-5.
2 ibid., 4.
3 ibid., 132.
proposed Commission be put first before a Conference of Teachers but his amendment was not accepted. ¹

Perry however took heed of the latter suggestion in the calling of the Conference of April, 1904, arranging for the election of at least two teachers' representatives from each Inspectorial District as Willis had suggested. ² A claim by the Teachers' Association to have its Council appointed as delegates failed ³ but Perry further widened the traditional scope of the Conference by inviting educators from outside the Department to attend. But first he decided to put his own house in order.

Accordingly, prior to the April Conference, a conventional meeting of Inspectors was called at Head Office on 12th January, 1904 to discuss "general matters relating to the work of inspection and other subjects concerning which it was considered advisable that inspectors should have an opportunity of exchanging views and receiving advice and suggestions". ⁴

¹ibid.
²ibid.
³N.S.W., Conference of Inspectors, Teachers, Departmental Officers, and Prominent Educationists, 1904, Sydney: Govt. Printer, 1904, 24.
It was obvious from the Minister's speech that the meeting had been called so that a united front might be presented at the Conference of Inspectors and Teachers which he had arranged for the following Thursday, 14th January. Much of the discussion centred upon decisions which had already been made regarding inspection procedures, but there was evidence of a changing attitude precipitated, no doubt, by the impending public confrontation. It was proposed that principals' teaching loads in large schools be reduced; that teachers' meetings "for discussion of educational subjects under certain restrictions" be held at proposed Model schools; that teachers' reading circles and libraries should be encouraged; that promotions of pupils should not be tied to reading ability; and that in Spelling, Arithmetic, Grammar, Composition, Geography and Object lessons, improved teaching methods be employed. Of great importance for future development of education in the State was the decision taken by this Conference to take advantage of Peter Board's recent visit to Europe in modifying the

1 *ibid.*

2 *viz.*, the substitution of "ordinary" for "regular" inspections.

3 For details *vide infra*, Chapter III, *passim.*
course of instruction. A committee was appointed to draw up a new syllabus which was published in *The N.S.W. Educational Gazette* in March, 1904, a month before the major Educational Conference was due to meet.

The Conference of Inspectors and Teachers which met at the New Masonic Hall on 14th January was therefore confronted with an "elaborate ... well-considered - if not on all points convincing - defence of the Department's actions in the past". The large assembly had had little opportunity to read and consider the Commissioners' Report. The Minister's announcement that the meeting had been called so as to afford an opportunity of questioning the Commissioners upon their recommendations was described by the Journal as "hardly a generous way of treating those gentlemen". They were plied with questions without notice "many of which had the appearance of being studiously framed for the purpose of justifying, rather than improving, our present methods". The Conference did however succeed

1 *ibid.*

2 *ibid.*, 234 ff.


4 *The Aust. J. of Ed.* had been able to publish only a brief outline of the Report ten days before. *ibid.*, I, Jan., 1904, 3 ff.

5 *ibid.*
in impressing upon Perry the need to call a more formal meeting later in the year.

The April Conference therefore represented a gradual evolution and reorientation of the Departmental communication processes resulting from a breaking down of traditions which had developed since Wilkins' administration. The nature and composition of the Conference was precipitated not by a lack of consultation between officers of the Department before the determination of policy but rather by the patent inappropriateness of the insularity of the Inspectorate from the mass of teachers. The same forces in twentieth century society which recognised the integrity of the child, also demanded cognisance of that of the teacher. The rapid growth of Teachers' Associations and their associated deliberations in the late 1890's¹ was but one expression of this demand. But it was one which gained increasing recognition within the Inspectorate over the years as individuals connected with the teachers' movement were in time promoted to Inspectorial positions. The official attitude of the establishment to such "political" institutions remained perforce aloof until public opinion and the personal involvement of Perry brought about a recognition

¹vide infra, Chapter III and 246.
of the rights of such organisations to be heard.

The scope both of representation and of topics discussed at the April Conference, marked it as the confluence of two systems of communication which had to that stage found their own outlets in their separate Conferences. For the first time there was some semblance of frankness in discussion, with the Conference jealously guarding its members from attempts at intimidation by individual Departmental officers while at the same time according to the Inspectorate as a whole an appropriate deference. The reported discussion of the new Syllabus conveys the mood of the delegates:

Mr. Senior-Inspector Lobban:
I have a serious objection to any of the Inspectors going on to the platform. We are a Committee appointed to deal with the syllabus, and we want to be merged with the whole body of teachers.¹

Mr. H. Wigg, Weddin:
... I think there are one or two matters in which the Syllabus may be amended. For instance, there is a difficulty with me in getting my children to sing every time I change their lessons. Fancy me beating time with one hand and putting up one of these free-arm drawings with the other!²

Mr. Senior-Inspector H.D. McLelland:
I have been somewhat forcibly struck by the tone and attitude adopted by two or three of the recent speakers ... and I must confess that it ... does

¹Conference, 1904, op. cit., 112.
²Ibid., 132.
not commend itself to me in any shape or form. The teachers themselves have all through apparently welcomed the liberty and freedom that we now offer to them, but when it comes to the exercise of that freedom they seem dubious ... ...

Professor Knibbs:
I would like to deprecate ... any disposition to take up an attitude in this Conference - I may say it was, I am sure, quite unintentional - but an attitude represented by Inspector McLelland in censuring a speech from a subordinate officer of the Department.

Such attitudes and statements as are represented above differ so vastly from those expressed at previous Conferences organised by the Department that it is tempting to view the development as one forced upon an unyielding officialdom completely by outside pressures. This is to ignore the dominant role which the Department obviously played in the organisation and guidance of the Conference. A metamorphosis triggered by the January debacle took place in official attitudes to reform, continuing through the opening days of the Conference. The instinct for self-preservation recognised that since the more conventional stratagems had failed to satisfy the appetite of the

1 *ibid.*
2 *ibid.*, 134.
3 *ibid.*, 135.
progressionists, the best thing to do was to come out in the open and advertise the dedication of the Department to reform; in other words to seize the initiative and place the onus upon the critics to take up the challenge. By this simple device Perry immediately placed his administration amongst the progressive elements promoting the New Education, yet weighed down by the neglect of former years.

The reorganisation plan put before the Conference was thus grandiose rather than practical in conception. Great pains were taken to stress the material difficulties of such thoroughgoing reorganisation, particularly in regard to lack of finance and provision of trained teachers. In the following months Inspectors actively parading their manumission from the role of examiner and statistician, set about developing their new authority symbol – that of interpreter of the new Syllabus – in a spate of District meetings with teachers.¹

If New South Wales did not now have the best system in the world, it at least had the best plan for one:

¹vide, e.g., N.S.W. Edl. Gaz., XIV, June, 1904, 13 and 14; July, 1904, 36; Oct., 1904, 112.
The education of the masses should be the first consideration of the State. This is a primary demand of democracy. So far as this State is concerned that demand is being adequately met. Probably no system in the world endeavours more earnestly to satisfy this need than our own.¹

While the early reorganisation under the Act had been a somewhat undramatic process of consolidation and expansion, within the Department a solid administrative machine had been built up composed of personalities and policies of a calibre superior to the contemporary standard of Public Service bureaucracy. The lines of communication and policy-making procedures within that machine, though not sophisticated by modern standards, were to a significant extent affected by economic factors and limited by technological development. A tradition of visitation and consultation amongst the Inspectorate had been maintained despite the difficulties of the 1890's so that with the return of some measure of prosperity at the turn of the century the direction of development apparent in 1889-90 was continued. The realisation that this orientation was perhaps unsuited to a period of rapid change was to an extent dependent upon the

nature and adequacy of Departmental lines of communication. The intercourse represented by the Conferences of the early 1900's was an expression of the customary reaction of the Department at times of stress.
CHAPTER III

TEACHERS AND CONDITIONS OF SERVICE

As the Department of Public Instruction continued in the footsteps of the Council of Education consolidating and expanding educational facilities in New South Wales, it was only to be expected that the bulk of regulations defining the conditions of service, promotion and remuneration would remain as before. Some variation was called for by the Act's alteration of such basic principles as direct payment of teachers from pupils' fees but there was a need to maintain continuity in procedures which had not been involved in the preceding controversy.

Not only teachers but their pupils found little change in everyday conditions. Routine, school hours, attendance, discipline, cost of schooling, and the physical school surroundings continued much as before but if this was the general picture under the 1880 Act there were also subtle but significant changes, particularly in regard to teachers' promotion prospects and the growth of an external examination system, both influencing to a certain extent the nature of the educative process. Even more subtle movements were
determining changes in the provision of buildings, furniture and equipment, and the conditions of entry into the service.

Such had been the thoroughness of Wilkins' administrative genius that even in the forward-looking schemes of 1889-90 and the ferment of the 1900's, his organisational and administrative plans for the day-to-day functioning of schools were never seriously questioned. Such changes as did take place appear to have been the products of necessity, particularly determined by increases in the physical size of the service. The fact that the educational machine of the 1900's was in essence the same as that instituted by Wilkins, and that such an organisation was generally regarded as sacrosanct is perhaps a tribute to the flexibility of the system. It is also clear that service conditions were a significant factor in determining the morale of the service throughout the period under review, in that they defined the type and quality of candidate attracted to the teaching service and affected the training pattern and the quality of education which was in future to be imparted in the schools.
Service Under the Council of Education

The Department of Public Instruction inherited from the Council of Education four classes of teachers in National schools, viz.:

- Principal Teachers = 1,204
- Assistant Teachers = 329
- Pupil-Teachers = 481
- Work Mistresses = 24

...teaching in Public, Provisional and Half-time schools. Classification ranged from Class III (C,B and A) through Class II (B and A) to Class I (B and A) by examination or for good service. Upon the classification held by the teacher depended his rate of salary, which he received in addition to fees paid by pupils. Financially it was in his interests therefore to qualify for higher classification by examination and to encourage increased attendance. Additionally he could progress one grade in classification without examination if over a period of three years his school was found to have increased in numbers and efficiency, and reports from Inspectors and local patrons were "uniformly favourable".

1 Minister's Report, 1879, 19.
2 Ibid., 20.
In 1879 for example, the remuneration of the "average" classified teacher was made up of:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classification</th>
<th>Salary £</th>
<th>Fees £</th>
<th>Total £</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IA</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>241</td>
<td>445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IB</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>359</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IIA</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IIB</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IIIA</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IIIB</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IIIC</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>133 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Persons entering the service were paid at the lowest rate until they submitted themselves for classification.2 Pupil-teachers served three years' apprenticeship in a school with an average attendance of not less than fifty3 being rewarded with instruction by the teacher and a fixed salary if they passed their annual examinations and were certified by the teacher to be of good moral character.4 Their promotion was from their own Class IV through to pupil-teacher Class I and then to the Training School where they far outnumbered entrants from other sources5 and where they could follow a six months' course, Upper or Lower.6

1 Minister's Report, 1879, 20.
3 Regns. of 1875, Sect. 40, Act of 1866, 21.
4 Sect. 64, ibid., 25.
5 Turney, op. cit., 940.
6 ibid., 932.
selected, those in the Upper Class might devote a further six months to more advanced study. Teachers for Small schools could enter the service by training for a maximum of three months at a local school, supervised by Inspectors. These persons were paid £4 a month subject to satisfactory reports and progress, with the prospect for a few of later entering the Training School after three years in a bush school.

Classification and Payment Under the 1880 Act

With the passage of the Public Instruction Act, several important administrative changes were made in regard to payment and classification of teachers, consequent upon the abolition of fees and the cessation of aid to Denominational schools, by which means the Council had paid teachers. Although all remuneration of teachers was to come from the Treasury, it was considered that

... a definite proportion should be maintained in all cases between a given number of pupils and the cost of their education, efficiency of instruction being assumed, while the remuneration secured to teachers should be commensurate with their rank as determined by examination, and the amount of work

1ibid., 935.
2ibid., 934.
4ibid., 1873, 10.
SURRY HILLS SOUTH represents a 1st class school of three departments, affording accommodation for from 600 to 1,000 pupils, with all necessary class-rooms, lavatories, &c. These buildings are constructed of stone. Cost, £13,628 15s. 6d.
CROYDON represents a 2nd class school of three departments, accommodating between 400 and 600 pupils. This building is constructed of brick with stone dressings. Cost, £5,493.
ROBINSVILLE represents a 4th class school, accommodating between 200 and 300 pupils. The building is constructed of brick, and the class-room is divided from the main room by a glass partition. Cost, £1,550.

NEUTRAL BAY is a sample of a 5th class school, constructed of brick, and giving accommodation in the school-room for from 100 to 200 pupils, with a class-room for 50. Cost, £845.
JENNINGS.—Designed for a 7th class school, constructed of wood, and giving accommodation for 40 or 50 pupils. Cost, £347 10s.

WOODSTOCK represents a 6th class school, arranged to accommodate from 50 to 100 pupils, with class-room for 39. This building is constructed of brick. Cost, £569.
TIRKANNA.—Designed for a 9th or 10th class school, constructed of wood, and giving accommodation for 20 or 30 pupils. Cost, £215 12s.

MARSDEN PARK.—Designed for an 8th class school, constructed of wood, and giving accommodation for 40 pupils. Cost, £228 5s. 3d.
they were called upon to perform. At the same time it was proper that their incomes should be guarded against fluctuation from causes beyond their control, though they should not be relieved from the necessity for diligence in the performance of duty, nor deprived of incentives to exertion.¹

In practice the remuneration of a teacher was in future to be made up of the same basic salary as provided in 1879² plus a loading according to the classification of the school in which he was teaching, which in turn would depend upon his own classification by examination and efficiency. Ten classes of schools were set up according to the average daily attendance, number of departments, and satisfaction of the Standard of Proficiency.³

¹ Minister's Report, 1880, 2.
² Vide, ibid., 38, and Reglns. of 1st May 1880, Sect. 30, ibid., 27.
³ Class

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Average Daily Attendance</th>
<th>Departments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First</td>
<td>not less than 600</td>
<td>3 - Boys', Girls', Infants'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>3 - &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>3 - &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fourth</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>2 - (Primary &amp; Infants')*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fifth</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sixth</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seventh</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eighth</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ninth</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenth</td>
<td>not exceeding 20</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Words in brackets later omitted (Reglns. of 27/3/83).

Above table after Sect. 30, Reglns. of 17/6/80, ibid., 39.
**SALARY SCALES, 1880-90**

Male Teachers were to be eligible for appointment in charge of any school or department according to the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Salary £ + value of residence</th>
<th>Classification of School or Department</th>
<th>Classification of Teacher</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>400 + 100</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>IA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>336 + 100</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>IB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>252 + 80</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>IIA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>240 + 80</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>IIA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>228 + 80</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>IIB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>216 + 80</td>
<td>VI</td>
<td>IIB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>180 + 50</td>
<td>VII</td>
<td>IIIA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>156 + 50</td>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>IIIB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>132 + 50</td>
<td>IX</td>
<td>IIIC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108 + 20</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>IIIC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mistresses in charge were paid on a lower scale:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classification of School</th>
<th>Salary £ + Value of Residence 1880</th>
<th>1890</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>300 + 40</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>252 + 40</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>204 + 30</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>192 + 30</td>
<td>.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>180 + 30</td>
<td>(no provision for Class V Mistresses in 1890)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Assistant Teachers were paid:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>1880</th>
<th>1890</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First Assistants</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>168</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>120</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Salaries were paid to Pupil-Teachers at the following rates:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>1880</th>
<th>1890</th>
<th>1880 and 1890</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Above tables after 1880 Regulations, Sections 32-34, ibid., 40, and 1890, 71.)
The above tables show how the classification of schools and teachers worked in practice to determine teachers' salaries. The only changes made in the first ten years after the Act were first, a reduction of values of Mistresses' residences and their restriction to the first four classes of schools; and second, an increase in salary for male pupil-teachers designed to help overcome the shortage of applicants.

Teachers' remunerations were henceforth to be less dependent upon the vagaries of pupil attendance, though a teacher could still be removed from the school in which he was employed to another of a lower class, should he fail "through any default on his part, to maintain the requisite number of pupils in average attendance, or to satisfy the conditions of the Standard of Proficiency". This provision effectively ensured that the career of the teacher continued to depend upon the performance of his pupils under examination, because such results originally figured prominently in his own classification and again in the ability of his school to continue to satisfy the Standard.

In general, no teacher was to be permanently appointed

1Appendix D, Sect. 32, Minister's Report, 1880, 40.
unless he had been examined and classified\(^1\) and therefore a circular was sent to teachers of Denominational schools reminding them that although they should not infer that teachers already employed would be disturbed in their present appointments on the grounds of want of classification, "... applicants for removal or promotion should give proof, by passing an examination, that they possess the necessary knowledge and skill to fit them for the positions in the school service which they desire to fill".\(^2\) In fact none of the Denominational teachers or pupil-teachers were thrown out of work:

For some months before the end of 1882, the necessity of providing for them was kept in view. Married men with families were first considered, and as many of them as possible were transferred to Public Schools before the termination of the year. When the Schools opened in January, 1883, positions were found for the remaining teachers and pupil teachers by attaching them to existing Public Schools as temporary assistants. They were granted the pay corresponding to their classifications, and, as opportunities presented themselves, were drafted into permanent positions.\(^3\)

Teachers' examinations were divided into two classes.

\(^1\) Appendix C, Sect. 14, Regls. of 4/5/80, ibid., 25.
\(^2\) Appendix E, ibid., 41.
\(^3\) ibid., 1883, 12.
"Ordinary" subjects were Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Grammar, Geography, Knowledge of School Books and Rudiments of Music and Linear Drawing,¹ except when the candidate could show that in either Music or Drawing his failure was due to physical inability or impossibility of obtaining instruction.² To obtain a First or Second Class Certificate, teachers had to pass in one or more of the "Alternative" subjects of Latin, Maths, Natural Science, French or German.³ As well as passing the required examinations, the teacher desiring promotion also had to display the required practical skill,⁴ and except in special cases, promotions were to take account of seniority.⁵

In summary then, teachers were to be appointed to schools in conformity with the principles of qualification and seniority, unless properly qualified teachers could not be found,⁶ their promotion from one Class to another being only by examination with possible advance within that Class

¹Sect. 23, ibid., 27.
²Appendix A, ibid., 34.
³Sect. 24 and 27, ibid.
⁴Sect. 27, ibid.
⁵Sect. 29, ibid.
⁶Appendix E, Circular 3B, Sect. 5, ibid., 41.
for good service over a period of three years. Teachers found themselves in a much more secure position in regard to salary but in return were faced with the necessity of progression from Class to Class through examination rather than relying solely on their success as teachers:

For years past, teachers have evinced a reluctance to offer themselves for examination with a view to improve (sic) their professional standing. They have been content to rest their claims for promotion solely on the ground of their success as teachers. Those who have left the Training School with second-class certificates by examination instead of endeavouring to raise their classification by the same means, have depended almost exclusively on good service as the mode for accomplishing this object....

Attendance, the important factor under the Council in determining the amount the teacher derived from fees, was still a major concern of the teacher, especially in regard to his need to keep average attendances at least stable so that his school would retain its classification.

That there was no sudden change in this pressure upon the teacher is evidenced by the apparently contradictory statements of Chief Inspector Johnson in his 1880 Report.

1Sect. 28, ibid., 27.
2ibid., 1880, 51.
The position and pay of teachers now depend directly on the classification they obtain by examination.¹

and

The chief factor that now determines the rate of a teacher's pay is the average attendance of pupils at his school .... Under the old regulations a teacher's salary depended in most cases upon his classification.²

The contradiction may perhaps be reconciled through considering another statement from the same report:

One effect of the new regulations is that a large number of teachers are found in charge of schools of higher grades than those held by themselves .... These anomalies will no doubt be adjusted in time, by requiring teachers to obtain by examination the classifications corresponding with schools under their charge.³

Obviously, during the first years of the operation of the Act it would have been to the teacher's advantage to build up his school as much as possible, as long as he could later maintain these numbers. He might then be promoted for good service or at least obtain a skill mark which he might later convert to a higher classification by examination. As the organisation settled down to the new regulations however, classification by examination was intended to

¹ ibid., 51.
² ibid., 49.
³ ibid., 51.
become the prime factor determining position and salary.

Johnson’s desire to see the majority of schools staffed by teachers of the requisite classification was not over-optimistic. Although in 1883 there were only eight IA’s to staff about fifty First Class Departments and twenty-six IB’s for approximately sixty-five Second Class Departments, there were enough numbers in the lower classifications to at least place a teacher of the required classification in charge of each department of school.¹

By 1890 the problem in regard to IB classifications had been overcome but there were still only forty-one IA’s to fill ninety-five IA Principal Teacher positions and ninety-five IA Assistants’ positions. In the schools below Class VII requiring Class III teachers there were 1136 teachers for 1256 positions – about the same ratio as in 1883.² In 1900 the deficiency in Class IA Principal Teachers had been reduced to ninety-six for 144 departments, with a surplus of Class III teachers over positions.³ By 1905 there were 112 IA’s for 162 departments with surpluses

¹ibid., 1890, 62.
²ibid.
³1754 to 1595.
all down the line.¹

The 1905 scheme of classification provided that:

... for each position, teachers holding certain specified certificates of classification are eligible. When for any one vacant position several teachers holding the same classification are eligible, their relative claims to promotion depend upon fitness and seniority.²

Teachers continued therefore to be classified in much the same terms as in 1880, seniority being supposedly overridden by fitness and fitness overridden by classification. Admittedly skill marks were determining factors in classification as well as literary attainments, but Peter Board could still refer to the teacher

... who having gained his class, sits back content to apply only the methods of his past experience, giving very little thought to the revivifying of his methods, and but little account of progress in educational practice ....³

From the beginning the problem of the highest classification had been evident. The growth of numbers in classifications above IIIA was also a continuing feature, accentuated by the bulk of students from Training College entering the service with higher classifications. In July

¹ ibid., 1905, 92 ff.
² ibid., 37.
³ ibid., 37.
1910 new regulations were introduced abolishing the lowest grade of Third Class, automatically advancing IIIC to IIIB and also encouraging advancement from IIIB to IIIA by reducing the obligatory period of holding IIIB from four to three years.¹

The change obviously was dictated by a recognition of the lack of relativity of classifications to the realities of the system. Earlier alteration of the Classes would have been fraught with difficulties, but by 1910 comparatively few teachers were affected through the gradual decline of numbers in lower Classes which was inherent in the natural operation of the system.

Teachers' Prospects and Morale

Mere mechanical manipulation of classifications however could not in itself compensate for the demoralising factors inherent in the system as a whole, which the government would not or could not modify. Throughout the nineties the teaching body had gradually developed an awareness of the value of their work in the community, and had come to demand tangible recognition of their social status. Samuel Rose,²

¹ ibid., 1910, 18.

² "S.C.R." was to play a significant role in introducing to readers of The N.S.W. Educational Gazette many of the elements of the reform movement. vide infra, 468, 503
in 1891 had foreseen some of the developments which were to set the stage for reform in the twentieth century. He introduced to teachers the idea that they had yet to attain the social position which the dignity of their work merited and suggested means of improving their status:

... each teacher can write with his life actions, his thoughts and opinions of the dignity and importance of his profession....

The general appearance of a body of men is no mean factor in determining the estimation in which they are held.

The time will come when a University training and degree will be an indispensable part of a teacher's equipment. When this time arrives, the teaching profession will be on a level with the other professions. Every teacher that gains a University degree now, provided his life be consistent, contributes largely to the raising of the social position of teachers.¹

Here was the blueprint by means of which teachers might set about raising their community status. They could improve the quality of their work in the classroom, presupposing an increased community interest in, and acquaintance with the work of the school. They might also raise the status of their training. The spirit in which they worked would be in itself a reward, promised Rose, but

"more material rewards" would surely follow "earnest continued effort". ¹

The points which Rose had raised a decade before, were reiterated by the Attorney-General, B.R. Wise at the Fourth Annual Conference of the Public School Teachers' Association. Reminding teachers that their training was "very closely connected with their remuneration", Wise advocated that "all who aspired to be teachers should have an easy passage from the benches of a public school to the class-room of the University". Graduates should then be trained in the practical art of teaching. The problem of how to convince the taxpayers of the necessity for further outlay of money in the training of teachers would be to have them test the system by its results, for now that four or five generations had passed through the system there should be ample proof of its merits. Australia was the "paradise of mediocrity, and the grave of genius" for the educational system was "too exclusively concerned with testing knowledge, and fell short in the development of the imagination". ²

The restatement of the emphasis which might be placed

¹ *ibid.*, III, Sept., 1893, 70.

upon training and teaching method took place in a vastly
different social context than that which had prevailed in
the nineties. At that time Rose had been reminded in
correspondence to the Editor of the Gazette that "society is
indifferent about mental culture, but exacting in the matter
of etiquette. And however slow people may be in discovering
intellectual worth, they are generally quick enough to detect
the presence or absence of the social element in one's
education". ¹

The depression and growth of the labour movement seemed
to offer teachers a new social justice in the twentieth
century in the sense that they might be judged more upon their
inherent worth to society than upon the social distinctions
of a bygone age. The argument that teachers were generally
recruited from the financially and socially inferior classes
of society and therefore were not worthy of high regard by
other than perhaps their pupils could now, it was thought, be
treated with contempt. Teachers felt they had an important
role to play in twentieth century society - one which should
be adequately recompensed through social recognition and a
"living wage". ² To some this was the impetus to rise above

²vide, Wise, loc. cit.
the social and administrative systems which to this point had made it almost impossible to acquire refinement and even more difficult to retain it because of surroundings "ungenial (sic) to acquisition or development". Here was a boost to morale that had been steadily sapped by the organisational, economic and social rigours of the nineties. But in the face of practical reality, such idealism was to result in further disillusionment as the necessarily more conservative government reaction denied immediate and effective reorganisation.

In its continued failure to recognise the role to be played by teacher training in boosting the morale of the service, the government complicated a situation which was partly the result of past inadequacies, for there were many in the service who in their ignorance were to violate the sensibility of much of the original intent of the complex philosophies underlying the various movements making up the New Education. Demoralising factors were also inherent in the schemes of classification, promotion and payment with which the Department purported to meet the challenge of a new era in education.

¹N.S.W. Edl. Gaz., loc. cit.
New South Wales,

Department of Public Instruction.

CERTIFICATE OF CLASSIFICATION.

This is to Certify that

Mr. JOHN E. Layton

Student of the Public Teaching College, having passed an examination in all the prescribed subjects, has been awarded a Certificate of Class II, Section A, subjects to the Inspector's reports upon Mr. School work being of a favorable character.

Dated at Sydney, this 26th day of August 1891.

Minister of Public Instruction.

Secretary.

CERTIFICATE OF CLASSIFICATION, 1900'S
(continued over)

- Chief Inspector's Files.
(State Archives)
When three years have elapsed from the date of the examination, this Certificate should be returned to the Chief Inspector of Schools, in order that the provisional classification hereby awarded may be revised according to the character of the Inspectors' entries upon it.

INSPECTORS' ENTRIES.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inspection of Public School at</th>
<th>Cleveland St</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Visited on 21st of Sept. 1872</td>
<td>Number of pupils present at examination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Office filled by the holder of this Certificate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Ability to organize a School</td>
<td>Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Disciplinary power</td>
<td>Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Ability to teach</td>
<td>Fair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Practical skill and usefulness</td>
<td>Fair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dated at Sydney, this 3rd day of January 1873</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inspector</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Inspection of Public School at Cleveland St.

| Visited on 1st February 1873 | Number of pupils present at examination | |
| Office filled by the holder of this Certificate | | |
| 1. Ability to organize a School | Good | |
| 2. Disciplinary power | Good | |
| 3. Ability to teach | Fair | |
| 4. Practical skill and usefulness | Fair | |
| Dated at Sydney, this 3rd day of January 1873 | | |
| Inspector | | |

Inspection of School at Cleveland St.

| Visited on 1873 | Number of pupils present at examination | |
| Office filled by the holder of this Certificate | | |
| 1. Ability to organize a School | | |
| 2. Disciplinary power | | |
| 3. Ability to teach | | |
| 4. Practical skill and usefulness | | |
| Dated at this day of 1873 | | |
| Inspector | | |
In 1905 79% of schools were under the charge of one teacher each, which meant 38% of teachers had to occupy them. Only 11% of staff could hold a position in charge of more than 50 pupils. Peter Board then noted that "the limited chance of promotion is felt most keenly by the younger members of the service, who have acquired both the education and the teaching skill that qualify them for better positions than those now open to them". His suggestion was to consider increases in salaries and promote according to fitness rather than seniority. However the classification system which had been devised to meet the exigencies of Wilkins' time was so firmly entrenched that it could not be overthrown when perceived to be standing in the way of better organisation. The forces which should at this stage have been strong enough to force a new approach were themselves dissipated by failure to overthrow the sacred cow of classification in favour of fitness.

The question of salaries had for long been the cause of discontent. The Department's retrenchment policy had in 1893 resulted in salary reductions ranging from £20 for male

1 Minister's Report, 1905, 37.
2 ibid.
teachers in First Class schools to £1 for pupil-teachers, Fourth Class.¹ The general five percent reduction rate exceeded that applying to the rest of the Civil Service but protests were dismissed as not representing "the feelings of teachers generally on the matter".²

On the contrary, not a single complaint has reached the office, but teachers have cheerfully submitted to the necessities of the times; and a considerable number with whom the higher officers of the Department have conversed, have expressed their thankfulness for the Minister's great consideration in dealing with the question.³ Further reductions were announced in September, 1896, these remaining in force until 1901 when increases still left salaries generally below the 1880 levels.⁴

² Training School Files, unsigned memorandum dated 6/11/1893.
³ ibid.
⁴ Males in Charge:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class of School</th>
<th>1880 (£+value of residence)*</th>
<th>1896 (£-rent)*</th>
<th>1901 (incl. rent)*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>400 + 100</td>
<td>422-72</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>240 + 80</td>
<td>276-60</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>180 + 50</td>
<td>206-35</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>108 + 20</td>
<td>123-20</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* 1880 the actual amount paid to the teacher is shown in the first column.
1896 the rent was deducted before payment of salary to the teacher.
1901 the actual salary paid was reduced for superannuation purposes by deducting rent at the same rates as in 1896.

videlicet, Minister's Report, 1880, 40; N.S.W. Edl. Gaz., VI, Oct., 1896, 95; and ibid., XI, Dec., 1901, 147.
Slight adjustments were again made under Regulations of 1906 but these appear to have been offset by the introduction also of incremental stages before the highest salary could be reached.\(^1\) In November, 1907 further adjustments took place aimed at increasing salary ranges below £200 and grading salaries "according to the importance of the position to be filled and according to the efficiency of the teacher".\(^2\)

At the same time the number of school classifications was reduced from eleven to seven\(^3\) and the maximum number of schools in each classification was fixed at a given proportion of the total.\(^4\) An elaborate introduction to the new regulations assured the teacher that since he was to be paid a salary attached to his certificate within his particular Class of school, his promotion opportunities would henceforth depend on the promotion of his school to higher classification as well as on the improvement of his own qualifications:


\(^2\)Minister's Report, 1907, 12.

\(^3\)Counting Provisional, Half-time and House-to-house schools as the Eleventh Class (old system) and including them in the Seventh Class (new system).

To each class of school a range of salaries is attached, and the teacher in charge will be paid the salary attached to his certificate within that range. For example, if a married man is in charge of a 5th class school, his salary will be £150 if he holds (s) a 3B certificate, £174 if he holds 3A, £180 if he holds 2B, and £186 if he holds 2A, the maximum salary payable for that class of school being £186 for an unmarried teacher.

This arrangement secures that a teacher's opportunities for promotion depend not only on the promotion of the school, but also on the improvement of his qualifications.1

There was, however, nothing new in this concept which had been incorporated in the 1880 regulations.2 The so-called revision of principles upon which classification and promotion were to be based was nothing more than an administrative adjustment made necessary by disproportionate growth in school and teacher classification groups.3

1 Ibid., 146.

2 Vide supra, 136.

3 Qualifications for Appointment in Charge of Schools

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School Class</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>VI</th>
<th>VII</th>
<th>VIII</th>
<th>IX</th>
<th>X</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>IA</td>
<td>IB</td>
<td>IIA</td>
<td>IIA</td>
<td>IIB</td>
<td>IIB</td>
<td>IIAA</td>
<td>IIIA</td>
<td>IIIB</td>
<td>IIC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>IA</td>
<td>IB</td>
<td>IIA</td>
<td>IIB</td>
<td>IIB</td>
<td>IIB</td>
<td>IIAA</td>
<td>IIIA</td>
<td>IIIB</td>
<td>IIC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>IA</td>
<td>IB</td>
<td>IIA</td>
<td>IIB</td>
<td>IIB</td>
<td>IIB</td>
<td>IIAA</td>
<td>IIIA</td>
<td>IIIA</td>
<td>IIIA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Vide, Minister's Report, 1880, 40.


Ibid., IV, July, 1910, 4.
As under the old regulations, only teachers with IA classifications could be appointed in charge of a First Class school in 1910. The problem of differential salaries for different qualifications therefore did not arise. However, whereas in 1880 only teachers of Class IIA could be appointed to a Class IV school, now teachers of any of four classifications were eligible. Naturally, there had to be differential rates of pay according to the Class of school being managed. This principle also had been established in 1880, a IIA in charge of a Class III school receiving more than a IIA in charge of a Class IV.

Assistant had since 1880 been paid differential salaries according to their qualifications and the Class of school in which they taught. This was continued under the 1910 regulations, as was the practice of paying teachers on probation and pupil-teachers according to their qualifications and standing.

Although the basic principles which determined promotion in the service therefore remained unchanged, the regulations of 1907 and 1910 did represent an improvement upon a classification scheme which had been developed to suit the requirements of 1880. Since then, growth in the number and size of schools, together with increasing numbers of classified teachers tending to bunch in the lower-middle
range, had led to anomalies which demanded correction. A complicating factor had been the inequitable incidence of the retrenchment arrangements upon the lower and ancillary salary ranges.\textsuperscript{1} The new scheme claimed to provide for greater stability in the classification of schools and therefore in the teacher's salary which hitherto might have been affected by temporary fluctuations in the average attendance figures.

The correction of such weaknesses and the safeguarding of public expenditure beyond what was "warranted by the service to be rendered",\textsuperscript{2} tended however to limit overall opportunities for promotion, particularly at the higher levels. Although wider attendance ranges applied to the new Class III, IV and V schools, that for First and Second Class schools remained unchanged.\textsuperscript{3} In addition, quotas fixed for each Class of school were to override all other considerations in the classification of schools\textsuperscript{4} so that the number of schools of a given Class was to remain fixed in

\textsuperscript{1} e.g., Workmistresses.


\textsuperscript{3} i.e., Class II, 400-600 pupils, Class I, over 600 pupils. \textit{ibid.}, 146.

\textsuperscript{4} vide, Regns. 113-119, \textit{ibid.}, 152-3.
relation to the overall total.¹

The promotion and salary prospects for unclassified teachers and teachers in Class III remained very dim, apparently to provide an incentive for them to improve their qualifications. This did little to raise the morale of a service in which by 1910 3,665 out of 5,251 Primary teachers, exclusive of ex-students, were unclassified or ranked in Class III.² Chief Inspector Dawson might echo the sentiments of his predecessors in bemoaning the "lack of studiousness and ambition" of these teachers.³ However, in the absence of adequate provision for such teachers to be admitted to the Training College and their isolation in rural schools with limited study facilities, even the monetary incentive could not overcome the problem:

The conditions attending classification and promotion, affecting those who do not pass through the Training College, operate adversely in the minds of the more ambitious who see that the first classification will be low and their subsequent promotion a very gradual process.⁴

¹ Initially the quotas were: I, 60; II, 50; III, 85; IV, 384; V, 620; VI, 510. The quotas were to be redetermined for each increment of 5,000 pupils in the total quarterly enrolment. ibid.

² Minister's Report, 1910, 33.

³ ibid.

⁴ ibid., 1909, 30.
PUPIL-TEACHERS.

Department of Public Instruction,
Sydney,
1885

The Minister of Public Instruction having authorized your employment, on probation, as a Pupil-Teacher, your attention is invited to the following explanation and instructions relative to your position and duties.

2. A Pupil-Teacher, in the sense contemplated by the Regulations, is a young person who intends to follow the teaching profession, who desires to become thoroughly qualified for the office of Teacher, and who, while assisting in the management of a School, requires and receives instruction from the Principal Teacher. Your position is, therefore, of a twofold nature, involving the functions of a teacher and of a scholar, with their respective duties and responsibilities.

3. In the former of these capacities, your duties are, in general terms, to assist the Principal Teacher in the management, discipline, and instruction of the School. For the effective discharge of these duties, it is necessary that you should be regular and punctual in your attendance, and exemplary in your conduct and demeanour. As regards neatness of personal attire, propriety of speech and manner, and steadiness of behaviour, you should set an example that may be profitably followed by your pupils. It will form part of your daily business to see that the necessary materials for use during the day are prepared and distributed to the various classes before schoolwork begins, and carefully replaced when the lessons for the day are ended.

As some of the school property will thus be entrusted to your charge, you should take care that it be neither injured nor wasted. An important, though subordinate, part in the playground supervision will be assigned to you under the direction of your Teacher, to whom in this, as in all other matters connected with the performance of your duties, you will look for advice and guidance. Until you have had large experience in teaching, a single class will be committed to your care, for the efficient instruction of which you will be held responsible; but it is expected that you will qualify yourself to take the principal charge of a section of the School, comprising two classes.

INSTRUCTIONS TO PUPIL-TEACHERS,
1885 (continued over)

- Training School Files.
(State Archives)
4. The foregoing is not to be considered as a full statement of your duties, but as a simple outline. It is requisite that you should display a ready obedience to the wishes of your Teacher, and a cheerful alacrity in helping in the general work of the School. You are expected to take a lively interest in the prosperity of the School, and, without waiting for directions, to render all the assistance in your power for its effective management. In return for these services, heartily and intelligently performed, you will be entitled to receive from your Teacher careful training in the profession you have chosen, advice and direction on all points of school-management, and support and countenance in the discharge of your duties.

5. As a scholar, you should be diligent in study, attentive while under instruction, and anxious to profit by the opportunities afforded you of acquiring a knowledge of your profession. You will be required to undergo an examination yearly, the augmentation of your salary being contingent upon your success thereat. As far as practicable, you will be examined annually, within the quarter preceding the anniversary of the date upon which your appointment or last promotion took effect. In an Appendix to the Regulations you will find a detailed statement of subjects appointed for each yearly examination. To assist you in preparing for this test, you are entitled to receive from your Teacher instruction for at least one hour on every school-day; but it would, doubtless, prove of great benefit to you if this period were extended, as probably it will be when you show by your conduct and usefulness that you are desirous of giving satisfaction. Instruction will be imparted to you by the Teacher regularly and systematically, before or after the usual school-hours, in accordance with the following Time-table:—

**Monday.**—Reading, Grammar, and Analysis.
**Tuesday.**—Writing, Dictation, and Composition.
**Wednesday.**—Arithmetic and Mathematics.
**Thursday.**—Geography, Latin (for males), and French (for females).
**Friday.**—Art of Teaching, History of England, and History of Australia.

In addition to these subjects, Singing and Drawing are to be taught when the Teacher is competent to give instruction in these branches. Due provision will also be made for the instruction of female Pupil-Teachers in needlework. The exercises set for you to work at home will be revised and corrected by your Teacher, and, apart from the time occupied in doing such exercises, you will be expected to devote a portion of your leisure to study. To assist you in preparing for the examinations to which you will be summoned, you may, on application, obtain an allowance towards the cost of purchasing suitable Text-books. The amount of such allowance will be one-half of the total cost of the books applied for; but the extent to which you can purchase under this arrangement will be limited to £1 10s. per
The conditions on which this assistance can be obtained are—
(a) That no books of a specially religious character shall be purchased;
(b) That you will enter into an engagement to refund the amount received from the Department if you should quit the School service within two years after the date of the grant. If desirous of obtaining assistance in the purchase of Text-books, you should apply to the Inspector for the requisite printed form, which, when filled up must be returned to that officer. In your choice of books, you should restrict yourself to works likely to be of use in your examinations. On receiving intimation from the Chief Inspector that your application has been approved, you should forward to the bookseller, from whom you intend to purchase, half the cost of the books ordered, together with directions as to the mode of transmission. The risk and cost of forwarding books must be borne by yourself.

6. The remuneration allotted to the Pupil-Teachers consists of the instruction before mentioned, and of salaries at the following rates:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Class IV</th>
<th>Class III</th>
<th>Class II</th>
<th>Class I</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>£36</td>
<td>£42</td>
<td>£54</td>
<td>£66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>£24</td>
<td>£30</td>
<td>£36</td>
<td>£48</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The annual increase of salary will be payable to you only upon the fulfilment of two conditions: 1st. That the Teacher report favourably of your conduct and usefulness; and 2nd. That you successfully pass the yearly examination. In case of failure at examination, unless caused by circumstances of a very exceptional character, a Pupil-Teacher will not be afforded another opportunity of being tested until after a lapse of twelve months. Failure at two consecutive yearly examinations will render a Pupil-Teacher liable to be removed from the Service.

7. In order to encourage and reward deserving Pupil-Teachers, the following arrangements have been sanctioned:—

(1.) Pupil-Teachers, after spending six months in any class, may be promoted to the next grade, and receive the increased salary attached thereto, provided they obtain the requisite number of marks for literary attainments and practical skill at examination.

(2.) Subject to the same provisions, Pupil-Teachers who have served for three years may enter the Training School.

(3.) These privileges will be restricted to Pupil-Teachers who are favourably reported on by all concerned in their training and supervision.

If desirous of being examined under these arrangements, you should make application by letter addressed to the Inspector, and endorsed by the Principal Teacher, for the requisite permission. When your term of service as a Pupil-Teacher has expired, your proper course is to make application for admission to the Training School.
8. Besides these special matters, there are some general directions which will be of service to you in the discharge of your duties. A strict observance of the Regulations and fidelity to the trust reposed in you are necessary for the maintenance of your own character, as well as for the performance of your duties. By cheerfully acquiescing in all the arrangements that may be made for your benefit, you will show that you rightly estimate the trouble and expense of your training. You should further remember that, having been admitted into a highly honorable profession, it is incumbent on you so to act as not to bring discredit upon its members, but rather to raise it in public estimation. Above all, it is desirable that you should be to the whole School an example of constant regard for duty under all circumstances. In your hours of leisure and recreation, you should exercise the utmost circumspection as to the books you read, the amusements you countenance, the places you visit, and the companions you choose. All that is calculated to give pain to your natural guardians on the one hand, or uneasiness to your Teacher on the other, should be carefully avoided and discountenanced. Attention to these matters may exercise an influence over your future life inestimably great, and their importance cannot, therefore, be over-estimated.

9. I am to add that, in the event of your having cause to complain of the non-receipt of any of the advantages herein mentioned, it will be proper for you to make a respectful representation on the subject to your Teacher. Should you fail by this course to obtain redress, you will then be at liberty to state your case to the Inspector, whom you are also advised to consult in all cases of doubt or difficulty.

I have the honor to be,

Your most obedient servant,

J. C. MAYNARD,
Chief Inspector.
Such was the morale of a service charged with the implementation of a new era in education.

- Entry to the Service and Training

Following the passage of the Public Instruction Act, teachers continued to be recruited mainly through the pupil-teacher system, 281 passing the examination in 1880.\(^1\) Appointment conditions remained as under the Council of Education, viz., between thirteen and sixteen years of age,\(^2\) free from bodily infirmity and able to pass the subjects required by the Regulations.\(^3\) Salary could be withdrawn for failure\(^4\) and promotion continued to be through Classes IV to I.\(^5\) A competent pupil-teacher successfully passing his examinations could become an Assistant teacher after three years and after passing his Class I examination, could attempt to enter the Training School by meeting the standard which all candidates for training were required to

\(^1\)ibid., 7.


\(^3\)Sect. 44, ibid., 29.

\(^4\)Sect. 45, ibid.

\(^5\)Appendix B, Pt. II, ibid., 35.
pass.¹ Vacancies were however, limited.² On successful completion of the course, trainees entered the service with classifications ranging up to IIA, the highest allowed in training, subject to their exercising the required practical skill.

"Outsiders" could also enter the service direct by satisfying the Examiner at a given standard for classification, subject to possessing the requisite practical skill:

If they have been previously trained, have had some experience in teaching, and produce satisfactory testimonials and references, they are allowed to attend some good school, to become acquainted with the records and methods of teaching, and are then examined for classification.³

Nineteen such persons entered the service in 1883.⁴ However, by 1890 there were "no openings for teachers trained elsewhere unless they are persons of exceptionally high

¹Appendix D, ibid., 37.
²ibid., 1883, 12. In 1880, in addition to fifty pupil-teachers progressing from Class I to the Training School by passing the Standard, forty others satisfied the requirements. These were not all from outside the service, some being "unclassified teachers from the country district who had been in charge of Provisional Schools". Examiner's Report, 1880, Appendix M, ibid., 1880, 92.
³ibid., 1883, 12.
⁴ibid.
A PROVISIONAL SCHOOL IN A DESERTED MINER'S HUT, 1913

- N.S.W., Three Years of Education, op. cit., 6.
attainments and skill in teaching", so that few teachers trained outside the Colony found employment with the Department.

For those wishing to teach in Provisional and other small schools, Wilkins' original Standard was closely followed. Such teachers were usually probationers, not less than sixteen years old, who had entered the service after being trained under teachers holding classifications not lower than IIIA. They had to pay their own costs and no guarantee of employment was given. Their teachers provided them with certificates "as to ability to teach, to keep records, to construct time-tables, and to work a school in accordance with them". On inspection they could be declared eligible for appointment to a Provisional school. Once in the service they then had the choice of qualifying for entrance to the Training School at the end of three years or for classification without passing through the Training School.

1 ibid., 1890, 60.
2 ibid., 1891, 41. vide, also Training School Files, 29615, 12/12/1887.
3 Minister's Report, 1890, 59.
4 ibid., 60.
5 ibid.
6 ibid., 1883, 12.
Regulations of 11th May, 1883 provided for the continuation of "itinerating teachers" for House-to-house teaching. To qualify for appointment such teachers had to be of "good moral character and must satisfy the Inspector that they are capable of imparting the rudiments of an English education".¹ Such teachers received £5 per annum per pupil up to a maximum of £100, plus £10 forage allowance. There were fifteen House-to-house groups in 1883.²

The position of Workmistress in schools of Classes I to V was restricted to the teaching of Needlework to girls, with hours of duty ranging from five days to two afternoons a week according to the Class of school.³

In a system virtually closed to those who had not been raised within its confines there were therefore various avenues by means of which untrained teachers could enter the service, only to become demoralised through the pressures placed upon them to develop their qualifications.⁴ The

¹Appendix I, ibid., 16.
²Ibid.
³Appendix K, ibid., 1880, 48.
failure or inability of the majority to take advantage of their "opportunities" in turn affected the standing of the whole service \(^1\) while even those who overcame the difficulties and obtained classification were to find themselves after 1907 still apparently no further ahead.

For others faced with similar pressures had done the same as they, while promotions positions if not remaining static had actually been reduced by Departmental rearrangement of the classification system to cope with increasing numbers in the lower-middle range.

Nor was the situation helped by the almost embarrassing success of the pupil-teacher system in the late

1880's. It had become the practice by 1887 to admit to the Training School all male pupil-teachers who had completed their course and passed their final examinations. \(^2\) The supply of male teachers by 1887 exceeded requirements. \(^3\) Since there were not enough schools with classifications

\(^1\) *vide*, e.g., correspondence to the Editor concerning untrained teachers. *N.S.W. Edl. Gaz.* 1, Sept., 1891, 81; Oct., 1891, 103; Nov., 1891, 126; III, Aug., 1893, 53.

\(^2\) *Training School Files*, 13042, 10/6/1887.

\(^3\) *ibid.*, 5281, 5/3/1887.
TRAINING INSTITUTIONS FOR TEACHERS.

The temporary and imperfect character of existing arrangements for the management of the Training Schools under this Department is well known, and the desirability of a more extended term of training for Teachers has long been recognized. 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. In view of these considerations, and with the object of securing increased efficiency and economy in the future management of the Training Institutions, the Minister has now decided upon the following arrangements:

1. That Pupil Teachers shall be examined yearly in the month of December, the first examination under the new arrangement to be held in December of the current year.

2. That of the first-class Pupil Teachers passing successfully at each annual examination, the thirty (fifteen males and fifteen females) who obtain highest marks shall, in January of the following year, be admitted to the Training Schools for two years, and be awarded Scholarships to cover the cost of their maintenance while in training; that the twenty (ten males and ten females) next best on the list may likewise be admitted, and be awarded Scholarships to cover half the cost of their maintenance while in training; and that others, failing to obtain Scholarships, may also be admitted, provided rooms can be found for them, and they themselves undertake to bear the whole cost of their maintenance while in training.

The Scholarships or allowances will only be continued for the second year provided students holding them pass an examination successfully at the close of their first year; but students not considered eligible for the second year's training may, as students of one year, be awarded Teachers' Certificates of grade A, B, or C, in Class III.

3. That at the close of the two years' course of training, students shall be examined for the Teacher's Certificate of Class I, or Class II, with Honours; and that, of those obtaining Class II with Honours, the three obtaining highest marks shall be permitted to undergo a third year's course of training, to include, if such arrangement be practicable, attendance at University Lectures for the B.A. degree.

4. That ex-Pupil Teachers not admitted to the Training Schools, and other Teacher candidates possessing sufficient elementary qualifications may, be employed, when required, as Teachers or Assistants, and be deemed eligible for examination for Class III after two years' service and upon receipt of favourable reports as to skill; and for Class II, after three years' further satisfactory service.

EDWIN JOHNSON,
Under Secretary.

THE 1888 REORGANISATION OF TRAINING

- Training School Files,
(State Archives)
high enough for the Second Class qualifications of most students leaving the Training School, an increasing number were held in Sydney schools awaiting appointment to the country and meanwhile filling positions which would normally be held by pupil-teachers. This had the effect of exaggerating the excess of applicants seeking pupil-teacher employment while raising Departmental expenditure on salaries. The standard of staffs in Sydney schools had thus been raised, but other factors such as the need to obtain well-qualified teachers for Superior Public and High schools and the opportunity for reconstruction following the death of John Wright,\(^1\) precipitated the reorganisation of the Training Schools which was announced in the Minister's Report of 1888. The already low morale of young teachers entering the service was further complicated by many ex-students being now sent to small schools while teachers with lower qualifications but longer service remained in schools of higher classification.\(^2\) Important for the long-term effect upon the morale of the service was the concentration in the metropolitan area of a dissatisfied

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\(^1\) The Principal of Fort Street Training School.

\(^2\) *vide, ibid.*, 15161, 23/6/1887, and Report of Deputation of Ex-students to the Minister, 11/1/90.
and vocal group of teachers\(^1\) accustomed through their university studies to a greater degree of freedom of speech and thought than were the mass of previous entrants.

Discontent was not confined to ex-students. The pupil-teachers were aggrieved by the decision to set up an elite group of students. Entry to the Training Schools was to be restricted; all pupil-teachers were in future to spend at least a year in each Class; and examinations for applicant pupil-teachers were curtailed. No "outside" entry to the service was to be allowed.\(^2\) Whereas the Department had previously maintained students for the whole of their training, many found that they were now forced to pay the cost of part or all of it. Annual admissions were no longer to be made to each of the two Training Schools solely according to order of merit in the entrance examination, for scholarships were restricted to pupil-teachers:

\begin{itemize}
  \item First 15 \ldots First Class (Full scholarship – pupil-teachers only)
  \item Next 10 \ldots Second Class (Half scholarship – pupil-teachers only)
  \item Remainder \ldots Third Class
  \begin{itemize}
    \item up to 28 \ldots Third Class (To pay whole cost of maintenance – pupil-teachers, untrained teachers, or persons entering service).\(^3\)
  \end{itemize}
\end{itemize}

\(^1\)vide, ibid., the reprimand of Jones, O'Reilly and Sheehy for their role in organising a public protest. 5964, 5/10/1886, passim.

\(^2\)ibid., 15161, 23/6/1887.

\(^3\)Minister's Report, 1888, 40.
Only the best students were to be offered a second year's training, the least successful being appointed to the service on Third Class certificates after one year of the College. Those completing the second year were to be appointed on Second Class certificates except for the three top students who were to be allowed a third year's training. First Class students if successful at examinations were to be allowed to attend the University, with a chance of graduating if among the top three selected for three years' training.¹

The Department's approach to the 1887-8 reorganisation of training revealed little concern for the role training might play in determining the status of teachers. The advantages to the Department lay in purely administrative terms. The annual increase of Second Class teachers would be reduced; a supply of teachers for Superior and High schools would be maintained; and the cost of students' maintenance would be reduced.

The effect upon the service however was to prove less predictable. No section of the teaching service was satisfied with its position. Entry of pupil-teachers to the service had been severely curtailed and the entry of

¹ ibid., 40-1.
"outsiders" all but eliminated. The untrained teachers already in the service had been effectively deprived of what little opportunity they may previously have had to enter the Training Schools. The ex-pupil-teachers were set against their fellows who had qualified for training and who on completion of their course would be up to five years ahead in classification.\(^1\) Ex-students demanded recognition of their qualifications in the classification of schools to which they were appointed and were discontented when told that although qualified, they were not entitled to such schools.\(^2\) Many trainees, even those staying in the Training Schools for only one year, found they now had to pay for the privilege. They could then be forced to wait up to two years\(^3\) for appointment to schools in the country, meanwhile being paid an allowance starting at £7 per month.\(^4\)

\(^1\)ibid., 42.
\(^2\)vide, Training School Files, Deputation of 11/1/90.
\(^3\)ibid., 13042, 10/6/1887.
\(^4\)ibid., 6054, 23/2/1887.

The scale in force prior to 1893 for male ex-students was:
- 2 yr. trained £120 p.a.
- 1 yr. trained £84 p.a. (first 6 months)
  £100 p.a. (next 6 months)
  £120 p.a. (subsequent period).

ibid., 49119, 10/9/94.
appreciably less than they might have earned if appointed to schools consistent with their classification. ¹ Even the few students who progressed to a third year of training found themselves at a disadvantage in that their eligibility for classification was delayed twelve months behind two-year students. ²

The practice had been established by 1890, of filling vacancies in the higher grades from the ranks of those who had been through the Training Schools. ³ In 1894 all vacancies were filled by the appointment of trained and classified teachers or, in the case of small schools, of pupil-teachers who had completed their apprenticeship but had failed to secure admission to the Training School. ⁴ This situation had been largely brought about by a general policy of retrenchment in the Department which in 1893 had also resulted in salary reductions, ⁵ affecting even

¹vide, 1886 RegIns., Sect. 91.
²vide, Training School Files, 21730, 23/4/1892, also 20706, 26/4/1893. The disability continued until 1892.
³Minister's Report, 1890, 60.
⁴ibid., 1894, 20.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Day</th>
<th>Morning Activity</th>
<th>Afternoon Activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>Study</td>
<td>Study</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuesday</td>
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<td>Wednesday</td>
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<td>Friday</td>
<td>Study</td>
<td>Study</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td>Study</td>
<td>Study</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Training School Timetable, 1894**

- Training School Files 65964.
  (State Archives)
allowances to ex-students awaiting appointment.¹

In 1894 the estimates for training were reduced by £1,500² and so by a Ministerial decision of 24th January, 1894, the training period at both Training Schools was limited to one year.³ Retrenchment meant that expansion of Training School facilities could not be undertaken so that in 1895, of 241 pupil-teachers First Class, only fifty could gain admission by full or half scholarships. Accordingly it was decided to allow students failing to gain scholarships, to be admitted on payment of cost of board and residence. Such applicants were not to be examined or classified at the end of their course so that there would not be undue discrimination against pupil-teachers too poor to take advantage of the concession.⁴ In practice, the provision was not enforced and non-scholarship students were normally permitted to sit for examinations and were classified.⁵

¹Male ex-students to receive £100-113 p.a., females £84-95 p.a. Ministerial Decisions of 17/7/1893 and 11/9/1894. Training School Files, 49119, 10/9/1894 and following.

²Ibid., 1845, 11/1/94.

³Ibid., 48512, 27/8/94.

⁴N.S.W. Edl. Gaz., IV, Mar., 1895, 185.

In reverting to the pre-1888 system of training and classification of ex-students not all was lost. The principle of University links had been established, and were to continue, Maynard arguing that the loss of the extra year's training need not affect students' attendance at the University. The original purpose of the first year of training, he wrote, had been superseded by the fact that students could now attend the University without passing the matriculation examination, while some pupil-teachers matriculated before entering the Training School. Ex-students while employed as temporary assistants in Sydney schools could attend evening lectures at the University. 1

The ex-students had also established themselves as a group within the service maintaining the right to dissent from Ministerial and Departmental rulings. On several occasions deputations and protests to the Minister had resulted in rectification of patent injustices. 2 This practice was not only to continue into the twentieth century 3

1 Training School Files, 4086, 25/1/1894.

2 Vide, e.g., decision to increase ex-students' allowances, ibid., 49119, 10/9/94 and following; Deputation to Minister of 11/1/1890; Protest regarding disadvantages facing third year students, 21730, 23/4/1892.

3 Vide, e.g., Request of 1904 Session for review of marks, ibid., 12074, 5/3/1905; Protest on overloading and arrangement of College curriculum, 28434, 9/5/1904.
but was also to be a factor in the attitude of the teaching body in general towards the reform movement of the early 1900's.

At the turn of the century then, most students in training were ex-pupil-teachers. This was the result of Departmental regulation, complicated by the fact that their promotion as pupil-teachers was in the direction of preparing them for the Training Schools' entrance examinations, with attendant advantages over "outsiders". In a situation where there were not enough vacancies in the Training Schools for all pupil-teachers, restricted entry from other sources was to be expected. The effect of this exclusiveness of the pupil-teacher system was in Peter Board's estimation, to deny admission "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". ¹ It was however, not the pupil-teacher system as such, but rather the incidence of Departmental regulations and the exclusiveness of the examination system which precluded entry from outside the service.

From the beginning of 1905 the course for pupil-teachers was shortened from four to three years with a

¹ Minister's Report, 1905, 29.
SUBJECTS OF EXAMINATION FOR APPLICANTS
FOR THE OFFICE OF PUPIL-TEACHER.

From the 1st January, 1905, the Standard for Applicant Pupil-Teachers shall be as follows:—

Reading—Full value, 100 marks. To read an advanced Reading Book with fluency and expression; to repeat from memory fifty lines of poetry.

Writing—Full value, 100 marks. Specimens of Copy-setting.

Dictation—Full value, 100 marks. Passage of ordinary prose.

Arithmetic—Full value, 100 marks. To work questions in Proportion, Vulgar Fractions, and Decimals, including the Metric System and Practice.

Text Book—Loney's, Pendlebury's, Lock's, or an equivalent.

Grammar—Full value, 100 marks. Accidence, Parsing, Analysis, Derivation and Composition.

Text Book—Conway's Smaller English Grammar, Composition and Précis Writing.

Special Text Book—Same as prescribed for University Junior Examinations of current year; i.e., 1905, Poems of England, ed. George and Sidgwick (Macmillan), omitting 4, 7, 8, 9, and 33; 1906, Scott, Lord of the Isles, ed. Cotterill (Macmillan).

Geography—Full value, 100 marks. To understand the geographical terms, to have a general knowledge of the Map of the World, and the outlines of the Geography of Australia; with mapping in outline of the Continents.

History—Full value, 100 marks. English: the chief events of each reign from William I to Victoria, inclusive. Australian: the period from 1810 to 1881.


Drawing—Full value, 50 marks. Freehand Tests, as prescribed for Third Class pupils in the Standard of Proficiency.

Vocal Music—Full value, 50 marks. As prescribed for Fourth Class pupils in the Standard of Proficiency.

Geometry—Full value, 100 marks. Godfrey and Siddons, Part I to Exercise 104, page 25.

Algebra—Full value, 100 marks. C. Smith's Elementary Algebra, Chapters I to IV, inclusive.

Latin—Full value, 100 marks. Via Latina to Exercise XV, inclusive.

French—Full value, 100 marks. Macmillan's French Course. First Year, Exercises I to XI, inclusive, and Mrs. Boyd's Coursers Familières, I to V, inclusive.

Skill in Teaching—To teach a Junior Class in the presence of an Inspector.
consequent regrading into three Classes.\textsuperscript{1} Pupil-teachers who, though passing their final examination, did not gain admission to the Training Schools, became eligible to sit for classification examinations fifteen months after completion of their course, rather than after eighteen months as before. Classification however, was not to take effect until after the completion of two years' service as ex-pupil-teachers.\textsuperscript{2}

It was perhaps too readily accepted by Board that

... the pupil-teacher was not sufficiently educated before he began to teach, 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 thoroughly for his vocation.\textsuperscript{4}

The New Education might damn the idea of teacher apprenticeship in favour of "previous training" but because of the need to replace the supply of teachers thus denied to service, one type of pupil-teacher had to be replaced with

\textsuperscript{1}ibid., 1904, 14.
\textsuperscript{2}Due to teachers' examinations being held at Easter.
\textsuperscript{3}N.S.W. Edl. Gaz., XIV, Oct., 1904, 98.
\textsuperscript{4}ibid., 1905, 28.
A LECTURE AT BLACKPRIARS, 1910
another - the "probationary student". Peter Board clearly acknowledged the value of the pupil-teacher to the system:

There can be little doubt that the Pupil-Teacher system remained in 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.¹

However inadequate the pupil-teacher system might have been with regard to the quality of the teacher produced, there had been little difficulty with the quantity whereas with the decision to employ only "previously trained" teachers, the adequate staffing of schools became "a perennial difficulty".²

Entrants under the new scheme announced in 1905 were to be at least seventeen years old. This meant that they had to remain at school for three years beyond the primary age, two years being spent in a special course at District schools. Intending teachers could be admitted either to the whole two years' course or the second year of the course only.³ Students not less than fifteen years old could sit

¹Ibid., 29.
²Ibid., 1910, 33.
³1908 Reglns., Sect. 74.
for the competitive entrance examination for the two years' course and those not less than sixteen years of age could sit for the examination for the second year only. Scholarships were to be given granting free education for the two years, plus a small allowance for the second year. The later two-year course at the Training School, if undertaken, would give a Second Class Certificate; a one year course, a Third Class Certificate. Provision was made for these probationary students, before completing their course, to be appointed as probationary pupil-teachers without further examination.

Probationary students failing to enter the Training College could be employed as junior assistants for two years, receiving instruction also at the school. After this they could compete again for a College Scholarship or be examined for classification, at first not higher than IIIC but later with the promise of promotion to IIIB, then IIIA for "good

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1 ibid., Sect. 75.
2 ibid., Sect. 81.
3 ibid., Sect. 77 & 81.
4 ibid., Sect. 86.
5 ibid., Sect. 87.
service”. Similar provisions were made for failing pupil-teachers to take positions as small school teachers or, under the title of "ex-pupil-teachers", as acting assistants. 2

It is difficult to see much practical difference between the new regulations and those governing the old pupil-teacher, 3 except for the higher entrance qualifications resulting from a super-primary course of one or two years. Chief Inspector Dawson in his 1910 Report saw this clearly:

The junior assistants, who practically take the place of the pupil-teachers, though they have had opportunities of a better education under better conditions at High Schools and District Schools, cannot all, owing to lack of accommodation at the Teachers' College, receive at least a year's training. They are trained for three months in methods of class teaching and class government prior to appointment. 4

Although Chief Inspector Dawson could say: "The last of the pupil-teachers disappeared in 1910, six years from the date on which it was decided to employ only previously trained teachers", 5 it is clear that there remained an

2 1908 RegIns., Sect. 88.
3 vide, ibid., Feb., 1906, 31.
4 Minister's Report, 1910, 33.
5 ibid., 1910, 33.
Public Service Board,
50, Young-street, Sydney,
19th October, 1906.

TEACHERS (Male and Female) being required for the smallest
Country schools, the Public Service Board invite applications
for the position from unmarried men and women between 18
and 35 years of age. Documentary proof of age must be
furnished prior to the date of appointment.

Applicants will be required to pass a competitive examination
in the following subjects:—Arithmetic, Dictation, Grammar,
Geography, and Reading, up to the standard provided in the
General Regulations published in the Government Gazette of
30th December, 1904, for a Third Class Certificate for Teachers.
Copies of these Regulations may be seen at any Public School.

Examination will be held on Thursday, 13th December, 1906,
at the Headquarters of the Inspectors of Schools, and other
centres.

The salary for the first twelve months will be at the rate of
£72 per annum, the position being in the Educational Division.

Before appointment successful candidates at the examination
will be required to attend an important Public School for a
term, with a view to their receiving instruction and practice in
the art of teaching. They will be granted an allowance at the
rate of £1 per week during the period of such training, if
favourably reported upon by the Headmaster and the Inspector.

Suitable candidates already permanently employed in the
Public Service will have first consideration.

Application must be made on a form for the purpose, obtain-
able at this Office, or from Inspectors of Schools in Country
Districts, and must reach the undersigned not later than the
23rd November next.

By order of the Board,
J. W. HOLLIMA,
Secretary.

Examinations will be held at the following places:—

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QUALIFICATIONS FOR SMALL SCHOOL TEACHERS, 1906
apprenticeship avenue into the service by means of which the College could be bypassed. 33.6% of entry into the service in 1910 was as "junior assistant".¹ There were still 1,465 untrained assistants (including 729 unclassified) compared with 1,202 trained assistants. 27% of all teachers in the service remained untrained.² This avenue remained under the 1912 Regulations³ in respect of probationary students.

Previous provisions for staffing of small schools were apparently still in force, for the Minister's Report for 1910 refers to three examinations in the old style being held in that year.⁴ Of 339 persons admitted to the service during the year, 51% were "small school candidates".⁵ With only 12% of teachers entering the service from the College, it is obvious that the means of entry into the service were little different at the end of the period from those at the beginning. The majority of entrants continued to be trained on the job; many received their basic training from

¹ ibid., 19.
² Table No. 17, ibid., 107.
³ Public Instruction Act, op. cit., 1912 edn., RegIn. 130, 41.
⁴ Minister's Report, 1910, 18.
⁵ ibid., 19. No mention of this practice was made in the 1908 Regulations.
⁶ ibid.
practising teachers through the probationary student scheme; and the opportunity remained for people of low qualifications\(^1\) to enter the service as small school teachers. Limited provision continued to be made for people not previously within the schools to be admitted to training if "of approved character and previous history",\(^2\) a limited number of scholarships for these being awarded annually.\(^3\)

The pupil–teacher principle had proved to be eminently suited to the needs of the New South Wales Primary education system during the first decade of the new century. Its ultimate demise was to depend upon future expansion of training facilities concomitantly with the growth of

\(^1\)In 1901–2 for example, the Department experienced much difficulty in maintaining staff for Provisional and Half-time schools due to the isolation of such schools and the drought. It was decided to subsidise private tutors and governesses to the extent of £5 per head on average attendance, up to a maximum of £25 per annum, on the condition that at least two families were involved and they could not reach any other State aided school.

    Minister's Report, 1902, 13.
    This formed the basis of the "subsidised schools" introduced in 1903.

    ibid., 1903, 14.

\(^2\)Public Instruction Act, op. cit., 1908 edn., RegIn. 92, 29.

\(^3\)ibid., 30.
A SMALL SCHOOL, 1913
N.S.W.,
Three Years of Education.

OP. cit., 7.
secondary education and the raising of entrance standards. A start had at least been made and with the introduction in 1911 of the Short Course of twenty weeks' training for teachers of rural schools, the Department signified its determination that new entrants to the service should be previously trained, whatever the limitations of such a training might be.

The idea of the probationary student had in fact grown out of the tradition and needs of the system as perceived by those in authority. They had to recognise the overseas trends in teacher training which had so impressed the Commissioners. They had also in the nineties learnt of the threat to the stability of the system which could be posed by the over-productive nature of the pupil-teacher system and the consequent variation in standards involved in restricting entry to Departmental requirements. Then too, the trend towards requiring candidates of more mature years, tended to break down the original idea of having entrants to the service commit themselves before they could become involved in other occupations. From this the Department had derived the advantages of being able to select the most suitable applicants and at the same time keep them firmly

\[\text{ibid.}, 1910, 44.\]
under its control.

The probationary student scheme was in these respects a return to the advantages originally derived from the pupil-teacher system, for it required a higher standard of education before selection for training; provided control over prospective entrants to the service without the Department being committed to employment of those failing to make the grade; and re-asserted the monopoly upon the products of its schools which the Department had always attempted to maintain.

The 1905 reorganisation was in its other predominant features also very much the product of the past. The two-year course of 1888 was reverted to, still with the provision for Third Class certificates for those leaving after one year and the familiar provision of "opportunities for graduation at the University, or for continued study in special directions in the third year for students who show special ability". Two classes of scholarships paralleling the old "whole" and "half" scholarships were offered, their number still "determined annually in accordance with the requirements of the service and the training accommodation available". Provision remained for

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2. Ibid.
non-scholarship students.¹

It was evident that there would be a long-term improvement in the qualifications of teachers through the introduction of "previous training". However, the prominence to be given to the training of new entrants to the service overlooked the need to provide an effective system of in-service training, designed to prepare the teachers already in the service for the demands to be placed upon them in implementing the New Education. It would be unrealistic to expect of the government of the time a realisation of the real significance of the term "previous training" in regard to the introduction of unfamiliar and complex ideas into an education system. Modern governments continue to avoid the implications of the theory that the only effective way to introduce change lies in the gathering together and training of all concerned in its implementation. The restriction of training to those entering the service, who for many years would not be in a position to influence their fellows, appears however in retrospect, to have ignored the needs of the majority of teachers.

¹ibid., 1907, 6. There were 14 non-scholarship students in 1907, 199 "A" scholarships, 86 "B". Of the total 288 had served as pupil-teachers and 11 were new entrants to the service.
Chief Inspector Dawson may have been incredibly optimistic in his description of facilities for training teachers already in the service in 1904 but the need for such provision was at least recognised within the Department:

Teachers and inspectors busied themselves during the year with the task of mutual enlightenment. Meetings were held for the discussion of aims and methods, papers on educational topics were read, lectures were delivered at various centres, untrained teachers were permitted to close their schools to enable them to visit well-managed schools, where teachers and inspectors showed how subjects should be taught, schools disciplined and organised so as to carry out the ideas of the Syllabus.\(^1\)

Dawson was of course at this time suffering from the conformist syndrome as his more sober reports of later years confirm.\(^2\) His description does perhaps reflect the early enthusiasm of the teaching body before the reform movement lost way in the face of Departmental subterfuge, but it is also apparent that the teachers caught up in such enthusiastic displays were those least in need of such training. The same might be said for the Summer schools which developed about the same time.\(^3\) There was no

\(^1\) Minister's Report, 1904, 74.

\(^2\) vide, e.g., his report for 1909. ibid., 29 ff.

co-ordinated plan of training whereby teachers in the service might be led to an appreciation of the New Education movement as a whole. It was rather reduced by such courses to a meaningless series of precepts and individual subjects, with attendant encouragement of faddism. Additionally, such training was normally open only to a select few in the large centres of population.

"Extension" courses introduced through the Training College in 1906\textsuperscript{1} offered a greater degree of professionalism in what was essentially a popular movement. Although there was perhaps less doubt about the qualifications of the lecturers, the plan nevertheless suffered from much the same limitations as the District meetings and Summer schools. Alexander Mackie, the new Principal of the College continued and expanded these lectures but his attempts after 1910 to organise similar facilities for country teachers were to meet with only limited success due to lack of finance.\textsuperscript{2}

The continuance of traditional training methods in the twentieth century proved to be an important determinant of

\textsuperscript{1}\textit{N.S.W. Edl. Gaz.}, XVI, July, 1906, 37.

the nature of the New Education movement in New South Wales. In the relation of training with other aspects of the system, particularly classification and payment of teachers, had been nurtured some of the impetus for reform. The reform movement could not however force significant organisational change and lost much of its vitality in attempting to adapt to the system. Teachers found themselves faced with renewed demands from an administration which could offer no real solution to the problems of those with whom the successful implementation of new ideas ultimately rested.

Teaching Conditions

- Duties of Teachers

The regulations governing the main duties of teachers were among the bulk of the Council of Education's regulations reiterated in the 1880 Act. Thus the teacher was enjoined, as he had been prior to the 1880 Act

To observe faithfully these Regulations.
To carry out the suggestions of Inspectors to the best of their ability.
To teach according to the Course of Secular Instruction.

\(^1\)vide, Reglns. of 1875, in Public Schools Act, 1866, \textit{op. cit.}, 14 ff.
To maintain the Discipline prescribed in the Regulations.
To keep the School Records neatly, and to furnish Returns punctually.
To see that the undermentioned documents are kept posted in a conspicuous place in the School-room, namely:
(a) The Regulations; (b) Notice to Visitors; (c) Course of Secular Instruction; (d) Time-Table; (e) Programme of Lessons; (f) Scale of Fees.
To take charge of the School Buildings and all property belonging to the Minister, and to be responsible for keeping the School premises in good order and tenantable repair — reasonable wear and tear excepted. 1

In addition to these the teacher was required to keep an Admission Register, Class Roll, Daily Report Book, School Fee Account Book, Lesson Register, Time Table and Programme of Lessons for each Class 2, plus Quarterly and Annual returns. 3

Teachers' wives were to take part in the assembly, dismissal and discipline of female pupils for at least four hours per week. 4

Regulations headed "School Routine and Discipline" 5

1 Regns. of 1880, Sect. 19, Minister's Report, 1880, 24 ff.
2 ibid., Sect. 9.
3 ibid., Sect. 10. 1875, Sect. 27-28.
4 ibid., Sect. 20. 1875, Sect. 38.
5 ibid., 31. 1875, 28.
required specific duties of teachers in regard to punctuality, cleanliness, order, conduct and government of pupils, playground supervision, religious views of pupils or parents, daily routine and time table, religious instruction, closing of school and infectious diseases.

Those regulations governing "Instruction in Schools" set out duties in relation to the course of instruction, special religious instruction, denominational books, methods of teaching, distribution of teaching power, and visitors to schools.

Teachers in all schools which could not maintain an average of fifty pupils over three months were faced with carrying out all these functions with no assistance, plus the demands of examination and inspection to improve their classification. So too were teachers with a Class III classification and those in which supplies of "furniture, books and apparatus" were inadequate, for pupil-teachers could be employed only in schools satisfying the above conditions. When pupil-teachers were employed they in turn had to be supervised and instructed by the teacher for at

\[1\text{ibid.}, 33; 1875, 30.\]

\[2\text{Sect. 22, ibid., 26.}\]
25. He will devote at least one hour daily 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 Mistress of Departments are to perform a fair share of the work of instructing Pupil-teachers.

26. He will be responsible for posting Quarterly Returns on the last Saturday preceding the Mid-winter and Christmas vacations; and, in other cases, on the last Saturday of the months of March and September. In country places, where no post leaves on Saturday or the preceding Friday evening, the Returns must be sent, without fail, by the first subsequent opportunity.

27. In making application for increased attendance, he will give attention to the following Rules, by which the numerical strength of teaching staffs is regulated.

In a mixed school, or in a separate Boys' or Girls' Department, having an average attendance of—

50 pupils, the staff may consist of Teacher and Pupil-teacher.

70 pupils, the staff may consist of Teacher and 2 Pupil-teachers.

90 to 110 pupils, the staff may consist of Teacher, Assistant, and Pupil-teacher.

120 to 140 pupils, the staff may consist of Teacher, Assistant, and 2 Pupil-teachers.

150 to 170 pupils, the staff may consist of Teacher, Assistant, 2 Assistants, and 2 Pupil-teachers.

180 to 200 pupils, the staff may consist of Teacher, Assistant, 2 Assistants, and 3 Pupil-teachers.

210 to 230 pupils, the staff may consist of Teacher, 2 Assistants, and 2 Pupil-teachers.

240 to 260 pupils, the staff may consist of Teacher, 2 Assistants, and 3 Pupil-teachers.

270 to 300 pupils, the staff may consist of Teacher, 2 Assistants, and 4 Pupil-teachers.

300 to 320 pupils, the staff may consist of Teacher, Assistant, and 2 Assistants, and 4 Pupil-teachers.

330 to 350 pupils, the staff may consist of Teacher, Assistant, 2 Assistants, and 5 Pupil-teachers.

360 to 380 pupils, the staff may consist of Teacher, 2 Assistants, and 5 Pupil-teachers.

390 to 400 pupils, the staff may consist of Teacher, 3 Assistants, and 5 Pupil-teachers.

410 to 420 pupils, the staff may consist of Teacher, 3 Assistants, and 6 Pupil-teachers.

430 to 450 pupils, the staff may consist of Teacher, 3 Assistants, and 7 Pupil-teachers.

450 to 500 pupils, the staff may consist of Teacher, 3 Assistants, and 6 Pupil-teachers.

In every separate Infants' Department having an average attendance of—

50 pupils, the staff may consist of Teacher and a Pupil-teacher.

100 to 120 pupils, the staff may consist of Teacher and 2 Pupil-teachers.

150 to 160 pupils, the staff may consist of Teacher, Assistant, and Pupil-teacher.

200 to 220 pupils, the staff may consist of Teacher, Assistant, and 2 Pupil-teachers.

250 to 280 pupils, the staff may consist of Teacher, Assistant, 2 Assistants, and 2 Pupil-teachers.

300 to 320 pupils, the staff may consist of Teacher, Assistant, 2 Assistants, and 3 Pupil-teachers.

330 to 350 pupils, the staff may consist of Teacher, Assistant, 2 Assistants, and 4 Pupil-teachers.

360 to 380 pupils, the staff may consist of Teacher, Assistant, 2 Assistants, and 5 Pupil-teachers.

390 to 400 pupils, the staff may consist of Teacher, 3 Assistants, and 5 Pupil-teachers.

410 to 420 pupils, the staff may consist of Teacher, 3 Assistants, and 6 Pupil-teachers.

430 to 450 pupils, the staff may consist of Teacher, 3 Assistants, and 7 Pupil-teachers.

460 to 500 pupils, the staff may consist of Teacher, 3 Assistants, and 6 Pupil-teachers.

28. Principal Teachers and Mistress of Departments, respectively, are empowered to grant leave of absence to Assistants and Pupil-teachers employed under their supervision for a period not exceeding one day, subject to the conditions stated in paragraph 3 of the Rules regulating leave of absence. It must, however, be distinctly understood that such leave of absence can only be granted in cases where the necessity for it is clearly shown. In forwarding applications for leave of absence for more than one day, the Principal Teacher or Mistress of a Department, will state therein the arrangements proposed for the performance of the necessary teaching work, and will express an opinion as to whether such arrangements are satisfactory; and will state what previous leave has been granted, and on what terms, during the past twelve months. Applications for sick leave for three or more days should be accompanied by medical certificates.

29. All correspondence and returns (except those relating to fees) should be sent to the Inspector under whose immediate supervision the school is placed. Salary abstracts should be sent direct to the Accountant.

30. Teachers of all ranks are required to abstain from participation in any public meetings or other gatherings on party, political, or sectarian topics, and generally to refrain from all action in such matters calculated to give offence to any section of the community or to impair their own usefulness as teachers; they must also abstain from public controversy upon the merits of the system of education now in force, and from acting as local preachers, lay readers, or local correspondents of newspapers.

31. It is incumbent on teachers to attend to directions given them by Inspectors, and all departmental orders issued to them must be strictly observed. Should a Teacher at any time feel aggrieved, he may appeal to the Minister for redress, but such appeal must be made in a proper and respectful manner. Pending an appeal, no Teacher will be justified in disobeying orders, nor in the course of an appeal shall he knowingly make unfounded charges or improperly introduce subjects foreign to the matter of appeal.

32. No sectarian or denominational publications of any kind whatsoever shall be used in school, nor shall any denominational or sectarian doctines be inculcated.

33. It shall be the duty of all Teachers to impress on the minds of their pupils the principles of morality, truth, justice, and patriotism; to teach them to avoid idleness, profanity, and falsehood; to instruct them in the principles of a free Government; and to train them up to a true comprehension of the rights, duties, and dignity of citizenship.

A PAGE FROM THE REGULATIONS OF 1891 SHOWING RULES FOR STAFFING OF SCHOOLS - Minister's Report, 1890.
least one hour per day.

Only in schools where the average daily attendance exceeded seventy could assistant teachers be appointed from the ranks of pupil-teachers of at least three years' standing or from the training institutions.¹

Under the Regulations of 1908² the duties outlined remained essentially the same except in regard to duties which had been associated with the collection of fees.³ Since 1886 teachers' wives had been no longer required to take part in school routine except in their capacity as teachers of Needlework.⁴ By 1908 this work was restricted to schools of the four lowest classifications.⁵

The demise of the local School Boards under the Act⁶ made it necessary for the teaching staff of schools to be responsible for the performance of duties which would normally have been undertaken by such committees. The

¹Sect. 21, ibid.
³Fees abolished 1906. ⁶Edward VII, No. 12.
⁴1886 RegIns., Sect. 79, Minister's Report, 1886, 197.
⁵1908 RegIns., Sect. 137.
⁶vide supra, 75
Teacher-in-charge had, for example, to arrange for the cleaning of the school, closets and "external premises". He was to report damage to fences, gates and school buildings, attend to the supply of water and protect the school against fire, even to the extent of having the pupils "co-operate in cutting the grass". Under his supervision pupils' horses were to be fenced off from the playground. Complaints from parents and others were to be received and investigated. He was to give "vigilant attention" to the ventilation and temperature of the rooms.

The ranking of teachers paralleled that of 1880 except for changes in terminology and the introduction of the position of junior assistant. The work load, especially in one-teacher schools remained much as before, the regulations governing the size of schools before pupil-teachers or assistants could be employed being unchanged. Junior

1908 Regns., Sect. 4-12.

2 i.e., Headmaster or Teacher-in-Charge, Mistress of Girls' or Infants' Department, First Assistant, Assistant, Ex-student, Junior Assistant, Ex-Pupil-teacher, Pupil-teacher, Teacher of Needlework. 1908 Regns., Sect. 72.

Assistants\(^1\) were employed under similar conditions to pupil-teachers for two years before becoming eligible for examination for classification.\(^2\) Ex-Pupil teachers\(^3\) could be employed as First Class pupil-teachers, assistants, or teachers of small schools.\(^4\) In the staffing of schools with more than one teacher, the staff as a general rule was to be regulated on the basis of one teacher to every forty pupils in average attendance,\(^5\) but "staffing difficulties" meant that a teacher could be faced with perhaps two such classes in the one room — if he was teaching in a school designed or partitioned on the "single classroom" plan.\(^6\) "It is not very easy to construct a satisfactory time-table for schools in which three and even four teachers are engaged in the same room", wrote Senior-Inspector McLelland in his 1906 report upon the metropolitan district.\(^7\)

\(^1\) i.e., Probationary students who had failed to gain College scholarships.

\(^2\) Sect. 372, ibid.

\(^3\) i.e., Those failing to gain scholarships.

\(^4\) Sect. 373, ibid.

\(^5\) 1908 RegIns., Sect. 180.

\(^6\) vide, Minister's Report, 1906, 47.

\(^7\) ibid., 82.
The teacher of a small school of course had little option in regard to the size and division of his classes. Some attempt was made in the new Syllabus to divide the small school into Upper and Lower divisions but further subdivision into three sections in the Lower and two sections in the Upper division was recommended in teaching Reading and Arithmetic. Attempts at consolidation of several small schools met with little success, the Department determining to "use persuasion and wait till public opinion is better educated".

Meanwhile many small school teachers continued to live under sometimes appalling conditions, complaints published in the Minister's Report for 1909 being little different from those which had been brought to the notice of the Minister by a deputation in 1890. Two examples will suffice to illustrate the fact that in "too many cases" there was "difficulty in obtaining anything but the roughest fare and the most primitive accommodation":

1890:
I have had a very bad experience. At one time I was forced to ride away to my Inspector to see if I might leave. I could not get a place to

1Course of Instruction for Primary Schools, 1905, 18.
2Minister's Report, 1909, 36.
3Ibid., 1909, 30.
stop at. People in the country build a house just big enough for their own family and no larger .... I have been knocked about from one end of the country to the other and at nearly every place the accommodation was abominable. I know one teacher who has to live at what is really a sly grog shop.¹

1909:
I have been here for a period of one year, living under conditions that would break the heart of any teacher. The only place of accommodation that I can get is at a wineshop, and the nature of my surroundings leads me to believe - and I cannot otherwise believe - that my character, and even my liberty, are not safe.²

Although admittedly extreme cases, the contexts from which both examples are drawn make it clear that they were by no means uncommon.

- Routine and School Hours

Teachers of Primary schools in 1910 faced but slight changes from the formal organisation of forty years before.

¹Training School Files, Deputation to Minister, 11/1/90.
Daily routine regulations had not varied during the period. ¹

Holidays were rearranged in 1903, one week being taken from the original two week recess at Midwinter and a week granted instead at Michaelmas (September). The original Christmas vacation of four weeks was also increased to five weeks for schools west of the 147th meridian. ² Under the 1906 Regulations the Christmas vacation was extended to five weeks in the Eastern area and six weeks in the Western. ³

¹Reglns. of 1898, 1908 and 1912 -

Morning
At 9  -  All teachers to be present. All school materials to be prepared for lessons.
At 9.25  -  Pupils to be arranged in ranks, inspected as to cleanliness, and marched into school.
At 9.30  -  Lessons (for special religious instruction) to commence.
At 11  -  Recess to be spent in the playground by the pupils and teachers.
At 11.15  -  Lessons to be resumed according to the time-table.
At 12.25  -  Class-roll to be called and marked.
At 12.30  -  The school to be dismissed for midday recess.

Afternoon
From 12.30 to 1.55  -  Recess for dinner and recreation, under the superintendence of the teachers.
At 1.55  -  Pupils to be arranged, inspected, and marched into school.
At 2  -  Lessons to recommence as noted on the time-table.
At 3.55  -  The roll to be called and marked.
At 4  -  The school to be dismissed.

²Minister's Report, 1903, 14.

³1906 Reglns., Sect. 167.
Generally however, New South Wales' school hours were not the subject of much interest during the early 1900's. Any change to conform with overseas practice would have meant more time being spent in school.\(^1\) Even G.H. Knibbs, one of the Commissioners sent to study education overseas, could not bring himself to recommend increases without compensatory reforms in school conditions.\(^2\) Teachers' Associations were content to argue for more sensible allocation of holidays but without reduction or increase in the overall time allocation. It is clear that the same passive resistance which acted against the compulsory clauses of the Act, would have greeted any attempt to increase school hours.

- **Attendance**

Irregularity of pupil attendance and non-attendance continued throughout the period to be major administrative problems while, as far as the pupils were concerned, little change took place. Following the passage of the Act

\(^1\)30 to 32 hours per week was the usual Continental practice. N.S.W. children spent about 24 hours per week in school. N.S.W. Interim Report of the Commissioners on Certain Parts of Primary Education, Sydney: Govt. Printer, 1903, 446.

\(^2\)Ibid., 446.
attendance figures improved for a time but when parents realised that the compulsory provisions were not to be immediately enforced, a general decline set in.

Inspectors' and Ministers' Reports continued with monotonous regularity to draw attention to the difficulties faced by the Department in regard to attendance. The defects of the Act in relation to the early years were summed up in the 1890 Minister's Report:

Previous reports called attention to the defects in the compulsory clauses of the existing Act, and the experience of the past year emphasises the need for their amendment, especially as regards —

1. Provision to deal effectively with children found idling about the streets during school hours who are evading the law.
2. Authority to efficiently ascertain the total number of children in the Colony of statutory age.
3. The power to compel teachers of private schools to furnish accurate returns of enrolment and attendance.
4. Placing the onus of proof of age and of the fulfilment of minimum attendance on the parents or guardians.
5. Making the penalty for default more severe.
6. The inclusion of a clause making it penal to employ children of school age, unless educated up to standard requirements.¹

According to J.W. Turner, the other Commissioner, retrenchment in the Civil Service swept away

¹Minister's Report, 1890, 15.
GRAPH, showing relationship between the Child Population, School Attendance, and General Population of New South Wales during the decade 1901-10.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEARS</th>
<th>1901</th>
<th>1902</th>
<th>1903</th>
<th>1904</th>
<th>1905</th>
<th>1906</th>
<th>1907</th>
<th>1908</th>
<th>1909</th>
<th>1910</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. of Thousands</td>
<td>1650</td>
<td>1600</td>
<td>1550</td>
<td>1500</td>
<td>1450</td>
<td>1400</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NOTES.**

- The base of each block represents one year, and the vertical height of each block represents 10,000 individuals.
- The graph contains three sections.
- Reading upwards from the lower left-hand corner, it will be seen that the range of population capable of being shown on the lower section extends from 40,000 to 100,000. A break of 50,000 is then made, after which the graph shows a range in the middle section from 150,000 to 250,000. After another break, the upper section starts at 1,370,000, and continues upwards. The dotted lines on the upper curve show the population as indicated by the 1911 Census.

**STATISTICS AFFECTING GRAPH.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>1,372,240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>1,605,640</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(continued overleaf)

- Minister's Report, 1910, 7.
This graph illustrates in a striking manner the contrast between the steady growth during the decade of the total population of New South Wales and the comparatively stationary character of the population between 6 and 14 years of age. It will be observed that the curves representing child population and school enrolments (State and non-State) have the same general trend. The fall from 1903 to 1906 is attributable to the decline in the birth-rate during previous octennial periods. From 1906 onwards, however, there has been a gradual improvement, but this is by no means proportionate to that shown in the general population. The slight retardation shown in enrolment at State Schools during the past year is due, as explained elsewhere, to epidemics. The curve showing enrolment at non-State Schools indicates a slight retrogression during the decade.
almost the whole machinery for working the compulsory clauses of the Act of 1880. From that time on, little systematic attention has been given to those wandering the streets and parks, not only growing up in ignorance, but learning the worst of habits and even vices.¹

Certain it is that during the first decade of the twentieth century, little development in the matter of school enrolment and attendance took place. This period was marked by a declining birthrate to the extent that child population remained almost stationary in spite of a growth in the mean total population from 1,372,240 (1901) to 1,666,640 (1910). The almost static figures of average weekly attendance,² while reflecting the static child population, show little evidence of success in attempts to bring every child to regular attendance at school.

Even the abolition of fees in 1907 appears to have had little influence on the attendance figures, probably due to the fact that the administrative force behind the collection of fees had been lessening for some years. Those who would have been deterred from sending their children to school because of fees alone would generally have been able to

¹Commissioners’ Report, op. cit., 383.
²1901 - 154,404; 1910 - 157,498.
either avoid paying them, or to obtain exemption from payment.

From the mass of statistical data one can assess that attendance had levelled out at about 75% of those enrolled, with the greatest number of children attending from eight to thirteen years. Ministers' reports continued during the decade to furnish the usual excuses for poor attendance, such as epidemics, wet weather and so on, as well as continually directing attention to the failure of the compulsory clauses to effect any real improvement. Peter Board in his 1905 Report went over familiar ground:

The provisions of the Act are defective mainly in the three points:— 1, Default in attendance must cover a period of six months before action can be taken; 2, the onus of proof as to age is thrown upon the Department; 3, the furnishing of returns of attendance by private schools is not made obligatory.¹

Since the retrenchments of 1893, police instead of special attendance officers had been used to carry out the provisions of the law. Board attacked this arrangement as being altogether ineffective. "The police have rendered useful service", he wrote "but their multifarious duties prevent their acting in the capacity of attendance officers."²

¹ Minister's Report, 1905, 39.
² ibid.
Some attempt was made in 1905 to overcome these difficulties. The passage of the Neglected Children and Juvenile Offenders Act and the transfer of the State Children's Relief Branch to the Department enabled officers to deal with all children found "habitually wandering" and to discover cases of non-attendance through their contact with neglected children. Eleven attendance officers were appointed whose duty was to obtain names from teachers and visit homes to secure better attendance. When these visits failed, legal action was to follow.¹

- Discipline

The ideals and psychology of the New Education, strictly interpreted, were resolutely opposed to the "old regime of repression" which Chief Inspector Dawson characterised as being identified with "rigidity of attitude". "Row upon row of pupils, sitting as if they were hypnotised, made an onlooker wish for some slight movement to relieve the feeling of oppression", he wrote.²

Although the regulations covering corporal punishment

¹ibid.
²ibid., 49.
remained practically the same throughout the period, 1 "Instructions to Teachers" in 1908 warned that corporal punishment was "not to be recognised as a proper aid to teaching, nor should it be inflicted for failure or inability to learn, nor for neglect to prepare home lessons". 2 This principle had however been recognised in 1891. 3 Since that date the corporal punishment of girls twelve years or over had also been forbidden. 4

"Easy natural attitudes", the product of "real attention", 5 were not to be brought about by regulations and instructions to teachers. These had existed for years in a form similar to regulations under which the New Education was to be implemented. "Readiness of obedience", said Dawson, was "a better test of the discipline of the school than perfect order". 6 There was in 1905 still a long way to go before such ideals could be generally achieved:

1 i.e., inflicted by the principal or an approved assistant; restricted to extreme cases; a record kept. Vide, 1880 Regns., Sect. 61; 1908 Regns., Sect. 158.

2 1908 Regns., Sect. 18, 54.

3 1891 Regns., Sect. 17, Minister's Report, 1890, 486.

4 ibid.

5 ibid., 1905, 49.

6 ibid.
... it is evident that as long as teachers have to control classes of forty and fifty pupils side by side in long rooms, it will be necessary to retain something of the old order. A pleasing sign of departure from the old regime of repression is the privilege, or rather right, accorded to the pupils in many of the schools to ask questions of the teacher and to state their opinions regarding matters under discussion. This practice will not, I believe, derogate in any true sense from the teacher's authority ... there are teachers of the old stamp who have yet to learn that corporal punishment should be absolutely disassociated from the process of instruction.¹

- Organisation of Classes and Promotion of Pupils

Two main tendencies were apparent in the 1904-5 reorganisation of classes and progression, both of which reflected some influence of the New Education upon the practical organisation of the school. The first lay in the correspondence of classes, and therefore of promotion, with the full school year rather than with subdivisions of that year. Such an arrangement implied promotion according to age rather than solely upon attainments and paved the way for the recognition in teaching of such concepts as maturation levels and pupil readiness. Out of similar ideals grew a second tendency, apparent in the fixing of a

¹ ibid.
### CLASSES AND PROMOTION OF PUPILS

1870's to 1900's.

Age as a factor in promotion was not an implication of the system until after 1904. The ages shown are therefore approximate and refer to the earliest age at which pupils, in terms of regulations and other requirements, might be expected to reach a given class. Wide variations of acceleration and retardation were inherent in the half-yearly promotions up to 1904.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Approx. Age</th>
<th>1875</th>
<th>1886</th>
<th>1890</th>
<th>1905</th>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>Infants</td>
<td>First</td>
<td>Infants</td>
<td>First</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>Infants</td>
<td>First</td>
<td>Infants</td>
<td>First</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>4th</td>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>Lower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>5th</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>3rd</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>4th</td>
<td></td>
<td>4th</td>
<td></td>
<td>Upper</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>5th</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>S.P.S.</td>
<td>S.P.S.</td>
<td>S.P.S.</td>
<td>S.P.S.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6th</td>
<td>7th</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table based upon 1875 and later Regulations; Course of Instruction, 1905; Commissioners' Report, 1903.
a more definite and later age of entry to the Primary school while deferring and extending the provision for higher education.

A comparison of promotion and classification provisions over the years\(^1\) reveals however that such patterns had been clearly established over the years since the passage of the Public Instruction Act, and especially in the rationalisation which took place in 1889-90.

In 1875, under the Council of Education classes had corresponded with the school year but the period upon which examination and promotion was based was the quarter. Pupils could be accepted at five years of age and promoted more or less rapidly according to quarterly attainments, age and maturation playing only a minor role. The principle of promotion according to attainments only, was retained in the various reorganisations up to 1904, but on a half-yearly rather than a quarterly basis. By 1890 the process of rationalisation had led to a coincidence of classes with single years except in Third class which spanned a two-year period.

Also apparent by the nineties was a definite period of Lower-Primary work ranging from eighteen months to two years.

\(^1\)vide, opposite.
according to whether the school had a separate Infants' department or simply a First class. In the latter case pupils were to complete a similar Standard to that in an Infants' department, but in three rather than four half-years. The Commissioners having drawn attention to this fact, the inconsistency was resolved in 1904 by determining a common curriculum for both Infants' and First classes to last up to two years.

The growth towards a definite and later age of entry into the Primary school and the later termination of the Primary course is clearly indicated by the diagram above, as is the indeterminate length of time to be spent in the Fifth class. This feature stemmed from the continued orientation of the curriculum of this class towards qualifying examinations.

The acceptance in the 1900's of the principle of maturation in classification and promotion of pupils was therefore probably as much the product of a gradual evolutionary process as of New Education philosophy. The

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1Commissioners' Report, 1903, 481.

2This characteristic was retained under the new Syllabus. vide, Course of Instruction for Primary Schools, 1905, op. cit., 49.
practical aspects of organisation of Primary classes in the
1900's was in fact little different from that in the
nineties, the process of rationalisation tending to provide
an organisation which permitted the application of New
Education principles with a minimum of interference with the
traditional system.

- Examinations

Under the Regulations of 1886, Principal teachers and
Mistresses were required to examine each class at least once
a month. Apart from the annual inspection examinations the pupil who wished to obtain exemption from attendance
under Section 20 (iv) of the Act was required to submit to
examination by an Inspector in Reading, Writing and
Arithmetic at Third class standard. In 1893 this
examination was made compulsory at the annual inspection and
was to include all pupils above and including those in the
fourth half-year of enrolment in Third class and any others

1886 Regns., Sect. 21, Minister's Report, 1886, 211.
21880 Regns., Sect. 54, ibid., 1880, 31.
31893 Regns., Sect. 9, ibid., 1893, 226.
Although the Department was careful to point out that the acquisition of the Certificate of Exemption did not suggest "that a pupil should close his school career earlier than was intended",\(^1\) it was obvious that those remaining at school after such an examination had either failed to pass or had set their sights higher. In either case, despite the denial of the Department, it was apparent that this examination represented all that could be learnt in the Primary school and determined its curriculum. Nor was the orientation different for those who chose to go on to Fifth class in a Superior Public school. Here they would be prepared for the Junior and Senior Examinations of the University of Sydney,\(^3\) or perhaps to sit for examination for admission to a High school, competing for free education scholarships.\(^4\) With the introduction in 1893 of half and full bursaries tenable in High schools or Sydney Superior Public schools\(^5\) and increases in numbers of scholarships


\(^2\)ibid.

\(^3\)1886 Regns., Sect. 10, Minister's Report, 1886, 191.

\(^4\)Free education for the first 10 of each sex gaining admission to Sydney High schools; the first 3, in other High schools. 1886 Regns., Sect. 30, ibid., 193.

\(^5\)i.e., for pupils whose parents were not in a position to pay.
being offered, the examination system greatly increased its hold upon the pupil. By the end of the century the advent of the Public Service Examinations and those of the Sydney Chamber of Commerce had given rise to such a consciousness of the role of the Primary school in laying the foundation for successful competition at Public Examinations that it was clear that examination had become an end in itself:

The conditions of written examinations are a splendid training in self-reliance. The candidate finds in the silence of the room, his isolation, and the conditions of the examination a severe trial of his self-possession, and misses the word of explanation, assistance, or encouragement from his teacher. If he is to succeed, he must have been trained to be methodical, deliberate, and prompt. Besides the advantages to the pupil, the teacher will have his weaknesses revealed to him.²

Teachers therefore were tempted to fix their minds "almost solely on the results of exams., which concern less than 5 per cent of their schools, and judge their success or failure accordingly".³

Although technically after 1904 the pressure upon

³ J. Murray, "Examinations", ibid., Feb., 1900, 203.
THE MINISTER FOR EDUCATION (Mr. CARMICHAEL) EXPLAINING TO THE PUPILS OF A LITTLE SCHOOL IN THE FAR WEST HOW THEY MAY REACH THE UNIVERSITY.
pupils was reduced by the lessened emphasis upon examination during the annual inspection, the new Syllabus and Regulations still required quarterly examinations\(^1\) which were to replace the Inspector's former "exhaustive" examination. The Inspector was required in addition, to test the record of such quarterly examinations "at various points".\(^2\) The pressures from external examinations meanwhile increased with examinations being held half-yearly for admission to High schools and also for a greatly extended system of scholarships and bursaries.\(^3\) For those wishing to enter the service of the Department the competitive examinations for admission to the District schools as probationary students replaced after 1905, the examinations which had been required of pupil-teachers.\(^4\)

It appeared therefore that while the psychology of teaching called for a retreat from the pre-eminence of the examination in the education system, the concomitant growth of technical and secondary education presented more

\(^1\)N.S.W., Course of Instruction for Primary Schools, Sydney: Govt. Printer, 1905, vii. Also, 1908 Reglns., Sect. 24.

\(^2\)ibid., Sect. 7, 63.

\(^3\)vide, ibid., 17 ff.

\(^4\)vide, Commissioners' Report, 272.
pressing practical problems. Peter Board saw little objection in examinations as such, as long as they were determined by the curriculum. In this case he considered the examination to stand "at the natural termination of a systematic course of study that has been pursued without those distractions that come from the acquiring of an acquaintance with the idiosyncracies of examiners". Even accepting this reasoning, it remains clear that the motivation for the very "cramming" which Board deplored, lay in the proliferation of distinct examination requirements facing the products of the Primary schools. The curriculum continued to be orientated towards the satisfaction of internal requirements such as those determining promotion and exemption from attendance, while also attempting to prepare a minority of pupils for entrance to secondary education and other fields.

- **Buildings, Furniture, and Equipment**

The expenditure upon construction, renovation and maintenance of Public schools in 1883 was the largest single

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2. *ibid.*
item of disbursement, £383,101 being spent from a total income of £824,500. The magnitude of the problem facing the newly-formed Department of Public Instruction may be gauged from the remarks of J.P. Abbott, the Minister in 1883:

... the cessation of aid to Denominational Schools threw on the Department the expense of providing, without delay, thirty-one new buildings, many of which had necessarily to be of large size, and of making extensive additions to existing schools ... the majority of buildings handed over to the Department by the late Council of Education were in so bad a state that they had to be replaced by new buildings, or to be extensively repaired. For many years before the Council ceased to act, the money placed at their disposal was only sufficient to enable them to build a few new schools per annum, and to undertake the most urgent of the many repairs needed.

The work of the Architect's Branch of the Department became a means for practical expression of a policy of equal educational facilities for all, often taking precedence over other aspects of the education system. Due prominence was given each year to reporting how much money had been spent on buildings and repairs during the year, great importance being attached to that expenditure which had increased accommodation as distinct from that which had not.

The Act had set out the minimum of air space per child

1ibid., 1883, 142.
2ibid., 6.
as being one hundred cubic feet\textsuperscript{1} but even this standard meant that a great amount of work had to be done throughout the State.

In 1881 about £25,000, in 1882 about £36,000, and in 1883 over £60,000 had been spent for enlargements and repairs to old buildings, an expenditure far in excess of what would have been required if the buildings had in 1880 been fairly adequate to the then existing wants of the country and in reasonably good repair.\textsuperscript{2}

Some progress was made with the replacement of temporary school tents with portable wooden buildings, the necessary expenditure being apparently offset by the construction of about forty portable buildings in places where it had been previously decided to erect permanent ones.\textsuperscript{3} However, not only had classrooms to be built but also weathersheds and teachers' residences, the provision of the latter having been assumed by the Act in determining the remuneration of teachers in charge of schools.

Expenditure reached its peak in the period 1883–4 and then rapidly eased to approximately one quarter of the 1883 figure, dropping even lower in the first years of the new century due to the combination of a number of factors.

\textsuperscript{1}1880 Act, Sect. 16.

\textsuperscript{2}Architect's Report, in Minister's Report, 1883, 139.

\textsuperscript{3}ibid.
A TRAVELLING SCHOOL, 1908
Foremost among these was the progress made towards the physical achievement of the government's policy of education for all, for by this time most children in the State could attend a school if they so desired. This being so, the political spotlight as far as education was concerned, shifted to the fields of vocational and higher education which began to attract expenditure away from the primary field. The depression years of the 1890's meant a serious reduction in government grants for education but since these years also produced a lower birth rate less provision in the way of accommodation had to be made in the first decade of the new century.

By 1905 the worst of the accommodation problems had been overcome and it was now opportune for rising public concern with health to combine with other factors in the New Education to produce some changes in school design. The most notable trend was towards the provision of single classrooms for each class generally but the increased emphasis on physical exercise also demanded larger playground areas than were available. Because of inadequate funds, original purchases had been inadequate for current requirements while later encroachment of additional school buildings had further reduced playing areas. The problem in urban areas was one which could only be solved by far-sighted
planning and diversion of finance from current, usually more pressing projects.

In 1905 the basis of calculation for accommodation was increased from 100 cubic feet of air space and 8 square feet of floor space per child to 150 cubic feet and 12 square feet, respectively\(^1\) which was still less than the doubling of the original figures recommended by the 1903 Commissioners.\(^2\) The first Public school to be constructed on the separate classroom plan was being erected at Wickham at this time and it was proposed to adopt this practice in future "in all new schools of an important character".\(^3\) However the design of classrooms for single classes was modified the following year since it was found that fixed opaque partitions presented supervision and staffing difficulties. It was decided in future to divide classrooms by means of movable glazed partitions which could be slid back to provide for the accommodation of more than one class.\(^4\) Experiments were also being carried out with single and dual desks, most of the furniture being

\(^1\)ibid., 1905, 40.
\(^2\)Commissioners' Report, 45–6.
\(^3\)Minister's Report, 1905, 4.
\(^4\)ibid., 1906, 47.
CLEVELAND STREET INFANTS', 1909

(Showing desk arrangement and glazed partitions)

Cleveland-street Superior Public School.
manufactured at N.S.S. "Sobraon" as it had been for the past four years.  

Although the reformers made much of their new "discoveries" it must not be forgotten that in 1883, Chief Inspector Johnson had remarked on the desirability of what were later to be known as "hygienic conditions" in the classroom:

Eight square feet of floor space or 100 feet cubical contents are allowed to each child. In England, the maximum regulation space is 80 cubic feet for each child in average attendance; but even where the lighting and warming are provided on the most favourable conditions, this amount of space must be very unsatisfactory on the point of health.  

On the question of lighting, G.H. Knibbs had this to say in 1903:

The question of the proper direction of the light has also been thoroughly studied in Europe; it should come from the left, and where the quantity so received is insufficient, a little high rear light might also be allowed .... The windows are carried as near as possible to the ceiling .... The complete abandonment of the long subdivided classroom of the New South Wales school is absolutely necessary to obtain a proper system of natural lighting ....

1Reformatory school for boys.  
2Minister's Report, 1905, 5.  
3Ibid., 1883, 53.  
4Commissioners' Report, 45.
Johnson had written in 1883:

Hitherto the lighting of our schools does not appear to have been regulated on any well-established principle. Sometimes the light is in front of the pupil, sometimes behind him; while, in many cases, it enters from both sides of the room. Where the room is large and the windows high the latter arrangement is not objectionable. The best light is that which comes to the pupil from the left side, but it is only possible to obtain light in this way where the room is small and built to accommodate but one class. Where the room is large, the light should come to the pupil above the shoulders or from behind him. The one great defect in the lighting of all our schools, except those built under the supervision of the Department’s architect, Mr. Kemp, is that the windows are too low. They give a bad light, and cannot be opened from below without exposing the pupils to draughts.¹

It would appear that, given the large classes necessitated by conditions of the time, Johnson was comparatively advanced in his outlook on these matters. According to the contemporary standards even the backless forms had their purpose:

With regard to Primary Schools, it is not so necessary that the seats should have backs, because when the pupils are writing the seats are moved close to the desks in front, and the backs cannot then be used; while during oral lessons the seats are moved back, and the pupils are thereby enabled to lean again(st) the desks behind.²

¹Minister’s Report, 1883, 53–4
²ibid.
INTERIOR OF SPRING HILL PUBLIC SCHOOL (BATHURST), 1908

(100 pupils)
Johnson went on to note a proposal to introduce dual desks on the London School Board or American model but doubted whether the expense could be met - not only in replacement cost but also because of the additional space needed for them in school buildings. He was moreover, aware of the need for infants' classes to have seats with backs and remarked upon the too-narrow seats in some old-established schools, promising to have them replaced.

"School hygiene" had therefore gained some recognition from the inception of the 1880 Act, the 1905 moves being logical extensions of this concept in response to current pressures. The claim that the Department continued to provide furniture suited to the demands of the system is supported by Maynard's statement in 1890:

In different schools the Department has experimented on almost every kind of desk and form recommended or used by educational authorities in Europe, America, and Australia. The outcome of a general comparison as to the suitability and usefulness of the various types is an almost unanimous preference for the ordinary long desks and forms commonly used in our schools. The forms need strong backs; but, otherwise, teachers and inspectors would rather have the present plain, open seats and desks, to accommodate rows of from 9 to 12 children, than any other furniture they have seen.¹

¹ibid., 1890, 165.
# DIRECTIONS.

This form to be signed and returned immediately on receipt of the Materials to

MESSRS. COLLINS BROS. & CO.,

EDUCATIONAL PUBLISHERS,

Herriton Hill Buildings, 81 York Street,

SYDNEY.

Teachers are requested to notice that C. B. & Co. pay freight and carriage at the Sydney end as far as possible, but as Carriages have frequently to be employed, it is requested that the Teachers pay them, and send the Vouchers for such Payments to C. B. & Co., who will at once refund the money. The Voucher for the Articles supplied must always accompany the form of receipt for carriage by Teacher.

ARTICLES supplied to

send per

addressed to

| Class  | No. of Articles supplied | Description | No. per | Price
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- Scripture Lessons, Old Testament, No. 1, 2s. 6d. per doz.
- New Testament, No. 1, 2s. 6d.
- Australian Reading Book, Primer, Part I. 1s. 10d.
- First Book of Lessons (Irish National Board) 6d. per dist.
- Second do. 6d.
- Fourth do. 6d.
- Fifth do. 6d.
- Sixth do. 6d.
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- Eighth do. 6d.

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- State History of England for Senior Class 2s. 6d. per doz.
- State History of England for Infants 5s. 6d. per doz.
- State History of England for Infants (small) 1s. 6d. per doz.
- Small Chalk (square) 2s. 6d. per doz.
- Small Chalk (round) 2s. 6d. per doz.
- Small Chalk (large) 2s. 6d. per doz.
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- Small Chalk (giant) 2s. 6d. per doz.
- Small Chalk (colossal) 2s. 6d. per doz.
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The Architect's Branch itself changed only slightly in organisation over the forty years following the Act. Its official recognition as "Architect's Branch of the Department of Public Instruction" in 1899 left the personnel as before.\(^1\) Even the transfer of the Branch to the Public Works Department in 1904 had little effect on the supervisory load borne by the Inspectors in country districts. They continued to supervise the bulk of the erection and repair of small-school buildings, residences and weathersheds as before, from plans and specifications supplied by the Architect's Branch.\(^2\)

Overall, and in relation to the methods of instruction being employed, the supply of school materials seems to have been satisfactory though meagre. The Department supplied basic items such as "books, slates, pencils, pens, ink, chalk, maps, diagrams, drawing copies, records, etc.\(^3\) the main problems referred to by Inspectors being related to preservation and proper use rather than to supply. The Report of the Commissioners, 1903, found little to criticise in this respect, except in connection with new

\(^1\)ibid., 1899, 161.
\(^2\)ibid., 1905, 4.
\(^3\)ibid., 1890, 165.
developments in teaching aids.

However, at the turn of the century the effects of the economics of the depression years were still being felt:

The supply of maps and diagrams to schools is not as liberal as I would like, but the amount voted for school requisites is too small to allow of a grant of more than bare necessities; indeed, in some cases, the supply of reading books has not been sufficient to allow of a book for each scholar. This, however, is a temporary trouble that will soon pass away.\(^1\)

Coinciding with this legacy, the increased use of paper instead of slates was being encouraged on the grounds that its use was more "sanitary" and resulted in "more careful and accurate" work.\(^2\) Pupils were required to provide this paper although in some areas stationers were said to have "rendered help in this direction by selling tablets containing paper sufficient for three months' work at threepence each".\(^3\) Such impositions, although of a minor nature, indicated the continuance of the well-established policy that outside the provision of absolutely basic equipment, parents were to be required to pay for materials used in school work.

\(^1\)ibid., 1899, 115.
\(^2\)ibid., 1902, 76.
\(^3\)ibid.
The 1904 Syllabus with its emphasis on concrete and practical methods of teaching accentuated a tendency which had developed under the library movement of the 1890's\(^1\) for schools to rely upon outside sources of finance for the effective implementation of Departmental requirements. Upon parents devolved the task of providing in the schools facilities and materials for Manual Training, Needlework, Domestic Arts, Drawing, Brushwork, Physical Culture, Science, Nature Study, Agriculture, Gardening and even the concrete materials to be used in teaching Arithmetic. This was hardly consistent with the government's decision in 1906 to abolish fees in Primary schools. It was reminiscent rather of the eighteenth century reasoning that parents would only become involved in their children's education by paying for it. The principle of equal educational opportunity for all which had been the principle design of the 1880 Act was therefore compromised by the growing sophistication of the educational process of the twentieth century. The proper fulfilment of the educative process was to depend to a greater extent than before upon the financial involvement of parents.

\(^{1}\textit{vide infra, 501}\)
The Educational Machine of the 1900's

In tracing organisational and administrative developments in New South Wales Primary education over the thirty years following the passage of the Public Instruction Act, it has been possible to define a pattern of evolution which was conservative but by no means stagnant. The irreovable commitment to centralism had been complicated by the organisational and administrative corollaries of the Act itself and the growth of a civil service tradition, bureaucratic and inbred. In this and the wider political, social and economic contexts, the development of an expert and effective communications and control system within the Department had by the advent of the new century, increased its susceptibility to change while at the same time conferring upon it the ability to mobilise to meet the demands with which it was to be faced.

However, also inherent in the system was a rigidity and preoccupation with the material aspects of education which though necessary to the effective implementation of any scheme of education, nonetheless imposed severe restrictions upon the interpretations of the New Education which were to be introduced. This was in part the unavoidable accompaniment of Wilkins' committal to the
English system which after all was that most in keeping with the aspirations of the Colony. Although the identification of a national entity in the federation of the States of Australia promised a more catholic selection of educational ideas and systems than had before been possible, the orientation of the established system was towards movements which had proved compatible with the English system. Thus with few exceptions, English interpretations of Continental educational practices were made the bases of further adaptation to suit the peculiarities of the New South Wales system. It is in this argument that the importance of the organisational and administrative structure of the New South Wales educational system lies. That system had become so firmly entrenched that by the time overseas and predominantly English influences had been rendered compatible with it, they were but shadows of the original conception.

Except insofar as it demanded the reorientation of teacher training towards the "previous training" system, the New Education is not to be found in the mechanical aspects of educational organisation and administration in New South Wales. It might have been reflected in an enlightened spirit of administration such as was inherent in the idea of substitution of inspection for examination but in the circumstances of the time, and particularly with inadequately
trained teachers, the spirit of the new educational psychology was not to be imparted by Departmental direction. In the need for such direction lay the crux of the problem. The system of promotion and selection not only of Inspectors but of teachers in general through the ranks of the service, was hardly conducive to the production of men imbued with the spirit of reform. Yet it would seem that only through such personal enthusiasm might the essence of reform be adequately conveyed. Reward by the system lay in conformity. That in the 1900's such conformity was to produce a rash of faddism was to a great extent an outcome of that system.
CHAPTER IV.

THE EDUCATIONAL CLIMATE: THE NEW EDUCATION

At the close of the nineteenth century the educational systems of both England and the United States were undergoing a process of adaptation in keeping with a new spirit abroad in a much more closely-linked world into which Australia had at last entered. The decline of imperialism invited friendlier relations between nations. Whereas earlier in the century nations were forced to turn inwards upon themselves and discourage importation of ideas, intercourse with foreign nations was no longer a betrayal of nationalism. Trade and technical superiority was gradually being transferred to Germany, the United States also rapidly gaining strength. The growing might of unified labour was succeeding in demanding extensions of government control and the notion of freedoms resulting from government activity, rather than inactivity was increasingly accepted amongst the sophisticated nations of the world.

Australia was neither a sophisticated nation nor in effective direct communication with European influences. She might see these forces through English eyes, but with a
changing perspective, the result of an established Australian ethos. Some perceived in the United States a tradition more akin to that of Australia but the immediate need was for Australia to develop its own educational system suited to its own circumstances. The pre-1880 system should have demonstrated the dangers of both isolation from contemporary overseas influences and dependence upon an English interpretation of ideas. However, technological development meant that our education system could no longer develop in the partial vacuum provided by New South Wales' isolated position and which to a marked degree accounted for the peculiar system set up by the 1880 Act.

A vigorous and responsible government initiative by modern standards might have surveyed the whole field of educational thought and deliberately selected those factors which would best be combined in a system tailored to measure for the needs of New South Wales. Such a survey was in fact carried out by the Commissioners Knibbs and Turner in 1902, but in determining the selection and rate of implementation of the Commissioners' recommendations, the education sector could not be afforded a carte-blanche. The outcome was that tradition prevailed. In spite of the fact
that progressive thinking at the turn of the century allowed the cloud to be lifted long enough for the Commissioners to be sent abroad, the 1880 system proved too strong for the revolutionary recommendations of the 1903 Report. ¹

Those who realised this tendency were slightly more successful in introducing some of the more compatible ideas from America which, although direct importations, ² were at least selected with a view to their adaptability to New South Wales conditions. It is unlikely, however that such innovations would have been acceptable to New South Wales society had not much stronger influences in the same direction been exerted by British contact. Australians displayed that degree of conservatism which seemed to require a unanimity of outside opinion before agreement upon proposed changes could be reached. It is probable that the educational importations of the 1900's would not have been acceptable had not there been a virtually unanimous agreement overseas upon their worth. It is also arguable that, in addition to British support influencing

¹ vide, Commissioners¹ Report, op. cit., 2 ff.
² e.g., some aspects of Manual Training, Agriculture, Free Kindergarten.
importations from America, the reverse also was true. It cannot be assumed, in the light of nationalist feeling around the turn of the century, that New South Wales would have spontaneously imported, for example, the Kindergarten or Herbartianism from England. Rather, it is likely that, succumbing to the combined pressures from overseas and at home, the New South Wales government chose the English influence as the more conservative and therefore the safest politically, while individuals admitted more progressive and radical ideas from America justifying their support by reference to the English movement of the same name.

The development of the New South Wales educational system between 1880 and 1910 must be judged against this complex background. On the one hand the shrinking world encouraged comparisons with overseas education systems. Regardless of the youthfulness of New South Wales, or more correctly because of it, commentators on the educational scene demanded similar achievements here. Against them could be argued the need for the State to develop its own educational system on the ground that what was suited to other countries was not necessarily suited to Australian conditions.

Such an argument was however, complicated by the fact that New South Wales education was already following
established British traditions and it seems natural to apply British developments here. Also the United States, aggressively independent as she was, had seen fit to embrace movements of the same name as those establishing themselves in Britain. But above all it was the very nature of the New Education which made it impossible for New South Wales to ignore it. All pervading - a product of the complexities of developing world society, economics, politics and intellectualism - it was inevitable that it should be embraced to some extent by any society which contained within it social elements and aspirations similar to those of countries which were established or developing world powers.

Since it was inevitable that the New Education should influence New South Wales schools in some way, any judgment of the worth of the system has to be made in terms of the speed with which changes were introduced and the degree of adjustment which took place. In making such an assessment the contemporary educational development of overseas countries ceases to be a valid yardstick. It is clear that, short of a revolution, change in a country's education system must take place over a period of time depending upon circumstances peculiar to the country concerned.

The degree of adjustment necessary or desirable would be another variable. In any state such decisions are part
of the basic function of government, which is free to choose whether in fact a decision is to be made and accordingly actively lead social change or hinder it. In Australian democracy of the time such decisions were the result of the push and pull between conflicting interests, each group or individual seeking to have its policy legitimatised by having it adopted by the government.

Some of these pressure groups naturally represented movements which were influencing overseas education but this presence of New Education proponents did not necessarily mean government adoption of their demands. Education, though now recognised as an important state function, was since the passage of the 1880 Act, a relatively settled political question. The pressures which did arise in these circumstances tended to be of a machinery nature — attendance, transportation of children, building, salaries and so on. The depressed economy of the nineties meant that the attainment and maintenance of even these most basic features of an educational system were well-nigh impossible.

It seems logical that the New South Wales government finding itself in such a situation should have been satisfied with the practical achievement of the 1880 principles and that this should have been followed by a period of relative calm and stability while politics
grappled with more urgent problems each demanding a share of government attention and resources.

Faced with limited resources, government policy in regard to education depended upon the relative strength of the pressures being placed upon the government. The cross-cutting of membership of these interest groups meant that at any one time only a fraction of potential membership could be mobilised. Therefore, although there could be, and no doubt was, wide-spread interest in educational questions throughout the community, pressure to change was not necessarily exerted upon the government until some factor arose to act as a catalyst. Professor Anderson's speech\(^1\) was such a factor, the apparent reaction appearing to verge upon a revolution\(^2\).

That change did take place is not disputed but its magnitude must not be exaggerated. It has been claimed that New South Wales leapt from an unfavourable to a favourable position in educational development in a few years after 1903\(^3\) but when comparing the systems before and after, the tendency has been to underestimate the achievements of

\(^1\)vide, Anderson, *The Public School System of N.S.W.*, op. cit.

\(^2\)c.f., K. Gollan, op. cit., 57 ff.

\(^3\)vide, *ibid.*, Chap. III.
the 1880 system and overglorify those of the post-1903 era. It has been assumed that any change in the 1880 system was ipso facto a good thing. The existence of potential forces for change has been largely ignored; the contributions of changing political, social, economic and intellectual circumstances have not been thoroughly estimated; and consequently the contribution of individuals such as Board and Anderson have possibly been exaggerated. Finally, the relation between theory and practice has not been fully assessed, it being perhaps too readily assumed that the ideas and requirements of the New Education proponents were actually put into practice.

The preceding chapters have shown how events prior to the 1900's helped determine the course of later educational change through amendment of tradition rather than its overthrow. That tradition contained elements which on the one hand made it susceptible to reform but at the same time determined the nature and extent of innovation. It did not however appear to contain within itself the impetus necessary to initiate amendment. To understand the forces behind changes which took place in the educational system of
New South Wales between 1880 and 1910, it is necessary to go beyond her geographical borders and attempt to link such changes with the world climate of social and educational thought.

Communications and Foreign Influence

The remoteness and isolation which in earlier times had encouraged the growth in New South Wales of basically English institutions was at the turn of the century almost a thing of the past. External communications continued to rely almost exclusively upon the sea but whereas the fast wool clippers and early steamers of mid-century had averaged about three months for the voyage, developments in engine design, boat construction, and the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 meant a voyage of six weeks by the turn of the century. The effect was to place New South Wales in closer touch with current European developments by means of personal contact, newspapers, books and letters.¹ Until 1880 the effect of steamships on Australia's isolation was not very spectacular since most passengers and cargoes continued to be carried by sailing ships. However, there

¹Barnard, op. cit., 635.
had been some speeding up in carriage of first class passengers, mails, urgent packages and precious metals. From the 1850's to the 1870's the average transit time for mails had been reduced from ninety to forty-five days.\(^1\) From the 1880's the English mail service through Suez was run on a weekly basis.\(^2\) On the completion of the Overland Telegraph link with the overseas cable at Darwin, virtually instantaneous communication overseas became possible, though necessarily restricted because of the expense.\(^3\) By the late 1880's news occasionally was relayed across the world in less than two hours.\(^4\)

The former colonies were increasingly able to stand on their own feet and nationalistic feelings culminated in the Federation of the Australian states but relations with England continued to be very close. This was due not only to heritage and easier means of communication, but also to trade in wool, wheat and frozen meat. Late in the century English capital flowed into Australia in ever-increasing

\(^1\)G. Blainey, *The Tyranny of Distance*, Melbourne: Sun, 1966, 221.

\(^2\)*ibid.*, 268.

\(^3\)*Barnard, op. cit.*, 637.

\(^4\)*Blainey, op. cit.*, 224.
supply to satisfy the demands of railway and other capital expansion within Australia and also in response to the depressed economic conditions in Britain. Australia also looked to the home country for defence, her support of England in the Boer War recognising further the depth of emotional ties in addition to the existing economic and political relationship with England.

But not all shipping routes led to England. The railway between New York and San Francisco had been completed by 1869 and for travellers from New South Wales the journey to England via the United States overland route had become as fast as Suez.\(^1\) Intercourse with America became increasingly complex as Australians realised the similarity of the problems faced by the two countries in their formative years. The United States towards the end of the nineteenth century was rapidly establishing itself as a progressive and inventive nation in sharp contrast to England's decline in technical competence. Australia naturally looked to America for the inventions suited to her development - the coaches used by Cobb & Co., the early development of motor transport, mechanical harvesters,

\(^1\textit{ibid.},\ 220-1.\)
irrigation, the telegraph and telephone. Even the application of the British invention of the steam engine received its main impetus from the American example. The American and Australian societies had a lot in common in regard to nationalism, isolationism, the pioneer tradition and federalism.

Australia, however, was never as effectively isolationist as America and as far as State governmental activity was concerned, the conservatism of English influence remained paramount during the period being reviewed. Australian society was, after all, predominantly English and naturally preoccupied with the English approach to social and educational questions. In general it might be said that Australia at the turn of the century saw world social movements as interpreted by England with a relatively slight influence being felt by way of America.

Influence from other countries upon New South Wales society was understandably slight although not to be lightly dismissed when considered in conjunction with the American contact. In 1886 the North German Lloyd Line began a monthly and later a fortnightly service from Bremerhaven to Sydney and by 1897 Norddeutscher Lloyd was carrying nearly 5% of Australian overseas trade. Some additional liners were
annually diverted from the North Atlantic run in winter to pick up the Australian summer passenger trade.¹ The possible intercourse resulting from German trade could help to explain the readiness and speed with which the New Education, particularly Herbartianism, was adopted by New South Wales, as soon as later English acceptance had made it clear that to advocate continental educational thought was no longer to be disloyal to the flag.

But much of the possible good deriving from this contact with German educational thought must have been nullified by the reflection in New South Wales of England's reactions to the New Education. Her confrontation with Germany at the social, if not consistently at the political level, was heightened by a gradual but clearly defined decline in English superiority in technical development and trade in favour of the Continent. This coincided with the Boer War and the subsequent revulsion against Imperialism. Humanitarianism flourished in this environment and was assisted by the growth of the labour movement and scientific knowledge applied to health and education. Rationalist philosophies, linked with a change from the traditional

¹ibid., 268-9.
policy of "laissez-faire" towards extension of government control, expressed themselves in relation to war, religion and education.

The influences at the time impinging upon and determining the English system of education were filtered through this complex social, political and economic background, the mutations then taken by the Australian States and adapted to their own peculiar circumstances. The practical result of English social dominance in New South Wales was that Herbart's philosophy was translated as a mechanical means of "teaching"; philanthropic influences were perverted towards obtaining cheap labour; the Kindergarten and Manual Training movements degenerated into technical and vocational training as a sop for demands for higher education; Health education was translated into formulas for school building, lighting and seating, and the means for building moral virtue and defence forces through army drill; Science teaching became verbose about "objects" and Agriculture resulted in extremes of school gardening.
The New Education

Through an examination of the educational climate of England and the United States at the turn of the century, some understanding may be derived concerning the nature of the movement which in New South Wales as elsewhere was designated as the New Education. The use of this term was itself an indication of the difficulties entailed in the acceptance of the movement by any country. On the one hand it promised much, yet the very vagueness of the term enabled it to be applied to almost any educational reform which might be undertaken, no matter how insignificant.

In that the New Education stressed the importance of the child, it may be traced back to Rousseau, but the movement of the late nineteenth century was also an offshoot of contemporary society in its attempt to apply science to the educative process. Rousseau's influence and that of others following, notably Pestalozzi, Froebel and Herbart, might be recognisable in the New Education, but the reason was not necessarily that the bases for their practices had now been proved. The contemporary educational philosopher and other interested parties might justify the same procedures for different, and perhaps more sound reasons than their original proponents. The decisive factor
was that the ideas of these educators seemed to work and could be justified in terms of current educational theory and usage.

The New Education is therefore indefinable except within a given context and at a given time. In its purest form it might be said to have consisted of the original philosophies of a rather lengthy list of contributors made up of Herbartians, Manual Trainers, Heuristic Scientists, Kindergarteners, Deweyists, Moral Instructors and Experimental Psychologists, but this outline will be confined to the manifestations of these philosophies in the countries in question.

- The English System

Selleck sees the New Education in England as being composed of several schools of thought, each agreeing on the type of education to be given but for apparently different ends which do however, in the final analysis, resolve themselves into a basic moral purpose. "Every 'reformer' in the world of science or society or trade or manufacture

or religion during the last century sought to find the counterpart for his enthusiasm in the school curriculum", said Findlay.¹ Selleck identifies these "reformers" as being the Practical (as opposed to Instrumentary) Educators; the Social Reformers; the Naturalists; the Herbartians; the Scientific Educationists; and the Moral Educationists; all responding to supposed national needs.²

The "instrumentary" education which the New Education rapidly replaced after the 1890's in England³ had been itself the product of an earlier drive towards national self improvement which included efforts to improve health and working conditions.⁴ In the belief that knowledge was power, the elementary school system was used in the latter half of the nineteenth century to spread information; prepare the masses to exercise the franchise; check crime and preserve social order.⁵

The outcome of this attempt to promote the welfare of

²ibid., 124.
³ibid., vii.
⁴ibid., 12.
⁵ibid., 14, 15, 18.
the lower orders, while at the same time controlling them was a system based on "payment by results" to ensure a return for the investment made in training teachers, the results to be determined by examinations in Reading, Writing and Arithmetic.

The Revised Code of 1862, apart from ensuring this, emphasised the "Three R's" and made all grants dependent on girls being taught plain Needlework and boys Drawing. The status of the "Three R's" plus Drawing and Needlework was maintained following the admission of other subjects for the grant after 1867. A maximum of two of the lesser subjects could be taken. They attracted a smaller grant; were not compulsory; were limited to the upper standards, and were not to be at the expense of the basic subjects. The effect was that by 1890 10% of pupils were attempting none of these "class" subjects, although the majority attempted English and about half studied Geography. Victorian society was reflected in a preoccupation with the formation

1 ibid., 18.
2 ibid., 20-24.
3 ibid., 44.
4 ibid., 45.
5 ibid., 48.
of character through rigidity, uniformity, severity and discipline. The prime virtues became order, respect for the law, obedience, effort, perseverance and discipline. Such a system, in which the education of the majority of youngsters ceased before they had reached the age of eleven, reflected the uncertainty of the mid and upper classes regarding education for all and the dangers of over-educating the masses.

The New Education in England was faced with an educational system which while admittedly the product of a multitude of environmental factors, was still recognised as being imperfect, particularly from the point of view of the mechanical nature of its teaching. The early neglect of education by the State had meant that the initiative had been taken by the Churches, notably the Church of England but also by Wesleyans, Roman Catholics and the British and Foreign School Society.

Forster in his Education Act of 1870 was forced to

1 ibid., 87-81.
2 ibid., 86.
3 ibid., 87.
recognise the claims of these bodies to a place in the national system of education, the outcome being that both Voluntary and Board schools functioned side by side. The former were built and partly supported by voluntary subscription and were under denominational control; the latter were financed by local taxes and controlled by elected School Boards.

The Education Department set up by this Act exercised a financial rather than an educative function, interpreting the law and regulating curriculum, elementary day and evening schools and teacher training colleges. Apart from ensuring compliance with the law and the efficiency of schools through the Inspectorate, the Department was charged with distributing the annual vote which represented about half the annual cost of maintenance of a school. Since the amount of the grant depended upon the Inspectors' testing of the "Three R's", plus class examinations in any other subjects which were approved for grants and taught, teachers were encouraged to earn more money for the school, (though usually not for themselves) through mechanical methods of teaching directed at examination objectives.

\(^1\)ibid., 26.

\(^2\)ibid., 27.
Grasby in 1891 attributed this state of affairs to neither pupils nor teachers but to the administrators:

... professing to undertake the work of Education, (the administrators) not only allow, but enforce, a condition of things which, however great an improvement it may be on the disgraceful state of twenty years since, is unworthy alike of the people of England, and of nineteenth century civilisation. The School Boards find it necessary to obtain every possible pound from the Department, to save local taxation. The managers of voluntary schools must do the same, to avoid the onerous task of collecting subscriptions. Neither members of School Boards, nor voluntary managers, are usually practical educators; and naturally consider a high percentage, and a good report from the inspector, a guarantee of good work on the part of their teachers. The good grant which follows is a more tangible expression of satisfaction. Many good teachers, who only use the soundest and most educative methods of teaching, always earn the highest grants; and receive the best reports; but it is easily possible to obtain the same tangible result in a less satisfactory manner; and while the shortest road is often neither the easiest nor most commendable, it is the one which usually commends itself to the majority.¹

The important thing is that the deficiencies of the system appear to have been widely recognised, the disadvantages of the grant and examination system continually being weighed against the advantages to be derived from a workable system of distributing finance between the various educational agencies. Grasby noted that although money might be the main aim of

¹ *ibid.*, 30-1.
teaching, it could not be earned without at least giving the pupil the ability to read and write. He went on:

Of course the schools are not nearly so good as the friends of true education wish. Much remains to be done, and undoubtedly it will not be long ere a still greater change will have taken place. Free education will shortly be an accomplished fact; the partial absorption of the voluntary schools by the School Boards will necessarily follow, and further facilitate the abolition of what have been the cause of so much evil — result examinations, and "grant payments". ¹

- The United States System

If England prior to 1890 had arrived at an elementary education system which was tailored to suit her needs, so had the United States only more so. European influences played a major part in forming the United States elementary education system of the late nineteenth century but the result was uniquely American. From the point of view of Australia, the importance of this lay not only in the application of educational ideas in circumstances similar to those existing in Australia, but also in the American adoption of theories taken directly from their original European source, notably Germany, without intervening

¹ ibid., 26.
adaptation to the English system. Thus Australia, particularly New South Wales as the major commercial state, had the benefit of two sources of influence both stemming from the same basic theories but travelling by different routes through different environments to meet again in Sydney. American democracy had meant that government power derived its strength from the local area, local government retaining all powers except those specifically given up to higher authorities such as the State and Federal governments. The reasons for this may be variously ascribed to the diversity of population groups, the pioneer tradition, the forcible breaking of relations with England, methods of settlement, natural resources, and so on, but there is no doubt that the individuality and isolationism of the typical American community of the time found expression in its schools which were regarded from the start as cultural determinants.¹ The diversity of local school systems makes it difficult to make generalised statements concerning the whole of the United States but in the present context such statements are unnecessary, for the primary concern is with the educational influence of the United States on New South

¹vide, e.g., Report of T.G. Foster, Mosely Educational Commission, 1903, 106.
Wales. This naturally came from the large commercial and trading centres which in the main were also the most advanced educationally.\textsuperscript{1} It is therefore sufficient here to concentrate on the best educational thought and practice which the United States had to offer.

The typical local elementary educational system in the United States in the late 1880's was described by Grasby\textsuperscript{2} as being free and divided into the Primary school or department (ages six to ten) and the Grammar school or department (ages ten to fourteen). The practical working of the system was generally the province of elected committees or School Boards of small administrative areas such as counties, townships or districts. Each State however, had a central authority, usually a superintendent supplemented by a Board, concerned with distribution of finance and the supervision, directly or indirectly, of training and examination of teachers. While the powers of the State superintendent varied considerably, power tended to be concentrated at the District level, where the electoral procedure could lead to lack of expert control, party disputes, favouritism, want of funds and want of

\textsuperscript{1}vide, S.A. Burstall, \textit{Impressions of American Education in 1908}, London: Longmans, Green, 1909, 3.

\textsuperscript{2}Grasby, \textit{op. cit.}, 11.
inclination: "The poorer districts need the greatest educational care, but the people are as unable to regulate as to provide it; this was amply proved in many places." \(^1\)

Grasby also noted the tendency to wasteful multiplicity of primary schools to some extent being overcome by a movement to centralisation:

The unit of government in school affairs is being altered and enlarged; and at the same time brought more into harmony with, and more directly under the control of, the State Boards. More uniformity, a better class of men as managers, less party influence in the appointment of teachers, and consequently a better class of teachers, greater economy in management, and altogether a more advanced condition of education, is, I think, rightly expected as the outcome of the movement. \(^2\)

A noticeable feature of most systems was the lack of compulsory attendance provisions. Where they did exist, for example in Washington, D.C., they tended not to be enforced because of lack of accommodation. \(^3\) The lack of compulsion in the face of the great need to educate the people to use the power vested in them was explained by Grasby in terms of

\(^1\)ibid., 16.

\(^2\)ibid., 217.

\(^3\)ibid., 22.
the conviction that education should be undertaken for its own sake, and when this was not sufficient, on account of a healthy public opinion. The majority of the American-born citizens were, and are, imbued with this spirit; and this has been the chief hindrance to satisfactory compulsory laws. The wish has been to have education valued for the additional power and opportunities it gives; and to a great extent the effort has been successful. Many who are not open to the higher influence, nevertheless send their children to school, because the failure to do so entails a loss of respect from their fellows; and no true American can resist this potent power. Unfortunately, the hordes of low-class foreigners who annually flock to the country do not understand, and care not for one motive more than another. They go to America for freedom - a state they have not been used to; and they mistake freedom for licence.¹

Although one of the most striking failures of the United States' systems of elementary education was their decentralisation, the Federal Government had quite early given great assistance to education by the 1785 law that in all new States one sixteenth of public land should be reserved for supplying a School Fund. The twenty five States later added to the seventeen then existing had found this a handy source of finance either to provide the initial expense of school buildings or as a continuing source of income. The Bureau of Education had also been founded in

¹ibid., 4-5.
Washington in 1867 for the purpose of collecting information and statistics on home and overseas education and making provision for their circulation.¹

New South Wales found in the American approach to contemporary educational problems one which could be compared and contrasted with her own. Although the New South Wales system was heavily biased towards English interpretations of the New Education there was an interest in American treatments of similar themes. Published articles on American education were generally confined to isolated and novel aspects but there were sufficient reports of a more comprehensive nature to allow the New South Wales system to be placed in perspective.²

Assimilation of the New Education in New South Wales

While opportunities for acquaintance with overseas educational developments developed in association with

¹ibid., 26.


Grasby, op. cit.


technological progress, it was necessary that the needs and conditions of the State as a whole should become the overriding factor in recognising both the need for innovation and the degree to which such change should follow overseas patterns:

... granting the necessity as well as the wisdom of a policy of borrowing from other nations ..., the education of every community is carried on under certain definite social and political conditions which must be taken into account in constructing the frame work of the educational scheme, in determining the curriculum of studies, and the organic relation of the various grades of teachers and schools.¹

At the political level, Primary education by 1900 had become a settled question except insofar as it was the basis of the technical and higher education upon which the New South Wales Labour platform focused attention. All that remained was for such education to be made free and effectively compulsory.² By the utilitarian standards of nineteenth century commercialism³ education was also intangible except in regard to the provision of buildings.

¹ F. Anderson, "Educational Policy and Development", op. cit., 523.
Since the physical provision of educational facilities throughout the country had been one of the most successful features of the administration of the Act throughout the eighties, pressures in this direction became relatively weak. The demands that were made for extension of accommodation and provision of weather sheds, reflected the relatively static approach of the electorate to the question of schooling.

This was to a great extent due to the preoccupation of politics with more pressing issues in the land problem, immigration, protection and the growing labour movement. Each had its direct effect upon the education situation in addition to the general cumulative effect of such issues pushing education further into the background. The cessation of government auctions of land in 1884 meant an immediate cut in revenue, accentuating the effects of a period of depression. Expenditure over the succeeding years decreased until 1888 and was just recovering when hit by the depression of the nineties.¹ Immigration meanwhile posed problems in placing further strains upon accommodation while the labour movement's policies concentrated attention

¹vide, Minister's Reports, 1883, and following.
upon higher and technical education, reinforcing the popular assumption that there was no need for concern over the functioning of the Primary schools.

Apart from these distractions, the instability of a political system undergoing transformation towards the development of political parties meant successive changes in governments and portfolios such that even had a particular Minister wished to do more for education, uncertainty of his tenure would have caused him to place much reliance upon the permanent officers of his Department. Recognising the role to be played in policy-making by the informal relationships existing between the senior officers of the Department and the Ministry, it is perhaps too much of a coincidence that the major policy developments in the Department which gave rise to the Regulations of 1891,¹ took place in a period of relative stability under Parkes from January, 1887 to October, 1891.²

The political outlook for Education in the 1900’s was again fairly stable. Perry became the Minister in

¹ibid., 1890, 447 ff.

September 1899 and was to hold that portfolio until June 1904. The growth of Labour promised a retreat from the Protection/Free Trade division in New South Wales politics in favour of social legislation:

The motto of the Labour Party is Support in return for Concessions. If you give us our concessions, then our votes shall circulate on the Treasury benches; if you do not, then we shall withdraw our support. But we have not come into this House to make and unmake Ministries. We have come here to make and unmake social conditions.

By 1904 Labour had in fact moved from the cross benches to become the Opposition in New South Wales. The political situation in the early 1900's was therefore ripe for education once more to become a pressing political question. There is little doubt that the interest shown by both the Opposition and the Government in the education question in 1901 was to some extent motivated by the need to attract Labour support. Each side of the House was determined to prevent the other from making political capital out of the education question; both pressed for reform.

1 vide, Appendix A.

2 George Black quoted in G.V. Portus, "The Australian Labour Movement", in Atkinson, _op. cit._, 171.

3 ibid.

4 Parliamentary Debates, (Legislative Assembly), 1901, Series II, 2899 ff.
In this situation the Teachers' Associations were encouraged to develop more of the aggressive attributes of the industrial unions and act as pressure rather than mere interest groups. The formation of the Teachers' Institute in 1895 had been the culmination of a long history of "ephemeral societies" dating back at least to 1868. Its objectives were the bringing together of teachers socially, "facilitating the discussion by them of their professional problems, and bettering their economic and working conditions by strong united representations to the Department of Public Instruction".  

Such aims had become so politically acceptable by 1898 that the Institute was permitted to meet in the Girls' High School and Garrard, the Minister, consented to open the first Conference. However, the President was careful to avoid suspicion of disaffection or illwill by assuring the Department of the loyalty of the teachers. No advertisements or notices appeared in the daily press. "Opinions were expressed and suggestions were noted, but it was left to a strong drafting Committee to work the


2 ibid., 3.
resolutions into a suitable form for submission to the Minister. The proceedings of subsequent Conferences were however, reported in ever-increasing detail so that by the time of the "epochal" Fourth Conference, the public nature of such Conferences had been clearly established. Of importance for the political consequences of such debates, the tradition had also been established of the Minister opening the Conference, thus adding to its aura of legitimacy which the Institute enjoyed through what might almost be termed Ministerial patronage. Once such a pattern had emerged, it was well-nigh impossible for the Minister to ignore the results of the proceedings.

Thus the political level merged with the social aspect of a vigorous public opinion, partly the result of a rising nationalism which rejected the basic assumptions of the society of the old world and asserted the validity of distinctly Australian values. But underlying social and political pressures were the economic developments of the period. The depression of the nineties had seen a rapid

\[1\] Ibid.


\[3\] R. Gollan, op. cit., 112.
rate of population increase\(^1\) change to a marked decline in
the 1900's\(^2\), thus reducing the pressure upon the physical
aspects of educational provision. Free competition and
abstinence of the State from intervention in economic
affairs had not secured the greatest good for the greatest
number and recognition of this had produced a new emphasis
in liberal thought.\(^3\) The growth of secondary industry and
increased urbanisation of the population\(^4\) demanded
increasing governmental initiative in the process of social
change:

> It was probably the economic motive, more than
any other, which induced the Legislatures to give
a sympathetic hearing to the demand for
educational reform. Individual and national
"efficiency" was declared, in Australia as in
England, to be the one thing needful. The
public, which dearly loves a phrase, took up the
cry. Politicians followed like hounds on the
scent. The national system of education with
its almost entire lack of co-ordination, was
criticised in the press, the parliaments, and on
platforms, with the same exaggeration with which
it had been previously lauded.\(^5\)

\(^1\)N.G. Butlin, "The Shape of the Australian Economy,

\(^2\)vide, Minister's Report, 1903 and later.

\(^3\)R. Gollan, op. cit., lll.

\(^4\)In 1891 secondary and primary industries contributed
almost equally to the national output of N.S.W.; 34% of the
N.S.W. population lived in Sydney. ibid., 99-101.

\(^5\)F. Anderson, "Educational Policy and Development",
op. cit., 520.
It was in the interests of "efficiency" that the application of the scientific method to education was justified. Thus arose a new standard of values. The new emphasis was to be not upon the number of schools and the literacy of their inmates but upon an intellectual conception of the role of the school in society which could not be measured in the tangibles of examination and the physical provision of buildings, equipment and teachers. In this changed standard for the determination of the efficiency of the school system lay both the justification for the New Education and its weakness. Not only the public, but also the teaching service itself had to be educated towards the acceptance of the new ideals, which though popular in the sense that government had responded to pressures from minority groupings, were not understood by the bulk of New South Wales society:

As usual, when reforming ideals take possession of a community, measures were advocated with a zeal not according to knowledge. The "faddists" rose to the occasion, and the public was bewildered by the number of fantastic schemes for bringing into existence an educational millennium.\(^1\)

The situation which had demanded the embracing of the

\(^1\text{Ibid.}, 522.\)
New Education was however, not uniformly conducive to its implementation. The period continued to be characterised by attempts to fit new ideas into a pre-determined mould with little recognition of certain pre-requisites to their successful operation. Sometimes the only apparent justification for innovation appeared to be that such ideas appeared to work successfully in other countries:

The Minister said he had sent two gentlemen to the older countries of the world to see if they could find any better modes, and if they could find only one, it would be his duty to graft that one upon our present system.  

Characteristic of the New South Wales centralised system was the imposition of these movements from the top, as it were, rather than through their adoption by numerous individual educators in response to their own perception of the contribution to be made to the educational process. Thus the Minister's Report for 1889 read:

The course of study and the standards of proficiency have been revised to provide for systematic instruction in technical subjects such as Kindergarten, drawing, agriculture, manufactures, sewing, cooking and the use of tools.

Within the educational environment of New South Wales, it was

1"Fifth Annual Conference of School Teachers' Association", S.M.H., 1/7/1902.

2Minister's Report, 1889, 35.
not practicable to leave the introduction of such ideas to the natural enthusiasm of individual teachers. "The object of education is the education imparted for the good of the country", the Minister, J.H. Carruthers is reported to have said in 1890.

It is not so much individual advancement in certain matters of primary education, but rather that the State is a great factor or instrument which ought to work out all those things which promote good citizenship and the welfare of all branches of that citizenship.¹

Just as, in accordance with this philosophy, the State had been required to provide education in response to the peculiar circumstances of the colonial period, so too had the State to provide the initial impetus for the new ideas to be accepted. Furthermore, the central government was required to present these ideas in such a way as to be compatible with the established system. It requires little imagination to recognise the futility of government attempts to impose a whole philosophy of education upon the service through the issue of directives, unless this philosophy be reduced to little more than a check list of practical applications, easily examinable in terms of a standard of proficiency:

¹"Extensions to Ashfield Public School", S.M.H., 14/1/1890.
When the feeling of a country becomes so strongly in favour of an addition to the school course, the department having control of education formulates its plans, devises a long series of rules whereby the new machinery is to be fixed in the education — or rather the teaching mill — and, amid the plaudits of the advocates, sets it going. The instruction factory having been got in to working order, it becomes necessary to test its work to see whether value is being obtained for money expended. What article is being produced? In this there is frequently displayed a maturity of judgment and soundness of reason fully equal to that of the child, who three times a week pulls up the plant from his garden to see whether it is growing.¹

True, there were capable individuals in the service who might have been relied upon to implement faithfully fundamental tenets of the New Education, had they been given the freedom to pursue their own interpretations of the movements in question; but did not the egalitarianism of contemporary society demand that education be of a fixed standard throughout the colony, albeit this standard be a little lower as an unavoidable result of such distribution? It would seem very difficult to avoid the operation of what might almost be termed a natural law, that if the State's educational effort was to be spread evenly, then individual areas were going to suffer as a result of being required to conform to the established average level. That New South

¹Grasby, op. cit., 141.
Wales was in fact achieving this spread is open to argument but the fact remains that this was the intention towards which the system was orientated, and so it must be given due consideration when comparisons are being drawn with other systems overseas where such determinants may not have been so strong.

Even though at the turn of the century the established system of educational administration and practice was being assailed by new and potent forces, its basic characteristics remained. In the process of assimilation, the movements composing the New Education were adapted in ways which might not have been foreseen by their initiators, and therefore in ways which are open to criticism, but these mutations nevertheless have been responsible for much of that which is today characteristic of Primary education in New South Wales.

The Scientific Bases of the New Education

- Herbartianism

Foremost among those influences constituting the New Education was Herbartianism which without doubt, was the

\footnote{vide, Victorian Commissioners' Report, 9. Chief Inspector's Files, 24907, 7/6/1889.}
guiding spirit of education on the Continent and in America at this time. Translated into the New South Wales educational idiom, it became in time firmly implanted in the field of Primary education. Its influence stemmed not only from its superficial success as a method of teaching easily adaptable to central administration, but also from its rather unique position among the influences impinging upon New South Wales education; for finally it was to succeed in modifying to some extent, that previously impenetrable system set up by the 1880 Act. For Herbartianism was not only a way of teaching. By virtue of the far-reaching implications of its philosophy and psychology it required a complete re-orientation of the educative process. Herbart’s theory is open to criticism and in fact little Herbartian doctrine has remained unchanged over the years, but the fact remains that he stimulated thought, particularly in the methods of instruction.¹ In the ideals of Herbartianism we find the basis of the growing criticism of New South Wales education in the early years of the twentieth century. For whereas immediately following the implementation of the 1880 Act travellers overseas could favourably compare our

educative process with those abroad,¹ the changes wrought by Herbartian principles were so great, particularly in America, as to render outmoded almost overnight, any system such as that current in New South Wales which aspired to similar ideals, but which by its very nature found it difficult to adapt to the new ideas.

Herbart's ideas were spread towards the end of the nineteenth century mainly by De Carmo and the McMurry brothers, who returned to America to spread the Herbartian philosophy and psychology of Ziller, Rein and Stoy.² De Carmo, being concerned with the moulding of a new character suitable for his developing country, concentrated on developing a curriculum for this purpose and adapting Herbart's Formal Steps; for to him instruction was the means of transforming immediate interests into permanent ones as well as resulting in discipline through knowledge rather than discipline and knowledge.³ In planning the curriculum to establish a "circle of thought", De Carmo recognised the principles of child readiness; sequence of

¹ vide, Graaby, op. cit.
² Kandel, loc. cit.
³ C. De Carmo, "Most Pressing Problems Concerning the Elementary Course of Study", First Yearbook of National Herbart Society, 1895, 11.
parts of a study; organisation of subjects into major fields of study e.g. science; and correlation of like subjects to secure interest, knowledge and development of character.¹

In adapting the Herbartian steps to his purposes, De Garmo concluded that instruction involved Apperception whereby learning being additive in nature, was built up by logically connected sections; Association, or systematisation of knowledge by the perception of common relations which the teacher facilitated by ensuring that the two ideas were in the consciousness at the same time; and Application.

The McMurry brothers both recognised the moral aim of education and advocated the concentration of study around other studies.

Not only in America but also in England, people such as Sir John Adams were disseminating Herbartian thought. With Adams' emphasis on practical moral training, self-realisation was the aim of education.² Rather than stressing the curriculum and techniques of teaching he

¹ibid., 13.
desired to focus attention on the pupil. As a true Herbartian he believed in full self-realisation in an environment modified by the teacher. Since sources of ideas were thus important the teacher played an important role, for he chose not only the ideas for presentation but also their sequence and modification. Adams therefore placed emphasis on the status of teachers for he believed they educated as much by what they were as by what they knew.

At this time we find also attempts to reconcile other educational ideas with Herbartianism. Adams favoured the Montessori system for young children but continued to advocate the need and value of collective work. He also considered the Dalton Plan, the Gary Scheme, the Play Way and the Project Method. Although he accepted the Herbartian system for its practical value, he also availed himself of the best from other doctrines.


According to Findlay,\textsuperscript{1} Herbartianism had little influence upon the English system until after 1890. However, by 1896 the Training Colleges were committed to the new pedagogy to the extent that they had accepted that part of the Herbartian principles immediately applicable to the classroom. Herbartianism also began to influence the curriculum, particularly in regard to moral training\textsuperscript{2} which was introduced as a subject in elementary schools in 1906. The Herbartian emphasis upon character formation was felt in the humanities, particularly History and Literature and from 1904 the status of History improved with schools being expected to teach it under the Code of that year.\textsuperscript{3} Dates and events began to take second place to local and social history and the lives of great men.\textsuperscript{4} The teaching of English was extended from merely learning to read to include worthwhile literature.\textsuperscript{5}

Selleck prefaces his analysis of the practical

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{2}Selleck, \textit{op. cit.}, 287.
\item \textsuperscript{3}ibid., 288.
\item \textsuperscript{4}ibid., 289.
\item \textsuperscript{5}ibid., 292.
\end{itemize}
influences of Herbartianism upon English education with a warning against exaggerating Herbartianism's effect upon the curriculum. The Herbartian emphasis upon morality is seen by him to have come at the same time as similar pressures were being exerted by other New Education groups but he regards the Herbartians as having been most committed. At a more practical level the theory of "concentration" received some recognition in the 1902 Code and the "Suggestions" of 1904. "Correlation" was re-interpreted as a principle akin to the Froebelian "connectedness"; "interest" became a slogan linked with "New Education"; the "soft" subjects of Manual Training and Natural Science gained ground supported by the naturalists; and "the interesting" was substituted for the "old" methods. Thus the end of instruction became the means.¹

In the confusion which developed from the differences between the Herbartian and Froebelian conceptions of the educational process, the inclusiveness of the Herbartian system, as well as the enthusiasm of the Herbartians gave them dominance:

Sloydists and hand and eye trainers, heurists, advocates of drawing, of nature study, of school journeys, of school baths and school feeding, of

¹ ibid., 292-311.
school gardens, Froebelians of various kinds and the followers of Pestalozzi, social reformers, Montessorians, Deweyists, Herbartians, members of the Child Study Association, psychologists, grimly determined moral trainers, school doctors and that newly acquired phenomenon, the professor of education - all these stood before the teacher recently delivered from the bondage of the result system and paraded their wares for his attention.... It may even be that many teachers walked up the formal steps into their Herbartian home and safe in this refuge, lost much of their interest in the struggles outside.¹

Since education could be regarded as a science only if based upon a psychology or systematic body of knowledge, Herbartianism might be said to have exposed the New Education to the growing influence of science. A Society for the development of a knowledge of the Science of Education was formed in England in 1875 but it was not until 1901 that the British Association for the Advancement of Science admitted education to its ranks.²

One of the main outcomes of this application of science to education was the Child Study movement which began in Germany in 1864 with the work of Professor Volkman Stoy of Jena, one of the "Herbartian Revivalists".³ His

¹ibid., 307–311.
²ibid., 314.
investigations into the intellectual status of pupils entering school was also taken up by another Herbartian, Professor O. Willmann of Berlin in 1867–8. Dr. Karl Lange and Dr. Berthold Hartmann both carried out separate studies in Saxony about the same period.¹ The movement was received with enthusiasm in America following the founding of a psychological laboratory at Johns Hopkins in 1883 by Stanley Hall, who had studied under Wundt. Hall developed his work at Clark University from 1894 to 1903.²

England joined the movement in 1888 with a British Medical Association study on brain power. The following year the Childhood Society started to collect statistics, lecture teachers and agitate for legislation. Under Hall's influence the British Child Study Association was founded in 1898, the Society and the Association joining in 1907 to publish Child Study, mainly to publicise Hall's findings. Although little useful original research was carried on, there was some benefit derived from the movement through its attempts to introduce scientific method and its reinforcement of the arguments of the New Education, particularly

¹ibid.

²Selleck, op. cit., 318.
those favouring hand and eye training, manual training, drawing, physical education and health. School furnishings, ventilation and hygiene began to receive attention together with size of print, length of lessons and so on. In the wake of the Naturalists, the Child Study movement emphasised play, expression through outward activity, developmental stages, interest and the idea of the child not being treated as a miniature adult.\(^1\)

In America, Colonel F.W. Parker was notable for his attempt to fuse Herbartian and Froebelian ideas. Parker's theory of concentration related "form" studies (Reading, Spelling, Grammar and Arithmetic) to the "concrete" thought studies (Nature Science). Nature, not culture studies were to be the main elements of the course and the elements of knowledge studies closely correlated and co-ordinated. The whole was to be bound together by sequence and association, with the "form" studies subordinated to the "content" studies.\(^2\) Although his aim of education was the development of character, he emphasised habits and inborn,

\(^1\)ibid., 318-329.

\(^2\)De Carmo, op. cit., First Yearbook, 18-19.
inherited powers of the mind\textsuperscript{1} which were incompatible with true Herbartian thinking. The idea of the community school which he instituted, was aimed at instilling knowledge in relation to contemporary conditions so that the offerings of contemporary life might be utilised. The school thus promoted the skill necessary to apply knowledge to life, a social morality holding the good of others as supreme, underlying this teaching.\textsuperscript{2}

These, then, were the interpretations through which educators in America and England adapted Herbartian and other influences to their own countries. It was these interpretations which were in turn, seized upon by New South Wales to be further adapted in accordance with local requirements, the contributions of Adams and Parker being particularly strong.

Towards the end of the century ideas compatible with those of the Herbartians were paving the way for the introduction of their theories. Particularly in regard to character development and the educative function of the

\textsuperscript{1}F.W. Parker, \textit{Talks on Teaching}, Reported by Lelia Partridge, New York: Barns, (n.d.), 18, 164-8.

teacher, the English tradition traceable through Thring to Arnold\(^1\) was expounded by A.B. Weigall, Headmaster of Sydney Grammar School. On the occasion of the School's Speech Day in 1890, he attacked the examination system primarily for its failure to recognise the real aim of education as the "formation of personal character". He also stressed the educative value of co-operation between staff and pupils in the learning process.\(^2\) J.H. Carruthers, the Minister, was at this time trying to reconcile the moral aim of education with the conception of the masses benefiting the state:

It (the state) desires to teach them (the pupils) to have good minds filled with good thoughts, to desire to do kindly actions to one another and to give happiness to those with whom they associate. The endeavour of the state is that scholars should leave school with their characters formed and definitely moulded, so that they might, as men and women, make their country worth living in.\(^3\)

Evidence as to the earliest Herbartian literature in the colony is scant but Professor Anderson by 1901 was advocating the correlation and concentration of studies\(^4\) and


\(^2\)S.M.H., 19/12/1890, 6.

\(^3\)"Extensions to Ashfield Public School", S.M.H., 14/1/1890.

\(^4\)F. Anderson, The Public School System of N.S.W., op. cit., 11.
the Chief Inspector's Files for 1902 show that J.J. Findlay's "Principles of Class Teaching" published in 1902, was supplied to the Department in December of that year, Bridges at the time writing that he had had his own copy "for several months". But the centralised nature of the New South Wales system meant there could be no popular movement as had occurred in America and to a lesser extent, Britain, stemming from the experimentation of individuals under freer systems.

It was left to Peter Board to seize the initiative and travel to Europe to investigate at first hand, the changing educational climate. His Report on Primary Instruction (1903) shows an acute perception of New South Wales educational needs in relation to the climate of opinion within the Department:

Here the teacher is directly responsible to the central authority, and he looks to that authority for the due recognition of his work, and for his promotion as the result of the estimate which has been formed of the value of his work. It is therefore necessary that he should know what are the minimum demands of those whose business it is to assess his efforts ... where thousands of schools are bound together under a common administration and in a fluctuating population.

1 Chief Inspector's Files, 83893, 12/12/1902.
2 N.S.W., Primary Education, Report by P. Board, Sydney: Govt. Printer, 1903, 4.
Having thus placated his superiors by not condemning the system outright as had Knibbs and Turner, the Commissioners, he proceeded to introduce an adaption of the principle of correlation as expressed by Hayward and the 1902 English Code. Thus,

... the primary school curriculum should be regarded not as an aggregation of a number of detached independent 'subjects', but as a concrete and homogeneous body of instruction with one element predominant to give tone and consistency to the whole and with all the elements intermingled and interdependent, contributory each to the other.¹

The central study was to be similar to that chosen by Herbart and some of his followers. J.J. Findlay had advocated the Humanities as the central study; McMurry had suggested Geography; and Parker had emphasised the Natural Sciences; but in Board's opinion, the English group of subjects was to be "the chief corner-stone of the educational edifice"² surrounded by the groups of subjects termed Mathematics, Nature-Knowledge, Civics and Morals, Manual Work, and Music. These suggestions were included in the syllabus issued in 1904³ which in itself represented

¹ ibid., 6.
² ibid., 4.
³ N.S.W., "Course of Instruction for Primary Schools", op. cit.
Herbartian influence in that it was rather less prescriptive than had been usual.

Newling has asserted that the New Education was "mainly Herbartianism as interpreted by De Garmo and popularised by John Adams". If those teachers trained under Board put into practice what they had read, this could quite well be true, for the list of compulsory reading included Hayward, De Garmo, McMurry, Findlay, Adams and also Parker who, as before mentioned, represents a synthesis between Herbart and Froebel. Board was apparently greatly influenced by Parker, not only in regard to correlation but also in the emphasis placed upon Nature Study (including Geography) in the curriculum. Both also regarded education as having a moral purpose in that it should develop individuals of moral character for the good of the individual and society.

Board's advice would almost certainly have been sought regarding the composition of the committee charged with recommending the most suitable of English candidates for the


2 Training School Files, 13587, 24/3/1905, also N.S.W., Syllabus of Examinations, 1906. Sydney: Govt. Printer, 1906, 8 ff.
position of Training College Principal. The inclusion of John Adams upon this committee\(^1\) suggests Board's sympathy with the Herbartian view of the educative role of the teacher and how he should be trained.

The committee's selection of Alexander Mackie\(^2\) further implies a compatibility between the ideas of Adams and Mackie which is borne out by a comparison of their later writings.\(^3\) Both emphasised the harmonious operation of the several educative agencies impinging upon the child, the school being the most important of these because it was geared for education in method and procedure. Both also agreed with the Herbartian view that education and character building, encouraged by interests, should continue in the individual so that he might increasingly take over his own education. While Adams saw education as the preparation of the pupil to develop his full mental capability and to cope with his environment, Mackie too saw education as the attainment of the welfare and happiness of the individual through physical health and fitness; by training for an

\(^1\) N.S.W. Edl. Gaz., XVI, Sept., 1906, 81.

\(^2\) ibid.

\(^3\) e.g. J. Adams, The Evolution of Educational Theory, \textit{op. cit.}

occupation; and by encouraging active participation in political life and social living.¹

Mackie agreed with Adams in the Herbartian view of education in terms of experiences. The teacher was to provide the correct experiences through building up a many-sided environment to encourage the child to learn, because the development of his thought, feeling and knowledge had to be activated from within by interest, and many-sided interests could only grow when the environment provided sufficient stimulus and scope. Self-realisation was to both the ultimate aim of education for they both believed in the intrinsic worth of the individual.

Herbartianism was by no means the only influence upon Mackie's educational philosophy but he was "prepared to accept the method", if not exclusively.² In purporting to show that the "empirical and mechanical nature of Herbartianism "were unacceptable to Mackie, Baillie attempts to play down the effect of Herbartian psychology upon the development of Mackie's educational philosophy. In so doing he places at Mackie's feet the doubtful honour of

²Baillie, op. cit., 88.
disseminating in New South Wales the purblind obedience to the Herbartian Steps which was to characterise teaching method throughout the State. Mackie felt that the results obtained were good and that no one method was necessarily better than another. He favoured "any method which led to the realisation of a worth-while aim .... On the pragmatic condition that 'if it works then use it', Mackie considered the five formal steps admissible ....". The implication was that the Herbartian Steps were something for the teacher to use until he could discover and develop a better method.

It would appear that this was in fact the interpretation placed by many upon Mackie's rather complex attitude to Herbartianism which Baillie has traced back to Mackie's professors at Edinburgh University. If as Baillie claims,2 Mackie had rejected the Herbartian ideals and psychology, his reasons for so doing were apparently understood by few. It must indeed have appeared to many who came under his influence that in proposing the formal steps of Ziller3 as

1*ibid.*

2*ibid.*, 90.

3i.e., Analysis: Recall of subject matter related to new material.
Presentation: New material presented.
Association: Apperception. New compared with old.
Generalisation: Consolidation. Likenesses and differences stated in definite form.
Method: Application of knowledge.

an acceptable method, Mackie was in fact advocating precisely that which he wished to avoid—a mechanical approach to the educative situation.\(^1\) Mackie was apparently to regret the course which Herbartianism had taken in New South Wales, for he later revised at least one lecture, omitting previous references to Herbart and Ziller.\(^2\)

He had come to a system where Herbartian practices were already firmly established through a repetition of the English experience in regard to the Child Study movement. G.H. Knibbs had been a member of the advisory board of the "Child-Study Association of Australia" before he left on his Commission overseas.\(^3\) This Association presented a comprehensive syllabus of lectures in 1902–3\(^4\) and on Knibbs' return became the "Society for Child-Study", providing a meeting ground for the proponents of the New Education. The inaugural meeting was held on 10th December, 1903 under the presidency of G.H. Knibbs who stated the objectives of the Society:

\(^1\)ibid., 90.
\(^2\)vide, ibid., 77.
\(^3\)N.S.W. Edl. Gaz., XII, Aug., 1902, 66.
\(^4\)ibid., 67.
First. To educate ourselves, so that we may more thoroughly understand the subject which we espouse, and to disseminate such knowledge as we may acquire, throughout the community.

Secondly. To bring about the necessary investigations as to the condition of child-life in the community, and in its schools, so that we may recognise progress or deterioration, and act accordingly.

Thirdly. To overcome the general inertia and habitual public indifference in regard to the question, by such social or other activity as may prove necessary to ensure child-study bringing forth its proper fruit, viz., the bodily, mental, and moral health of the community.¹

The movement aimed to focus upon the Herbartian and Froebellian bases of New South Wales education, the contribution to be made by science to physical, mental and moral development of the child:

When popular knowledge displaces popular ignorance as to the nurture of children; when, in every school, some of the more important facts of anatomy, physiology, hygiene, and physical culture are communicated so as to form a basis for intelligent appreciation of the more serious things of life; when the school and its appurtenances are examples of that good taste, hygiene, and order which should appear in a home; when each child's daily exercises are it to good habits; ... will there not be a collateral change in our social and political state?²


²Ibid., 7.
The Society's main success lay in its development into the "Parents and Teachers' Union of New South Wales", the first meeting under its new title being held on 5th May, 1908.\(^1\)

However, from its inception the original Society had held regular meetings at which papers were presented which must have helped in the synthesis and expansion of the concepts underlying the New Education.\(^2\)

Herbart had also been the subject of an address to the New South Wales Public School Teachers' Conference in 1903, when Mr. S. Lasker put forward views upon the practical suitability of the Herbartian "method", which were perhaps to determine to some extent the reaction of teachers to Mackie's unorthodoxy:

In these days of educational unrest and transition, it is well to lay hold of a general principle which will bring one speedily to the resolution of his views.

Such an enlightening and comforting principle is Herbartian Apperception.\(^3\)

\(^1\) Aust. J. of Ed., V, May, 1908, 7. Peter Board was elected President of the Union, Alexander Mackie becoming a Vice-President.


H. Tasman Lovell who lectured at Sydney Teachers' College from 1906 to 1913, wrote a similar comment in 1913 which leaves little doubt as to the attitude in Mackie's College towards the Herbartian system of education:

In these days of numerous new efforts in the field of experimental pedagogy, we hardly know where we stand. A system, like that of the Herbartians, which offers the necessary certainty and, at the same time, makes room for the experimental approach, would be of great advantage to us....

Lovell's statement suggests a later trend towards the Herbartian method, perhaps a result of Mackie's emphasis upon the experimental approach. "People (in New South Wales) prefer to rely on experimental results", wrote Lovell.

They do this (experimentation) by thinking that in giving up this theory (of culture epochs) they owe nothing more to Herbart. That is, they overlook completely the fact that the stages of mental development, which are claimed to have been established experimentally, go back to Herbart.

The confused state resulting from the conflict in New South Wales between the psychological and experimental bases of pedagogy was compounded by the failure or inability of

2 vide, Baillie, op. cit., Chap. VI.
3 Lovell, op. cit., 15.
the supporters of educational psychology to distinguish between the available theories, or to appreciate their fundamental tenents.

In a series of articles published in 1905, C.H. Northcott discussed the complex ideas upon which he claimed the New Syllabus to be based:

... all three educational principles of self-development, self-activity and motivation centre round that of the correlation of subjects. This principle, however, reacts upon the others, and the subjects to be related as well as the order of correlation must be determined by the degree of development and of activity.¹

The confusion was complete. It seemed as if the correlative function had been extended to ensure that every educational theory that came to mind had to be linked with every other, so that the integrity of none could survive. Thus in a later article in the same series, Northcott (a University Medallist in Philosophy) could state:

"Interest ... is a means by which the mental effort requisite for the child to attend to the uninteresting is procured".²

He also crudely foreshadowed Mackie's reservations as to the role of Herbartian psychology:


²Ibid., Dec., 1905, 151.
But all this inter-relation of various apperceptive masses will produce no more than a formal culture. None can deny the value of this, but in a youthful and democratic country like our own, we need to create an interest in manual and industrial arts. And though we aim primarily at the building of character, we cannot neglect the utilitarian ends which are in themselves a necessary and useful discipline. The more numerous and the more diverse the interests we create, the greater will be our influence in nullifying evil tendencies.

The extent of Herbart's deviation from other writers on pedagogy and especially his characteristic terminology were probably responsible for much of the debasement of the Herbartian concept. Percival Cole suggested also that Herbart's writings might have been more systematically presented:

In order to understand Herbart's didactic, we must take into account, in addition to his two principle works, a far greater number of short essays in pedagogy, of which Willmann gives twenty-four. This circumstance, together with the peculiar terminology of the Herbartian pedagogy, makes difficult the ready understanding and appreciation of Herbart, and above all of his fundamental educational principles.  

Many teachers of the New Education were aware that knowledge without interest was dead knowledge but they were not always

1 ibid.

conversant with the Herbartian emphasis upon the transformation of knowledge through interest into vital knowledge. The doctrine of interest was used "to defend a lavish and unnecessary appeal to the senses", wrote Professor Anderson. He also claimed that "from want of a thorough psychological analysis" the doctrines of interest and self-activity suffered from being presented to teachers in an "artificial and misleading way", as competing theories:

The task of the teacher undoubtedly is to discover and develop interests in the child, but to appeal to what rouses and satisfies the pleasure or interest of the moment may be to postpone and prevent that higher development of the moral and intellectual activities which is the true aim of education.... The doctrine of interest, uncorrected, would keep the child always a child.

The doctrine of "self-activity" was repeated and re-echoed, until at last it became magnificently unctuous, and almost devoid of meaning. The two schools set up their rival doctrines, and the teacher who was unacquainted with psychology felt compelled to take a side....

The opposition was founded on a psychological blunder.... Interests are not imported bodily into the pupil. Their existence implies the existence of certain tendencies to action. It is through the satisfaction of these tendencies that interests arise and are consolidated and become the springs to future action.

1 H.T. Lovell, op. cit., 14.

2 F. Anderson, "Psychology and Education", loc. cit.

3 ibid., 9.
Herbartianism, the ostensible basis of the new Education in New South Wales, was therefore widely misunderstood and misinterpreted even amongst those to whom practising teachers looked for guidance. By the time Mackie took up his position at the Training College the ideas of Herbart had already received wide publicity. They were apparently so well established in educational circles prior to the excursions abroad of Board and the Commissioners that familiarity with the movement was assumed in the writing of both reports. Board confined himself to the English manifestations of the movement and the Commissioners did not even bother to mention their visit to Jena, the seat of Herbartianism.

The failure of the Commissioners and Board to undertake the correction of confusion by a restatement of the original Herbartian doctrines, suggests that the English experience in this field was accepted as being most suited to the circumstances of the New South Wales system. Thus

1Lovell, op. cit., 11.

2vide, Primary Education, op. cit., and Commissioners' Report.

3Lovell reported that the Commissioners "examined closely the Herbartian system" at Jena. vide, Lovell, op. cit., 12, also translator's note number 4, page 20. Chapter XXXIX of the Commissioners' Report, "The Jena Practising School", was simply a translation of a pamphlet sent to the Commissioners by Professor Rein, vide, Commissioners' Report, 356-60.
in 1914 Anderson could still write:

Sometimes we are a little ahead, sometimes a little behind, England in readiness to receive new ideas and to apply them systematically. But in the main, our educational development has taken place on British lines.¹

Even in the field of the new educational psychology, New South Wales, bound by the traditional orientation of its system, found herself adapting adaptations, and consequently by-passing the broader opportunities represented by the Herbartian movement.

- The Kindergarten²

Herbartianism was not the only component of the New Education in New South Wales, although it appears to have been the major leavening agent. The Kindergarten movement had some, if not general success, its influence on pupil activity promoting the Child Study movement and combining with the scientific and technical orientation of education to bolster the influence of Manual Training and Nature Study.

¹Anderson, "Educational Policy and Development", op. cit., 522.

Although Wilkins had introduced a "Nursery Class" at Fort Street in 1856,1 the first recorded Kindergarten teaching in New South Wales using Kindergarten materials was the work of F. Bridges2 in 1862 at Mudgee:

I think, in 1854, I read in the "Leisure Hour", a new publication at that time, an account of kindergarten, and it struck me that the system was a practical one. I was so interested in the matter that I got hold of all the kindergarten books I could, so as to make myself acquainted with its principles and practice. In 1862 I was appointed in charge of the Mudgee school, but before going, I asked Mr. J.J. Moore (then a large bookseller in Sydney) to get me a supply of kindergarten material, and I believe that was the first kindergarten material that found its way into New South Wales. When at Mudgee 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, but we had certainly not been a month at work when a report was made against me to the Commissioners of National Education, saying that I was bringing play into the school ....3

In 1884 "a modification of the Kindergarten system" was introduced in the Infants' Department at Crown Street but while "the results of such modified scheme were considered satisfactory" by the Minister4 Bridges was more critical:

1Ibid., 119.

2Later Under-Secretary.

3N.S.W., Conference of Inspectors etc., 1904, op. cit., 139.

4Minister's Report, 1886, 21.
I went there, and had not been there a quarter of an hour when I came to the conclusion that, though I knew very little about kindergarten, the mistress in charge knew less.

In October, 1885, demonstrations in the "method" were introduced at Hurlstone and "six complete sets of Kindergarten apparatus" ordered from England. The Hurlstone class was of twenty-four children between five and eight years old who spent six and a half hours per week in Kindergarten work. Students from the Training College received two model lessons per week, gave "criticism lessons" themselves and spent a fortnight during their course, teaching in the school. By 1886 Kindergartens were also established at Riley Street, Sydney (160 pupils) and at Wickham (210 pupils).

Kindergarten method had reached a stage of such importance by the end of 1889 that Inspector Allpass felt it necessary to furnish a separate report to the Minister. From this report some idea of the nature of Kindergarten teaching of the day may be obtained. Emphasis continued to be placed upon the formal subjects, where the ordinary

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1 N.S.W., Conference of Inspectors etc., 1904, loc. cit.
2 Minister's Report, loc. cit.
3 ibid., 22.
4 ibid.
standards and inspection tests were applied. The only "concession" made was to specially test progress in such things as "developments of the form and colour lessons required to be taught in all infants' schools". Three quarters of school time continued to be devoted to Reading, Spelling, Writing and Arithmetic so that the maximum time which could be devoted to Kindergarten techniques exclusively was one hour per day. At this stage of development Kindergarten was to be found in only three separate Kindergarten schools and in two of the fifty-three Infants' departments of metropolitan schools. Infants' departments were also in operation at Wickham and Clarence Town. The total number of children under Kindergarten instruction, including those in country schools, was about 1,630 compared with an enrolment of 16,341 in ordinary Infant and Kindergarten schools in the metropolitan area.

In the early development of Kindergarten in New South Wales there was much which paralleled English experience. Like other elements in the English New Education movement,

1Fort Street, Australia Street, and Newtown.

2Waverley and Paddington.

3ibid., 29 and 156-7.
the Kindergarten had exercised some influence much earlier in the nineteenth century. Froebel's ideas had been brought to England in 1851 by Baroness von Marenholtz Bülow and Bertha Renge and were further popularised by displays at the Great Exhibition of 1854 and writers such as Charles Dickens.¹ It developed only slowly, hindered by the emphasis on the "Three R's", its foreign origin, lack of trained teachers and equipment, and until 1885-93 lack of translations of Froebel's works. The passage of the Elementary Education Bill of 1870 paved the way for the formation of various Froebel societies aiming to popularise his ideas and train teachers. These societies set up in 1887 the National Froebel Union to examine and certify their teachers.² In practice however, Kindergarten became widely interpreted in England as hand and eye training, teachers extracting from Froebel's principles only those parts which gave promise of further development.³ In contact with other movements of the New Education it was thus re-interpreted and brought into greater prominence.⁴

¹Turney, op. cit., 1013.
²Ibid., 1015.
³Selleck, op. cit., 231-235.
⁴Ibid., 218.
also contributed to and derived much from the overall consensus of opinion that change was rooted in social reform; that education should develop the powers of the child with little interference from the teacher; that the pupil should be active; and that childhood should be respected.¹

In spite of the growing acceptance amongst English educators of these principles, their practical application in the schools developed only slowly, while in America the Kindergarten movement was fast becoming part of the everyday educational scene. German immigration appears to have accentuated the freer interpretation of the American ethos so that although the Great Exhibition in London gave a fillip to the movement through Barnard's writings,² theory and practice were thoroughly Froebelian. In connection with English Public Elementary schools, Grasby could not find one "true" Kindergarten: "I saw an abundance of so-called 'Kindergarten work' but not a Kindergarten. In America, both in Canada and the United States, I saw many".³

By the turn of the century some American Kindergarteners

¹Ibid., 248-255.
²Turney, op. cit., 1016.
³Grasby, op. cit., 63.
had rejected Froebel's symbolism and were conducting Kindergartens where activity was enjoyed for its own sake. "Freedom was accorded children in these activities in order that they might learn to adapt materials and activities to achieve purposes of their own".\textsuperscript{1} Embracing aspects of the educational philosophy of Dewey, Hall and Thorndike\textsuperscript{2} this conception of the Kindergarten was taken to New South Wales during the 1890's, probably initially by W. Catton Grasby whose work was followed up by Margaret Windeyer's distribution of information concerning her visit to free Kindergartens in San Francisco and Honolulu.\textsuperscript{4} The outcome was the formation of the Kindergarten Union of New South Wales in 1895 modelled on the American Free Kindergartens.\textsuperscript{5} The Union was injected with new life by the arrival of Miss Ridie Lee Buckey, from Honolulu in 1897. Under her guidance a new spirit of freedom became apparent and home visiting by teachers was introduced along with the "Mothers'  

\textsuperscript{1}Brubacher, quoted in Turney, \textit{op. cit.}, 1017.  
\textsuperscript{2}\textit{ibid.}  
\textsuperscript{3}\textit{ibid.}, 1064.  
\textsuperscript{5}\textit{ibid.}
Meeting'. By the turn of the century the Union had successfully established flourishing "genuine" Kindergartens on the American model and the movement rapidly spread throughout New South Wales and to other States.

In 1905 a State school teacher published the following description of these Kindergartens:

The schools are open in the morning only from 9.30 to 12.30. The student-teachers assist in the actual teaching during these hours - it is part of their training - and in the afternoon they attend lectures at the (Kindergarten Training) College ....

The schools are for the most part situated in the most squalid parts of Sydney, and are, I believe, supported chiefly by voluntary subscriptions, supplemented by a Government grant of £500. No fee is charged to the children attending whose ages range from three to six-and-a-half, or, in rare cases, seven years.

Reading, writing, and arithmetic are not taught, indeed no formal teaching such as we understand it is attempted. The whole powers of the teacher are directed to gently leading, guiding, and drawing out the faculties of the little ones by means of judiciously-arranged songs, games, talks, and occupations ....

The last time I visited the schools (April 1905), the occupation for the week happened to be a Grocer's Shop. At one table the children were folding, cutting, and pasting paper bags, at another they were cutting coins out of cardboard,

1 ibid., 1071.

2 ibid., 1076.
at a third putting materials, brought by themselves - tea, sugar, etc. - into tins and bottles, and at a fourth constructing scales out of wooden match boxes. I may say here that I have not seen Froebel's Gifts and Occupations used much in any of the Free Kindergarten Schools. In one or two schools I saw the divided cube in the hands of the children, and in one school a lesson on paper-folding with the orthodox squares was given, but in most schools, although a supply of the Gifts was present, I did not see them used. The use of the Gifts, as well as the philosophy underlying them, is carefully taught at the College, but it may be that the lady principal cares more for the kindergarten spirit, which gives life to all teaching, than for the kindergarten letter, in the shape of the Gifts. There is danger that the Gifts in the hands of an unskilled teacher may degenerate into lifeless routine and mere mechanical repetition ....

In all the Free Kindergarten Schools I visited, the number of children to each teacher or student-teacher was never more than ten, and, in most cases, only six or eight .... The Director has no class, and is, therefore, free to go round and advise, instruct, and criticise.

... A plan of instruction for the year is, I believe, made out by the lady principal in conjunction with the senior students or directors. "The Point of Departure" in this (particular) plan is the child's interest in food, shelter, and clothing. All work is grouped around this central thought. Each director is encouraged to use her own ideas in the elaboration of it ....

Although the American Kindergarten was firmly established in New South Wales, its influence upon the State schools was not nearly as great as might have been expected.

In order that the principles and practice of the Kindergarten may be thoroughly taught to the students at Hurlstone and thus effectively introduced into all our Infant schools, I recommend that Miss E. Banks, Teacher of the Kindergarten School in Riley Street, be employed to give lessons to the students on Saturday mornings.

Miss Banks was trained at the Froebel Institution, she holds the best possible certificate as a Kindergarten, and is a trained and experienced teacher. I would suggest that Miss Banks be paid £10 per annum for her services to take effect from 1st July proximo. Prior to 1st April last, Miss Beaven was employed as Assistant in the Training School with the special duty of teaching the Kindergarten. She was paid at the rate of £10 a month. As Miss Beaven's place has been taken by a paid teacher, the course now recommended will not involve an increase of expenditure.

I have ascertained that the proposed lessons on Saturday mornings can be arranged to fit in with the ordinary work of the Training School.

J. Howard
Chief Inspector.

The Under Secretary.
Bl. 13th June. 1887.

RECOMMENDATION FOR MISS BANKS' APPOINTMENT TO HURLSTONE, 1887

- Training School Files.
(State Archives)
The private Kindergartens were forced to set up their own training schemes which produced teachers trained solely for Kindergarten work and so the American experience of a system within a system was repeated in the sense that the free Kindergartens were not part of the comprehensive system provided by the State.

The Department of Public Instruction was of course not entirely ignorant of the principles underlying "genuine" Kindergarten. Miss E.L. Banks under whose direct control the Riley Street and Fort Street Kindergartens were established, was "a certificated Kindergartener, and ... had considerable experience in infants' schools in England and Germany". The 1890 Report of the Minister devoted four pages to a comprehensive outline of the Kindergarten course at Fort Street but although Froebel's name was regularly invoked it is clear that Miss Banks' German experience had been overshadowed by the technical bent of the English system. One quotation will suffice:

While engaged in the Kindergarten occupations the child will unconsciously be forming habits of industry. Eyes are trained to see, perceive, observe, and little hands are kept busy

1Minister's Report, 1889, 29.

2Ibid., 34-38.
manipulating the materials connected with the different gifts. Moreover, these occupations prepare for the higher branches of industry and art. The child becomes a carpenter, a builder, and makes a staircase tall and firm without a nail; he plaits or weaves, and that will in maturer years lead to darning, straw-plaiting, and weaving; he lays designs of squares, triangles, tables, crosses, etc., with coloured wooden tablets, and that leads to the inlaying of wood and to the designing and manufacture of oil-cloth, wall-paper, and house decorations; he draws pictures of objects he has built up with his bricks or cubes on chequered slates or paper, and that leads to freehand drawing, map drawing, and engraving. The simple colour exercises lead to house decoration and the art of painting. ¹

The adherence to the English conception must have been a deliberate policy decision based upon factors other than purely educational principles. As one of the instances where it is known that New Education influences were ignored, the motivations of the Department should provide insight into why the New Education in general progresses so slowly in New South Wales at the turn of the century.

The necessity for making Froebel's ideas compatible with the existing system, led to little distinction in New South Wales between his ideas on education as a whole, which in themselves were applicable to the education of children of all ages, and the system he proposed, whereby the child

¹ibid., 30–31. (The text implies that these words are Miss Banks'.)
might be educated in his early years. By 1886 the Department was committed to the belief that

As regards the introduction of the Kindergarten into the Public Elementary School, there is nothing of principle in the system that cannot be made to harmonize with our school methods in use.¹

The imposition of the system, known as Kindergarten, on the assumption that if the system was followed, the educative principles behind it would automatically come into operation, can be attributed largely to the influence from England where Kindergarten had come to be regarded as the preliminary stage of preparation for industries and an introduction to Manual Work. This attitude was reflected in New South Wales at a conference of teachers and inspectors in December 1889, which resolved to introduce the Kindergarten method in order to lay the foundation for subsequent technical education.²

In New South Wales then, an incidental outcome of the Kindergarten was promoted to become its principal aim. That

¹ibid., 1886, 22.
Kindergarten was valuable in itself without this ulterior motive was overlooked to a great extent. Froebel in suggesting the Kindergarten had contemplated the industry of the child as a means rather than an end of education, attaching value not to the things made but to the making of things.

For fifteen years after 1890, references in the Annual Reports of the Minister in connection with Kindergarten teaching were almost non-existent. This would appear to suggest that, once introduced, the "method" was allowed to continue under its original impetus until the heightened interest in education in the early 1900's focused attention once more upon Kindergarten. However, evidence exists which indicates a continuing interest both at the teaching and administrative levels but affected by a lamentable breakdown in communication between the two. In 1897 in a circular to Inspectors it was noted that very few requisitions were being received for the supply of Kindergarten materials. The replies reveal the state of the Kindergarten method in New South Wales at the time. In many cases the Inspectors themselves expresses ignorance of the fact that it was apparently Departmental policy for

1Chief Inspector's Files, 1897, 23rd July and after.
Kindergarten principles to be used in schools not specially designated as such.

In most Districts Inspectors could name only one school where "the method" was being used. Inspector H. Parkinson replied: "I know of no teacher in this district who has been specially trained ... the general principles are adopted as far as possible in the infants' classes of the largest schools". 1 At Mudgee Infants, the only school in the district using the Kindergarten system, the pupils were subjected to form, colour, exercises, reading and singing. It was noted that the teachers "do not understand the system very well". 2

Whether as a result of this circular or of the initiative of teachers themselves, 3 the next year (1898) an application was made by the Teachers' Institute to the Department for a course of lessons for teachers interested in Kindergarten. The classes were conducted by

1 ibid.

2 ibid.

3 'Ethel Mallarky, President of the Sydney Teachers' College Kindergarten Society, writing in 1911, attributed the initiative to the Public School Teachers' Association. E. Mallarky, "The Work of Miss E.L. Banks", in The Story of Kindergarten in New South Wales, Sydney: Wright, 1911, 11.
Miss E.L. Banks at the Girls' High School, Sydney and were described by The Educational Gazette as "most successful":

The desire on the part of the lady teachers to become acquainted with the subject was so great that the room was overcrowded, and a division has been made by the Under-Secretary, mistresses and assistants attending one Saturday and pupil teachers the next. A suggestion has been made by the institute, on the representations of country teachers, to the Minister, for a short course during the vacation for their benefit.¹

Whatever the motivation, this example of the early initiative of teachers themselves towards the advancement of Kindergarten in the schools might be taken as indicative of a new educational spirit. But such professional stirrings among the body of teachers were not encouraged by a Department encountering the first rounds of public criticism which heralded the renewed interest in things educational. The Department continued to lead teachers in the new paths in accordance with the earlier authoritarian centralist tradition. Thus in July, 1902 when a "Conference" of Infants' School Mistresses and Inspectors was called under the presidency of Chief Inspector Bridges, it was to hear how the system, good as it was, might be improved. A forum for the expression of Bridges' personal views, the

Conference provides an example of the continued influence of centralism:

... while in the opinion of Mr. Wyld, one of his Majesty's Inspectors of Schools, England, our Infant Schools had reached a very high degree of proficiency, still he (Mr. Bridges) thought that in certain directions improvement might be effected.... Kindergarten games should be widely extended. New action songs might be introduced with both pleasure and profit .... ¹

The "Conference" concluded with "a suggestion that the ladies present should form a committee for the purpose of considering the various points brought under their notice".²

It is clear that a barrier to effective dialogue between the Department and its teachers lay in the fact that true Kindergarten could not, by its very nature, adapt to New South Wales conditions, especially those imposed by the pupil-teacher system. As Knibbs noted, even while advocating modification of the Froebelian idea, much depended upon the personality of the Kindergarten teacher herself. The worth of Kindergarten materials was to be found in their application - the method in which the teacher used them to point out contrasts and connections.³

² ibid.
³ Commissioners' Report, 18.
Basic to the Froebelian theory was the idea that since early education was of such importance, it must be imparted by those with the most skill. This principle required a teacher with a liberal education such as would have been improbable for pupil-teachers in this State to have attained. As Knibbs pointed out:

\[\ldots\] in the lowest branches, the art must be at its highest, and the teacher so widely and liberally educated as to rise to a deep sense of the significance of his or her work. It is only by the adequate recognition of the importance of the first steps in education that enthusiasm is possible; it is only by vividly realising what it all means to the future of the individual, of the community, of the nation, that it is possible to receive that inspiration without which the teaching will amount to little more than dull routine without value. 1

In addition, the successful implementation of the Kindergarten system would appear to require specialist training of a type which, even though recommended by the 1904 Conference, would of necessity have had to be a compromise until at least a proper system of training teachers of higher classes had been set up. Here again we find the typical New South Wales solution to the problem: "That until the Kindergarten Training College is established, students in Hurlstone Training School should be regularly

1 ibid., 15.
instructed in the subject, theory and practice". 1 It is noteworthy that in spite of the enthusiasm of the 1904 Conference for the Kindergarten method, this recommendation was little improvement on the practice already in operation, in that the Head Mistress of Fort Street Kindergarten was already attending the School "once a week for the purpose of giving that instruction". 2 As early as 1889, at a time when the basis of Kindergarten in New South Wales was being determined, 3 the inadequacies of this training had been pointed out by Inspector Allpass. He warned that there should be no great increase in the number of schools using the Kindergarten method because teachers "of a fair length of technical training" were not available. He continued:

It is true the Instructress in Kindergarten gives lectures to the students in training, and that they, in this way, acquire a knowledge of the manipulation of what is termed the "gifts", but

1 N.S.W., Conference of Inspectors etc., 1904, op. cit., 141. Note also, that in spite of these recommendations, the Minister stated in his Report of 1906, that difficulty was still being encountered in implementing Kindergarten principles because of large classes. Minister's Report, 1906, 55.

2 N.S.W., Conference of Inspectors etc., 1904, loc. cit.

3 Kindergarten had been in operation at Riley Street for 3½ years, Fort Street for 9 months, and Australia Street and Waverley for 3 months. Minister's Report, 1889, 157.
nothing short of twelve months' training as assistants in a Kindergarten School will suffice to make ordinary teachers good at Kindergarten work. 1

The modification in New South Wales of overseas practice in the training of Kindergarten teachers was not without its advantages, for the tendency overseas for the Kindergarten to become a system within the comprehensive system of the State schools was not repeated except insofar as the Kindergarten Union was set up outside the State system. Thus, unconsciously, New South Wales fell into line with the overseas requirement that teachers should complete a general training course before specialising in Kindergarten technique. This practice would seem to have been more in keeping with Froebel's theory than the narrow training imparted in a specialist college.

The idea of the Kindergarten which had been so enthusiastically received by the 1904 Conference and Bridges, the Acting Under-Secretary, 2 paled quickly when subjected to the light of everyday teaching. Kindergarten, in common with other aspects of the New South Wales educational scene, was held up as an example of how the State schools had been keeping abreast of educational development. It became a

\[1\] Ibid., 156.

\[2\] N.S.W., Conference of Inspectors etc., 1904, op. cit., 139.
reference point for the introduction of the New Education and suffered itself in the process. It was thought that since Kindergarten was one aspect of the New Education which had long been in the schools of New South Wales all that was needed in order to implement the new ideas was a gradual shift in emphasis; a re-interpretation in the light of contemporary educational philosophies and conditions.

In 1906 Kindergarten came once more to earn a place in the Ministerial Report. This was the year in which Inspector S.H. Smith claimed that the forward movement in education had reached a final stage "when men pause for a while to take their bearings, to reconsider their position, to note where the past has led them, to make suitable preparations with renewed vigour into the work of the future".¹ A cautious optimism and an almost over-developed awareness of the dangers of over-hasty reform were apparent:

Infant schools show more plainly than any other class of school the beneficial effects of recent changes. The methods of the kindergarten have been adopted as far as the conditions allow. Large classes are an obstacle to the full adoption of these methods; the children are older than is usual in a kindergarten, and the furniture and its arrangement are not always convenient. Gradually rooms are being altered

¹ Minister's Report, 1906, 77.
and furnished so as to admit the fuller employment of the kindergarten methods. The teachers have shown a laudible anxiety to advance, and the consequence is that school is now, for the little ones, a very attractive place, where songs, games, and stories relieve the drier parts of early education. There is a demand from many parts of the State for more of this kind of teaching.¹

By the following year a "happy transformation" had taken place in the appearance, government and methods of Infants' Schools:

The class-rooms are adorned with pictures, flowers decorate the tables, suitable furniture has been, in many cases, provided, the old galleries have been swept away, and seats adjusted to the lighting of the rooms; wall blackboards have been provided. An air of brightness and cheerfulness pervades the rooms. The mistresses welcome their children with cheerful morning salutations, sometimes sung, and the pupils respond in song. Lessons are short and varied. Songs, games, and recitations are interspersed among the more formal work, which in the first month is kept in the background. The pupils learn to build, to plait, to weave, to make designs, to draw, and express themselves readily in speech. Reading is taught largely from script, illustrated by the teachers; number work is of range suited to the needs of the pupils, and constant use is made of the concrete. Writing proceeds, pari passu, with the need for expression. Stories culled from Scripture, from ancient fable or history, or from the life of the people, serve to amuse and instruct. Their gardens are a source of endless interest to the pupils, and take up a portion of their restless energy.²

¹ibid., 1906, 55.
²ibid., 1907, 50.
Since Chief Inspector Dawson was the author of the last two quotations and was responsible to the same Minister on both occasions, the almost incredible change in attitude cannot be explained in terms of changing Departmental personalities. The moving of the Training College to the antiquated conditions of Blackfriars appears to have precipitated direct action on the part of the teachers at the Practice school, the long, old-fashioned desks being "thrown out", the floor scrubbed and a Kindergarten circle painted on the floor.\(^1\) It is clear however that in the Department's attitude, the old bogies of hand and eye training, the amusement of children, and the dominance of formal work still survived. The 1890 concept of Kindergarten had simply been hedged about with the paraphernalia of the New Education: the adornment of classrooms to surround the child with "beauty"; the emphasis upon lighting and furniture growing out of the Health movement; the lip-service to the needs of the child and the presentation of the concrete; the central study; and the inevitable school garden. As far as Kindergarten was concerned, New South Wales was once again considered to be up to world standard, if it had ever fallen

\(^1\)M.M. Simpson, "Recent Development in Kindergarten in the State Schools of New South Wales", in *The Story of Kindergarten in New South Wales*, op. cit., 13
KINDERGARTEN AT A SYDNEY PUBLIC SCHOOL, 1910
behind and the weary repetition of the annual reports recommenced.¹

The philosophies of Herbart and Froebel, although greatly modified in the New South Wales educational environment, underlay much of the syllabus of 1904, especially in the proposed treatment of subjects and their relation to the development of the child. Theirs were not the only influences but there is little doubt that the established position of both philosophies prior to 1903-4, tended to influence the interpretation of other principles such as those of Dewey² and Beneke.³

Whereas Froebel's influence dominated the reform movement at the Infants' level, Herbartian principles were favored in the Primary classes,⁴ but the attraction of both lay in a false conception of their supposed ease of application to the learning situation. Having by this means gained a foothold in the educational institutions of

¹c.f., Minister's Reports, 1909, 51; 1910, 38.
²vide, Northcott, op. cit., 54.
⁴Lovell, op. cit., 11.
the State it was possible later for attention to be drawn to their legitimate psychological bases. In the meantime the practising teacher was confronted with such a bewildering array of conflicting definitions of "scientific" terms¹ that it is little wonder that he came to regard the psychology of teaching as a passing fad, or fell back on a formal travesty of the original conceptions.

The overall effect of New Education philosophy is to be seen in the so-called "spirit" underlying the new Syllabus. The teacher who perceived the essence of the New Education would have recognised that his teaching should aim at the whole personality of the child rather than at his intellect alone. He would have called forth the child's powers and stimulated him to self-activity:

Education consists of expression as well as impression. The latter is the function of the teacher and of the whole world of the pupil's experience; the former is the work of the pupil alone; it represents the active appropriation by him of the impression, with the consequent development of his experience.²

Then again he would have "motivated" his pupils so that their interests would be increased through the linking of

²Northcott, op. cit., 55.
the aim of instruction with their needs and desires. And overall, the principle of correlation would have contributed not only to self-development, self-activity and motivation but would have in itself become a function of the degree of that development and activity. The influence of Kindergarten and child study would also have determined the methods to be used in applying this psychology to education. Imagination and "voluntary imitation" involving both analysis and synthesis were to supplement play in the educative process.¹

This was the "spirit" of the New Education. There was no longer a controversy between instruction and education. The function of the teacher was not to proceed from the easy to the difficult but from the simple to the complex, from cause to effect, introducing the element of self-expression while always recognising the child as a psychological entity, whose peculiar features were not to be eradicated, but trained and directed. The New Education was truly "a compound of Herbartian psychology and American utilitarianism".²

¹Ibid., 102-3.

CHAPTER V

CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT: MANUAL TRAINING AND DRAWING

The most obvious expression of the New Education lay in the terms used to describe developments in the Primary school curriculum. The new terminology grew out of the need to distinguish emphases in the treatment of subjects and also to point to the connection between the subjects of the curriculum and the apparent mental development of the child. There developed two styles of titles. Some were designed to overcome the problem of having to increase the number of subjects being taught and to avoid possible criticism of an overloaded syllabus. Such terms as "English", "Mathematics", "Nature Knowledge", "Civics and Morals", "Art and Manual Work", appeared in the new Syllabus and included ranges of subjects which had previously been accorded separate and distinct positions in the course of instruction. Such amalgamation of subjects was justified in terms of the correlative principle of New Education psychology, and the re-evaluation of emphasis to be placed upon the various subjects in attempting to adapt the curriculum to the growth and development of the child and the changing needs of his society.
The second group of terms was used to describe the specific aspects of subject groupings which were to contribute to the overall development. English teaching for example required the homogeneous development of Reading, Writing, and Spelling, but with particular emphasis upon oral and written expression. Likewise Art involved Line Drawing, Modelling and Brushwork. Line Drawing in turn included Free-arm and Ambidextrous Drawing, while the requirements of perspective, design and "working from Nature" permeated the whole course. Manual Training embraced Kindergarten work in the lower grades, developing through Sloyd-work to the more technical training associated with woodwork and the care of tools. In common with Art, it tended to place much emphasis upon "hand and eye training" in the English tradition.

The influence of the New Education was therefore not confined to new terminology and subject-matter but also lay in the treatment to be accorded each subject, subject-grouping and the whole curriculum. Art and Manual Training were said to contribute to the education of character through forming a process in the evolution of the well-rounded life in relation to the needs of the community. Also, they were to develop the notion that expression should accompany impression. The natural methods of self-
expression were to be made "the stepping-stone to the formation of a body of interests which will make education easy and pleasurable". ¹

Manual Training

Stemming from, and in many ways complementary to, the Kindergarten movement, Manual Training also found gradual acceptance in this State, leading to its introduction into the Primary schools about 1890. ² The initial step in this direction seems to have been an offshoot of the increasing interest in technical education for the higher classes of the school, the idea being that some sort of manual work should be provided to give continuity between Kindergarten practices and later technical training. This practical motive was not in itself opposed to the general principles of the movement but it did tend to produce an orientation towards trade teaching in the minds of those connected with it.

In America the initiator of the Manual Training movement was Dr. C.M. Woodward of the St. Louis Manual Training School,

¹Northcott, op. cit., 129.
²N.S.W. Conference of Inspectors etc., 1904, op. cit., 143.
who wanted to emphasise the idea of the active co-operation of the student in his own education. An idea of what the Movement hoped to achieve was given by President Runkle of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology:

We abstract all the mechanical processes and manual arts and typical tools of the trades and occupations of men, arrange a systematic course of instruction in the same, and then incorporate it into our system of education. Thus without teaching any trade we teach the essential mechanical principles of all.¹

Manual Training was therefore advocated in the United States from a different viewpoint than the technical education which was to "save the industries of England". Woodward sought to have Manual Training incorporated as an integral part of the educative process not as something to be tacked on to the normal school course. His aim was to educate the practical as well as the mental attributes of the child.

The English Manual Training movement had received its initial impetus in the 1880's from publicity given to Woodward's ideas but its ultimate appearance in the 1890 Code as a subject which could be taught in official school time was primarily a result of the boost given to its teaching by the publication in 1884 of the Report of the

1881 Royal Commission into Technical Education.¹ Some stimulus came also from the introduction of Kindergarten activities for this meant that only during the middle school years was there no "industrial training". In 1888 a Committee of the London School Board recommended a graduated course embracing all stages of schooling² but by 1910 what was described by the Board of Education as "a great gap between the Kindergarten of the infants and the wood-work of the selected older boys"³ still existed. Such Manual Training as was given in the primary classes tended towards trade training. Some emphasis on mental discipline, sense training, "hand and eye" development and "general adroitness" stemmed from the work of the National Association of Manual Training Teachers while the Sloydists emphasised the wider "development of the child".

The English system as introduced into New South Wales had the obvious advantage of giving the vocational bent to education which was being demanded by popular opinion.⁴ A

¹Selleck, op. cit., 126.

²C.A. Bennett, History of Manual and Industrial Training 1870-1917, 266, in ibid., 130.

³Board of Education, Manual Instruction in Elementary Schools, 9, in ibid., 131.

⁴e.g., Deputation to Minister of Public Instruction re industrial training of the youth of the colony, from the Trades and Labour Council. S.M.H., 31/1/1883.
MANUAL TRAINING, GOULBURN, 1908

COLLECTION OF MANUAL TRAINING WORK. (GOULBURN DISTRICT SCHOOLS.)
workshop was set up in 1890 at Fort Street, staffed by an "instructor in carpentry and the use of tools". Lessons were first given to Training School students but by July classes for boys were operating. In 1891 a new workshop was opened there with the Public school course consisting of two hours per week over three years. The system was thereafter gradually extended to other large schools until by 1909 the Minister could report that all District schools would soon have special Manual Training rooms and that in many of the smaller schools there were "benches and tools of which good use is being made". Instruction was primarily in woodwork and in the use and care of tools with some emphasis on simple repairs, for example, of a broken window. The avowed objective in setting up these workshops was not to teach special trades:

... boys from the highest class in the school are trained to the proper use of the ordinary tools; they are made handy by doing things and by learning the elementary parts of many trades; and they are

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1 Minister's Report, 1890, 43.
2 ibid.
4 ibid., 1909, 50-1.
5 vide, course outline in ibid., 1890, 45-7.
thus led to form habits of industry, perception, and judgment, and are materially helped in selecting the particular work they afterwards take up in their special trade or occupation.  

It will be noted that this early Manual Training was available only to older boys and then on a voluntary basis, there being no provision for its teaching in the Standard of Proficiency. Even under the new Syllabus of 1904-5 Manual Training in New South Wales was confined to Kindergartens and a few senior boys in some Primary schools.

However, new life and a new emphasis were infused into the Manual Training movement in New South Wales by the general dissemination of the principles of Sloyd. This movement originated in Sweden, resulting eventually in the establishment there of a Normal School for Sloyd in 1882 under the directorship of Dr. Otto Salomon. Sloyd stressed, even more than the American movement, the educative value of manual training as a branch of general rather than technical education. The formative objectives of Sloyd were:

\[1\] *ibid.*, 43.

\[2\] *ibid.*, 44.

\[3\] Under the heading "Art and Manual Work" there was no formal provision for Manual Work in the accepted sense, the course comprising Line Drawing, and Modelling or Brushwork. *vide*, *Course of Instruction for Primary Schools, 1905*, *op. cit.*
- To instil a taste for, and a love of, labour in general.
- To inspire respect for rough, honest, bodily labour.
- To develop independence and self-reliance.
- To train in habits of order, exactness, cleanliness, and neatness.
- To train the eye and sense of form. To give a general dexterity of hand, and to develop touch.
- To accustom to attention, industry, perseverance, and patience.
- To promote the development of the physical powers.

From the utilitarian point of view it aimed to give dexterity in the use of tools and to have its pupils execute exact work.¹

The methods through which these objectives were to be realised were governed by "General" and "Special" principles:

**General**
- The instruction must go from easy to difficult.
- The instruction must go from simple to complex.
- The instruction must go from the known to the unknown.
- The teaching must lay a good foundation.
- The teacher should possess educational tact.
- The teaching should be interesting in character.

**Special**
- The instruction should be intuitive in its character, i.e., it should be given as far as possible through the Senses, especially touch and sight.
- The teaching should be individual in character.
- The instructor should be a teacher and not a mere craftsman.²

As an educative agency, Sloyd was therefore compatible with, and derived much from Froebellian and Herbartian

² *ibid.*, 10.
thinking. Froebel's whole system of education was based upon the proposition that material work should be used as an ordinary means of education and Herbart had admitted manual work to be a educative agency:

Every growing boy and youth should learn to handle the recognised tools of the carpenter, as well as the ruler and compass. Mechanical dexterity would often be more useful than ability in gymnastics. The one helps the spirit, the other the body. Elementary schools should have workshops, though they should not actually be technical schools. And every man should learn to use his hands. The hand holds the place of honour at the side of the power of speech in raising man above the beasts.¹

But it was in the advocacy by neo-Herbartians such as Adams and Parker, of self-expression on the part of the child, that Sloyd came to be recognised as an effective agency within the New Education. Parker was particularly successful in applying to the classroom a synthesis of various educational theories including those of Herbart and Froebel, and in his Talks on Pedagogics placed emphasis upon child activity through manual work.

The influence of Sloyd was beginning to be felt in New South Wales as early as 1902. Inspector J. Kevin (Dungog) mentioned in his annual report that the subject had been

¹J.F. Herbart, Umriss Paedagogischer Vorlesungen, ed., 2, sec. 259, quoted in ibid., 139.

introduced into a few schools early in that year.

... the boys took up the subject eagerly. The matter, however, is in abeyance just at present owing to certain action on the part of the Department. I anticipate good results from its introduction into the schools should it ever get a fair trial.¹

The Department was clearly awaiting the results of the 1902 Conference before committing itself to the formal introduction of Sloyd into the schools.² However, it was not until after the 1904 Conference that Sloyd was officially introduced to the schools. In the meantime it was dependent upon the teachers' initiative as noted by Chief Inspector Dawson in 1904:

Other forms of manual work such as net-work, chip-carving, carving in relief, modelling in cardboard, paper cutting and paper folding are to be met with in schools where the teachers' enthusiasm has been aided by practical knowledge of these arts.³

The means by which teachers might have acquired the theoretical basis for teaching the subject is not far to seek:

¹Minister's Report, 1902, 98.

²That the Department was at the time considering a new Standard was later admitted by F. Bridges. N.S.W., Conference of Inspectors etc., 1904, 118.

³Minister's Report, 1904, 87.
The New South Wales Educational Gazette in 1892 carried an article on Sloyd reprinted from the English journal, *The Schoolmistress* in which the meaning of the term, its aims and methods were discussed. ¹ Again in 1898 the same journal published part of an article on the history of Sloyd. ²

Even in the popular press Mrs. Francis Anderson was advocating Sloyd as an "ideal system of scientific educational training", warning at the same time that to introduce the principle without first training teachers would be "an utterly mistaken policy". ³ In 1902 the Fifth Annual Conference of the Public School Teachers' Association heard an address by John Byatt of the Training College Melbourne who had attended two Sloyd courses in Sweden in 1890 and 1892. This address was also reported in the *Gazette*. ⁴

To the Australian disciples of Salomon, Sloyd presented itself as a means of achieving a balance between the established literary education and the realistic, practical

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education currently being demanded. As such, it must have appealed to the New South Wales authorities as a panacea for their system's shortcomings in the field of practical education. The principles too upon which Sloyd was based enabled it to fit easily into the existing New South Wales educational pattern, for as reported by Knibbs:

(1) The instruction must conform to a fixed system, and not be subject to the arbitrary choice of the pupil.

(2) It must be taught by a special teacher, who possesses a knowledge of pedagogic theory etc., and not merely by a tradesman. 1

The fixed system was obviously compatible with the needs of the Department and it was but a short step to reduce the second requirement to compatibility with the exigencies of the day and have the subject taught by the ordinary teachers.

The Superintendent of Technical Education put this idea to the 1904 Conference in the words of the 1898 Royal Commission on Irish State Education:

The prevailing drift of the evidence is strongly in favour of the employment of ordinary school teachers .... Herr Salomon's fundamental reason is that woodwork exercises have a place in the elementary school just in so far as they serve purposes of general educational utility.

1Commissioners' Report, 177.
CARDBOARD MODELLING AND PAPER CUTTING
In these exercises, neither the use of tools nor the making of objects is anything more than a means to an end. Sloyd is a means of education, and the teacher of it should be, first of all, an educator, not a mere workman ....

Salomon's remarks were of course referring specifically to ordinary teachers with special Sloyd training, but in New South Wales this problem was easily overcome by the convenient recourse to text books, as recommended in the report of Willis and Dawson to the Chief Inspector dated 1st October, 1904.

An interesting extension of the Sloyd system along Herbartian lines was the suggestion made in this report that the subject be correlated with Drawing and simple geometric figures - in other words that it be regarded as a branch of Drawing "with the sequel that when made, the drawing has to be realised in cardboard". The use of cardboard, as a more suitable material for the lower grades of New South Wales schools was recommended by the Committee on Manual Training set up by the Inspectors' Conference of 1904. This medium had already been adopted in America and in some of the London

1 N.S.W., Conference of Inspectors etc., 1904, op. cit., 143.
2 Chief Inspector's Files, 1904.
3 ibid.
PAPER FOLDING - INFANTS

Board Schools, as preparation for wood carving. The Committee also recommended a less difficult course for Second class involving paper folding, cutting and mounting, in order to lead up to the harder work of modelling in cardboard.¹

The resultant practical outcome of these influences on New South Wales was a course in Manual Training which was a selection of modified principles from Sloyd, the Manual Training movement in America, and British technical education. It is through the interaction of these influences within the New South Wales system that Manual Work in Primary schools took on its individual character; the English influence showing itself in the stress placed on the finished product; the American, in the material (cardboard) used, while at the same time the subject's claim to a place in the curriculum was defended along the educational lines expounded by Salomon. The reconciliation of the apparent conflict between the practical and educative roles of Manual Training presented no difficulty. The reformers demanded Manual Training; "Manual Training" was of course to be found in almost every school:

¹ibid.
(Fig. I.) Edge of circle, called Circumference; fold once, making the two parts coincide, the crease called Diameter; curved edge called Semicircumference; figure called Semicircle. (Fig. II.) Fold any portion; the crease called Chord; curved edge called Arc; figure called Segment of a Circle. (Fig. III.) Fold as in Figure III. Angle between two creases, an Angle in the Segment. (Fig. IV.) Fold once along diameter. Fold semicircle, making the two parts coincide. Creases called Radii; point of intersection of creases the Centre; figure called Quadrant. (Fig. V.) Fold once along diameter. Fold a portion of semicircle over, placing curved edges together. Figure called Sector of a circle.

Symmetry of Plane Figures.
If a straight line divides a plane figure, so that if the figure be folded about the line, one part coincides with the other, the figure is said to be symmetrical with respect to the line, and the line is called an axis of symmetry. Let the children take the paper models and try if they can make the two parts coincide by folding once.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Axes of Symmetry</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Triangle</td>
<td>Three medians.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equilateral</td>
<td>Median drawn to base.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isosceles</td>
<td>Two diagonals—Join of mid-points of opposite sides.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Square</td>
<td>Join of mid-points of opposite sides.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oblong</td>
<td>Two diagonals.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhombus</td>
<td>Join of mid-points of parallel sides.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parallelogram</td>
<td>Any diameter.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isosceles Trapezium</td>
<td>Major and minor axes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Circle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ellipse</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If a parallelogram be taken it will be found that by folding once no coincidence of the parts can be obtained, but on folding the figure twice the parts will coincide.

Fig. 2.—Fold along the diagonal DB and let C take up the position C'. Next fold, placing C' on A, and B on D and the parts will coincide. This symmetry, found by folding the figure twice, is symmetry with respect to a point, and this point, the centre of symmetry, is the point of intersection of the two creases made by folding the figure. In the case of the parallelogram the two creases will intersect at the mid-point of the diagonal DB, i.e., the point of intersection of the two diagonals. It can be proved that every line passing through the centre of symmetry of a plane figure, and terminated by the boundary of the figure, is bisected at the centre of symmetry.

By folding other plane figures twice the following may be proved:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Centre of Symmetry</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Circle</td>
<td>Centre of circle.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ellipse</td>
<td>Intersection of axes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Triangle</td>
<td>None.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All quadrilateral, with opposite sides parallel</td>
<td>Intersection of diagonals.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Properties of Triangles.

By folding an equilateral triangle about any median, it will be found:

1. Median perpendicular to base.
2. Median bisects vertical angle.
3. Angles at base are equal.
4. Median is an axis of symmetry.
5. Median divides the triangle into two congruent figures.

The same is true of an isosceles triangle if folded along the median bisecting the base.

Take any paper triangle, tear the corners off and place the three angles together to form one angle. The angle formed is a straight angle. Hence it follows:

1. Three angles of a triangle are together equal to two right angles.
2. Any two angles of a triangle are together less than two right angles.
3. Since (A + B) is the supplement of C, therefore the exterior angle of a triangle is equal to the sum of the two interior opposite angles.
Manual training, in some form or other, is to be found in nearly every large school, and in very many of the smaller ones. The school garden itself affords some practice in the rougher forms. Pupils plan their garden and fence it, providing gates, and become acquainted with the use of garden tools. Other forms depend on the teacher's ability, native or acquired, and the material at his command.¹

The reformers also demanded conformity to the new philosophies of education. They were assured that trade training was abhorrent to the system:

There is no need to make any apology for the diffusion of manual training in the Primary Schools. Hand-training is mind-training, and a training, too, in common-sense, resourcefulness, and a love of thorough, accurate work, early in life. "To get the true hand, the true eye, one must get them in youth." The exercises in hand and eye work are not pursued abstractly. Wherever possible drawing is the preliminary, and the brush is used for decoration. The articles are chosen for their utility or for the purposes of beautifying the home and school, or for the illustration of school lessons. Some teachers have shown their pupils, much to the delight of their parents, how, out of old cases and boxes, to make serviceable articles for the home .... ²

At the hands of the system Sloyd in New South Wales therefore met the same fate as attended most contemporary attempts to introduce methods based upon abstract and perhaps superficially abstruse conceptions of the nature of

¹Chief Inspector Dawson's Report, in Minister's Report, 1907, 50.
²Ibid.
MANUAL WORK, GEROGERY WEST, 1909
true education. As the principles of Herbart and Froebel had been divested of most of their psychological bases in the everyday practice of the classroom, so too were the educative notions of Woodward and Salomon perverted through their contact with a system which seemed to be even more pragmatic than the English. The exigencies of the New South Wales organisation and particularly the deficiencies of its training system, meant that there was little likelihood of the debased system of technical training imported from England being reinvested with the educative conviction in which it had been originally conceived.

- Manual Training for Girls: Needlework

The essentially practical role of Manual Training was most clearly reflected in the Needlework training afforded girls in New South Wales. The subject had long been taught in the Council of Education schools but "instruction had been imparted without reference to any fixed method or order of progress". Although Needlework was regularly included in reports upon the efficiency of the Council's schools, it did not appear in the Standard of

1 ibid., 1880, 5.
Regulations under the 1866 Act did however require the teacher's wife to teach Needlework to girl pupils for at least four hours per week, in schools containing no female teacher.\(^1\)

Taking the Regulations of the School Board for London and the 1880 English Revised Code of the Committee of Council on Education as its guide, the Department in 1880 set about "the complete methodizing of the subject, so that it might be taught with the same fulness, care, and efficiency - regard being had to the gradual advancement of pupils - as any other branch of school instruction".\(^2\)

It was decided to draw up new regulations dealing with "the positions and emoluments of workmistresses,\(^3\) their duties, and their relations to other teachers".\(^4\) These regulations provided that workmistresses might be employed in schools with average daily attendance of more than one hundred pupils.\(^5\) Workmistresses were to be employed from

\(^1\) N.S.W., Public Schools Act of 1866, op. cit., Regln. 38, 20.

\(^2\) Minister's Report, loc. cit.

\(^3\) Workmistresses were first employed by the Council in 1877 in the larger Sydney schools. Reports of the Council of Education, 1878, op. cit., 18.

\(^4\) Minister's Report, op. cit., 6.

\(^5\) i.e., schools with classification from First to Fifth Class.
five days to two afternoons a week depending upon the Class of school; were required to keep records of work; and were to be assisted by the regular teacher.¹ At the close of 1883, 158 teachers were employed under the new regulations, eight of them being assistant workmistresses.² In the smaller schools the teachers' wives continued to give instruction as under the Council, £12 per annum being deducted from the salary for the teacher's classification if he was single or if his wife did not give the instruction. Although £12,000 had been voted for workmistresses' salaries in 1883, only just under £10,000 was spent. When for the year 1884 the Minister requested a reduced vote of £10,000 it was further reduced to £7,000, necessitating a pruning of expenditure. Apart from reducing workmistresses' salaries and time allocations,³ the Minister also accepted the Chief Inspector's recommendation to do away with workmistresses in

¹ibid., 48.

²Information in this paragraph extracted from Chief Inspector's Files, Memo. to the Minister, 10th July, 1884.

³ Class I schools - 250 pupils, salary reduced 1/6th. No time reduction.
Class I schools - Less than 250, salary and time reduced 1/5th.
Class II schools - Salary reduced 1/6th. No time reduction.
Class III schools - Salary reduced 1/4th; time reduced 1/6th.
Class IV schools - Salary and time reduced 1/5th.

ibid.
Fifth Class schools, the work to revert to teachers' wives as before. The office of assistant workmistress was also abolished.

In spite of the avowed aim of the Department to include Needlework in the Standard of Proficiency, this was not done until 1890, at which time Needlework was introduced as a subject in the infants' school curriculum although not included in the Standard. The new Standard for Primary pupils purported to provide "a carefully-considered course of sewing ... arranged in half-yearly portions, the combined work of all the classes forming a complete standard of practical school needlework", and for female pupil-teachers a similar course and Standard were arranged. On the recommendation of the 1889 Conference of Inspectors, a "Directress of Needlework" was appointed to inspect and supervise the new scheme. Her report for 1890 revealed that workmistresses were confined to First and Second Class

1 Minister's Report, 1880, 6.
2 ibid., 1889, 35.
3 vide, Standard of Proficiency in ibid., 1890, 477-8, also 20.
4 ibid., 1890, 50.
5 ibid.
6 ibid., also 1889, 54.
schools with Needlework in the smaller schools being taught by Mistresses-in-charge, assistants and teachers' wives.¹

Sixty-one workmistresses were employed at the time, there being sixty-four schools of First or Second Class.²

A combination of New Education principles and the advent of the sewing machine brought about a steady decline in the status of Needlework at the turn of the century. In 1901 a deputation to the Minister asked that the subject be removed from the Standard for First class in Primary schools on the grounds that it was not a subject of tuition in Infants' schools. The request was refused,³ but by 1902 the upper classes had been exempted from the subject.⁴ Upon the retirement in 1905 of Annie Dadley, the Directress, the Department refused to fill the position on the grounds that Mistresses of schools were able to direct their own Needlework.⁵

¹ ibid., 267.
² vide, ibid., 61–2, Tables.
³ "Interpretation of the Standard", N.S.W. Edl. Gaz., X, Feb., 1901, 201. Note that the deputation's statement conflicts with the Minister's claim in 1890 that Needlework had been introduced into Infants' schools. The Minister could have been referring to Kindergarten sewing which is mentioned on page 37 of the 1890 Report.
⁴ Minister's Report, 1902, 106.
Attempts to introduce sewing machines into the schools had been deprecated by Mrs. Dadley in 1903, for she claimed they introduced purely mechanical labour into the schools and neutralised the good effects of physical culture.¹ However, they certainly provided a solution to some difficulties facing teachers in regard to the requirement of the Standard. Not only had practice to be given in "cutting out" and "fixing" of work, but each garment had to be finished by hand and so the number of garments cut out and finished was very limited.² On the other hand, the advent of the machine resulted in less stress being placed on adroitness while the New Education demanded that less time be spent on actual Needlework and more on the educative function:

There is no reason why in this, as in other forms of manual training, interest and intelligence and taste should not be evoked. With this end in view, the teachers of needlework must adopt the arts of the ordinary teacher, and by conversation, blackboard illustration, calculations of quantity, and lessons in the choice of material, make their work fit into the general education of the pupil.³

However, the 1904 Syllabus requiring the teaching of Needlework in all classes of the Primary school, gave little

¹ Minister's Report, 1903, 125.
³ Chief Inspector Dawson in ibid., 1905, 53.
scope for any but the practical aspects of the subject. In the Fifth class for example the Syllabus required the making of seams by different methods, patching, darning, cutting-out in paper and practice in sewing.\(^1\) Dawson in his Reports also stressed the practical direction given to the work:

"... plain sewing is preferred to fancy sewing; and darning, patching, and cutting-out are generally practised. Girls aim at making their own pinafores, blouses, and underwear."\(^2\)

The New Education also demanded the inclusion of new subjects in the domestic arts which teachers' wives were found "willing and able to teach".\(^3\) New regulations were therefore introduced to give a portion of the original four hours' weekly service by teachers' wives, to other domestic arts - cookery and general housewifery.\(^4\) Public opinion was changing. Chief Inspector Dawson ventured the opinion that "parents object to the labour involved (in domestic arts) and the girls are said to have a distaste for the work, having their minds bent towards employment other than in

\(^{1}\)Course of Instruction for Primary Schools, 1905, 12.

\(^{2}\)Minister's Report, 1906, 55; 1907, 51.

\(^{3}\)ibid., 1908, 38.

\(^{4}\)ibid.
home duties". By 1909 girls were sharing in the cardboard work of boys but Needlework remained "an integral part of a girl's training ... pursued on strictly useful lines".

The educative principles of Sloyd appeared to have had little influence upon Manual Training for girls. Little attempt was made to justify the incorporation of Needlework in the curriculum along the elaborate lines associated with the training of boys, although the introduction of cardboard work for girls would seem to be an indication of dissatisfaction with the educative potential of Needlework. Moreover, the Commissioners had found little evidence of innovation in the teaching of Needlework overseas, noting merely that it "tended towards the practical side". And so the teaching of Needlework remained apparently impervious to the discussion surrounding manual work for boys, its existence justified by tradition and the continued teaching of the subject overseas; the idea that girls had to do something while boys were doing manual work; and the claim that its skill was part and parcel of being a good housewife later on.

1ibid., 1908, 39.
2ibid., 1909, 52.
3ibid., 51.
4Commissioners' Report, 171.
Cookery and other Domestic Arts

Cookery found its way into the schools primarily as an extension of the need, long recognised in the teaching of Needlework, to train girls for "useful, honourable life as administrators of the home". The first Cookery class was held at Fort Street Public school in 1889. The success of the scheme led to extension to other schools under a course of instruction adopted in 1890. Elementary, Plain and Teachers' Courses were planned, the Elementary being the one common to all schools teaching Cookery. Pupils were expected to qualify for the Department's Elementary Certificate after spending one day per week for three months in the Cookery class. One hour per week was devoted to a lecture and demonstrations, the rest of the time allocation to practical experience:

The present arrangement is that all girls in the fifth class - say, about sixty - take cooking as a class subject. Once a week they receive a demonstration lesson, and on the other days sections of twelve, spend the whole morning in cooking an actual dinner for about thirty-five

1 Minister's Report, 1905, 53.

2 The following factual information from ibid., 1890, 47-50, 169 and 266-7.

3 The Standard however, allowed for a course of six months. vide, ibid., 1890, Appendix XXIX, 483-4.
people. The dinner is served by the girls, they afterwards wash up, and by 3 o'clock leave the kitchen and all utensils scrupulously clean, and ready for the next day's section. 1

The meals produced were sold to cover costs. Chief Inspector Maynard saw this as advantageous both from the point of view of yielding practical results and covering costs:

Steady, useful work, with constant repetition to acquire skill, is best secured by throwing on the teachers and the pupils the responsibility of preparing a dinner that people pay to eat, and which will be freely criticised if badly cooked. The other essential is that the cost of the provisions should not fall on the Department. For want of attention to one or both of these conditions the majority of cooking classes started in different parts of the world have collapsed after a very short trial. 2

Upon gaining the Elementary Certificate, pupils were to become eligible to attend the "Plain Cookery Course" taught at the Central Cookery School at Fort Street. Pupils were to attend from surrounding Public schools one day a week over a period of one year, their attendance being marked as ordinary school attendance. The "Teachers' Course", also at Fort Street, was intended to qualify students holding "Plain Cookery" certificates to conduct

1 ibid., 169.

2 ibid.
Cookery classes in Public schools. Additionally, Cookery classes were held at Hurlstone Training School and the Parramatta Industrial School.

To carry out the programme Mrs. Fawcett-Story was appointed "Instructress in Cookery", assisted by a teacher for the class at Blackfriars Public school, the only school other than Fort Street which provided the Elementary course. By December, 1890, although about 270 pupils had received instruction under the Elementary scheme, only eighty-eight had completed the practical course.

By 1902 eleven schools had been opened, with an enrolment of 945 pupils,¹ and at the end of 1910 the number of schools had grown to forty-six² with enrolments of 3,624 pupils.³ The expansion in the latter years grew out of a wide public demand for this "technical" education for girls, bolstered by the growing emphasis upon hygiene and health that was part of the New Education. This demand for technical education was however, tempered by a growing awareness of the rights and needs of women which demanded both the differentiation of the educational needs of girls

¹ibid., 1902, 11.

²About half of these forty-six schools were "Dual Classes" with Adult Classes held one or two days per week, reducing time available to school pupils. ibid., 1909, 52.

³ibid., 1910, 39.
from those of boys and an equality of opportunity to compete with them.

The contrariety manifested itself in the New Education approach to Cookery as a science:

The laws of health afford quite as useful an exercise of thought as the laws of motion; the kitchen, as an experimental laboratory, may be made of intense interest; and the possession of the purse an opportunity for the display of skill and forethought as necessary for the happiness of the home as the plans of a Treasurer for the welfare of a nation.1

This approach to the subject was formally recognised in the new Syllabus for the Fifth class. In place of a separate Cookery course as in the previous Standard, a course including other domestic arts was provided under the heading of "Nature Knowledge": "In Girls' Schools, lessons in household economy, food, clothing, domestic hygiene, and care of children should form the greater part of the year's course ...".2 Attendance at Cookery schools was to be encouraged.3

Nevertheless the teaching of Cookery in the first decade of the New Education, remained basically unchanged

1Chief Inspector Dawson in ibid., 1905, 53.

2Course of Instruction for Primary Schools, 1905, 11.

3ibid., 40.
from its introduction in 1889–90. The linking of cooking and science was first established at that time by the provision that Cookery would count as the "science" subject for girls in examinations.\(^1\) Cooking instruction was still generally confined in the later years to a relatively few schools in large centres of population, no formal provision being made for it in the new Syllabus for schools under one teacher.\(^2\) 1910 saw some development with a new Syllabus being drawn up to cover a period of twelve months rather than the former six months' allocation. The Syllabus was divided into two sections - Junior and Senior - each covering a period of six months. This arrangement permitted a more thorough training but reduced the number of children taking part in the course.\(^3\)

Innovation under the New Education was primarily in the grouping of Needlework, Cookery and other domestic arts so that the original Needlework time allocation of four hours could be spread over any of the domestic arts which the wife of the small school teacher was able to teach.\(^4\) This in

\(^1\) Minister's Report, 1890, 266.

\(^2\) vide, Course of Instruction for Primary Schools, 1905, Syllabus B.

\(^3\) Minister's Report, 1910, 39.

\(^4\) ibid., 1908, 38.
itself was not a radical departure, for Cookery from the outset had been taught at the expense of other subjects.\(^1\) What was new was the orientation implied by the teaching of domestic arts rather than simply Needlework. The emphasis in the latter had to be on the finished product because of the nature of the subject. Although the various components of the domestic arts courses continued this emphasis individually, collectively they were a practical attempt to tailor education to the needs of the child and society. Simply put, Needlework's exclusive place in the curriculum could never be effectively justified in terms of preparation for living, except in the sense of training for a trade.

The educative function could be more readily seen in a general domestic arts course, for this grouping implied the seeking of principles common to the component subjects resulting in "Nature Knowledge" such as boys might derive from the study of elementary Science and Agriculture. Thus the exigencies of an overcrowded curriculum; limited time allocations; and lack of resources resulted in a course which was perhaps more truly educative than the ideal which the Department had set itself:

\(^1\) Vide, Report of Instructress in Cookery, in ibid., 1890, 267: "I desire to acknowledge my obligations to the teachers ... who have had by extra work and self-denial to make up for the inroads made upon the time available for other subjects".
For the great majority of girls home will be the sphere of future usefulness. The current tendency in education recognises this fact, and insists on the intelligent preparation of the girl pupil for home life, with a view to her success and happiness either as a mother's help or as wife and mother. Traditional usage in the management of home affairs has ruled in the past; the aim is now to bring intelligence to the task.¹

Drawing²

The correlation of Manual Training with Drawing as suggested by Willis and Dawson was a further example of attempts in New South Wales to fit the New Education to the existing framework. In the eyes of the Department new subjects needed to be justified in terms of their compatibility with the old, but the continued teaching of these traditional subjects could also be justified as being complementary to the New Education. This idea in itself had been borrowed from English experience where Drawing had gained an additional dimension through the effect upon it of the New Education, it being particularly associated with the

¹ibid., 1905, 53.

²Whereas other aspects of the New Education have been studied in some detail by others, the importance of Drawing seems to have been underestimated. The writer has therefore covered this section more thoroughly.
Manual Training movement but also with the Scientific Educators, Naturalists, the Nature Study movement and, in general, the Practical Educators. In fact much the same arguments could be used in its favour as for Manual Training, except for the moral factor.¹

While closely associated with Manual Training in England, Drawing appears to have been a distinct movement which to some extent anticipated the New Education and may in fact have paved the way for the later practical interpretation of New Education principles. Manual Training in fact first appeared in the 1890 Code linked with Drawing which, being an established subject could be made obligatory. It was not till 1905 that Manual Training was successfully introduced in its own right within the hours of school attendance and a grant paid for it.²

C.D. Gaitskell³ has found reflected in art teaching, educational theories and practices of the late nineteenth century and even stronger influences from developments in the field of psychological thought. Drawing must certainly have played an important part in the dissemination of these ideas.

¹Selleck, op. cit., 146.
²ibid., 127.
According to him, Pestalozzi's contribution to the teaching of Art was the idea of education being more than mere recording of sense perceptions upon a passive mind. The learner being an active participant must recognise the experiences which come to him, so Drawing had an obvious role to play in education, especially one designed to produce "good citizens". The influence of Herbart upon art teaching was one of systematic pedagogy appealing to natural capacities, interests and activities as a part of the learning process. Froebel contributed the idea derived from Pestalozzi, that children should be taught from the concrete to the abstract, which principle, Gaitskell says, greatly influenced drawing lessons. In his opinion so too did Froebel's claim that the child could gain awareness of unity and Deity by contact with "perfect" forms such as Kindergarten objects.

Because the faculty theory taught that mental powers developed through exercise could be applied to all areas of human endeavour including artistic effort, its influence on early art education was great. Later teaching methods were designed according to Herbartian psychology to assist the mind to assimilate new ideas through ideas already acquired (apperception). Herbart, according to J. Malhern, "elevated the importance of the teacher and made the pupil a
listener, whose mind was to be molded (sic) according to a preconceived plan of studies and by formal steps of method". 1 Though grossly distorted, these ideas nevertheless determined the methods used in drawing lessons and the later application to Drawing of "functional" theories of learning wrought little change.

In England the educative function of Art was propounded by John Ruskin (1819–1900) who was Drawing Master at the London Working Mens' College 2 and Professor of Fine Art at Oxford for twelve years. In his treatise The Elements of Drawing Ruskin criticised the current approach of manuals purporting to teach Drawing:

Either they propose to give the student a power of dexterous sketching with pencil or water-colour, so as to emulate (at considerable distance) the slighter work of our second-rate artists; or they propose to give him such accurate command of mathematical forms as may afterwards enable him to design rapidly and cheaply for manufacturers. 3

Ruskin suggested that the role of the teacher was to encourage refinement of perception: "... the chief aim ... is to obtain, first, a perfectly patient, and to the utmost

3 ibid., xiii.
of the pupil’s power, a delicate method of work, such as may ensure his seeing truly”. ¹ Art to Ruskin was not an end in itself but a way to further learning: ”... I would rather teach drawing that my pupils may learn to love Nature, than teach the looking at Nature that they may learn to draw”. ² He also recognised the value of pupils being able to appreciate the art of others rather than trying to become artists themselves. ³

Two aspects of Ruskin’s method of teaching Drawing are of interest when compared with later methods. At an early stage he introduced solid objects of which he claimed the simplest to be the sphere. These objects however, served a different purpose than the Kindergarten objects which were later to be used in schools, Ruskin at this stage being primarily interested not in the outline but in the way shading gave the appearance of projection. ⁴ He also believed in drawing from objects without prior knowledge of the "laws of perspective", advising his students "to treat

¹ ibid., xv.
² ibid., xv–xvi.
³ ibid., xvi.
⁴ ibid., xviii.
perspective with common civility, but to pay no court to it".  

Ruskin's views apparently had little effect upon the tradition of the Government Schools of Design which he noted were mainly interested in design for manufactures:

... it seems to me, that we are all too much in the habit of confusing art as applied to manufacture itself. For instance, the skill by which an inventive workman designs and moulds a beautiful cup, is skill of true art; but the skill by which that cup is copied and afterwards multiplied a thousandfold, is skill of manufacture; and the faculties which enable one workman to design and elaborate his original piece, are not to be developed by the same system of instruction as those which enable another to produce a maximum number of approximate copies of it in a given time. 2

The Normal School of Design, founded in 1837 became a National Training School of Art after the establishment of the Department of Practical Art in 1852. When a science division was added the following year, it became the Science and Art Department of the Board of Trade which in turn was transferred to the new Education Department in 1856. 3 In 1896 it became the Royal College of Art with the object of training art teachers, designers and "art workmen". Along with the Imperial College of Science and Technology, the

1 ibid., xxiii.
2 ibid., xii-iv.
College was situated at South Kensington. The Science and Art Department encouraged the teaching of Art through distributing parliamentary subsidies to schools, teachers and students who complied with conditions laid down by the Department. Grasby, writing in the late 1880's drew attention to the fact that commentators on English education tended to overlook the work of the Science and Art Department in the elementary schools because such work was not mentioned in the reports of the Education Department in spite of the fact that "over eight hundred thousand elementary school pupils" had been receiving "systematic instruction". Grasby went on to assess the Department's educational contribution:

The Science and Art Department gives aid to schools of art, and art classes, science schools, elementary schools, and training colleges, and affords instruction in its various ramifications of junior and advanced classes to an aggregate of nearly one million pupils.

Later in his book however, Grasby had to acknowledge the unsatisfactory state of Drawing in most of the English

\[1\] ibid., 323.
\[2\] Known as "South Kensington grants".
\[3\] ibid., 158.
\[4\] Grasby, op. cit., 31-32.
\[5\] ibid., 32.
public elementary schools when compared with American standards:

When the subject was taught at all, it consisted, in the lower grades, of a little copying of figures composed of right lines on slates; in the intermediate, a little freehand and mechanical copying on paper; in the higher classes, the same, with a little drawing from simple models. It could not by any charity be considered an educational, much less an art course.1

The pervasive influence of South Kensington seems to have been a prime factor in perpetuating the rigidity of methods of teaching Drawing in New South Wales schools. Most of the important English teachers of Art had been trained at South Kensington and this tradition was carried to various parts of the world through various manuals which they wrote and through students with whom they had had personal contact. A typical manual was the "Handbook of Model and Object Drawing", by Sidney Nesbitt and George Brown of the Blackheath Hill School of Art,2 which was issued to students at Hurlstone College, Sydney, in 1900.3

1 ibid., 96.


3 Names and date on copy in Sydney Teachers' College Library.
This, like others, was based on the South Kensington group of models starting from the cube and ranging over objects of increasing difficulty such as the square pyramid, triangular prism, cylinders and so on. The influence of the faculty theory was reflected in a format which required the mastery of elementary skills before proceeding to exercises at a higher level. Adult standards of draftsmanship were required at each level. Each exercise was accompanied by lengthy explanations of the relations of the drawing of a model to the model itself which, in the authors' words, were "somewhat arid and difficult to understand". The final stages of such manuals typically dealt with more sophisticated objects such as steps, bridges and clock towers in which the student was to perceive complicated combinations of all the basic shapes he had previously mastered.

The methodology of such drawing books became the basis for teacher training courses, the learners being subjected to the same discipline which they were later to impose upon their own pupils. The learning of Drawing through South

\(^1\) Vide, e.g., F.F. Lydon, Model and Blackboard Drawing, London: Sampson Low, Marston and Co., 1900.

\(^2\) Nesbitt and Brown, op. cit., 6.
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- Polak and Quilter, op. cit.
EXAMINATION PAPERS

SET BY THE

BOARD OF EDUCATION

IN THE ELEMENTARY TEACHERS' CERTIFICATE EXAMINATIONS.

December 1907.

You may answer as many questions as you can; but every candidate is expected to attempt Questions 1 and 2.

1. Suppose the diagram* to be the subject of a lesson in drawing in outline. Show by means of a series of sketches the steps which should be taken in making the drawing.

Make a drawing, such as might be used for the illustration of this lesson, to show (a) how far the ornamental form in the diagram has been inspired by a study and knowledge of Nature, or (b) how the knowledge of some similar decorative form may have provided a suggestion for the ornamental arrangement of the spray.

Draw also an object to which the decorative form in the diagram might fitly be applied, and show the decoration in position.

Select what you consider to be one of the most beautiful features of the diagram, and give your reasons, briefly and with explanatory sketches, for thinking it beautiful.

2. A lesson on the drawing of a simple rectangular box in outline is to be given to a class of twelve scholars seated at movable single desks. Show by means of a sketch plan how you would arrange the scholars, the box, and your blackboard.

Supposing the lesson to be of an hour's duration and the scholars to be of varying attainments and ability, say how you would secure that each individual should receive the amount of instruction necessary to ensure due progress.

* A simple conventional spray of jessamine worked in embroidery. The chief principle is "radiation."

EXAMINATION PAPERS.

Indicate by means of a series of sketches the steps which should be taken in making the drawing of the box.

Make a drawing, such as might add an element of vitality to such a lesson and enlarge the scholars' outlook, of some piece of furniture, architectural structure, or natural form, etc., in which some of the principles involved in drawing the box are exemplified.

3. State briefly how you would illustrate a lesson on one of the following subjects, making use of sketches in your statement:

(a) a cow, cat, duck, or swallow;
(b) the growth of a buttercup, daisy, crocus, honeysuckle, oak, holly, maple, or ash;
(c) modes of transit.

4. Make a copy of the coloured pattern* with brush and colour. The parts of the pattern may be first indicated with the pencil.

5. A dimensioned sketch of a coffer is given.† Make a drawing of the coffer with instruments to the scale of 1½ in. to 1 ft., and indicate clearly, by means of letters (A, B, etc.) or by written explanation, the steps taken in the construction of the drawing.

6. Describe in general terms a course of Drawing which you think suitable for a Public Elementary School including an Infants' Division.

EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

- Polak and Quilter, op. cit.
Kensington-inspired texts died hard. Later texts, such as Polak and Quilter\textsuperscript{1} noted changes in educational methods but regarded these as giving "new and wider meanings" to the conventional ideas: "... in this book an attempt is made to preserve what is good in old methods while pointing out the best ways of commencing and pursuing newer and more educational courses".\textsuperscript{2}

Ruskin's influence is more readily seen than in earlier works, several chapters being prefaced with quotations from his writings. The Nature Study movement was beginning to be recognised and some elementary attempts to introduce the study of famous paintings was introduced, but hand and eye training continued to be dissociated from thought, and courses remained teacher (or text-book) planned and organised with step-by-step exercises of increasing complexity. Some idea of method can best be gained from a perusal of the Table of Contents in Polak and Quilter and samples of questions from examinations set by the Board of Education which were included at the end of the book.\textsuperscript{3}

\textsuperscript{1}S. Polak and H.C. Quilter, \textit{The Teaching of Drawing}, London: University Tutorial Press, 1911.

\textsuperscript{2}ibid., v.

\textsuperscript{3}vide, plate opposite.
The all-pervasive influence of South Kensington was carried to America by Walter Smith, whose Smith Drawing Books (1872) was one of the first series generally adopted. He was head of the Leeds School of Art and Science and concerned with the training of art teachers when he was offered the position of State Director of Art Education in Massachusetts. His rigid adherence to the South Kensington tradition apparently proved unpopular but he succeeded at least in introducing the South Kensington principles to America:

... Walter Smith's unbending adherence to the one course which he believed would answer the purpose for which he had been taken to America, and perhaps a not too pleasant way of asserting his convictions, cost him his health; but the work he did for his adopted country will never be lost. Such is the substance of what I heard of him in many places, and probably he did his work in the only way possible for him. That work has been modified very much, but formed the nucleus, out of which has been evolved various systems of form study and drawing for primary and grammar schools, of the highest educational value. 

Under Smith's influence "elementary" courses for teachers continued, as in England, to require freehand

1 Gaitskell, op. cit., 27.
2 ibid.
3 Grasby, op. cit., 98.
outlines, drawing from models, perspective and geometrical Drawing. More advanced courses might teach historical ornament and object painting in oils. However, the rigidity of the system, the unpopularity of Smith, and the manner of his introduction of plans, combined to weaken the South Kensington scheme from its inception.

As art schools in America established their own courses for teachers, the influence of the standard texts tended to diminish, the process being further accelerated by the growing interest in the "functional" concept of the mind. Stemming from Darwinian theory, this concept elevated the mind to the position of being the chief factor in adaptation to environment, the mind being regarded as consisting of "functions rather than static structures". Some courses of study adopted in the late 1880's displayed a curious mixture of the faculty and functional theories both of which readily lent themselves to the teaching of art. Typical of these was that adopted in 1888 by the State of New York:

1Gaitskell, op. cit., 29.
2Grasby, op. cit., 97.
3Gaitskell, op. cit., 29.
4Ibid., 24.
The study of form, as observed in models of type-forms and in objects, has taken the place of the study of printed copies; and the instruction has been broadened so as to include the cultivation of the observing powers by the study of things on the one hand, and the expressive powers, through drawing and language on the other; Drawing, however, beyond the elementary work, being the principal means used in expressing form-knowledge and its applications.¹

In progressive centres, Drawing was therefore rarely studied as a subject in itself but usually associated with Form-Study:

... Drawing is only a feature in the important study of form; while in the application of form knowledge, both in education and in practical life, it becomes the principal means for expressing thought. Hence the proper title for the study is form-study and drawing, and not drawing alone.²

The general plan of placing the teaching of Form-Study and Drawing in the hands of a town or city supervisor further popularised the study while at the same time guaranteeing variety in the work of different centres according to the personal preferences of the various supervisors.³ Its popularity was assured when the Prang

¹Quoted in Grasby, op. cit., 99.
²ibid.
³ibid., 100.
Educational Company issued a course in Form-Study and Drawing backed by several systems of training teachers to use the Company's materials, the Prang Normal Drawing Class for Home Study and Instruction by Correspondence being particularly successful. The system itself was likened by Grasby to the English teacher's conception of Kindergarten work, or hand and eye training, interwoven with the rest of the school work. Stress was placed on the relationship between Language and Form-Study, as Grasby observed at the Company's Normal Class in Boston:

The students work through the course of study, each one taking her turn as teacher, the remainder acting the part of pupils and performing all the exercises, answering each question in a complete sentence, as they are taught to insist on their pupils doing.

... At the close of each lesson a general discussion takes place. This discussion is a distinctive feature in American Education.2

Another experiment in the teaching of Drawing was being carried out at Cook County Normal School, Chicago under Colonel F.W. Parker, oral expression again playing an important part in the lessons. Here too, the teaching of Drawing was a means to a more highly educative end.3

1 ibid., 103.
2 ibid.
To Parker the thing that mattered was not the final product but the means by which it was achieved. Thus pupils were encouraged to use paints and brushes rather than pencils and to discuss the objects being studied, prior to expressing their form on paper:

After chatty lessons on the things themselves came the drawing. It is difficult to decide as to the value of this exercise. The pupils were unmistakably interested, and that is saying much. There was no difficulty in deciding what the majority of the pictures were meant for; a few were very good, while some might have represented many things, but it would require the imagination of an American newspaper interviewer to imagine that they were intended for cucumbers.¹

The teaching of Drawing in most progressive American schools was therefore in a much better position to escape the extremes of repressive rigidity associated with South Kensington. Although the initial impetus was distinctly in the English tradition, decentralising forces meant a more facile application of learning theory in American schools and encouragement of experimentation in different school districts, leading to more diversification than was to be expected from the original imported scheme.

In New South Wales, Peter Board, though sympathetic to Parker's ideas, was unable to modify the South Kensington

¹Grasby, *op. cit.*, 129.
influence to any great extent. His report to the Minister in 1905 voiced his approval of the American tendencies in the teaching of Drawing:

In order that a properly developed scheme may be brought into operation, it will be necessary to set apart a teacher who has thoroughly mastered the educational principles involved and the mechanical element of the training, that he may act as organiser and instructor. If such a teacher can also be afforded the opportunity of visiting America in order to study the systems in operation there, the whole of the work in this State can be put upon a thoroughly sound footing.¹

Drawing in New South Wales had been established as a subject since Wilkins introduced it to Fort Street Model school in the early 1850's.² The "respectability" which Drawing enjoyed in the New South Wales curriculum was inherited in part from England where for boys it was linked with the obligatory "Three R's" determining the payment of grants.³ It had proved in England, and particularly in America, to be particularly adaptable to the New Education, at the same time undoubtedly contributing to and forming a

¹ Minister's Report, 1905, 43.
² Vide, Turney, op. cit., 756.
basis of the movement itself. It could therefore be expected that as a vehicle in New South Wales for the New Education, the established subject of Drawing might have played a most important role. It should have needed but little impetus from the American movement to effect methodological change. The South Kensington influence was so obviously out of step with the needs of the young State and New South Wales had as yet little need of an educative system which had been designed as a desperate bid by the Mother Country to lessen the ever-widening gap between German technological progress and her own.

There was in fact, in the early stages, manifestation of the need to develop along the expressive lines of the American idea:

Speaking generally, there is a want of illustrative power in the teaching: reference to objects and to illustrative pictures, diagrams, etc., is rare. The secret of teaching through the eye does not seem to be well understood. Verbal illustration also is seldom heard; and in exposition and description the vocabulary and the modes of expression adopted are limited, and in many cases stereotyped.¹

However, after the South Kensington system was adopted in 1884² the centralised organisation precluded modifying

¹Inspector D.S. Hicks in Council of Education Report, 1897, 69.
²vide, Minister's Report, 1884, 23.
influences similar to those which had produced the American "Form Study". The benefits of the South Kensington system should not however be underrated. For some time it had been apparent that the poor standard of Drawing in the schools was mainly due to the fact that few teachers could themselves draw well; lessons in many cases being merely a means of keeping pupils occupied while the teacher was otherwise engaged. ¹ Thus, on the assumption that the drawing of teachers must first be improved, the subject was divided into the five branches of Blackboard Drawing, Freehand Drawing, Model Drawing, Geometrical Drawing, and Perspective. ² A series of graduated Drawing classes was formed for students in training and pupil-teachers employed in Metropolitan schools. As far as practicable a pass in the subject became an indispensable condition for the award of higher grades of classification ³:

Pupil-teachers on completing their term of service and becoming eligible for training are required to hold certificates for Blackboard, Freehand, and Model Drawing. In addition to these, second class teachers are required to hold a certificate for Geometrical Drawing, while a first class

¹ Minister's Report, 1881, 128.
² ibid., 1884, 23.
³ ibid., 1885, 23.
teacher must pass in all sections, including Perspective. ¹

Instruction in the schools involved drawing both from the flat and the round and applied to all classes from Third to Fifth:

The third class is, at the end of the sixth quarter, expected to pass in freehand drawing as contained in the Royal Drawing Books, Nos. 7, 8, 9, and 10; the fourth class, in its fourth quarter of enrolment, is required to pass the standard indicated by the Royal Drawing Books 11 and 12, and Collins' Advanced Books Nos. 1 and 2, and in wire models of the cube, cone, prism, and pyramid; and the fifth class is required to pass in geometrical and model drawing.²

With the preparation in England during 1888, of a new Bill for the promotion of technical and manual instruction, an increase of interest in technical education in New South Wales schools led to preliminary steps being taken "towards securing the services of a specially qualified and experienced organiser and superintendent of drawing instruction for Primary Schools and teachers".³ Early in 1890 Frederick W. Woodhouse who had trained at South Kensington, arrived from England to take up his appointment

¹ibid., 1886, 16.
²ibid., 1887, 24.
³ibid., 1888, 34.
as "Superintendent of Drawing".¹ He immediately set to work implementing changes which had been foreshadowed the previous year when a Conference of Inspectors had recommended that Drawing be added to the subjects prescribed for Infants' Schools.² Woodhouse was not however satisfied with the scope of the reforms introduced prior to his assuming office³ and set about revising the course of instruction to have it made "really gradual and progressive, and in every way effective in its results".⁴ The result was a Syllabus designed for teachers having no special knowledge of the subject arranged in sufficient detail to leave little to their initiative:

A syllabus has been prepared ... embodying many hints on the method of teaching, outline lessons, suggestions as to models, text-books, and the like, and showing how the work may, from the commencement, lead directly up to the chief end of drawing - the power of expressing with precision the real or apparent form of any object seen or remembered - answering, in fact, to the power of description in writing. The real form may be shown either by freehand or geometry; the apparent, by model drawing or perspective.⁵

¹ibid., 1890, 26.
²ibid., 1889, 16.
³viz., the introduction of the subject from the Infants' classes upwards and increased emphasis upon "teaching from the round".
⁴ibid., 1890, 27.
⁵ibid., 1890, 264.
This Syllabus was published as a series of articles on the teaching of Drawing, commencing with the second issue of The New South Wales Educational Gazette and continuing into 1892.¹

The Superintendent also replaced the old inspection of books with examination *viva voce* and by work done in his presence, thus testing both the capabilities of the pupils and the worth of the methods used by the teacher.² At the time of inspection, Woodhouse also took it upon himself to give model lessons aimed at showing "how the course of instruction may be made a really gradual and progressive one, not only in each class, but in the classes as a whole".³ He found it necessary to try to convince many teachers of the need for collective class teaching for "the possibility of imparting considerable skill to the general run of children is to many a new idea, the notion that drawing is the gift of the few rather than the instinct of the many being a firmly rooted one".⁴

² Minister's Report, 1890, 262.
³ *ibid*.
⁴ *ibid.*, 263.
But perhaps the most important of his innovations was the increased emphasis which he placed upon oral expression and Form Study. While never approaching the expressiveness of some American systems, this at least gave some emphasis to the creative role of the child and paved the way for the later introduction of more permissive means of expression such as "Brushwork".

... it is ... necessary to bring the intelligence of the children to bear upon their work, by eliciting from them at the beginning of each lesson the mode of procedure they will adopt in attacking the subject. This sharpens the faculty of observation, and obliges them to see the object as a whole rather than in detail, as is almost certain otherwise to be done to the detriment of any real grasp of the work as to proportion and construction.1

Another departure from the rigidity of South Kensington lay in the Superintendent's devising a collection of drawing models for use in the schools which, although retaining the typical South Kensington geometrical forms, possessed more variety in that each piece was capable of being combined with others in many ways.2

By 1896 signs of strain were apparent. The problems associated with the inspection of increasing numbers of

1 *ibid.*, 262.
2 *ibid.*, 1892, 221.
sohools meant that incidenta1 visits had to be restricted to about one-tenth of the departments, although in Woodhouse's opinion such visits were of greater educational worth than the exhaustive inspections. The teaching of Drawing in the sohools still was hampered by lack of equipment in the form of suitable models and instruments. Model Drawing particularly continued to be a weakness amongst pupil-teachers and in the schools where, according to Woodhouse, the head-teachers having little grasp of the subject themselves, relied upon the inadequately prepared pupil-teachers. The position was summarised in his report for 1897:

... though the standard demanded has risen considerably above what it was a few years ago, it is still far below what is desirable, if the skill obtained is to be of much practical use, and is to form a good foundation for the work of technical classes and other secondary instruction. More frequent inspection and assistance in teaching on the lines of the system carried out in Birmingham (where every school is visited twice a month) form the best means of improvement.

He deplored the uneducative nature of teaching in the schools:

... lack of interest pervades the teaching of the subject in the schools, especially that given by

1 ibid., 1896, 165.
2 ibid., 165.
3 ibid., 1897, 156.
pupil-teachers, whose knowledge of the subject is not thorough enough to enable them to give a collective lesson to a class with confidence. Individual instruction alone is quite inadequate, except where the number taught is very small .... The drawing lesson is rarely, as it might be, made the vehicle for observation of common things outside the school, or for promoting taste and judgment by consideration of the meaning and reason of the shape and decoration of such things, or of the ornamentation of houses and public buildings.¹

To remedy these defects he called for emphasis upon method in the Training Schools;² the construction of an authoritative syllabus; a minimum time allowance to be fixed by the Department;³ and more frequent visits from specialists.⁴

In spite of Woodhouse's hopes for increased time allocations, in 1898 a revision of the Standard for Drawing resulted in the omission of Model Drawing in Third class and the making of Model Drawing and Practical Geometry alternative subjects in Fourth and Fifth.⁵ It was at this point that Woodhouse recognised the futility of attempts to

¹ibid., 157.
²ibid.
³ibid., 156.
⁴ibid., 157.
⁵ibid., 1898, 158.
graft the virtually unmodified English system into the
significantly different environment of the New South Wales
schools:

The greater number of subjects taught and the
smaller importance attached to this subject than
in England make it generally impossible to devote
so much time to it as given there,¹ and it is
therefore a distinct gain to have a standard
which is not a mere copy of that in force there
or elsewhere, but arranged in accordance with
what is possible here.²

Following the revision of the Standard, the Superintendent
set about preparing a detailed and illustrated Syllabus "to
render the standard more uniform and less subject to private
interpretation".³ The changes were apparently well
received by teachers who felt the new Standard and Syllabus
to be more suited to New South Wales conditions.⁴ Drawing
in competition with other subjects, received a further
setback with the modifications in the Standards of
Proficiency brought out in 1902 to allow the preparation of
Fifth class pupils for the various public examinations.⁵

¹ ½ to 2 hours. vide, ibid., 1897, 156.
² ibid., 1898, 158.
³ ibid.
⁴ ibid., 1899, 158.
⁵ ibid., 1902, 9.
The effect was that Drawing was almost always omitted from the curriculum of Upper Fifth classes.¹

The tangible evidence of decline in Drawing instruction was to some extent offset by the introduction of Brushwork in 1902.² Woodhouse advocated its introduction from the Infants level but was sceptical as to the feasibility of widespread, educative teaching of the art until it became possible for teachers to be trained themselves.³ On the threshold of the "New Education" era, Woodhouse retired.⁴ Since his appointment in 1890 he had repeatedly called for recognition of the need to raise the status of Drawing in the New South Wales system. He had striven for increased time allocations, an authoritative syllabus, progressive teaching methods and adequate supervision. In 1892 he had suggested to the Department a revised system of examination for teachers. In 1903 the scheme had been put into effect.⁵ Several years before his retirement he had drawn the

¹ibid., 105.
²ibid., 1902, 106.
³ibid.
⁴August, 1903, vide, ibid., 1903, 79.
Department's attention to the latest English methods. He had the satisfaction of seeing John E. Branch appointed to introduce these developments into the New South Wales schools. To this extent and more, he had been successful. Certainly within the environmental limitations of the time more rapid progress and innovation would have been well-nigh impossible. That Woodhouse had correctly diagnosed the difficulties facing his subject was borne out by the Education Commissioners on their return from overseas. In fact one wonders whether the conclusions of J.W. Turner were the result of his overseas travels or of his perusal of Woodhouse's annual reports:

"... the subject in our State Schools has had too little importance attached to it in the past, and while other countries have made drawing one of the strongest subjects in their curriculum, alike on account of its educational as well as practical value, we have been content to give it a minor place in our programmes, and the minimum amount of time in its teaching. A complete revision of the drawing syllabus, showing more definitely what is required from each class, and a knowledge of the most modern methods of treating the subject, are necessary preparatory steps towards placing the instruction on a proper basis.

It is quite beyond the power of any one man to organise and thoroughly superintend the drawing if he is held responsible for the teaching of the subject in the Training Schools, and examining and instructing the pupils in the public schools."

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1 ibid.

2 Commissioners' Report, 181.
APPENDIX XIV.

REPORT OF SUPERINTENDENT OF DRAWING.

On 1st April, 1903, I commenced work in this State, as Teacher of Drawing, to introduce new methods in the teaching of that subject under the following heads:

Ambidextral Drawing.

The ability to use both or either hand and arm is an advantage, and benefits the physical and mental development of the scholar.

To use either hand more equally than at present is the custom, by the better coördination of the motor centres thus effected, should tend to diminish that partial paralyses of the mind and body, instances of which in these days of high specialisation seem to be increasing.

The musician, typist, and many manual workers use either arm and hand, and in some cases where dexterity is the habit now, it would be a physical and commercial advantage to the employee and a commercial advantage to the employer, if the former were ambidextrous. In all our domestic and personal operations we use both hands, although, as a rule, we cannot use either hand. Writing and Drawing are the operations in which dexterity is most prevalent.

The infant, unconsciously, uses either arm and hand, so it is simply the natural order of development when we endeavour to train either arm.

The advantage of using both arms or hands simultaneously in the study of symmetrical form is already much appreciated, and the training of the left has improved the skill of the right.

Free-arm Drawing.

This is the term applied to one-arm work (either arm), and covers the drawing from Nature and irregular objects.

Instead of simply making copies, our scholars now draw directly from the Object or from Nature in mass, colour and line; by this means they learn to express their own mental impressions, and, as far as possible, in their own way; thus the method has the advantages of developing self-expression, originality and the formation of correct and accurate mental impressions, so necessary in the study of Science and throughout life.

While drawing objects, the scholars are really studying them. The teachers lead them to discover reasons for the various constructions. The beautiful in Nature is also studied in form and colour. Accuracy and utility is obtained by means of Mechanical and Commercial Drawing.

Free-line Drawing is done upon as large a surface as convenient, placed in the most convenient position; consequently, instead of bending over a few square inches of white paper and with a sharp pencil point copying one copy during a lesson, the scholars now sit or stand in hygienic positions working on a board or brown paper, placed vertically, with chalk or coloured crayons, and draw an Object first in one position, then in another, and, thirdly, from memory, in the same time.

The free movement in free-arm work necessitates working on a fairly-large surface in the lower classes, and the amount of work done precludes the use of white paper, as a rule, on account of expense. I am pleased to state that many of our city and suburban schools are already fitted, or are being fitted, with free-arm boards and ambidextral boarding by the Department.
Brushwork.

Each teacher is asked to introduce Brushwork or Modelling as soon as he can get the necessary material and qualification. I am pleased to be able to say that, by the end of the year, nearly every school in Sydney had someone on its staff capable of commencing the work, and many schools had already done so.

The scholars make a study in colour with the brush, of a sprig, spray, or blossom, &c., directly from their own observation of their own specimen, to their paper. From this, on a geometric basis, they form a design—original and for some specified purpose. Already I have seen many quite suitable for wall-papers, table-cloths, floor-cloths, &c., and many good attempts at designs for book-covers, needlework in various forms, plates, Christmas cards, in fact, everything which can be designed and treated in a flat mass. Good work from several schools was exhibited at the Teachers' Conference.

The enormous demand for the materials required—"Plasticine" for modelling, and brushes, water-colours, palettes, and paper for brushwork—has had the effect of exhausting the supplies of the State and bringing forth the efforts of our inventors to put on the market suitable substitutes for those not now obtainable.

Modelling.

In this subject also, the scholars work from Nature and Objects, in high and low relief and in "the round."

One of the most powerful of the senses through which knowledge can be imparted, is that of touch, especially in young children. Modelling in the school aims at educating through this means. The children from the Kindergarten upwards model from their own specimens from oranges, carrots, &c., up to difficult foliage and original designs. The modelling is merely a drawing subject, but, when the scholar has a certain amount of ability, lends itself to the study of other subjects—Geography, Mathematics, &c.

As a rule, no artificial tool is used, nor should a tool be used during the first two or three years, as it is better to keep the subject as a real "hand and eye training."

When modelling from Objects, the reasons for constructions are understood, and at times the scholars suggest either a different or a better form. Already we have an improved egg-cup.

In this subject great progress has been made in the schools where the work has been in progress for some time.

In each subject designs are made in line, mass, or relief. The mental processes involved in choosing the most beautiful forms from their specimens and placing them on some geometrical and accurate basis, to form some pleasing and original design for a given purpose, are very different from those involved in studying other Subjects.

By working directly from Nature her beauties can be more thoroughly appreciated, and by showing the child that there is some higher and nobler Power than himself at work on the world, becomes a civilising and strong moral force in the development of the character of the child.

Following are some statistics relating to this subject:—

On 1st September, I was appointed Superintendent of Drawing, vice Mr. Woodhouse, therefore, most of the work mentioned below relates to the period 1st September to 31st December, 1903.

During this period I examined the Freehand and Model or Geometrical Drawing of eighty-four Departments.
Each of these points had been repeated ad nausium in Woodhouse's reports ever since he took up office.¹

On 1st April, 1903, a few months prior to Woodhouse's retirement, John E. Branch had been appointed Departmental Teacher of Drawing "to introduce new methods in the teaching of that subject".² These were listed as Ambidextral Drawing, Free-arm Drawing, Brushwork and Modelling.³ It is noteworthy that this appointment was at a date too early for the findings of the Commissioners to have had any effect. The Commissioners were in fact aware of his work when they wrote their report, for Branch had exhibited specimens of the newly-introduced arts at the Public School Teachers' Conference, 1903.⁴ After seeing his programme of work for the Training School, the Commissioners were able to state "that in so far as one man can be successful, the teaching of the subject is likely to be brought into line with the best methods of other countries".⁵

¹vide, "Report of Superintendent of Drawing", in Minister's Report, 1890-1902.
²ibid., 1903, 123.
³ibid.
⁴Commissioners' Report, loc. cit.
⁵ibid.
PLATE I. BRUSH MANIPULATION.

BRUSHWORK EXERCISES

- J.E. Branch, Brushwork from Nature with Design,
  Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1906, Plate 1.
The suggestion here, that drawing itself formed an auxiliary vehicle for dissemination of New Education ideas, is supported by Chief Inspector Dawson’s description of the impact of the 1904 Syllabus upon the schools:

As was to be expected from the greater freedom allowed by the syllabus, some laid too much stress on features that appealed to them. The Art Course bulked so largely that some devoted special attention to drawing, modelling, and brush-work, forgetting that the same principle of self-realisation, self-expression, self-activity, and reality underlies all branches of instruction.¹

It appears that the progressive ideas of Woodhouse upon which Branch was able to build, had paved the way for an understanding by teachers of ideas and methods now demanded by the New Education. Branch, who had been an instructor with the London School Board,² brought with him aspects of subject-matter which were "new" but which were also a logical progression from, and owed their acceptance to the traditions of Waterhouse:

The new point of view furnished by Herbartian Apperception may, I think, be well illustrated by the transition our conceptions of drawing are at present undergoing. We see it in the substitution of Brush Drawing, in mass for the old pencil drawing of outlined copies, and we see it, too, in the direct drawing from nature in

¹Minister’s Report, 1904, 73–4.
²Ibid., 1903, 11.
place of the mere reproduction of some conventionalized figure .... As some of us have already discovered, under Mr. Branch's tuition, there can be no faithful reproduction of the natural object without such careful observation of flower, leaf, fruit, of fish, etc., as will give us the correct ideas of form, proportion, and relative position.¹

It is significant that teachers, faced with the somewhat radical educational philosophy of the 1904 Syllabus, apparently identified it immediately with Drawing (now Art) - one of the few contexts in which to them, the philosophy made sense.

As Woodhouse had foreseen lack of teachers trained in these arts proved the stumbling block² yet the New Education could not provide improvement upon Woodhouse's organisation, demonstrations and part-time classes forming the nucleus of efforts to impart the new subject skills to teachers.³ Change lay in the enthusiasm with which such in-service training was received.⁴ This is not wholly explicable in terms of the "novelty of modelling in plasticine and

² Minister's Report, 1904, 76.
³ ibid., 1903, 124.
⁴ vide, Aust. J. of Ed., II, Jan., 1905, 4: "During the past year, hundreds of teachers have attended the classes for instruction in Art. Similar classes dealing with other subjects are urgently needed and would be well patronised." Also Minister's Report, 1904, 108-9.
PIT AND CAVE DWELLINGS

(An example of correlation between Manual Training, Art and History, 1908.)
and brushwork" with which Dawson accounted for the increased emphasis upon Art in the schools. Rather, the explanation would seem to lie in the conditioning process which had worked upon teachers since the 1890's. Teachers, having had time to adjust to new ideas, could now set about implementing them. The personal enthusiasm of Branch should also not be overlooked in accounting for the popularity of Art. On his appointment in September, 1903 as Superintendent, he was described by Acting Chief Inspector McCredie as "an enthusiast in his work, (who), in addition to visiting metropolitan schools, devotes his evenings and every Saturday morning² to the instruction of teachers, assistants, and pupil-teachers".³ In this work he was joined at the end of 1903 by an assistant, J.W. Dunlop.⁴

Correlation, a dominant feature of the New Education, soon proved an effective means of diverting teachers' enthusiasm into other subject channels, notably Object lessons and Geography.⁵ By 1905 progress was being

¹Minister's Report, 1904, 76.
²Applications to attend Saturday morning classes were invited in May, 1903. N.S.W. Edl. Gaz., XII, May, 1903, 273.
³Minister's Report, 1903, 79.
⁴ibid.
⁵ibid.
A Suggested Programme for Three Terms suitable for “One-Teacher” Schools.
“Free-line Drawing by Free-arm and Ambidextral Methods, from Nature and Objects.”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lesson No.</th>
<th>FIRST QUARTER</th>
<th>Lesson No.</th>
<th>SECOND QUARTER</th>
<th>Lesson No.</th>
<th>THIRD QUARTER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Whole School taken together: Drill in holding chalk and use of “trial lines” singly. Method of drawing illustrated by wheel-harrow.</td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Whole School. Hand in sketches of horse or cow; half-hour to reproduce the same from memory. Quarter-hour drill on “trial lines” and methods. Boot.</td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Whole School. Hand in sketches of shed. Criticism, 20 minutes. Drill in methods; chalk straight lines, curves, ellipse, and circle, either arm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Whole School. Drill as above with methods of cleaning. One large simple leaf; then ambidextrally.</td>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Whole School. Orange in mass, 20 minutes. Upper: Orange and foliage in line, 25 minutes. Lower: Two more oranges.</td>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Upper: Commercial drawings of stove-pipe elbow, 35 minutes; Lower: Imaginative brush, 15 minutes; teacher corrects, 20 minutes; ambidextral, 10 minutes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Upper: Two gum leaves, quarter-hour; memory, quarter-hour; design. Lower: Beads in mass and colour, half-hour.</td>
<td>5.</td>
<td>15 minutes: Lower, suggest designs to fill last lesson spaces; Upper, coffee-pot. 15 minutes: Lower, complete their designs; Upper, memory of coffee-pot. Ambidextral practice, 15 minutes.</td>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Lower: Blossom in colour (mass). Upper: Stuffed bird, 20 minutes; memory drawing of above, 15 minutes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Upper and Lower: Pear in mass, quarter-hour. Lower: Memory, quarter-hour. Upper: Spray of three gum leaves in mass, quarter-hour. All: Ambidextral, quarter-hour.</td>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Upper: Suggest designs for their B.P., 15 minutes; designs drawn 25 minutes. Lower: Spade in line, two positions, and from memory.</td>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Upper: Commercial drawing of table, 45 minutes; home sketch of dog. Lower: Simple jug, 15 minutes; memory, 15 minutes; design on leaves and berries, 15 minutes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Upper: Two original designs on gum leaves for borders. Lower: Lemon in mass and colour three times, half-hour. Ambidextral practice, quarter-hour.</td>
<td>8.</td>
<td>All: Egg in its cup, 30 minutes; memory, 15 minutes. (Ambidextral.)</td>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Upper: Commercial, inkstand, 35 minutes. Lower: Hammer, 15 minutes; memory, 15 minutes. All: Ambidextral, 10 minutes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>All: Apple in line, quarter-hour; then from memory, quarter-hour. Ambidextral designing, quarter-hour.</td>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Upper: Each from own snail or similar shell, 15 minutes each side. Lower: Imaginative, cart, 15 minutes; corrections by teacher. All: Straw hat, easy flat position.</td>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Lower and Upper: School or playshed (outside, on slates with pencils or crayons), inside again reproduce from memory, 20 minutes. Very young scholars can draw tops of palings or sides of steps, &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>All: Drill on the ellipse, quarter-hour; drill on circle, quarter-hour; draw anything they like, quarter-hour.</td>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Lower: 15 minutes, log of wood. Upper: Horse shoe. All: Drill on spiral, 15 minutes; draw what they please, 15 minutes.</td>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Lower and Upper: Re-draw from memory:—Upper, snail; Lower, geranium; Upper, clover; Lower, bag; Upper, horse shoe; Lower, hat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Holiday sketch of father’s horse or cow.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Holiday sketch of shed.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Holiday sketch of cottage.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NOTES ON THE SUGGESTED PROGRAMME.**—During the fourth quarter, lessons of the previous quarters involving fundamental principles should be revised. The school has been divided into Upper and Lower Sections, represented by Upper and Lower. During most of these lessons the Teacher pays particular attention to one and supervises the other section. That section which is placed first is the one to which the Teacher should devote most of his energy. The various methods will be illustrated in future numbers of the Gazette.

**THE ART SYLLABUS**

consolidated. Freehand Drawing and Brushwork were to be seen throughout the schools and colour had been generally introduced. The pedagogical bases of the art course were more widely advocated:

... drawing is not now looked upon as a reproduction of some (to the pupil) meaningless lines from a drawing already in existence; ... teachers are showing that they understand that the mental process involved in the drawing is of more importance than the beauty of the drawing. In many schools the teachers are commencing to use the drawing for the conveyance of ideas between themselves and their pupils ....

A new course of study for teachers was also drawn up, reducing the number of subjects to those of special value. In spite of Branch's idealism not all his efforts met with unbounded success, the sorry story of Ambidextral Drawing pointing out the dangers of a too-ready application of "scientific" knowledge to the education of children.

The question of the unequal use of the right and left hands had exercised the minds of educators since the 1890's.

\[1\text{ibid.}, 1905, 87.\]

\[2\text{viz., Blackboard Drawing (from reality, memory or imagination to convey ideas pictorially); Brushwork (from nature with plain geometrical drawing leading to design); Modelling (from objects and invention of design); and Perspective (with solid geometry). ibid.}\]
FOURTH GRADE

AMBIDEXTROUS DRAWING
It was observed for example, that the "middle-aged human nose" turned slightly towards the right side of the face.\(^1\) Mothers were therefore warned to teach their children to blow their noses alternately with both hands, it being noted that this was "indeed a serious matter, and all who have the interests of posterity at heart must be grateful for the timely warning". It is impossible from the context to judge the intent of the report, facetious or otherwise. It is clear however, that similar reasoning led to the advocacy of Ambidextral Drawing,\(^2\) using both hands either simultaneously or at different times.

The method was justified on the "psychological" ground that "both arms may be made to act simultaneously and with equal power and facility, with no more brain effort than is used in moving one".\(^3\) The idea was that the simultaneous use of both hands led to increased accuracy, drawings of

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\(^2\) The term "Free-arm Drawing" was used to indicate that either arm might be used, whereas "Ambidextrous Drawing" implied that both hands were used simultaneously. Both types were regarded as "Ambidextral". *vide*, J.E. Branch in *N.S.W. Conference of Inspectors etc.*, 1904, op. cit., 144.

corresponding sides of symmetrical objects being more nearly alike than when drawn by either hand alone. The technique was also said to develop boldness of line and freedom of movement.

The method however, was short-lived. At the 1904 Conference W.C. Taylor of the Superior Public School, Goulburn, quoted the results of experiments in the University of Chicago: "At any given age of school life bright or advanced pupils tend towards accentuated unidexterity; slow or backward pupils tend towards ambidexterity." Professor Knibbs agreed with the findings but pointed out that it did not follow that the training of either hand would lead towards idiocy. However, the cry was taken up again at the Annual Conference of the Public School Teachers' Association, A.V. Wigg claiming that Ambidextral Drawing was an exploded fad, the best specimens of it he had ever seen being in an idiots' asylum near London. The Conference ultimately

1 ibid., 103.


3 N.S.W., Conference of Inspectors etc., 1904, loc. cit.

4 ibid.

resolved "That the time devoted to the art subjects of the syllabus be curtailed, and that greater choice be given to teachers in deciding the particular sections to be taken up". ¹

Ambidextral Drawing was not however basic to Branch’s conception of the educative function of art in the schools and his work survived this minor crisis, although the practical side of his ideals continued to dominate the thinking at the highest levels in the Department:

Evidence has been forthcoming that, in at least one direction, the work of designing ornamentation for locally-made pottery work, an avenue of employment may be opened up for those who, having laid the foundation in artistic work in the primary school, have carried on their training to greater proficiency afterwards. The use of drawing instruments is also furnishing an important training in hand work. This work, besides giving a training in exactness and attention to detail, forms an indispensable preparation for almost all forms of technical training.²

The succeeding five years saw the expansion of attempts to bring the opportunities for training in Art to teachers entering and already in the service. Classes for both country and city teachers were increased and

¹ ibid.

² P. Board in Minister’s Report, 1905, 44.
Mr. J. Manchester was appointed to teach Art to probationary students (and therefore future teachers) in the Sydney High schools. Most District schools, also involved with the preparation of students for the Training College, possessed a well-qualified teacher of Art. Summer schools for art work were introduced in Sydney and in some country inspectorates. ¹ The amount of instruction at the Training College was increased to four afternoons each week² while assistance, direction and criticism was extended to all interested through letters as well as articles published in the Public Instruction Gazette. The making of ability in Drawing a sine qua non for promotion to a higher classification³ reflected both the Department's view as to the importance of the art to modern teachers, and its conviction that sufficient opportunities for acquiring such skills were accessible to those who wished to avail themselves of the opportunity. There were however still districts to which, "owing to the sparseness of the population, and the difficulties caused by distance, it has

¹vide, N.S.W. Edl. Gaz., XV, Feb., 213; XVI, Mar., 1907, 189.

²Minister's Report, 1906, 117.

³1907 Regls., Sect. 103(i). Also ibid., 1909, 34.
not been found possible to extend this form of training". ¹

Art teaching was therefore one of the great successes of the New Education movement for it was unique in being able to spawn an effective system of in-service training to complement the introduction of progressive subject-matter and methods. It is remarkable that of all the subject fields competing for attention in the early years of this century, and in spite of the integrative demands of New Education philosophy, Art was able to set up a system of teacher-training and supervision throughout the State, virtually for its own exclusive use and self-propagation. It has been shown that such a situation was to a great extent the product of the personalities involved compounded by the natural affinity of their subject-matter and instruction methods with the New Education influences. It has proved possible to trace over a period of some twenty years the gradual metamorphosis of art work from a traditional though uninspiring inclusion in a Standard of Proficiency to a subject of truly educational ideals. Its nature was such as to arouse the enthusiasm of relatively untrained teachers towards its study and teaching. The

¹Minister's Report, 1909, 35.
period's achievements are best summarised in the words of Superintendent Branch:

The endeavour to use art expression as a means for educating, as a means for the conveyance of ideas between teacher and pupil (each way), and as a means of compelling the study of things to be accurate and scientific, is ... bearing fruit; still, rather slowly, owing to a latent fear on the part of the teacher that he cannot draw, and that some consider it a slow way of assimilating knowledge. The "latent fear" will be overcome by the increased facilities for studying the work, and experience will prove that methods which are apparently slow may, by their manifold sensory appeals, be the most educative and permanent.¹

In summary then, Manual Training for boys had remained practically impervious to the specific influences emanating from Sweden and America and the general influence of the New Education. In following the accepted English pattern of technical and "hand and eye" training, it had failed also to attract the enthusiasm of the practising teacher which would appear to have been a prerequisite for the generation of an effective training system for the inculcation of new ideals. Developments in Manual Training for girls had led by 1910 to

¹Ibid., 1906, 117.
the virtual abandonment of the educative principles which might have grown out of the New Education, in favour of the teaching of Domestic Economy. The theoretical justification that such a training was "preparation for life" depended too much upon the enlightened interpretation of essentially trade-trained teachers, for it to be a consistent outcome of the course. Even more remote was the possibility that the treatment of the component subjects might be successfully conducted in accordance with the principles of "Nature Knowledge", that is, as Science for girls. The promise was there, but it could not be realised in the context of Departmental ideals and practice.

In contrast, the results of enlightened and enthusiastic supervision were demonstrated in the development of art teaching in New South Wales. It has been shown that this field maintained a position in relation to overseas practice which, taking into account the need to relate procedures to local conditions, was equal with or perhaps in advance of the general overseas standard. It is significant that this subject developed a system of training for practising teachers. By virtue of this training system; the subject's status as an established discipline; and its capacity for correlation with other subjects; it was able to function as an agent for the dissemination of New Education principles and practices.
CHAPTER VI

CURRICULUM: DEVELOPMENT: HEALTH & PHYSICAL EDUCATION

The New Education in general and the Child-Study movement in particular, advocated the development of Health and Physical Education practices in schools as sources of child activity and for their contribution to balanced and homogeneous development of the individual. True physical culture aimed also at counteracting the adverse influences of the school environment upon the health of the child, while also impressing upon him "a sense of order, of the value of unity and co-operation, of the need for, and the supremacy of law".¹

The latter attribute through its apparent compatibility with the army drill influence in New South Wales schools, was to dominate the more subtle concerns of Physical Education. The role of personalities proved to be an important factor in determining the insularity of the subject towards New Education influences, but in addition the social factors of war and patriotism served to maintain the traditional emphasis upon drill. The Public

¹Northcott, op. cit., 79.
Schools' Athletic Association functioned as an agent reinforcing this tendency while at the same time helping to alleviate its adverse effects through sponsoring sporting activities.

Physical Education in England and America.

The improved physical well-being of the common man through education was common ground for both the practical educators and social reformers in the New Education Movement. Selleck\(^1\) accounts for the early rejection of games, and the drill-like nature of Physical Education in terms of individuals and the turn of the century environment in England. The Trade Unions in England began to take an interest in education after the 1870 Act but they followed no independent, distinct policy until the close of the century when in addition to their demands for technical education, they agitated for Physical Training, school meals and medical inspections.\(^2\)

According to Selleck,\(^3\) the initial anti-games orientation of Physical Education in England was suggested by Archibald

\(^1\) Selleck, _op. cit._, 174-203.

\(^2\) _ibid._, 192.

\(^3\) _ibid._, 174 ff.
MacLaren in his book *A System of Physical Education Practical and Theoretical*, published in 1869. In MacLaren's view games could contribute to only partial development of the body so he added complementary exercises. A further early influence came from the Ling (Swedish) System which was first introduced in 1838 and had become, by 1860, popular among doctors. This system was described by Knibbs in the following terms:

... the gymnastic exercises are developed in a regular and continuous manner, and with regard to their functional influence, the choice of exercises being determined by the special needs of the body. They aim at absolute adaptation to the disposition and faculties of each individual, so as to produce perfect development and perfect self-mastery, nervous tranquility, and equal and steady action. The scheme of movements has been developed with regard to every need of the human organism, so that, in adapting it to the individual, the health, strength, and necessary aptitude of the pupil or subject may be thoroughly developed.¹

Although publicity by Dr. M. Roth had given some prominence to this system in England by 1870 it had little impact in the schools. Rather, drill was permitted by the Code of 1871 and counted for grant purposes as school attendance for boys although no grant was paid for the subject itself. The objectives of this early form of Physical Education was stated in the drill manual² to be the

¹Commissioner's Report, 163.

development of the power of sustaining fatigue, requiring the indolent to exert themselves, promoting obedience and practising working together in bodies. From this basis grew the "English System" the aim of which was quoted by Knibbs:

... to provide a means of recreation under discipline, and to raise the general standard of health by increasing the breathing capacity, promoting nutrition, facilitating the elimination of waste products from the system, and increasing the volume and power of the voluntary and the functional capacity of the involuntary muscles, thereby promoting all-round bodily development and growth.¹

Knibbs reported that the design of the exercises was on anatomical and physiological lines in order to counteract the one-sidedness of school life.²

By 1889 the English and Swedish systems were recognised as alternatives, but along with drill, the English system gained greater acceptance. Teaching remained tied to the military handbook even after "Physical Education" was recognised for grants in 1895. The Board allowed games as an alternative to Physical Education in 1900 and the 1906 Regulations recognised games even more. Following high medical rejection rates from

¹School Board of London, Special Reports on Educational Subjects, II, 186 in Commissioner's Report, 163.
²Ibid.
the Boer War a course for Upper Departments of schools was issued in the form of a Manual of Infantry Drill, 1902. This resurgence of military drill evoked protests which resulted in a new syllabus, but still bearing the imprint of drill. However, the Suggestions of 1905 went further, laying stress on organised games, drill being not specifically mentioned. The Swedish System continued to increase in popularity up to the First World War especially among women in the training colleges, until in 1909 the syllabus for Physical Education was based upon it.1

The army drill influence appears to have been much weaker in American than in English schools at the close of the nineteenth century. The New York School Journal discussed the limited impact of the subject upon the American educational scene of the early 1890's in the following terms:

For many years military drill has been practised in both public and private schools as a means of securing thorough discipline. Its advantages are, according to the Boston Traveller, "carriage, discipline, alertness, obedience, and kindred virtues." On the other hand the same paper points out its disadvantages as "the diversion of interest from the regular work of the school, priggishness, and self-esteem on the part of the officers. The conclusion

1Selleck, loc. cit.
is that military drill has come to stay, but it remains for its friends to solve many problems in the way of adapting it to the schools where time and strength are already tested to their utmost." Under the management of some teachers it produces excellent results, but in other hands its results are bad. Why this difference? Because in one case it is made an end, in the other a means to an end. When anything, however good, is made an end, it becomes bad, but when it is made a series of motives and forces producing character it is good. This is the test.¹

Grasby however, found no school system which included military drill as part of its curriculum but reported that he believed some special drill-masters visited the schools "in some cities".² He did however, note the popularity of calisthenics and other physical exercises including the use of dumb bells and wands.³ The San Francisco Course of Study, for example required that children in the Primary grades have "physical exercises every half-hour, with windows and doors open, using arm movements and breathing exercises." ⁴

In Cincinnati in 1896 some of the labour unions opposed military training in the schools to the extent of forming an organisation to drive it out. The Brooklyn "Standard Union" wrote:

²Grasby, op. cit., 252.
³ibid.
⁴ibid., 71.
So far the movement for military training in the public schools in this city has not met with much encouragement, though the most casual observer must admit that there is much to commend it. A manly bearing, good physical development and elementary knowledge of the duties of a soldier are thus imparted without necessarily interfering with regular studies.¹

What then were the teachings that America had to offer New South Wales in regard to physical exercises in schools? As early as July, 1895, The New South Wales Educational Gazette carried a report reprinted from the School Journal, which gave details of an address by Dr. J. Gardiner Smith, Director of Physical Training in New York City Public schools.

He advocated:

- the systematic medical examination of all pupils;
- the teaching of hygiene;
- the grading of exercises to suit the mental and physical condition of pupils;
- the use of simple apparatus to make exercise enjoyable, with the proviso that many exercises were just as beneficial without apparatus;
- teaching by the class teacher who is conversant with the individual pupil;
- guidance of the teacher by medical reports and a visiting supervisor;
- the teaching of exercises so the pupil understands the purpose behind what he is doing and so he can do them without following a leader;
- the photographing of graded drills to assist the teacher.²

These were to be precisely the ideals of the teaching of physical education in New South Wales following the impact of the New Education. Their origin Smith attributed primarily to the German influence in the schools of New York.¹

The rationale behind the original New South Wales rejection of these early American ideas concerning drill and physical exercise in schools centred around the contrast between the disciplinary tradition of American and English Schools.

Because of the lack of disciplinary problems in America which Grasby noted on many occasions and which were spoken of by other writers of the period,² that country seems to have required little of the "submission to authority" associated with English methods which meant that pupils were "simply orderly when under orders".³

In regard to school "tone", New South Wales schools had much in common with the English schools and provided little scope for the freer approach of America. Moreover Australian defence loyalties lay firmly with the Mother Country as was to be demonstrated by the

¹Ibid.
³Grasby, op. cit., 252.
sending of the Australian contingent to the Boer War. It was only to be expected therefore that the New South Wales approach to the ideals of Physical Education should parallel the English.

The Drill Influence in New South Wales: The Cadet Movement.

Military drill as inherited from the Council of Education was in a most unsatisfactory state, the only goal in most cases being to get the pupils to march in time.¹ Chief Inspector Johnson deplored the fact that in only about half-a-dozen schools was drill thoroughly taught, for in his view the discipline in a school could not be considered satisfactory unless such knowledge was imparted.² Immediately inspectorial pressure was applied to bring about improvement, the amount of time lost by marching pupils in and out of schools became a problem, it being the practice even in schools of several hundred pupils, to march all through the one door.³

By 1883 firm proposals had been made to revive the Cadet movement partially as a means of overcoming the perfunctory nature

¹Minister's Report, 1880, 49.
²Ibid.
³Ibid., 1882, 156.
of the teaching of drill.\(^1\) These Cadet Corps had first been formed in 1871\(^2\) and had flourished for about three years before the movement in connection with the Public schools petered out for want of interested leadership.\(^3\) Corps under the command of Captain H.W. Strong continued outside the Department until the whole organisation was passed in 1884 from the Colonial Secretary’s Department to the Department of Public Instruction, Captain Strong retaining command with a drill instructor appointed to assist him.\(^4\) The movement continued to make but slow progress, there being in 1884 only twelve Corps in the sixty metropolitan and suburban schools.\(^5\)

An inquiry into the lack of success of the movement brought allegations of defective organisation, ineffectual enforcement of regulations, neglect of target practice and complaints regarding uniform costs and the lack of a voice for teachers in the management of the Corps.\(^6\) A Departmental Committee was appointed in September,

\(^{1}\)ibid., 1883, 54.


\(^{3}\)Minister’s Report, 1884, 24.

\(^{4}\)ibid.

\(^{5}\)ibid., 1884, 25.

\(^{6}\)ibid., 1886, 18
1887 to investigate a means of placing the Corps on an efficient footing. This Committee recommended that drill in the use of arms be given to all physically qualified boys over twelve years old and that all male teachers should be trained in rifle exercises. ¹ Also suggested were a broader military system to be called the "New South Wales Public School Cadet Force"; the formation of a Senior Cadet Corps for boys after they left school; an inexpensive uniform, cost to be met by parents; command by a teacher responsible to the Minister of Public Instruction; and a paid staff. ² After some delay these recommendations were accepted and put into practice in January, 1890. ³ Colonel A. Paul, appointed in command of a total of 249 cadets ⁴ in October, 1889, ⁵ was able by the following year to report an enrolment of 5,850 in spite of lack of equipment, ⁶ and in August of that year the first public parade was held with great

¹ibid., 1887, 26 - 7.
²ibid.
³ibid., 1890, 267
⁵Minister's Report, 1889, 236
⁶ibid., 1890, 267-8.
success. By 1891 Training College and pupil-teacher Rifle Corps had been established as well as Ambulance and Cavalry Corps. Several camps and other public gatherings and displays were held.

Economic conditions in the State and retrenchment brought about in 1893 a closer connection between drill in the schools and Cadet work. This had been one of the recommendations of the 1887 Committee which the Minister had chosen to ignore in his summary of recommendations made to him. John Dettman, who since 1889 had been second in command, took over the combined offices of Officer Commanding the Public Schools Cadet Force and Superintendent of School Drill. The relationship between drill and the Cadet Corps was pointed to by Dettman in his first report:

Boys in Public Schools, whether they are cadets or not, are taught up to a certain point precisely the same drill, and as the principle of teaching rifle drill to all such boys over the age of twelve years is embodied in our school standard of proficiency, it only remains for the necessary provision of arms to be made in order that such instruction may become general. Those boys whose parents are prepared to provide

1 ibid.
3 Minister's Report, 1893, 196.
4 vide, ibid., 1887, 26-7.
them with uniforms should be allowed to join the Cadet Corps, and have the privilege of attending parades away from their schools, and of visiting the rifle ranges for target practice and for prize shooting. To save expense the ordinary school drill with rifles might be conducted with the dummy rifle, while the cadets, by way of encouragement, should be supplied with an effective weapon.  

There is evidence that the Government's changed policy towards the Cadet movement was also coloured by the findings of the 1892 Royal Commission on the Military Forces which found that the movement had predominantly educational objectives of limited direct value from the military point of view.  

Whereas the Cadets had up to this point been, and continued to be, an extra-curricular undertaking, drill was required to be taught in every school as "an important agent in improving the character of the order", and although not included in the Standard until 1890, was subject to inspection in the belief that attention to the subject caused school-work to be carried on smoothly and quietly and tended to cultivate habits of prompt obedience:

1 Minister's Report, 1893, 196.
2 Ibid., 1892, 228.
3 Ibid., 1885, 24.
4 Ibid., 1890, A77. ff
5 Ibid., 1885, 144.
The whole system of discipline in Public Schools is based on obedience to lawful orders, attention to duty, and respect for the rights and claims of teachers and fellow-pupils; and no one who knows how easily spoilt and vicious children are brought into harmony with this spirit of the schools can doubt that the discipline enforced is a wholesome training in solid virtues.\textsuperscript{1}

In 1886 matters relating to drill in the Metropolitan District were placed under the supervision of Captain Mulholland who described his duties in his Report for 1888:

To give instruction in drill, gymnastics, and calisthenics, etc., to the Training Schools at Fort-Street and Hurlstone; to give instruction in drill to the pupil-teachers at Fort-street on Saturdays; to give instruction in drill and calisthenics to the High Schools, on Mondays; to inspect the drill in every department of every school within the Metropolitan District. In addition to these duties, with a view to enlisting the sympathies of teachers of girls' and infants' schools, I have given instruction in calisthenics to the girls in several schools at regular intervals, and have exercised the infants in gallery exercises. In some schools the girls have provided themselves with wands, and I believe exercises with them are regularly given by the teachers.\textsuperscript{2}

The 1889 Conference of Inspectors and Teachers recommended that graded schemes of drill be adopted for boys, girls and infants; that rifle drill should be commenced in Third class; that inspection marks should be given for drill as for other subjects; and that equipment

\textsuperscript{1}Chief Inspector Maynard in \textit{ibid.}, 1885, 145.

\textsuperscript{2}\textit{ibid.}, 1888, 26.
CALISTHENICS.

By Captain Mulholland.

I.—Dumb Bell Practices.

1st Exercise.

Caution 1. Raise the arms slowly to the front, dumb bells perpendicular.

2. Separate the arms slowly till on a line with the shoulders, dumb bells perpendicular.

2nd Exercise.

1. Raise the arms slowly to the front, as in first exercise.

3rd Exercise.

1. Raise the dumb bells slowly from the sides over the head, keeping the wrists turned upward.

2. Lower them slowly, the wrists being turned downward.

N.B.—Elevate the chest as much as possible.

4th Exercise.

1. Raise the right arm slowly over the head to full extent, the wrists being turned upward.

2. Lower the right arm (the wrist turned downward), and raise the left arm.

5th Exercise.

1. Raise the arms slowly from the sides on a line with the shoulders.

2. Bend the arms from the elbows, dumb bells on top.

3. Slowly straighten the right arm.

4. Slowly straighten the left arm.

6th Exercise.

1. Raise arms smartly to the front, dumb bells perpendicular, on a line with the face.

2. Separate the arms smartly on a line with the shoulders, dumb bells perpendicular.
for gymnastics should be introduced into the schools. Subsequently the new Standard of Proficiency (1890) incorporated these suggested changes and books on military and other physical drill together with "wands" and "dumb-bells" were supplied to schools. As part of the heightened interest in the subject, Captain Mulholland delivered a series of lectures to lady teachers on the subjects of calisthenics, dumb-bell, wand, ring, and gallery exercises, and musical drill, and in 1893 published a series of articles in The New South Wales Educational Gazette for the information of teachers.

During this period the beginnings of a reorientation of objectives towards healthy development of pupils' bodies as well as minds could be discerned:

In some schools, too little attention is given to those manual exercises which tend to expand the chest, and to straighten the back ... In schools and drilling lines, stooping, hump-backed girls and boys are still too numerous, but, compared with the number to be seen a few years back, when less attention was given than now to gymnastic exercises, the change for the better is remarkable.

1 Ibid., 1889, 52-3.
2 Ibid., 1890, 28
3 Ibid.
5 Minister's Report, 1889, 151.
Somewhat revolutionary ideas concerning "Physical Education" also began finding their way into the *Gazette*:

Moderate, regular, and systematic exercise by stimulating the circulation of the body improves also the circulation of the brain, and is therefore an aid to cerebral movements. It improves the health and the physical strength, and so increases the capability of the individual for mental work and for the physical strain incident upon mental concentration.¹

Marching, recognised as one of the most suitable of physical exercises for infants, was now advocated as helping to fulfil the educational role of exercise in combating the effects of prolonged confinement of young children in schoolrooms:

Movement children must have. If the teacher will permit and guide it, the children will willingly submit to the restraint which is necessary during the course of a lesson. But if sufficient movement be not allowed, the children will disobey (without any evil intention), and their moral conduct will thus be perverted.²

As yet, however, conditions were not conducive to the wholesale propagation of these theories, for the virtual amalgamation of drill with the Cadet movement in 1893 led immediately to the practice of sending members of the Cadet staff into the schools to give model lessons:³


³*Minister's Report, 1894, 179.*
In view of the need for strict economy in the expenditure of the Cadet vote, which was the smallest for several years, it was thought advisable not to attempt too much. Special efforts, were, however, made to extend and improve the school drill by making it as nearly as possible meet Cadet requirements, and in consequence many hundreds of boys were actually drilled as Cadets, but were not counted as such.¹

Through its common leadership the Cadet movement held a vested interest in the teaching of drill in the schools both as a means of swelling ranks depleted by restricted State expenditure and as an avenue of employment for Staff members who might otherwise have suffered retrenchment. This plan for the retention of interest in the Cadets during a period in which for economic reasons even the annual camps were suspended² proved rather successful, a general revival taking place after 1896.³ The effect upon "Physical Education" in the schools was not nearly so promising, the military influence being compounded by the loss of Dettman through his promotion to Inspector of Schools and the reversion of leadership

¹ibid., 1894, 179.
²ibid., 1896, 169. Camps were suspended after 1891.
³ibid.
of the Cadets to Colonel Paul. ¹

With the outbreak of war in South Africa the obvious involvement of the schools was by way of military drill and Cadets. Chief Inspector Bridges enthused over the likelihood of the schools being able to supply twenty thousand "efficient":

Our boys and our teachers know the drill well; practice with the rifle is all that is needed. The burst of warlike and patriotic feeling developed by the war in South Africa has aroused interest in the Cadets, and it is generally admitted that a thorough military training to Public school boys would be the best way of providing for the defence of our country.²

In one respect at least, it was obvious that the New South Wales education system had outstripped that of England in reflecting and providing for the needs of the society which it served. It was with a certain amount of smugness that The Educational Gazette reported in 1899 the recommendation of Lord Wolseley in favour of a thorough course in drill for all boys in English State-aided schools. There followed the editorial comment:

"It is pleasing to note that the Commander-in-Chief of the British army is now urging on the attention of the Council of Education a course of training which we in this remote corner of her Majesty's dominions have successfully carried on for years."³

With the advent of the new century the Cadet movement reached

¹Ibid., 1896, 170.
²Ibid., 1899, 121.
its pinnacle of success. Newspaper articles reviewed the patriotic role of the movement and called for its popularisation\(^1\) and public displays involving the Force increased in frequency, the Cadets becoming so popular that up to fifty applications to form new Corps had to be refused in 1900 for want of rifles.\(^2\) Public displays of school drill in the same year included a Patriotic Sports Meeting, Commonwealth celebrations and the annual sports meeting of the Public Schools Amateur Athletic Association.\(^3\) In 1902 for the first time instructors were sent to country districts to provide courses for teachers\(^4\) in schools other than those to which Cadet Corps were attached.\(^5\) The fact that expenses for these classes were met from the Cadet vote\(^6\) indicated the continuing depth of unity between drill in the schools and the Cadet Force.

\(^1\)vide, e.g. "Our Cadet System, S.M.H. 31/1/1900.

\(^2\)Minister's Report, 1900, 167.

\(^3\)ibid.


\(^5\)Minister's Report, 1902, III.

\(^6\)ibid.
CADET PARADE

- N.S.W., New South Wales, the Mother State of Australia, Sydney, Govt Printer, 1906, 366.
It was only with the decline of the Cadets that the more educative aspects of physical training were brought to the fore. The patriotic fervour of the final years of the nineteenth century had died with the end of the Boer War thus removing the stimulus which had bolstered the Cadet and drill movement in the schools over a period when change was in the air. From a financial point of view the Cadets were a drain upon State resources which had become depleted by drought while politically, defence became now the concern of the Commonwealth. In June, 1906 control of the Cadet Force passed to the Commonwealth and teachers, formerly officers in the "Partially-paid Forces" were forbidden to hold the dual position.¹ For several years the Cadet Force languished under an abortive system of dual control by the Commonwealth Military Department and the New South Wales Department of Public Instruction in spite of calls from the Teachers' Associations for the financial and administrative reforms necessary to place the Force on a sound and efficient footing while reducing the interference with school routine to a minimum.² Finally, despite

¹ibid., 1906, 51.
an appeal by the Council of the New South Wales Public School Teachers' Association to the Prime Minister through the New South Wales Minister of Public Instruction, the Federal Government decided to draw only upon boys fourteen and over for defence training, and on 9th March, 1911 the final review of the Junior Cadet Force was held.

Until this decline, the strength of the Cadet Force had had the effect of thrusting into the background the emergent forces which had begun to establish themselves after the reorganisation of 1890. As the new century advanced however, it became increasingly obvious that military-type drill which had always been a feature of New South Wales schools on educational grounds, was no longer compatible with contemporary educational objectives and philosophy. That drill in New South Wales schools had fallen into the very excesses which some American schools had experienced is rather forcefully brought home to the modern educator by a paragraph in Chief Inspector Bridges' Report for 1902 stressing the importance

\[\text{ibid., VIII, Nov., 1910, 11.}\]
\[\text{ibid., Mar., 1911, 3.}\]
\[\text{ibid., 11 - 12.}\]
of drill in the handing out of books:

A new departure has been observed in a few schools in the method of giving out the books and other materials before the commencement of a lesson. These are placed by the teacher or monitor at intervals along the desks instead of in one lot at the end, to be passed by the pupils. When this is done before the pupils enter the classroom the object no doubt is to economise time in commencing work. The practice, however, is open to grave objection, as in the cultivation of habits of order and precision in class movements the passing of the materials at the beginning and close of a lesson forms a very important part of school drill, and its performance in a quick, quiet, orderly manner is a pleasing feature of the discipline.¹

Such a statement is the more remarkable when it is recalled that back in 1882, Chief Inspector Johnson had censured teachers for marching the whole school through one door.² Bridges' idea of book drill had been described in 1891:

An order should consist of two words, the first being a caution. When every eye is on the teacher, give the order "Books - pass." At the second word every hand should come out simultaneously, and the books be silently passed from one to the other. The books should be held steadily until the teacher gives the order to open them. See that the books are held in the palm of the left hand, (some teachers prefer to have them placed on the desks). If held in the hand they must on no account be thumbed by the pupils.³

¹ibid., 1902, 75.
²ibid., 1882, 156
Exercise 1—Lung Development.

Exercise 2—Exercising the Diaphragm.

Exercise 3—Exercising the Muscles of Stomach.

Exercise 4—Arm and Leg Exercise.

Inhale.

Inhale.
Some relief had however accrued from the increased popularity of the dumb-bell and wand since the reorganisation of 1890, perhaps due to their suitability for public display purposes. It was a natural step from this drill to exercises which were "based on the Swedish system" but which on the Department's own admission, failed to take into account the peculiarities of each pupil.¹ The New South Wales exercises in fact appear to have been largely derived from the English system in their emphasis upon deep breathing,² and were initially disseminated through the Manual of School Drill which was issued towards the end of 1904,³ and which formed the basis of the new Syllabus.⁴

However, although the new exercises were certainly more in keeping with New Education ideals they continued to reflect to

¹Minister's Report, 1906, 50.
³Minister's Report, 1904, 108.
⁴vide, Course of Instruction for Primary Schools, 1905, 46.

The publication of this Manual is directly attributable to the military drill influence in the schools. The South African campaign prompted many changes in military drill and Infantry Training, 1902 replaced Infantry Drill, 1896 in the schools, the latter proving to be so ill-adapted to school purposes that the Manual had to be produced to fill the gap. vide, Minister's Report, 1903, 129 and 1904, 108.
PART VI.

Syllabus of Instruction in Drill and Physical Exercises.

INFANTS' DEPARTMENT.

1st Division.
Free Exercises: First Set.

2nd Division.
Position of Attention.
Free Exercises: Second Set.

3rd Division.
Position of Attention.
Dressing with Full Intervals.
Right and Left Turn by Numbers.
Marking Time and Marching.
Free Exercises: Third Set.

SCHOOLS UNDER ONE TEACHER.

Position of Attention.
Standing at Ease.
Dressing with Full Intervals.
Turnings by Numbers.
Marching.
Marking Time.
Changing Step while Marking Time and Marching.
Free Exercises: Vide Section 11, Part II.

PRIMARY SCHOOLS.

SECOND CLASSES.—Boys.
Formation of a Class.
Position of Attention.
Standing at Ease.
Dressing with Full Intervals.

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(continued overleaf)

- N.S.W., School Drill, op. cit.
Turning by Numbers.
Marking Time.
Marching; also with Heels Raised.
Numbering and Proving a Class.
Opening Out for Exercise.
Saluting.
Dismissing a Class.
Free Exercises: Vide Section 1, Part V.

SECOND CLASS.—GIRLS.
Same as for Boys; omitting Saluting.

THIRD CLASS.—BOYS.
Formation of Class.
Dressing with Half Intervals.
Turnings—Judging the Time.
Marching in Line and in File.
The Diagonal March.
Wheeling and File.
Variations of Step in Marching; also with Heels Raised.
Double March.
Formation of Fours.
Opening Out for Exercises.
Saluting and Dismissing.
Free Exercises: Vide Section 1, Part V.

THIRD CLASS.—GIRLS.
Formation of Class.
Dressing with Half Intervals.
Turnings by Numbers.
Marking Time.
Marching to the Front and Rear, and in File; also with Heels Raised.
Wheeling in File.
Changing Step while Marking Time and Marching.
Opening Out for Exercise.
Free Exercises: Vide Section 1, Part V.

FOURTH CLASS.—BOYS.
Same as for Third Class, but substituting Six Light Dumb-bell Exercises for Free Exercises: Vide Section 2, Part V.

FOURTH CLASS—GIRLS.
Same as for Third Class, but substituting Six Light Dumb-bell Exercises for Free Exercises.

FIFTH CLASS—BOYS.
Same as for Fourth Class, but substituting Exercise with Drill Rifles for the Dumb-bell Exercises:
Vide Section 4, Part V.

FIFTH CLASS—GIRLS.
Same as for Fourth Class, but substituting Wand or Bar-bell Exercises for Dumb-bell Exercises:
Vide Section 3, Part V.

SIXTH AND SEVENTH CLASSES—BOYS AND GIRLS.
Forming Up and Dressing, with Half-arm Intervals.
Marking Time and Marching; also with Heels raised.
Opening Out for Exercises.

The Following Free Exercises.
Deep Breathing Exercise. Section 11, Part II, and Section 1, Part V, pages 27 and 57.
Forward Bending. 2nd Practice, 3rd Exercise, Dumb-bell Set, page 65.
Lunging. 8th Exercise, Free Exercises, Section 2, Part V, page 59.
Side Bends and Side Swings. 3rd and 4th Practice, 1st Exercise, Dumb-bell Set, page 63.
Knee Raising and Leg Stretching. 6th Exercise, Section 1, Part V, page 59.
Deep Breathing Exercise. 12th Exercise, Section 1, Part V, page 62.
a marked degree their military origins. In fact the new Syllabus merely extended the subject title to "Drill and Physical Exercise", the details under this heading quickly dispelling any doubt in the mind of the teacher as to the continued emphasis to be placed upon drill.¹ Nor could it be said that the new scheme of "physical culture" was rational and agreeable to the participants, as Commissioner Knibbs had suggested it should be.²

Rationale there certainly was but as presented by Dr. Reuter Roth, the most prominent exponent of Physical Education of the time, it was a curious mixture of wistful regard for the old regime of which as Major Roth he had been a devout exponent, and the physiological approach of his profession. In a lecture delivered to the Society for Child Study in 1904 he stressed the need for harmonious development of the body rather than the abnormal development commonly associated with physical exercise and went on to expound the traditional English view that the primary function of physical education in the schools was to counteract the abnormalities associated with long periods of study in the classroom

¹ vide, Course of Instruction for Primary Schools, 1905.
² Commissioner's Report, 166.
FLAG DRILL, 1909
situation. There followed an appreciation of the drill-orientated

New South Wales system;

To promote the physique and counteract the bad positions
assumed during the time of education and growth, a scientific
system of physical training is required. I am of the opinion
that any method founded on the Swedish system is preferable.
Lieutenant-Colonel Paul, Superintendent of Drill to the
Department of Public Instruction, has drawn up a scheme which
is most satisfactory ... Children should have drill for at
least half-an-hour daily; as they grow older the drill
becomes more advanced, and all boys, if fit, should be
compelled to serve in the cadets.¹

There was little that could be done to make such a system
enjoyable to the participants. By 1909 "Flag Drill", in which
flags were substituted for dumb-bells had been introduced,²
followed in 1910 by "Swimming Drill" on land carried out to
numbers.³ In regard to the degree to which the pupils were
likely to enjoy their "Physical Education" the statement of Mr.
Senior-Inspector Beavis would be treated with some caution by
the modern educator:

Drill has been rendered more attractive by becoming
associated in larger measure with physical culture,
and less with military movement and sometimes punishment.
Short daily periods of exercise, including deep-breathing,
have with advantage replaced the long drill lessons.⁴

1904, 7 - 8.

Jul., 1909, 227 - 234.

³ibid., IV, Jan., 1910, 4-5.

⁴Minister's Report, 1905, 69.
Formation of a Boys' or Girls' Department.

"Falling In" on the Playground.

Fifth Class.

Fourth Class.

Third Class.

Second Class.

KEY.

Front rank pupil.

Rear rank pupil.

Senior teacher or teacher-in-charge.

Junior teacher.

Pupil acting as "Guide" to dress a class, &c.

Note.—Second class is shown with "full intervals," the remainder with "half intervals." Right hand pupils "cover off" from the front. The higher classes should be in front, in order to set an example of discipline and smartness to the lower classes.

THE SCHOOL ASSEMBLY

- N.S.W., School Drill, op. cit.
Physical Education in the schools of New South Wales, while claiming to be derived from the Swedish system, continued to show little recognition of the need to adapt activities to the mind and body of the child, which principle was basic to both this system and the Child Study influence in the English system.

It is clear that the dominant influence upon the teaching of "Physical Education" in the schools of N.S.W. during the first decade of the twentieth century was not the New Education but the nineteenth century concept of military drill which was so firmly entrenched that it embraced only those concepts from the New Education which were in some degree compatible with it and then only to the extent of such compatibility. The impossibility of more radical change stemmed not only from the historical factors which have been outlined, but also from the dominant positions occupied by the personalities of Colonel Paul and Dr. Roth, both of whose reigns spanned the critical years and both of whom were personally committed to and inextricably part of the military system. However, as will be shown later, it is to Roth's credit that towards the end of the period he was able to sublimate his military leanings in the interests of child health and thus pave the way for a more rational system of physical education.
The Public School's Athletic Association and School Sport:

At a meeting of teachers and pupil teachers held on 2nd March, 1889 under the presidency of the Under-Secretary, E. Johnson, it was decided to form "an association for the purpose of encouraging physical education in connection with our public schools". ¹ The first sports meeting of the Public Schools' Athletic Association took place at the Association Cricket Ground in September, 1889 and annually thereafter, the special feature of these meetings being a competition in drill for the Minister's Challenge Shield. ² In 1890 the Association extended its activities to include a series of inter-school cricket and football matches. ³ During 1893 the Committee of the Association tried to introduce lawn tennis into girls' schools, but due to lack of finance no competition could be held. ⁴ They were more successful in introducing swimming to several schools, notably Fort Street and Balmain. ⁵

² ibid.
³ ibid.
⁵ ibid.
Thus from the outset, school sport became associated with an extra-Departmental organisation which also promoted activities complementary to the formal drill of the schools. The office bearers however, left no doubt as to the closeness of relations with the Department. There were listed in 1893 the Under-Secretary, the Chief Inspector and various of his colleagues, Training-School lecturers, and staff members of the Cadet Corps.¹

The programme of the Fifth Annual Sports Meeting gives an indication of the scope of the Association's activities. Apart from running events there were included a cycle race; football kicking competition; cricket ball throwing competition; high jump; tennis competition (for girls); and the inevitable drill competitions for both Public school pupils and Cadets. An innovation was a "firing" competition using blank cartridges.² In 1894 a two-day annual meeting was introduced to include for the first time displays for boys, girls and infants with a cutlass drill display provided by boys from the "Sobraon".³ Increased provision was made for girls

¹vide, ibid.
²ibid., III, Sept., 1893, 77-8.
³Nautical school-ship/reformatory for boys. ibid., IV, Aug. 1894, 53.
in 1896 with the introduction of hoop races and skipping competitions at the Annual Sports.¹

Following agitation from country teachers for provision to be made for them in the Association's activities,² the first country branch was formed at Tamworth in 1894.³ Modelled on the Sydney Association and promoting similar activities, country branches were established in increasing numbers over the succeeding years: Newcastle and Glenn Innes (1896)⁴ Nowra, Windsor, Armidale, Penrith and Singleton (1897)⁵ Lithgow, Goulburn, Illawarra, Macleay, Clarence, Mudgee and Bathurst (1898)⁶ with further decentralisation being attempted in the establishment of a separate Association at Parramatta in the same year.⁷ Conferences of delegates from country Associations were introduced at the end of 1897.⁸

¹ibid., VI, Sept., 1896, 71.
²vide. e.g., Letter to the Editor, ibid., IV, Jul., 1894, 37.
³ibid., IV, 1894, 75.
⁴ibid., VI, Sept., 1896, 80. and Nov., 1896, 123.
⁵ibid., VI, Ap., 1897, 256.
⁶ibid., VII, Jan., 1898, 174.
⁷ibid., VIII, Jul., 1898, 25.
⁸ibid., VII, Jan., 1898, 174.
The competitions in football and cricket continued to attract good support well into the twentieth century. The main innovation was the grading of cricket teams in 1903-4 there being thirty-eight schools in the competition at that time.  

Tennis by 1894 had become so popular in the girls' schools that it was proposed to hold preliminary rounds of the competition before the Annual Sports. Competitions for boys were started in 1896. However, by far the most popular of the Association's activities was swimming. First introduced at Newcastle in February, 1896, the sport was within a short time being actively promoted by the Sydney and other Associations. In Sydney, teachers were invited to form clubs and it was announced that District carnivals would be held in December, 1896 with a general Carnival following in February, 1897. In December, 1896 the total number of pupils who had joined clubs was 3,300 and by March the following year

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1 ibid., XIV, Feb., 1905, 207.
2 ibid., IV, Aug., 1894, 53.
3 ibid., VI, Oct., 1896, 105.
4 ibid., VI, Sept., 1896, 80.
5 ibid., VI, Nov., 1896, 121.
6 ibid., VI, Dec., 1896, 147.
this had grown to 4,700, with individual schools commencing to hold their own swimming carnivals.

Within two years of its introduction, swimming as a sport was a feature of nearly all metropolitan schools. So remarkable was this development that the Victorian Swimming Association invited Mr. Southwell, the Secretary of the Public Schools' Athletic Association to join them in waiting upon the Victorian Minister to press for the introduction of a similar scheme in that State the proposal being accepted by the Minister. Under the heading: "A Creditable Success", The New South Wales Educational Gazette hailed the achievement of the Public Schools' Athletic Association:

... to-day things have arrived to make swimming undoubtedly the raison d'être for the existence of the association. For teachers seem to be doing the often times thankless work with a vigorous enthusiasm which demands nothing but commendation from the public. The existence of over a hundred clubs with a total enrolment exceeding 12,000, including about 1,500 girls, is proof of strong interest, real enthusiasm, and downright hard work for the childrens' physical improvement. The organising body must not be forgotten.

1 ibid., VI, Mar., 1897, 222.


3 In October, 33 boys' schools; 11 girls' schools. ibid., VII, Nov., 1897, 134. In December, 52 boys' schools (5,700 pupils); 17 girls' schools (750 pupils). ibid., VII, Dec., 1897, 167.

4 ibid., VII, Feb., 1898, 199.

However, the relative lack of response from girls' compared with boys' schools continued to cause concern, the situation being complicated by the fact that many women teachers could not swim. This deficiency was not to receive systematic attention until 1901 when a swimming instructress was appointed by the Department. Miss K. Kilminster was to instruct female students-in-training and teachers, in swimming and life-saving. With the Life Saving Society providing instructors, the latter had been introduced to teachers in 1901 after agitation dating back to 1898 at which time the absurdity of taking hundreds of children swimming without provision for supervision by teachers competent in resuscitation was pointed out.

The success and popularity of the Public Schools' Amateur

181 boys' to 27 girls'. ibid., VII, May, 1898, 273.

2ibid., VII, Mar., 1898, 230.


4ibid., II, Feb., 1908, 236.


6ibid., VIII, December, 1898, 153.
Athletic Association in organising sporting activities in the Public Schools of the State is of great significance in attempting to assess the teaching of physical education throughout the period under review. Dominated but not controlled by the same officials responsible for the more formal aspects of education in the schools, the Association maintained a broad basis of support and involvement which allowed it to rise above the plethora of limitations inherent in the Departmental structure. To some extent its early success provided a foretaste of the achievements to be wrought by Departmental co-operation with teachers in place of domination and direction. Here was an example of the contribution of each part to the whole. Without the support of the Department and Minister, the Public Schools' Amateur Athletic Association could never have been formed in the State schools and might never have succeeded in its campaign for reduced transport fares and entrance charges which were essential to the success of its ventures. Without the enthusiasm of the teachers within the Public Schools' Amateur Athletic Association it is probable that the pupils of Departmental schools would have

1"Amateur" was added to the original title after 1901. *ibid.*, X, Mar., 1901, 234.

2*vide*, e.g. *ibid.*, VII, Nov., 1897, 134.
Girls' Baton Display, Yass, 1906
remained for many years solely confined to the physical exercises laid down in the Standard of Proficiency or Syllabus. Not only did the Association play a leading role in arousing and maintaining the interest of teachers in physical activities, but it provided for instruction and competitions for teachers in the fields being promoted.¹

The continued emphasis upon the more formal elements of physical education in the school curriculum is probably also explicable in terms of the Association's successful activities. While there existed a body effectively providing facilities complementary to the formal school course, there was little to be gained by duplicating the Association's activities in the school curriculum.

Once patterns of tradition, themselves growing out of close links with the school curriculum, had been established they could be expected to continue for some time after the original influence had commenced to fade away. This was notably the case with drill competitions and displays, for the logical approach of the infant Association struggling to establish itself was to take what was being taught in the schools and adapt it for public display purposes. As the established Association faced increasing financial troubles at

¹vide, e.g., ibid., VII, Sept., 1897, 73 and Nov., 1897, 134.
the close of the century the "advertising" afforded by "bigger and better" mass displays resulted in the spectacle of two thousand boys displaying their ability to do repetitive dumb-bell exercises in unison, on the same programme as one thousand boys giving a display of physical drill and a total of two thousand girls taking part in various physical activities. Once established, these huge displays were demanded each year so that in preparation for the annual event, the teaching of physical education in the schools of necessity continued to be dominated by drill. More educative influences fell among the thorns.

The Department did not view this tendency without some concern. The Educational Gazette in reviewing the display of drill at the Sports Meeting of 1897, remarked upon "the limited number of movements indulged in, and their consequent frequent repetition". In replying to a request from the 1897 Conference of the Association for aid in obtaining regular physical drill preparation for country sports meetings, Chief Inspector Bridges also warned of the danger of not subordinating the display aspect of physical drill exhibitions.

1 ibid., IX, Sept., 1899, 78.

2 ibid., VII, Oct., 1897, 110.
to the "necessary practical good" they were intended to fulfil.¹

These early calls for restraint proved to be abortive in the face of the patriotic and nationalistic pressures which characterised the transition to the new century. The factors which resulted in the patriotic Sports Meetings and Commonwealth celebrations of these years precluded the possibility of the perceived need for reorientation of physical education in the schools being given practical effect. The status quo was thus maintained right up to the point when the 1904 Manual of School Drill became virtually incorporated in the new Syllabus² thus guaranteeing the continued dominance of the military drill influence in apparent contradiction of the ideals of the "New Education".

Hygiene:

Health education seems to have been the main contribution of the "New Education" to physical education in the schools of New South Wales. Its entry into the Primary curriculum was an expression of the growth of medical knowledge, particularly in

¹ibid., VII, Jan., 1898, 175.

²vide, Course of Instruction 1905, 17 and 46.
regard to the role of bacteria in spreading infection, and of the Child Study movement which itself was a product of the application of scientific method to education. Health education also found practical access to the schools after 1905 as an offshoot of Needlework and Cookery, which subjects were gradually expanded to include other "domestic arts" such as the care of children. Thus from various sources in the early years of the century came pressures which demanded recognition of health education in the school curriculum but the diverse origins of those forces proved to be somewhat of a hindrance in the presentation of a united front, and limited the practical effect upon the syllabus.

From the time of the Council of Education, regulations had been in force for the exclusion from school of persons suffering from "any contagious, offensive, or infectious disease". The epidemics of 1898 no doubt impressed upon the Department the need for attention to be given to hygiene in schools. That year was described by Chief Inspector Bridges as "the most unfavourable year for school work in the educational history of the Colony" for typhoid, diphtheria, scarlet

1 Public Schools Act of 1866, Regulations of 29th November, 1875, No. 90, 30.
fever, measles and whooping-cough raged throughout the year.¹

Although "Sanitary Science" had been an examination subject for Second and First Class Certificates for teachers since the Regulations of 1885,² little practical teaching of hygiene was undertaken until lessons on Alcohol and Temperance were included in the 1902 modifications to the Standard of Proficiency.³ The danger associated with unhygienic methods of cleaning slates was also in that year put forward as a reason for the introduction of pencils and copy books.⁴

By the late nineties it was evident that a preoccupation with the hygiene of the school rather than of the pupil had developed. In 1897 it was revealed that the Department had been experimenting with various types of school desks⁵ so that over a period of years "most modifications of English, American, and Continental desks, forms, and other apparatus" had been tested.⁶ The period also saw increased emphasis on the

¹Minister's Report, 1898, 110.
²vide, ibid., 1895, 293 - 4.
³ibid., 1902, 9.
⁴ibid.
⁵ibid., 1897, 109.
⁶ibid., 1898, 125.
provision of weather sheds, playground provision, provision of toilet facilities and the improvement of lighting and ventilation in classrooms.¹

Such increased attention to the hygiene of the school was commendable though not in itself sufficient from the point of view of the education of the child. Nor was it without precedent for the Chief Inspector's Report for 1883 had discussed the Department's efforts to overcome unhealthy conditions caused by overcrowding, poor lighting and inadequate seating. This Report in fact anticipated the main recommendations of the Commissioners on classroom lighting and seating by twenty years.²

The Commissioner's Report had the effect of concentrating more attention upon the material condition of the schools, placing decided emphasis upon school buildings and equipment³ while Chapter XLIX entitled "Hygiene in Relation to the School pupil", concentrated only upon abnormalities of children and the effect upon child health

¹vide, ibid., 1897, passim.
²vide, ibid., 1883, 53 - 4.
³vide, Commissioner's Report, Chapters XLVII, XLVIII and L.
of organisational factors in the schools such as school-hours and homework.

The Departmental attitude to health education had changed little by 1907 when Chief Inspector Dawson wrote under the heading "School Hygiene": "In accordance with modern ideas on school hygiene, the schoolrooms in existence are being gradually remodelled as regards furniture, lighting and ventilation". ¹

Sheltering behind the acknowledged financial and practical difficulties involved in structural alteration of existing structures, the Department concentrated upon that aspect of hygiene in the schools in which there was some history of progress and was thus able to claim an increased emphasis upon hygiene dating back at least to 1897. The major educative principles behind the movement were at first ignored in the desire to show that school was a more healthy place in the twentieth century than hitherto. The personal health of the child attracted relatively little attention except in a few schools where individual measurements were taken before and after a programme of physical drill, more as a measure

¹ Minister's Report, 1907, 47.
of the overall efficacy of teaching method than as the identification of individual differences leading to modification and adaptation of method, ¹ which was a dominant feature of the Swedish system.

The work of the Child-Study Association ² however, forced some recognition to be given to the need for actual instruction in health practices and the importance of individual remedial or preventative work in the schools.

The Association was formed prior to the departure of the Commissioners, details of its constitution published in The New South Wales Educational Gazette in August, 1902, ³ showing G.H. Knibbs and Dr. Reuter E. Roth as members of the advisory board. The monthly meetings of the Association became a forum "for the purpose of furthering a wider and better knowledge of children and child-nature, and suggesting improved methods for their development and education". ⁴ Included in the programme for 1903 was a lecture "On the Teaching of Practical and Infant Hygiene" by Dr. Mary Booth. ⁵ The following May

¹ vide, e.g., statement of W.C. Taylor, Conference of Inspectors etc., 1904, 199.

² vide, supra, 271


⁴ ibid.

⁵ ibid.
she was appointed Lecturer in Hygiene to female training students, and girls in the two upper classes of Public Schools with a view to making lessons on domestic economy "more practical, especially in the direction of the Feeding, Nursing, and Care of Infants".  

Her Report for 1904 reflected an enlightened approach to her subject:  

At Hurlstone College the course has been extended to embrace in detail the bearing of hygiene on school life and its relation to other forms of educational work, child study, anthropometry, methods of educating the blind, deaf, and dumb, and epileptic and mentally deficient children, consideration of laws effecting (sic) infants and children, and kindred subjects.  

The Commissioners, Knibbs and Turner also addressed the Association soon after their return from abroad, on the subject "Child-Study in other Countries".  

Dr. Roth, lecturer in Anatomy and Physiology at the Training Colleges, followed in August, 1904, with a somewhat conservative address on physical education in which he called for the balanced  

\footnote{Minister's Report, 1904, 17.}  

\footnote{ibid., 107.}  

\footnote{N.S.W. Edl. Gaz., loc. cit.}
and harmonious development of the body to counteract the unhealthy environment of the classroom.¹ But even this re-statement of the English approach to the subject meant that the rationale behind physical education in New South Wales was becoming increasingly sophisticated.

Under the influence of Knibbs, Dr. Booth and Dr. Roth, the inadequacies of the old drill system and personalities became apparent. At the 1904 Conference the Superintendent of Drill, Colonel Paul, made a final, almost pitiful plea for the retention of the old order:

The drill standard has always been kept up to date and in keeping with the changes by the military authorities ... That we have not been neglectful in the matter of physical culture is amply proved by the magnificent displays ... the excellence of which has not been surpassed in any part of the world, as testified by independent witnesses ... our boys should be taught the principles of true discipline and habits of instant obedience, which they are not likely to learn out of school. The best means of inculcating the lessons and attaining the qualities referred to is by adopting a certain amount of military drill.²


²Conference of Inspectors etc., 1904. 197-8.
The reply of Professor Knibbs was unequivocal in its stand in favour of what he termed the "rational" system:

That (rational) type of gymnastics and physical culture is what we want to see in our schools; nothing that is mere military drill or mere demonstrational movement, and certainly not that which builds up a set of muscles at the expense of the general organism ... Neither will it do to entrust the training to men who are nothing more than military drill-sergeants.¹

The years following the Conference were marked by an increasing awareness in educational circles of the still limited facilities in the schools for real physical culture. In April, 1905 for example the Australian Journal of Education pointed out to its readers the ludicrous provision by the Department of one Medical Adviser and Lecturer in Hygiene for the whole State, at a time of increasing emphasis upon the role of the school in health education.² The situation is possibly explained by the attitude of the Department that hygiene was a subject to be taught only to the older girls as a preparation for home life.³ In short, the Department had not as yet seen the role of the school as being concerned with the health

¹ ibid., 200.
³ vide, Chief Inspector's Report, in Minister's Report, 1905, 53.
of its pupils. Child health remained the concern of the mother, although the Department did concede that with the contemporary emphasis upon "education for life", the school did have some duty to instruct the mothers of the future.

Some change in emphasis however resulted from the work of Dr. Roth who was largely responsible for instituting in 1907, an anthropometric investigation and medical inspection of schools. As early as 1901 anthropometric statistics referring to New South Wales school children had been collected by Dr. Mabel Graham under the direction of the Government Statistician, T.A. Coghlan,¹ and "an exhaustive dental inspection" had been carried out prior to 1905 in a State school.²

Following the commencement of systematic medical inspection in Tasmania in 1906, arrangements were made for a similar programme for Sydney schools in May, 1907, the work being later extended to Newcastle.³ Roth prepared the way for his scheme, meeting principals of metropolitan schools in April to explain the proposed system of

¹Conference of Inspectors etc., 1904, 213.
³N.S.W. Report Upon the Physical Condition of Children Attending Public Schools in N.S.W., Sydney: Govt. Printer, 1908, v.
record cards to be filled in by teachers. Details as to height, weight and eyesight were to be given and a note made of special circumstances affecting the child's record. A medical officer was to visit each school annually to report on conditions and additional visits were to be made in cases where there might be outbreaks of infectious disease.¹

As the scheme got under way Roth found that only about 25% of pupils found to be suffering from complaints were in fact taken by their parents to the family doctor for treatment. To overcome this difficulty he organised parents' meetings at which he spoke concerning children's ailments and attempted to gain the co-operation of parents in obtaining medical treatment for their children. The results of these meetings were reported to be "very gratifying".²

Upon his return in 1908 from the International Congress of School Hygiene³ Roth continued his crusade against ignorance, especially


²N.S.W., Report Upon Physical Condition of Children etc., op. cit., vi.

³Ibid., 4.
among the teachers upon whose reports the scheme so much depended. Referring to the fact that teachers in making their reports had hidden cases to save the reputation of the school, he warned that he was making a practice of examining all children in the schools he visited.\(^1\) Apparently his original hopes of being able to rely upon teachers to refer individual cases to him at inspection time had not been a practical success.

Perhaps the greatest educational significance of Roth's scheme lay in its underlining of the correspondence of mental with physical growth:

\[\ldots\] those who are best developed mentally - as shown by their school classification - are the tallest and heaviest. The boy or girl who is stunted in physical growth is not placed on a mental equality with the child whose body has been normally developed.\(^2\)

Whatever the reliability and validity of his statistics, such a finding served to encourage those who recognised the need for something more than drill and sport in the schools in response to a changing social environment:


We are to a much greater extent concentrated in cities, work much more in houses, shops, or factories ... Much of the misery of disease is due to causes which might be obviated with a little care, and some knowledge of the laws of health.¹

Although such sentiments received wide publicity through the pages of the Journal and presumably through Roth's lectures it is important to remember that the practical side of his work was restricted to the Sydney and Newcastle areas.² Attempts to develop physical culture, with emphasis upon the relationship between health, physical training and the education of the child had received only limited support by the end of the period under review. The Syllabus remained shackled to the military drill book, "Physical Culture" at best consisting of "the daily practice for ten minutes of deep breathing exercises and Swedish drill ... and a short lesson imparted once a week by a trained instructor".³ Even this limited ideal was difficult to attain in country schools because of the lack of instructors and trained teachers. Some improvement was promised


²In 1909-10, 98 schools were inspected, only 21.7% of the total enrolment. ibid., Ap., 1910, 8.

³Minister's Report, 1910, 23.
through the introduction in 1910 of a certificate in physical training following a course of twenty lectures, twenty hours' practical work and five lectures on the physiology of exercise. ¹

The thirty years since 1880 had seen the rise and decline of a system of physical education dominated by a militaristic conception of discipline and fitness, the product of the Victorian conception of the child as a young adult. Through the influence of personalities in a centralised system abetted by the natural inertia of society, the military influence lingered on under the almost revolutionary impact wrought by the growth of science and its application to education. The Cadet Corps and Athletic Associations played a major role in determining the lines along which physical education in the schools was to develop, the bases of their domination being challenged only towards the end of the period by scientific, medical and other New Education influences which found common ground in the Child-Study movement. By 1910 there was, however little evidence of the philosophic approach to physical education which was the

ⁱ _ibid._
promise of the New Education. The achievements were fundamentally practical in an era which rightly or wrongly interpreted the New Education as a utilitarian one:

... a decided improvement has been observed in the physique and carriage of the pupils. Physical exercises, based chiefly on the Swedish system, are undertaken daily. Outdoor games are encouraged. The Public School Amateur Athletic Associations voluntarily accomplish very beneficial work in the organisation of various sports, such as football, cricket, lawn tennis. Swimming is a favourite sport, both for boys and girls.¹

¹ibid., 37.
CHAPTER VII

CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT: NATURE KNOWLEDGE AND HISTORY

The correlation of subjects in the 1904-5 Syllabus was intended not only to place related disciplines in perspective with one another but was designed also to encourage the carry-over of basic methods and emphases from one subject to others. That under the New Education these dual objectives were not always compatible was obvious in the popularity enjoyed by Nature Study at the expense of the more traditional subjects of Geography and History. The Syllabus regarded Nature Study and Geography as two branches of the study of Nature which could be directly correlated. The dominance of the former was however implied in the suggested treatment of Geography:

The best, as well as the most interesting, method of obtaining an accurate knowledge of the geography of a country is to travel through it .... All its varying features as they present themselves - hill and valley, plain, creek, and river, sea and bay, rock, beach, sand and pebble - are to be noted and carefully described by the pupils.\(^1\)

\(^1\) vide, Course of Instruction for Primary Schools, 1905, 33.

\(^2\) ibid.
The Geography lesson could very well be undertaken incidentally to and as part of the Nature Study lesson. In short Nature Study, or one aspect of it such as school gardening, could become the centre of the curriculum and from this point of view be in keeping with the best ideals of the New Education. The way was also left open for inexperienced or over-enthusiastic teachers to concentrate an unwarranted amount of attention upon but one aspect of the curriculum through forced application of the principle of correlation.

The teaching of History proved to be somewhat more complex both in its relation to the other subjects of the curriculum and in the change from abstract to direct moral teaching required by the Syllabus. Teachers were exhorted to correlate History with Geography and therefore with Nature Study. Unnatural associations were also encouraged in the selection of stories to "carry a direct moral and afford the teacher an opportunity for teaching specifically what is right as distinct from what is wrong in some phase of conduct". The defect lay not in the theory but in the manner in which the theory was worked out in the schools. Teachers, whether ignorant or expert per medium of a Summer School or District Meeting, were attracted to such a sector of instruction as Nature Study. In its method they could see the logical application of principles

1 ibid., 40.
2 ibid., 41.
which in relation to other subjects such as History, were mere abstractions.

Science and Nature Study

Closely related to the New Education required by the Froebelian and Herbartian influences, the Science and Nature Study movement emphasised the practical and moral aspects of the child's education. The role of the Primary school in laying the foundation for subsequent work was once again stressed\(^1\) as also was its practical nature in remedying the imbalance of the literary, liberal type of education.

The principal tenets of the movement were summed up in the Commissioner's Report in the words of M. Guex:

This direct observation of things is substituted for the study of words, the judgment for memory, the spirit for the letter, spontaneity for intellectual passivity. To exercise the senses of the child so as to make them more accurate, more pliant; to exercise his judgment by guiding it, without imposing upon him ready-made ideas, by making him learn little but discover much; to exercise his will by giving him occasion for self-development; and finally, to exercise his moral sense by making him derive from his own experience the notion of duty; such are the aims of this instruction.\(^2\)

Writings along these lines had appeared in Australia as early as 1886. W.C. Grasby, a South Australian, wrote in that year:

We should train the senses and deductive powers of the mind by a practical, systematic, but, at the same time, essentially elementary study of natural science ... the manner of teaching, and not imparting a technical knowledge of the science, should be the chief aim in all the lessons.\(^3\)

\(^1\)e.g. in Agriculture. vide, Commissioner's Report, 255.

\(^2\)ibid., 257.

\(^3\)Grasby, op. cit., 139-40.
The Annual Report of the New South Wales Minister for the same year reflected the growing interest in such education:

While it is not possible that the Public school can fit farmer's mechanics or citizens of any kind for their special work, as such, still much of the necessary elementary work may be accomplished by these schools in the fostering of an industrial disposition and in imparting general and scientific knowledge. ¹

At the end of 1888 however, the state of "scientific education" in New South Wales was very much the same as in England and America and there was little prospect for any improvement for some time to come. In regard to future developments in the teaching of "Agriculture" in the Public schools of New South Wales, Chief Inspector Maynard in that year stressed the fact that the teachers had little training and that the present course was overloaded. Since "every new course must crowd out the old", he suggested that Object and Science lessons might be the basis of a suitable course. ²

"Object Lessons" had in fact been established as a feature of the New South Wales Primary School curriculum under the Council of Education. Appendix C of the Regulations of 1875 set out subjects for Object Lessons to be taught from First class on. Commencing with domestic animals and common objects, the course developed to deal with common minerals, vegetables and animals; natural history; manufactures; elementary mechanics; science of common things;

¹ Minister's Report, 1886, 23.
mechanical power; laws of health; social economy; duties of a citizen; law; and experimental physics.¹

Following the reorganisation of 1880, Object Lessons continued to be required in all schools.² Inspector Hicks described the teaching of the subject in some schools:

..... the teaching in this subject was barren and fruitless, the teachers being evidently ignorant of the process of questioning out or of elucidating, and being satisfied with merely telling the children a mass of facts, generally in language above their comprehension.³

Complaints from Inspectors of lack of variety and interest in Object Lessons led the Department in 1884 to commission a series of diagrams "illustrating the commoner birds and mammals indigenous to Australia" accompanied by explanatory text books.⁴ At the same time, some reduction in emphasis upon Object Lessons, especially in the lower classes, was brought about by the revised Standard of 1884⁵ in an attempt to have teachers devote "special attention" to "the leading subjects of the school course".⁶

¹Public Schools Act of 1866, 37 ff.
²Minister's Report, 1881, 127.
³ibid.
⁴ibid., 1884, 16.
⁵vide. ibid., 121 ff.
⁶ibid., 19.
This attempt at de-emphasis was reversed following the publication in 1885 of the report of the London School Board Committee on Technical Education,¹ which had immediate repercussions in New South Wales. For several years after 1885 the Minister was at great pains to report the provision being made for "scientific industrial education" in the Primary schools.²

In 1867 England had seen Object Lessons introduced but although recognised as a "class" subject in 1882, Elementary Science made little headway until after the 1890 Code cleared the way by abolishing English as the first "class subject" and by making Object Lessons compulsory in Standards I to III.³ The possible contribution of Science to industry naturally played an important part in this progress, the subject being of more immediate "practical" value than of "literary" worth. The disciplinary and sense training aspects of Object Lessons also appealed to English educators although a later reaction to

¹The committee was appointed by the London School Board in 1883 "to consider how far the Board may facilitate technical education". The main recommendation was that since the teaching of any trade or handicraft was impracticable, the Board schools might do more for the training of the hand and the eye. ibid., 1885, 35.

²vide, ibid., 1885, 31 ff. Also 1886, 22 ff., passim.

³Selleck, op. cit., 149.
unsatisfactory Object Lessons was initiated by Henry Edward Armstrong's suggestion that experiments should replace texts so that children might discover rather than be told.¹

The application of science in English schools turned, in practice, to Agriculture in the hope that the schools might be able to help in re-vitalising primary industry. Natural Science in schools, however, was making little progress towards the end of the nineteenth century. In spite of the fact that the 1884 Royal Commission on Technical Instruction had recommended special attention be given to Agriculture, the current course consisted of:

Standards 1-3: familiar animals, plants and substances used in ordinary life

4: animals and plants with particular reference to agriculture

5: animal and plant life; chemical and physical principles involved in one of the chief local industries

6&7: fuller details.²

The 1890 Code merely required that rural schools should adapt their work to their environment and offer alternative courses but by 1899 the Agricultural Education Committee had launched a successful campaign and some progress was evident. Observation Lessons and Nature Study were finally included in the 1905 Code.³

¹Ibid., 149 ff.

²Chief Inspector's Files, 22/12/1888 "Public School Instruction bearing on Agriculture".

³Selleck, op. cit., 157-8.
Ireland, in response to her special needs had introduced the compulsory study of a set text in Agriculture for Fourth and higher standards, except in large towns and was also providing for some advanced and practical work in seventy schools, where the teachers had to be competent to conduct both the literary and agricultural departments.¹

Although the American Nature Study movement under Liberty Hyde Bailey was more romantic in its aim to restore the country and combat the corruptness of city life,² its educational results left Grasby almost as unimpressed as had the English "science" lessons. He saw American pupils being loaded with indigestible facts of science:

That the lessons are frequently "experimental" makes little difference. The process may be likened to being told the length, breadth, height, weight, quantity, and kind of materials used in a cake made by someone else, instead of having all the fun of weighing and measuring the ingredients, mixing, baking, and then sharing with friends the resultant dainty.³

¹Chief Inspector's Files, 22/12/1888, "Public School Instruction bearing on Agriculture".

²Selleck, op. cit., 160.

³Grasby, op. cit., 142.
With few exceptions, the "science" teaching that Grasby saw during his travels did not meet the expectations which he succinctly stated:

If science is to be taken in elementary schools, it must be for its training. The practical utility is so great, that this may well be allowed to take care of itself. The value of the teaching is proportionate to the degree in which an intimate knowledge of the details of the subject itself is subordinate to a grasp of the general principles.¹

Although publication of Grasby's writings in 1891 probably stimulated some criticism in New South Wales of Object Lessons based on the English model, there is some evidence of prior dissatisfaction. In 1888 the Inspector of Mittagong had found it necessary to deplore the dampening effect of the introduction of the Standard of Proficiency on Object Lessons and advocated the introduction of agricultural teaching:

Much of the time now occupied by untrained teachers and by some trained teachers in giving object lessons is little better than lost (for teachers) don't cultivate habits of observation (and) merely cause pupils to repeat after them from a text.²

The Minister promised to consider "more systematic instruction introductory to Agriculture".³

¹ibid., 143.
²Chief Inspector's Files, 15/11/1888.
³Minister's Report, 1888, 34.
With the view of encouraging teachers to persevere in giving the instruction and practical training described, annual bonuses, ranging from £1 to £5, are granted to those who show satisfactory results. To obtain a bonus it is necessary for the teacher, at the regular or ordinary inspection of his school, to fill up a certain form supplied to him, and hand it to the Inspector. The Inspector certifies as to the correctness of the information furnished in the form, and also as to the efficiency of the school in its ordinary work. If such certificate be satisfactory, the teacher is then recommended for a bonus.

The form to be filled up by the teacher contains the following questions:

What plants have you cultivated?
What instruction in cultivation have you given pupils?
What part did the pupils take in the work?
What kind of manure was used, and what quantity per rod?
What is the nature of the soil, i.e., is it sandy, clayey, or loamy?
How many workings had the soil before planting?
What kind of season was there during growth?
Was any artificial watering employed? If so, state particulars.
What insect or other blight was observed during growth?
What means were taken to eradicate blight? And with what success?
In what length of time did the crop mature?
What was the date of planting?
What would be the yield per acre of the plants specified?

Teachers are requested to exercise great care in answering the questions given, and it is hoped that the information thus obtained from all parts of the Colony may become valuable to persons interested in the cultivation of the soil.

**AGRICULTURE - THE BONUS SYSTEM**

- Minister's Report, 1890, 39.
From this date a steady progression in regard to Nature Study in this State can be traced albeit along the utilitarian lines of the English system. In 1889 the Minister announced that the courses of study and Standards had been changed to provide systematic instruction in "agriculture" and "manufactures".\(^1\) In 1890, apart from instruction being given in Object Lessons in agriculture and horticulture, a text book was supplied, some practical work introduced, a special instructor appointed to visit the schools to help teachers, and an annual bonus system for teachers set up for meritorious work of a practical nature.\(^2\) In addition the principle of Arbor Day, which had been mooted for some time, was definitely established.\(^3\)

The Arbor Day movement had originated in the United States, meeting with some success primarily as a means of stocking denuded sections of the Mid-West, but apart from the practical aspect, its introduction into New South Wales was also accompanied by such educative functions as had been attributed to it in America by Professor G.F. Null. Thus we find the Minister advocating the

\(^1\)ibid., 1889, 35.

\(^2\)ibid., 1890, 38 - 9.

\(^3\)ibid., 42. It is interesting to note that Inspector Hookins (Albury) noted in his report for 1883 that "Tree-planting to a limited extent has taken place at several schools". ibid., 1883, 77.
The improving of school grounds by tree planting has long been recognised as a work of importance; and by free grants of suitable trees and shrubs, with monetary aid in special cases, it has been the practice to encourage both teachers and School Boards to undertake such work. Hitherto, however, but moderate progress has been made. The educational advantages to be derived from the planting of school ground—by the pupils should be at once apparent to all who are properly interested in the training and well-being of children. The schools will be beautified and made more attractive; and, by the changed character of the school surroundings, an interest in nature will be stimulated, and a love for the beautiful encouraged, among the pupils. In time, also, the summer shade, so necessary in our climate, will be provided for the children, and the general comfort and happiness of their school life will be materially advanced. The study of trees and plants will likewise be promoted, and useful knowledge respecting them will be obtained by the pupils. They will, moreover, from the interest thus developed in connection with their schools, be led to plant and improve the grounds about their own homes, and in this way the information and advantages gained will be likely to have a permanent effect.

To bring this subject more prominently under the notice of pupils and their parents, and to give them encouragement to take up the desired work, several proposals have recently been made regarding the institution of an "Arbor Day" for Public Schools throughout the Colony. After careful consideration of the whole matter, the Minister cannot see his way, under existing circumstances, to establish the institution of one "Arbor Day" for all schools; but, with the view of creating a warmer interest in tree planting work, he has decided to give aid and encouragement to schools generally, under the following conditions and arrangements:

1. Any Friday in the months of June, July, and August may be set apart as an "Arbor Day" for any particular school, upon a request being made by the School Board to the Minister of Public Instruction, with a statement showing the steps taken, or proposed to be taken, to properly celebrate the day.

2. The Department will provide all trees and shrubs necessary, and will deliver them upon the school grounds.

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**ARBOR DAY CIRCULAR - 1890**

- Minister's Report, 1890, 42.
"useful knowledge" and "love of nature" leading to the "regulation of life", to be derived from such an institution, in addition to the benefits to pupils and public in the form of beauty imparted to the school grounds, shade and conservation.¹

The movement flourished until the subsidies paid by the Department towards costs incurred in planting trees were abolished in 1893 due to the economic situation.² Although the Department continued to supply trees free of cost and freight³ the movement survived in only a few schools where it was kept alive by enthusiastic individuals.⁴ By 1905 The Educational Gazette could refer to "the well-nigh forgotten glories of Arbor Day".⁵

Object Lessons seem to have suffered a similar fate. By 1896 complaints were still being voiced as to the unsuitability of the various texts in common use as bases for Object Lessons:

... text books (such) as Lake and Mayo ... however admirable in their way, begin to pall a little after having done duty

¹ibid., 1891, 33.
²ibid., 1893, 22.
³ibid.,
⁵ibid., XIV, May, 1905, 265.
for all generations of teachers between Pestalozzi and a '96 pupil teacher. Indeed, even the most modern object lesson books published in the mother-country leave much unwritten that is required here.¹

This statement was made on the eve of the publication of Garland's Materials for Object Lessons² "dealing chiefly with subjects exclusively Australian, and treating all from an Australian standpoint".³ Whereas Garland's book merely provided information, a more attractive presentation was to be found in The Australian Object Lesson Book, published the following year.⁴ Designed for Infants', First and Second classes and characterised by a rigid observance of the Standards of Proficiency, this book was nevertheless liberally illustrated and reflected some appreciation of the capacity of the pupils for which it was intended.⁵

Such improvements however, appear to have had little effect upon the quality of teaching in the schools. In 1898 Inspector Lobban reported that although Object Lessons were universally given,

²W.J. Garland, Materials for Object Lessons, Sydney: Robertson, 1897.
⁵N.S.W. Edl. Gaz., VII, Mar., 1898, 236.
they had degenerated from the original plan. Too much, it appeared to him, was being attempted in connection with the lessons.  
The Educational Gazette which had carried in its first volume (1891-2) articles on Agriculture, Object Lessons, Arbor Day and Science in Primary schools, printed no more until May, 1901 when a paper read before the Victorian Educational Congress by Mr. C.R. Long, Inspector of Schools, was published. He asked the same question as had Inspector Hicks in New South Wales in 1881:

> Are they truly object lessons, not merely information lessons, the object being present - a specimen before each pupil ... Do the pupils examine the object minutely to ascertain all that their senses are capable of revealing to them concerning it, before the teacher imparts what would not or could not be discovered by the observer?

In the Annual Reports for the same period, the only major reference to the subject occurred in the Chief Inspector's Report for 1899 in which he noted that the Sydney Morning Herald had written a leading article on the agricultural work and Object Lessons at St. Ives Public School.

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The agricultural emphasis had fallen into particular disfavour in some quarters, as going too far in the direction of vocational training. Senior Inspector Lobban writing in 1903 remarked that his experience in agricultural districts had taught him the functions of the Public school was best carried out by abstaining from attempting any practical instruction in either agricultural or dairy work. The proliferation of subjects in the Primary School was according to Francis Anderson, a prime cause of public criticism of the educational system and it appeared at this stage that the Department certainly was not about to add to its troubles by reviving the teaching of Agriculture in schools. However, Anderson had also offered a solution in his approval of the Department's insistence upon the importance of Object Lessons in the lower school, leaving some of the more important subjects to later on in school life. Chief Inspector Bridges, probably acting upon this suggestion told the Conference of Infant School Mistresses and Inspectors in July, 1902 that Object Lessons should "to a very large extent incline towards nature study, and should frequently assume a conversational character". There was nothing new in this idea but it does mark the point at which the New Education influences began to develop upon the basis which had

1 ibid., 1903, 113.
2 S.M.H., 27/6/1901.
3 ibid.
remained virtually unchanged since 1880.

By 1903 the Mistresses of Infants' Schools were demanding the systematic teaching of Natural Science\(^1\) but the Conference of Inspectors, 1904, was still preoccupied with the equipment for teaching the subject.\(^2\) This attitude had been criticised by Grasby in 1891:

One who can properly teach the fundamental principles of chemistry and physics to boys and girls is independent of the manufacturer; and if he cannot teach no manufacturer will enable him to do so.\(^3\)

However, the address of the principal speaker Mr. Inspector Black did reflect the contemporary emphasis on the use of Natural Science teaching to convey a knowledge and practice of the scientific method, while throughout expressing the individuality of the child and man:

We want to ensure when we have taken a boy through this method, however limited his intellectual capacity is, that he will be able to collect facts that will be of advantage to him, and be able to state them in clear and concise language.\(^4\)

\(^1\)Minister's Report, 1903, 12.

\(^2\)Conference of Inspectors etc., 1904, op. cit., 166

\(^3\)Grasby, op. cit., 165-166.

\(^4\)Conference of Inspectors etc., 1904, op. cit., 173.
The stress here was on the development of the child's mental powers and individuality as well as the moral benefits to be gained such as "respect for those who can do things"\(^1\) and respect for manual labour.\(^2\) Also as pointed out by Inspector P. Board, the achievement of higher educative and practical ideas could follow the teaching of Nature Study in the lower classes if the object of arousing the curiosity and wonder of the child were kept in mind.

We want to get a child to wonder about this thing and that thing, to inquire into things that are worth observing, and to record his observations. But if we fail in the first, second and third classes of our school to bring about that spirit of inquiry and of admiration for what can be found in Nature, we shall have failed to prepare the children for the higher work we do in the upper classes of the school.\(^3\)

It was perhaps to be expected that the teachers of the State should look beyond these high-sounding aims to more practical aspects. The demands of the Syllabus appeared to some to be beyond their own capabilities as teachers. The ever-present

\(^1\)Conference of Inspectors etc., 1904, op. cit., 173.

\(^2\)ibid., 176.

\(^3\)ibid., 191.
concern about the equipment thought to be necessary for effective
teaching of science subjects in the schools was heightened by a
belief that some provision would have to be made out of the
teachers' own pockets.¹ It quickly became apparent that teachers
needed direction and organisation if the objectives of the Syllabus
were to be met. Mr. John Halstead of the Eglinton Public school
was selected for the position, his duties being "to visit schools
and districts in the interests of School Agriculture, and by means
of writing and lecturing to supply teachers with information
required."²

With the emphasis once more upon agricultural training it
seemed as if the teaching of Natural Science under the New Education
was simply a revival of the movement of the 1880's. This is rather
forcefully brought home if the statement of the Minister in 1886
regarding agricultural education which was discussed above,³ is
compared with Peter Board's statement as Under Secretary in 1905.

1886:
While it is not possible that the Public school can fit
farmer's mechanics or citizens of any kind for their
special work, as such, still much of the necessary

²Minister's Report, 1905, 19.
³The statement is repeated here for convenience.
elementary work may be accomplished by these schools in the fostering of an industrial disposition and in imparting general and scientific knowledge.\(^1\)

\(^{1905}\): It is not pretended that the primary school will make the pupil a farmer, but it does aim at giving him the preparation for profitable agriculture by arousing his interest in the work, by giving him a respect for the scientific aspect of farming occupations, and by furnishing him with an elementary knowledge that will form a basis for more extended study after he leaves the Primary school.\(^2\)

The subject matter was therefore to be much the same as before, but there was a subtle difference between the two statements, which Board conveyed by the word "interest". Although but a shadow of the Herbartian concept of interest, the ideal in New South Wales was yet an advance along the lines of requiring the pupil to become a more active part of the learning situation. More stress than before was to be placed upon activity and concrete experience. The powers of expression were to be developed along with an inductive approach to reasoning. The practical application of knowledge to life-situations was to provide the background for teaching.

The theory was perhaps sound but how was theory to be transformed into practice? To the common teacher it probably

\(^{1}\)ibid., 1886, 23.

\(^{2}\)ibid., 1905, 44.
seemed that although the ideals were perhaps different, the school garden was still the practical means of realising the educative functions of Nature Study. The result was a revival of Horticulture and Arboriculture in school gardens which rapidly spread in numbers, size and intricacy. Apart from the competition engendered by teachers seeking promotion, local agricultural societies encouraged the display aspect by offering prizes.¹

As if this were not sufficiently time-consuming, the practical application of "scientific method" to the study was frequently interpreted as requiring the school to take on the air of a miniature museum, classifying and displaying specimens of local minerals, flora and fauna.² Chief Inspector Dawson could well enthuse that no phase of the new course of instruction had been taken up more heartily than Nature Study³ but it is obvious that the resultant excesses in the teaching of the subject detracted from both the educative function of the subject itself and the curriculum in general. The principle of correlation made it easy to excuse the disproportionate emphasis

¹ vide, e.g., ibid., 1906, 19.

² This view had been warmly expounded by Mr. A.G. Hamilton at the 1904 Conference. vide, Conference of Inspectors etc., 1904, 175.

³ ibid., 53.
upon such activities for it could be claimed that time spent on Nature Study was also spent on the subjects correlated with it, especially if the theory of concentration of studies was being followed. There were no doubt cases in which, through the agencies of capable teachers, this was so but it is difficult to conceive of such conditions existing in more than a few schools.

The most satisfactory source available to the modern historian to gauge the spirit behind the general teaching of the time lies in contemporary illustrations and published statements. Photographs considered worthy of publication by the Department in the Minister's Reports, suggest the subordination of the educative to the display function, which is of course understandable in the context of the contemporary need to show the public in terms it could understand, how greatly teaching had improved. Perhaps a more objective idea of the character of the teaching is conveyed by the Report of the Chief Inspector, the reader bearing in mind that this represented the ideal towards which all should strive:

The collecting instinct has been made use of, and many schools possess well-arranged cabinets containing specimens of local minerals, flora, and the lesser fauna. School gardens have increased in number, and a walk and a talk in the garden forms an item in the day's routine. Most gardens have flower plots attended by girl pupils, and vegetable and experimental plots tended by the boys, Differences in
Chart showing how a Crop can be taken as a Central Subject, connecting Nature with Life.

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**THE HOME.**

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Order, Organisation, Ownership of land.

**THE COMMUNITY.**

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<td>Local town.</td>
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<td>Government.</td>
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**NATURE STUDY CORE CURRICULUM**

growth and fertility are observed and recorded, and suitable calculations are made. In dairy-farming districts attention is directed to the processes of the dairy; pupils are taught milk-testing with suitable problems thereon. In mining districts minerals and the processes of mining are studied ... generally, the teacher's aim is to awaken in the pupils an interest in the world around them. The educative value of the study is apparent. No other branch of study seems more potent in giving children something to think about, something to talk and write about. It has even a social influence. The school garden has here and there been the parent of many house gardens ...  

In this statement is expressed the great contradiction of the New Education influence upon the teaching of Nature Study. In attempting to practise the new philosophic and organisational demands, teachers found themselves caught in an undertow of display and vocational training running counter to the tide of educative principles.

It was obvious that the successful teacher was also a successful school gardener and a multitude of articles on Nature Study in the various publications for teachers exhorted them to greater and better things. A few examples will suffice. Inspector R. Henderson wrote upon correlation, character building, mental activity and utility in relation to the Nature Study syllabus.  

1. ibid., 53-4.  
lay-out for a school garden containing over forty plots totalling half an acre. ¹ A.G. Hamilton showed how Nature Study might take its rightful place in Education² and details were given of the advantages derived from the first Nature Study Exhibition at Richmond in November, 1907.³

The Department was now faced with the problem of how to re-direct misguided zeal. A mild warning was issued in 1906 against over-large school gardens.⁴ A more definitive statement of policy was forthcoming the following year:

It is not the desire of the Department that a large area or farm should be cultivated at every country school .... Almost all teachers, where climate and soil suit, can manage a small school garden as an educational agency .... while an attempt to use it as a small school-farm would result in failure. The effort of the teacher to do what he can do well will be much more effective than more ambitious efforts which go beyond his powers, and such effort is more appreciated both by the parents and by the Department.

On the other hand, teachers whose knowledge and experience enable them to extend the scope of the instruction have the opportunity to do so, provided that the place of this instruction in a school-course is preserved.⁵

¹ ibid., Ap., 76.
³ ibid., Jan., 1907, 158 ff.
⁴ ibid.
⁵ Minister's Report, 1907, 19.
There has been no increase in the area of the ground devoted to experimental agriculture; for, after consideration and experience, it is found that the real benefit to the pupils does not consist in the extent of the soil under cultivation, but in the deducing of the lessons these facts teach the pupils.

The children derive valuable lessons from intercourse with the trained gardeners of this district.

The flower gardens, however, have extended and improved in various ways. Wire-netting has been erected in order to train thereon vines and creepers to act as a protection from the severe westerly gales; and two hedges of laurel have been planted for a similar purpose.

The parents and friends keep the children supplied with the choicest plants for each season, and the school gardens have throughout the year a very attractive appearance.

Flower Gardens.—Right throughout the year special attention has been paid to the cultivation of flowers. In the beds, with which the school-grounds are tastefully laid out, a regular succession of flowers has beautified the surroundings of the school. Instruction has been given in the propagation of plants from seeds, cuttings, bulbs, &c., pruning of rose trees, treatment of ground for best production of blooms. During the year there have been splendid collections of daffodils, jonquils, cactus dahlias, wall flowers, &c. They have been useful in the school for Nature observation work, art-work, and above all as a means of cultivating the aesthetic side of the child’s nature.

Agriculture.—Systematic instruction in agriculture has also been given throughout the year. The gardens consist of five terraces, two being devoted to individual plots, and three to a general garden.

One bed is devoted to five fruit-trees, and instruction has been given in the care and culture of them. Practical lessons on pruning have been given. The trees are just commencing their third season, are looking well, and the boys have taken great interest in their progress and welfare.

An experiment in the growth of maize under different conditions was successfully carried out during the year. Apart from its agricultural value, it provided plenty of exercise for correlation with other school subjects—arithmetic, mensuration, &c.

Forty-five varieties of cereals have been cultivated during the winter, and are now looking splendid. For the purpose of observation work, each boy in the Fifth and Sixth Classes was provided with a penny note-book. At the top of each page he wrote the number of the row, and the name of the variety in that row. Observations on the growth of the different varieties were then made during the whole life of the plants from sowing to reaping, and followed one another down the page set apart for that particular variety. Instruction was given on wheat-smut, and how to prevent it, and the seed planted was soaked in a solution of bluestone.

Lesson
To this statement Board added a rider in his memorandum to teachers on the subject: 

Under ordinary circumstances, one acre is altogether too large an area to work as a school garden. In most small schools one-eighth of an acre would be quite large enough, and only under exceptional circumstances should it exceed a quarter of an acre. There are very few schools in which this subject will take its right place in the school-course if a larger area is occupied.¹

The tone of the direction leaves little doubt as to the abuses in the schools which to that stage had masqueraded as Nature Study. However, such was the popularity of the subject in the schools and among the public that there is little evidence of the dampening effect that such a direction might have been expected to produce.

The Public Instruction Gazette, the official medium for conveying information to teachers, virtually ignored the subject for the rest of the period being discussed.² However, apparently pandering to popular opinion which had by now accepted the enthusiasm of the movement, the politically-orientated Annual Reports continued to proclaim the vast amount of work being done in the subject, backed by lists of successful displays.³ The Report of the Chief

²vide, ibid., III and IV, 1909 and 1910.
³vide, Minister's Report, 1908, passim.
The Duckenfield School Camp at 6 a.m.
Inspector for the year 1909 devoted more than five pages of text to Nature Study and Science teaching in the Primary schools. Two of these pages were devoted to the work at Bowral and Armidale Public schools, which was described as "not exceptional but typical instances of the purposes aimed at".¹

The years since 1906 had also seen the development of Rural Camps having as their object "the familiarising of city boys with the country industries, and the supplementing of the teaching of nature study in city schools by bringing the boys into direct contact with country life and occupations".² The undoubted success of these camps³ must certainly have contributed to the continued over-emphasis of Nature Study. Favourable background conditions were also inherent in the Agricultural Summer School scheme which commenced in January, 1907. The prospect of an annual gathering of one hundred teachers at Hawkesbury College was hailed by The Australian Journal of Education as an event of educational significance, but the editor noted that the idea was not without its

¹ ibid., 1909, 46-8.
² ibid., 1906, 19.
³ vide, e.g. ibid., 1910, 38.
critics who considered that the Primary school was being sacrificed to "a narrow utilitarian end".\textsuperscript{1} It is not to be wondered that teachers who had given up holidays to attend such schools should have tended to make such studies the focal point of their teaching:

The only possible danger - and a very probable one - is that being so well equipped with knowledge useful in "nature" lessons, the teacher may forget that nature study is only a part - and a minor part - of what he is called upon to teach, and hence so much attention may be given to nature study, that other subjects, which are of more importance, will not receive the attention they require.\textsuperscript{2}

It is conceivable that this picture of almost unbridled enthusiasm for Nature Study in the schools was responsible in no small way for the almost sentimental reverence with which later commentators\textsuperscript{3} were to view the era of the New Education. Evidence has been presented which points to a spontaneity in the movement and a suggested carry-over to other subjects through the application of the principles of correlation and concentration. The suggestion does not ignore the undoubted influences of other subjects such as Art upon Nature Study and upon the New Education movement itself. This kaleidoscope of

\textsuperscript{1}"The Hawkesbury College Summer School", \textit{Aust. J. of Ed.}, IV, Feb., 1907, 1.
\textsuperscript{2}G. Fraser, "The Summer School of 1907", \textit{ibid.}, 6.
\textsuperscript{3}vide., \textit{e.g.} Newling, \textit{loc. cit.}
influences is the essence of what became known as the New Education. The point however, may still be validly made, that Nature Study was peculiarly suited to the popularisation of the New Education and that other subjects of the curriculum to some extent owed the application of advanced educative principles in their own fields, to their association with it.

The nature of the revival of Natural Science teaching in New South Wales Primary education provides the modern historian of the period with an interesting combination of formative agencies. In the first place it has been possible to trace the teaching of the subject throughout the thirty-year period commencing with Object Lessons and ending with the "Nature Knowledge" of the new Syllabus. Both titles embraced a variety of related disciplines such that the former appears almost as a forerunner of the "concentration of studies" and "correlation" of the New Education. On the other hand it is clear that the "scientific method" approach to the later teaching of the subject, marks the movement in the early 1900's as being essentially a product of the New Education. The development of the subject area to the turn of the century certainly is conducive to the interpretation of the time as one of stagnation, for the nature of the subject and its practical ideals, especially in the field of Agriculture, made it particularly prone to the political, social and economic upheavals
which characterised the period. Nevertheless, the imprint of the early movement remained apparent as Nature Knowledge was absorbed into the new Syllabus for New South Wales Primary schools. It provided the means for re-orientation of the curriculum towards the practical and scientific education being demanded, while following on logically as an extension of the Kindergarten emphasis upon the educative value of pupil activity.

**Geography**

The correlation of Geography with Nature Study and Science under the new Syllabus was a natural extension of the concrete examples and practical emphasis of the New Education. What was required was merely a broadening of the scope of the old Object Lesson, up-dated in regard to method. As one of the elements of "Nature Knowledge", Geography teaching shared the fortunes of Nature Study under the New Education. The similarity of methods to be used in both studies had of course been recognised many years before in the deficient methods of teaching common to both Geography and the Object Lesson:

(Geography lessons) lack systematic arrangement, they are not sufficiently illustrated by maps and diagrams, and they are overburdened with talk. The teaching begins at the wrong end of the subject. The pupils are made to learn definitions of pure abstractions before they have acquired a knowledge of the locality in which they live.\(^1\)

\(^1\)Minister's Report, 1882, 158.
William Wilkins' Geography of New South Wales which was published in 1863 and remained in popular use throughout the eighties and nineties had in fact included chapters upon "Vegetable Productions" and "Animals and their Distribution". The approach was factual, the various species being listed along with their characteristics and habitats, in a manner similar to the geographical contents of other chapters. This "natural science" feature was continued in his more comprehensive Australasia which was written as a reading book in Geography to supplement explanations from the teacher. Later books such as Taylor's Geography of New South Wales continued the tradition of devoting some chapters to Nature Study topics. Thus when

1 The fourth edition was published in 1887 as a result of continuing demand. vide, W. Wilkins, Geography of New South Wales, Sydney: Moore, 4th ed., 1887. In 1898 it was still the "authorised text-book under our Department, so far as local geography is concerned". N.S.W. Edu. Gaz., VII, May, 1898, 280.

2 ibid., Chaps VI and VII.


4 ibid., v.

Nature Study came to dominate the "Nature Knowledge" of the 1900's, the traditional linking of Geography with Nature Study held some promise for development in Geography method parallel ing that in Nature Study.

The New Education held a wealth of promise for the reorientation of the study of Geography in ways appealing to child interest. Parker's *Talks on Teaching* which became a standard text for New South Wales teachers, devoted four "Talks" to the subject. He stressed the need for pupils to be led to an appreciation of the relation between man's geographical environment, social character and history, and saw Geography as a means of developing the imagination of the child: "The first steps in geography should give the child the means to imagine that which he cannot see". Parker advocated teaching from direct observation; the use of modelling, drawing and language as means of having pupils express what they had observed; and problem-solving to excite curiosity.

The science of Geography teaching meant to him the logical ordering of experience in the building of concepts. Thus he rejected the "ever-widening circle" approach which started in the

2. *ibid.*, 125.
immediate surroundings and developed through the study of the district, and state before dealing with the continent:

This order is illogical, because the county is more difficult to imagine ... than the entire continent. The reason why we teach the surroundings is misunderstood. The purpose of teaching that which can be seen and examined is simply and solely to enable the child to imagine the unseen. The great highlands, long slopes, and regular vertical forms of the whole continent is, to my mind, the next simplest step, when the facts of elementary geography are in the child's mind.¹

There was also to him a logical progression from the study of vegetation, to animals, to minerals, to man: "The earth is now made ready for the abode of man, and man, the animal, will now take his place on the earth, created in the minds of the children."²

Parker's influence could clearly be seen in the writings of New South Wales educators such as Percival Cole, who took the idea of Geography being the study of man in his environment and developed it as a determinant of the logical presentation of the Geography lesson. He wrote of the "old order":

Such interest as there was seemed mainly an extraneous matter of showing off or competition. These are not among the deadly sins, and the writer does not hold interest to be a fetish, yet there seems to be much to be said for the Herbartian plan of connecting the new with the old, and particularly commencing with the new-old, which is always of interest; also much truth

¹ ibid., 128.

² ibid., 135-6.
in the Froebelian theory, that a child should feel the need of what he is to be taught, before he is taught it. Both these requirements suggest the advisability of turning the geography lesson topsy-turvy, and beginning with the people, or rather some incident leading to them. ¹

This emphasis upon the study of people was a basic principle of the new Syllabus ² and was in itself thoroughly Herbartian in origin:

Geography is not essentially the location of places, nor is it physiography, but it is a study of the essential facts concerning the surface of the earth as they are related to man himself; it is, in short, human in the fullest sense. ³

The degree to which New Education principles were applied in practice is somewhat difficult to gauge amongst the idealised and often conflicting contemporary statements but some idea may be obtained from a perusal of the content and arrangement of the textbooks upon which teachers of the time based their lessons. Those published by Angus and Robertson and Brooks appear to have been the standard texts in schools. The former was "prescribed for use in Schools by the Department of Public Instruction" ⁴ and after being published in mid-1898 ⁵ ran to three editions by the following year. ⁶


²vide, Course of Instruction for Primary Schools, 1905, 34.


⁴Taylor, op. cit., title page.

⁵Aust. Teach., No. 28, Aug., 1898, 16.

⁶Taylor, loc. cit.
The original review in *The Australian Teacher* revealed the features which teachers of the late nineties found to be noteworthy in such texts. The journal noted that the book dealt with the animals, vegetables and minerals of New South Wales and that there were thirty-two illustrations of typical scenes. A relief map was included along with maps showing railways, seaports and headlands with distances from Sydney and giving the vertical heights of places on the railway line from Sydney to Dubbo. Work on artesian boring and geology was regarded as a feature along with the text's treatment of the structure and origin of the Blue Mountains. The view of *The New South Wales Educational Gazette* was that the book was a great improvement upon those of Wilkins:

> The formidable and dreaded lists of names, accompanied by even more formidable figures, but unembellished by a single word of descriptions (sic) are here conspicuous by their absence. Every place of importance is mentioned, and every figure worth remembering is given, but so interwoven with descriptive touches or historical associations as to smooth the path of the learner, and impress the facts indelibly upon his memory.

Taylor's text was nevertheless a continuation of the traditional encyclopaedic approach and remained basically a source of information for teachers rather than a book to be placed in the hands of pupils. There is no doubt however that it was

1 *Aust. Teach.*, loc. cit.

commonly used in the last-mentioned manner in the senior classes and in 1898 an abridgment of the original work was published for use in the Third and Fourth classes.¹ Later editions of the original work, though "revised and enlarged", retained the same basic form.²

Brooks' series of texts, also first published in 1898,³ were more carefully graded. Known originally as The New Standard Geographies, the books were well illustrated by contemporary criteria. They were issued in three volumes intended respectively for Third, Fourth and Fifth classes, and followed closely the 1898 Standards of Proficiency.⁴

Angus and Robertson produced at about the same time a similar series entitled Geography for the New Standard, but only for each of the two years of enrolment in Third class.⁵ This was followed

¹ibid., VIII, Oct., 1898, 110.
²vide, Taylor, op. cit.
⁵ibid., Mar., 1899, 228.
in 1900 by *Geography of Australasia*, the amount of information compressed into its sixty-four pages being described by the *Gazette* as "simply astonishing".  

By 1901 *Geography for the New Standard* had been issued up to Part IV for Fourth class pupils in their second half-year of enrolment.

Thus an established pattern of development for geographical texts had been set by the turn of the century, mainly in accordance with a tradition established by Wilkins and by overseas texts.

The greatest modifications seem to have been undertaken as a result of the 1898 revision of the Standards of Proficiency. The previous Standards were rounded out, re-apportioning emphasis to be given to the subject and re-allocating and expanding some topics. Perhaps the greatest stimulus to textbook revision was the expression in the new Standards of a new approach to the teaching of the subject which was conveyed by the use of such phrases as "simple oral lessons on . . ." and footnotes such as:

Note 1. - Geography - In Third and Fourth Classes no "heights" or "lengths" will be required at examinations.

1 *ibid.*, X, Jun., 1900, 16.

2 *ibid.*, May, 1901, 276.
Note 2. - In all classes, to enable an Inspector to examine within the range of lessons actually given in Geography and History, definite information should be entered in the Register of Lessons as to the scope of each lesson.¹

There was obviously to be less prescription as to the exact subject matter of lessons and this in turn appears to have stimulated more variation both within and between texts.

These books in the 1900's remained basically unchanged from their original editions and a survey of reviews and notices throughout the period reveals few challenges to the established position as basic texts.²

Brooks' series was "revised and partly re-written" in 1905,³ the several volumes being enthusiastically received as "practically new works, written with a special view to meet the requirements of the New Syllabus and abundantly illustrated by maps and appropriate pictures".⁴ They did in fact conform to the letter of the New Education, if not the spirit. The formal influence of Science

¹vide, ibid., VIII, Aug., 1898, 56 ff.
²vide, e.g., notices in ibid., X, passim.
³S.H. Smith, loco cit.
⁴ibid., XV, Jul., 1905, 44.
was clearly defined in the sections dealing with what Parker termed "mathematical geography". For example, half of the Third book (Fifth class) was devoted to latitude and longitude and other topics concerning the globe, with particular emphasis upon weather and the use of scientific instruments and graphs.¹ This organisation was itself in keeping with Parker's view that such topics should be the last to be taught in the course.² There was however, little of the integrative approach to the subject which he advocated. New Education influences could be traced in some of the topics listed but appear to have had little influence upon the treatment of subject matter.

Such a deficiency could of course be overcome through enlightened teaching using the texts as aids rather than course bases but in the context of the pupil-teacher system and a traditional reliance upon book learning in Geography, there is every reason to believe that unskilled teachers placing too much reliance upon the text would have found it difficult to discover in such books the spirit of New Education teaching.

¹S.H. Smith, op. cit., Contents.

²Parker, Talks on Teaching, op. cit., 129.
Although the geographical texts of the 1900's owed much to their development during the eighties and nineties, there had nevertheless been some adaptation in accordance with the scientific and practical approach of the New Education. Correlation with English also gave rise to the interesting phenomenon of Geography Readers, the origins of which could nevertheless be traced back to Wilkins' *Australasia*. An example was the series published as *Alternative Geography Readers* by Collins. These volumes were described by the *Gazette* as approaching the limit of quality and attractiveness in their "judicious selection of matter, bold clear type, abundance of excellent illustrations (mostly plain and coloured photographs), and ... unusually large number of useful maps and diagrams".¹ Then in 1903 from the same publishers came *The Wide World Readers* in which the distinction between reading book and geographical textbook was well observed:

The pages are not overloaded with place-names, and dry details, but pleasant reading matter has been provided and so presented as to cultivate an easy and fluent style. The descriptions of scenery, architecture, natural features, home-life, industries, etc., characteristic of the various countries described, provide, with the illustrations and

maps, a veritable panorama of the world which cannot fail to invest the "dry bones" of geography with a new and living interest. Geography ought to be a favourite subject with pupils, and the "Wide World Readers" will certainly tend to make it so.¹

The use of such readers in the schools promised a more educative approach to the teaching of Geography in keeping with the popular, if misunderstood, conception of interest and no doubt influenced the approach adopted by later texts. From the available evidence it therefore appears that there was in fact an increasing scope for the teacher of the 1900's to practise the principles advocated by the New Education in the teaching of Geography.

A more subjective appraisal must be made of the spirit behind this teaching. The overall impression received from research in the area is that in many instances the enthusiasm displayed by teachers for Nature Study flowed over to Geography but not to such an extent that the excesses in the former subject were repeated. Many Inspectors in their annual reports were content to pass over Geography completely in their concentration upon the achievements of Nature Study. The majority confined themselves to a pithy comment along the lines that the subject

¹ibid., XIII, Oct., 1903, 115.
was being taught in an interesting and sensible fashion. A few revealed a preoccupation in the schools of their District with the subject, rivalling and even surpassing that of Nature Study.¹

The attitude of the Department was that Geography and Nature Study should be twin subjects "bringing the pupil face to face with the natural world":

The initial stages are ... taken by means of out-door talks, and excursions to places where the landscape furnishes illustrations of watersheds, slopes and river valleys, and of the influence on the earth's surface of wind, water, and heat. The influence of natural features and phenomena on the life of man ... is traced in the formation of towns, the density of population, the products of the land, and the occupations and history of the people.²

That Geography teaching was not always up to the ideal is evidenced by the publication in The New South Wales Educational Gazette between 1905 and 1906 of a series of articles on the teaching of Geography, designed to overcome "errors of method" and awaken teachers to the educative value of the subject.³ It is clear however, that the teaching of the subject had undergone a re-orientation both in

¹ vide, Minister's Reports, 1904, passim, Annex A.
² ibid., 1907, 48.
It is very desirable that, when local conditions make it possible, and the teacher is qualified for the work, the course of elementary science for boys should comprise lessons in the elementary principles of agriculture. The primary school cannot undertake to teach agriculture with any degree of completeness, but the subject may be so treated that the pupils may gain a practical acquaintance with the elementary principles that underlie the operations of the farm, orchard, and garden, and—what is of most importance—their tastes and inclinations may receive a trend towards rural pursuits. In this section of school work it is essential that practical should accompany theoretical instruction. Without the actual practice in the school ground, any theoretical teaching will largely fail in its purpose. In many schools it will be found most convenient to give these lessons to boys when girls are receiving lessons in needlework.

In girls' schools, the work in this section for Fifth Classes should deal mainly with subjects related to domestic pursuits and home hygiene. In this connection a course of needlework is provided, and should receive thorough and complete treatment in the primary course. As cookery schools are extended attendance at them should be encouraged. Besides this, a regular course of lessons throughout the year may deal with such subjects as the following:

**CIVICS AND MORALS.**

Apart from the indirect influence of school discipline in the formation of character, teaching of a direct kind is needed, so that the child may form ideals of conduct and be stimulated to act in accordance with them. In the early stages, this is best done by stories with a strong human interest in them.

Scripture Lessons.—The Syllabus provides for the systematic reading of the authorised Scripture Lessons by all pupils who are sufficiently advanced to be able to overcome mechanical difficulties of the text. It is important that this course should be regularly followed. Pupils whose parents have conscientious objections should be exempted from these lessons.

It is not intended that each of the subjects named in the Syllabus should be programmed for special treatment; many of them might be referred to as opportunity offers during the course of other lessons. The more difficult or unusual should be treated in short lessons of about fifteen minutes' duration. The experience of the teacher will guide him as to the best time and manner in which to impart these lessons. As abstract moral teaching fails to excite much interest in the minds of children, it will be found an advantage to enforce the principles of such teaching by means of examples taken from history, biography, poetry, and fiction, or by means of anecdote, allegory, or fable. Temperance should form a subject for definite instruction.
Some of the stories will carry a direct moral and afford to the teacher an opportunity for teaching specifically what is right as distinct from what is wrong in some phase of conduct. As the child grows in years, the reasons that underlie right conduct, whether in its personal, social, or civic aspects, should enter into the instruction. Other stories and narratives will carry no formulated moral, but by their indirect influence on the pupil will help to form his standard of conduct.

Moral instruction is also bound up in the teaching of civics. The duties which the individual owes to society, the regard for public interests and public property, the response to the demands which the State makes upon the individual citizen—these form a large part of that civic morality, the elements of which may be taught in the school and form the foundation of a true citizenship.

Special lessons on civics, beginning with the Third Class, should first deal with whatever function of government may be illustrated in the school locality. The starting point will, necessarily, vary in different localities, but from the local conditions, the course of instruction will be gradually expanded in the higher classes to embrace the various representative institutions—municipal, State, and Commonwealth—the administration of justice, public taxes, the means of defence, and the responsibilities which these entail on the citizen. No exhaustive treatment of these subjects should be attempted, but as in the other branches of school instruction the range of the teaching will be limited by the powers of the pupils to assimilate the matter presented. In the upper classes, some civic functions can be illustrated by examples carried out by the pupils themselves. The teaching of civics should be closely associated with the teaching of history—in fact should be treated not as a separate subject but as a section of the history course.

The aim of the teaching of history is not the loading of the memory with a host of unrelated facts and unimportant dates capable of being reproduced for show purposes. The period of school life is, moreover, too short to admit the treatment of history in its complete form. The aim is rather, by a selection of topics, to give such an account of the past as will enable the pupil to have some insight into the present, and furnish him with noble ideals of life and character upon which he may model his own. Such a conception of the aim involves wide and thoughtful reading on the part of the teacher, and ability to realise vividly the ideas and ideals of past times, and the power of graphic narration.

A few lessons in history can be properly given without constant reference to geography. In the lessons suggested below for Third Class, the routes of the explorers and voyages should be closely followed on maps or blackboard sketches. Towards making the study of history interesting and realistic much aid will be derived from photographs and pictures, from _fict-similes_ of old documents, from consideration of existing institutions, laws, and customs, and from the reading of historical tales, biographies, and books of travel, in regard to which the school library will be found of prime importance. The close relation of history to literature should not escape notice. Poetry, songs, old ballads are capable of being used effectively in the teaching of history.

The time devoted to history and civics need not exceed one hour in Third and Fourth Classes, and an hour and a half in Fifth Class per week.

The following lists of topics in Civics and History for Third, Fourth, and Fifth Classes will furnish materials from which a _selection_ may be made for courses of lessons, about one-fourth of the year's lessons being devoted to Civics and the remainder to History.
content and method which although originating in the traditional teaching of the nineteenth century, showed its nature to be to a significant extent the result of New Education psychology.

History.

The teacher of the 1900's was faced with a perplexing situation in regard to the teaching of History. Doubtless there were many who desired to teach this subject by the most educative means available to them but they found it difficult to introduce the concrete and practical methods of the New Education. They could not, as they saw it, take their pupils out on a History excursion to show them the History of the text book, even in regard to the Australian section. They were exhorted by the Syllabus "to give such an account of the past as will enable the pupil to have some insight into the present ...",¹ but as their Chief Inspector pointed out, "the difficulty of seeing the past in the present must always present obstacles in the realistic treatment of this subject".² To complicate matters, they could not easily alter the sequence of teaching various topics, which had proved to be a successful approach to Geography.

¹Course of Instruction for Primary Schools, 1905, 41.
²Minister's Report, 1905, 51.
Basic to the problem was the fact that the subject was relatively new, having been introduced into New South Wales schools in 1882 following its inclusion in the school curriculum by the Act of 1880.

Available texts, both in English and Australian History were not particularly suited to the New South Wales school situation but even though this fact was recognised by the Department the Standards of 1891 continued to be tied to the particular publications then available. Nelson's History of England for Junior Classes was retained as the basic text, Nelson's Brief History of England and Gardiner's Outlines of English History being used in Third class after 1891 as introductions to the larger text. Although Sutherland's History of Australia was not specifically referred to in the 1891 Standards because of the Department's plans to publish their own text, the Standard implied that the existing book should be used until another was forthcoming.

1 vide, ibid., 1881, 127, and 1882, 159.

2 N.S.W. Public Instruction Act of 1880, op. cit., Section 7. "... lessons in the history of England and in the history of Australia shall form part of the course of secular instruction."

3 vide, Minister's Report, 1890, 58.

4 vide, Standards of Proficiency, Minister's Report, 1884, 121 ff., and 1890, 745 ff.
Until the nineties there had been little concern for developing the study of Australian History in the schools or encouraging departures from set texts. Barcan attributes this situation to the desire to avoid controversy and to the limited extent and scope of Australian History. The emphasis was upon English History and rote learning of facts, particularly in the typical situation where several classes under more than one teacher were taught perhaps different subjects simultaneously in the same large room. The situation in small schools under one teacher also limited the opportunities for lessons involving more than simple memorisation of facts.

Nelson's Junior History was clearly designed for such use with its stress upon dates, names of rulers, battles and political History. At the beginning of each chapter was a summary of the contents of each paragraph. Each paragraph was numbered and at the end of each chapter were questions on each paragraph. Proper nouns were identified in footnotes and every fact had to be memorised to successfully answer the revision questions. An extract from the book leaves little doubt as to the nature of


2Ibid., 102.
History teaching well into the nineties:

1. The Britons, who had lived in peace under Roman protection, were in a wretched plight when left to themselves. The Picts and the Scots, breaking through the unguarded walls, pillaged the northern country. The Vikings (1) of the North Sea coasts, who had hardly been kept in check by the Roman fleets, descending on the east and south, sailed up the rivers in their light flat-bottomed skiffs, burning and slaying without mercy. Vortigern, a British prince, is said to have asked the aid of the Vikings against the Picts. The men he invited were Jutes, or people of Jutland, men of great size, with blue eyes, ruddy complexion, and yellow hair; practised in war, using the axe, the sword, the spear, and the mace.

The questions asked upon this paragraph were:

1. In what state were the Britons after the departure of the Romans? Who harassed them in the North? Who, in the east and the south? Whose aid did they ask? Whence did these men come? What was their character?1

The influence of such texts was still apparent in 1903 when Senior Inspector Lawford wrote:

... in answer to the question "In what state were the Britons when the Roman legions were withdrawn?" the answer is given with eagerness "In a terrible plight," without the remotest idea of what "terrible plight" means.2

Sutherland's History of Australia, published in 1877, was also formal and chronological in its organisation, the exposition

1Quoted in ibid.

2Minister's Report, 1903, 90.
dealing with each colony in turn over a given period. Gardiner's *Outlines of English History* however introduced a bibliographical and moral approach to the teaching of History which was to be featured under the New Education:

Gardiner's "Outline" is mainly political history, liberally spiced with moral doctrines as a guide to conduct. Stress is laid on individuals (biography) and on their sayings. This stress on personalities, a feature of the interpretation of history then popular, also serves as a way of conveying moral judgements (through assessment of character). The treatment of their subject by such texts, apart from determining the nature of History teaching prior to the New Education, was particularly significant in the light of recurrent evidence that even though more suitable texts later became available, teachers tended to continue with the old, even as late as 1907:

The text-books followed by most give little help towards selection. Accordingly, it is found that men and incidents in English history of purely antiquarian interest, as far as Australian children are concerned, are dwelt upon to such an extent, that modern men and events escape treatment.

The answer of course was to provide suitable texts and to introduce the child to local history through a course which became known as Civics. Both were attempted in 1889-90 when the Department

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1 Barcan, *op. cit.*, 104.
2 *ibid.*, 107.
3 *ibid.*, 1907, 47. *vide* also Barcon, *op. cit.*, 102 ff.
advertised for "qualified persons" to write a "School History of Australia" according to its specifications, which prescribed six chapters on government, civics and morals. 1 Several manuscripts were submitted and prizes awarded 2 but future Minister's Reports made no mention of the publication of the winning text. However, the Department did publish H.H. Lusk's History of Australia for Schools in 1891, the book apparently meeting with little success. 3

Despite this failure there were some who continued to hope for a text "in which continuity and growth are mingled with facts that have relation to our life in this age, and an interest in questions that would throw light on our own struggles and difficulties". 4

This wish was expressed in a weighty though scholarly article

1 Minister's Report, 1890, 58.
2 ibid., 59.
3 Barcan, op. cit., 111.
4 G.C.H., "History and Our School Curriculum", N.S.W. Edi. Gaz., III, Sept., 1893, 69. Such requirements were apparently not satisfied by Grimm's A Concise History of Australia published towards the end of 1891. It originally appeared as a series of contributions to the Balmain Leader and therefore was written for adults. vide, ibid., I, Dec., 1891, 143.
published in 1893 in which the anonymous author also expounded his belief in the value of History in developing the mind, according to the faculty theory. Political knowledge and acumen were to be the objectives:

No man can be expected to give a rational vote who does not understand the relations in which he is placed, nor his responsibility as a social unit, and such relations and responsibilities only become clear when we view them by the light which is thrown upon our present by a study of the past from which it has grown.¹

He saw also the moral significance:

The heroic deeds, high thoughts, and patriotic sentiments of heroic men appeal to and elicit the nobility within ... hence the great feature in the development of the moral nature is not precept, nor sermon, nor homily, but personality.²

Lastly there was the "optimistic" value in the study of History:

The transitoriness of evil, the permanence of good are most manifest, one becomes convinced that evil is only "stuff for transmuting" into good. From the dim conception of a notion vaguely felt, we pass to a stage where that notion becomes a rational principle, and finally a basis of action realising itself in the institutions and laws of a higher civilization.³

¹G.C.H. op. cit. 68.
²ibid.
³ibid., 69.
Such ideals were brought down to a practical level by S.C. Rose who propounded in 1897\(^1\) the methods which were to be attributed to the New Education:

... the teacher must be a reading man. We do not mean a man who crambs himself with the matter of certain prescribed text books, but a man who reads widely, notes carefully, and digests deliberately ....

... the children should have no books at first, but give the teacher all their attention, as he paints in realistic colours the scenes, the customs, the place, the living men and women of the period or reign under consideration. With the fire of his imagination he makes the dead live again, and pass in review before the minds of his pupils. The leading lights of the time, their actions, ideas, social customs and daily lives, are thrown, as it were, on an imaginery screen, and the pupils peep into the past and see with "the mind's eye". In other words, the dry bones of history are clothed with flesh and blood, and have breathed into them the breath of life.

... we chain them (the pupils) to us by creating an interest in the subject, and connecting the present with the past. This we do by pointing out places on the map which exist in the present and yet have a great connection with the past.

We are not forgetful of the fact that this method has some dangers. Impressions, though interesting, are not necessarily knowledge. Hence the value of the blackboard summary and reference to text books. And surely, after such teaching, the pupils are better able to understand the brief statements of the history books.

\(^1\)As he had for other subject areas. \textit{vide} 503

In Rose's statement was embodied such of that which the new Education was to offer the subject. The new Syllabus notes followed his thought as closely that it would be no exaggeration to say that from moral emphasis through to correlation with Geography, Peter Board might well have taken Rose as his mentor in outlining a plan for the more educative teaching of History.

The revised Standards of 1898 were therefore the product of a clearly-defined and increasing concern for the more educative values to be derived from the study of History. This found tangible expression in the publication of History Readers in the early 1890's. Both Macmillan and Longmans produced series of Readers but neither was adapted to "the ordinary history recommended in the Standard of Proficiency". By a "remarkable" coincidence Collin's series entitled *The Patriotic Historical* 

1 *vide*, Course of Instruction, 1905, *op. cit.*, 40-1.

2 These Readers probably influenced the later development of similar books in Geography which was discussed above. The whole movement appears to have been bound up with the increased interest in reading which found expression in the Library movement of the nineties. *vide infra*, 502

Readers, although specially written for the new English Code, were found to suit the New South Wales revised Standards of 1898. The stories were said to be told in "an easy and attractive manner" and a style "well within the comprehension of the classes for which they are intended".  

As the new Standards were decidedly less prescriptive in regard to content to be covered, and refrained from specifying particular texts they encouraged the publication and use of a greater variety of texts and readers than had been possible under the previous requirements. Angus and Robertson's History for the New Standard and Brooks' New Standard English History both represented something of a synthesis between the abridged text for pupils and the History Readers. This approach through simple stories or biographies was a requirement of the new Standards. The whole course was to be developed upon the "concentric" plan which involved a general survey in lower classes followed by later more detailed repetition.

1 ibid., VIII, Sept., 1898, 85.
2 vide, Standards of Proficiency, 1898, loc. cit. Ransome's was mentioned in Fifth class but not required.
4 vide, Standards of Proficiency, 1898, loc. cit.
5 Barcan, op. cit., 108.
With increasing interest in Australian History and agitation for more stress upon its teaching in the schools, the Department undertook the publication of a text by Joseph Finney, Headmaster of Fort Street Practice School. The History of the Australian Colonies was made to order for the needs of New South Wales schools, about one-half of the volume being devoted to the discovery of the continent and the history of the mother State. A feature was the final chapter on "Citizenship - its Rights and Responsibilities" which foreshadowed the emphasis upon Civics and Morals in the teaching of History under the 1904-5 Syllabus.

Development also took place in general texts for senior students and pupil-teachers. A.W. Jose's History of the Empire met with much success after 1898 as it covered the period set for the Public Service examinations. Collins' The Patriotic History of the British Empire followed in 1899 and was recommended for use

1 The 1898 Standards required the teaching of English History from the beginning of Third class; Australian History only from the fourth half-year of enrolment in that class. Standards of Proficiency, 1898, op. cit., 58. vide, also Barcan, loc. cit.


3 ibid., VII, Jan., 1898, 183.
in the Fifth class. 1 In the field of Australian History, Jose followed up his earlier success with *A Short History of Australasia* which though less ambitious than its predecessor, was considered by the *Gazette* to show "considerable judgment" in its selection and arrangement of subject matter. 2 Ernest Favenc's *The Geographical Development of Australia* appeared in 1902 linking the physiography of Australia with its exploration. 3

The main development of History texts therefore appears to have been confined to the late nineties and early 1900's. Whatever the achievement of the New Education in the teaching of History, it cannot be disputed that it rested upon textbooks developed primarily to meet the earlier Standards rather than the 1904-5 Syllabus. That syllabus was in fact a delayed expression of the innovation of the nineties which has been traced as a continuation of trends apparent from the time History was introduced into the curriculum.

Texts such as *New Standard English History* by S.H. Smith enjoyed increasing popularity at the turn of the century. Two

1 *ibid.*, IX, Oct., 1899, 110

2 *ibid.*, IX, Nov., 1899, 127.

3 *ibid.*, XII, Jan., 1903, 183.
years after the publication of the series sixty thousand copies had been sold.\(^1\) Thus the "concentric" arrangement of presentation followed in the series, had been introduced to schools several years before it appeared as the basis for the new Syllabus approach. Likewise the increased emphasis of the Syllabus upon Australian History\(^2\) was merely acknowledging a trend apparent since the eighties. The same might be claimed of the bibliographical, moral and story-telling approaches which all had their antecedents in the nineteenth century texts.

These principles were found to be compatible with, and also formed part of the New Education approach in stimulating the imagination and interests of the child. Parker for example specifically advocated the value of tales from History, the use of Readers, the biographical approach and the need to teach vital and interesting facts rather than empty generalisations.\(^3\)

\(^1\)ibid., XI, Feb., 1902, 203.

\(^2\)Australian History was to be studied from the beginning of Third class. Course of Instruction, 1905, op. cit., 8

\(^3\)Parker, Talks on Teaching, op. cit., 140 ff.
The romantic and nationalistic flavour of Australian History appealed readily to child interests as did its intimacy with the pupils' environment, physical and otherwise. Local History could be more readily correlated with other subjects of the curriculum such as Geography, leading to a more practical approach to method. Stories and biography lent themselves to the oral presentation being encouraged in the changing organisation of the classroom. They also provided ideal subjects for oral and written expression - the use of language - which was a unifying theme in the Syllabus. Even the apparently inescapable reliance upon texts in the teaching of History could be termed "child activity".

The final proof of the compatibility of the New Education with established practice lay in the continued use of textbooks designed in accordance with earlier requirements. The revision of texts appears to have been towards keeping them abreast of current developments and correcting errors, rather than improving their organisation and presentation.¹ New texts during the 1900's were few and followed the new established emphasis upon narrative and

¹vide, e.g. criticism of errors and inconsistency in Smith's Histories (N.S.W. Edl. Gaz., XI, Feb., 1902, 203) and the implication that not much revision had been necessary in the new edition of the same series. (ibid., XV, Jul., 1905, 44.)
"concentricity". Thus there was some development in the field of Readers with Stories of Australian Exploration by Charles Long;¹ The Complete History Readers;² W. Gillies' Simple Studies in History for Young Australians;³ and P.R. Cole's Civics and Morals⁴ and Concentric Histories of England.⁵

With such a range of material with which to work and the traditional approach of the new Syllabus, the apparent lack of effective response by teachers towards a more educative teaching of History remains one of the contradictions of the New Education. It is however, readily explicable. The minimal effect of new ideas upon the teaching of History to 1910 appears firstly to have been due to a lack of contrast between the old and the new order. In short, what the New Education demanded was already the accepted practice amongst progressive teachers. Again, the traditional

¹ibid., XIII, Nov., 1903, 148. Long was an Inspector of Schools.
²Blackie, ibid., XIV, Aug., 1904, 68.
³ibid., Jan., 1905, 187.
⁵ibid., May, 1905, 284, and XV, Oct., 1905, 117.
reliance upon textbooks had precluded the possibility that supervision and training as in Art and Agriculture, might have been afforded the less capable teacher. The comparatively recent addition of the subject to the curriculum, combined with the unattractive nature of its early teaching could not have aroused the enthusiasm of teachers who had received their own knowledge (if any) of History in the outmoded style.

The training system accentuated the problem. Pupil-teachers not fortunate enough to enter training institutions, received instruction at the hands of teachers who themselves could generally not have been proficient in the subject except perhaps, in the style of the traditional texts. Students of the Training Schools moreover, found continually changing policies in regard to training in the teaching of History. The courses emphasised the factual approach, due to the external nature of examinations and the related stress upon prescribed textbooks. English History dominated the course except in the early and concluding years, for such courses were closely linked with the History Standards in the schools.¹

Finally it could not be expected that teachers should give proportionate attention to all subjects in a rather overcrowded

¹ vide, Barcan, op. cit., 215 ff., for a detailed account of History in teacher-training institutions.
Some, such as Nature Study tended to attract more than their rightful share of attention and in the process more formal subjects such as History tended to be sacrificed.

Such generalisations as to the nature of History teaching under the New Education are supported by the more objective evidence of inspectorial reports covering the period. Even the most eulogistic of these could find little praise for the manner in which the subject was being taught. The sorry facts were provided by Chief Inspector Dawson in 1910:

No subject, except perhaps English, demands for successful teaching, wider and more thoughtful reading than history. The less experienced teachers are very much the slaves of text-books, fail to see the true perspective of events, and are overwhelmed by the mass of facts presented to them in their reading ... The lessons in civics have for object an introduction of the pupils to some understanding of the meaning and relations of the institutions of the State, but their value for the children is often impaired by the use of terms and language unfamiliar to them.

History was still not accepted as a fundamental subject of the curriculum. At its inception in 1883-4, it had been subordinated to the "bread-and-butter" subjects of Reading,

\[1\] Vide, Minister's Reports, 1904, passim, especially Appendix A.

\[2\] Ibid., 1910, 38.
Writing and Arithmetic. A shift in emphasis in the new century, away from the formal subjects and towards Manual Training, Physical Culture and Nature Study ensured that History would remain in the background, for through the intervention of Geography, History found itself three steps removed from the correlative foundation of Nature Study. Geography might bask in the reflected glory of Nature Study - History found itself in the penumbra.

In retrospect, the prospect in 1910 for the effective teaching of Nature Study and Geography was one of the most promising of the changes wrought upon tradition by the New Education. Geography had not attracted the faddists to the same extent as had Nature Study and had therefore succeeded in maintaining a balance between the formal and informal elements of method. The excesses associated with the early teaching of Natural Science were essentially the products of misguided zeal in a service which was, however, rapidly maturing towards the greater professionalism inherent in an expanding outlook amongst teachers and in a more effective training scheme. It was apparent that whereas the pendulum had swung too far in the teaching of Nature Study, it had perhaps not swung far enough in regard to History. The development of a consistency of approach towards the curriculum as a whole had yet to be achieved.
Throughout the eighties and nineties a tendency to emphasise the basic subjects of the curriculum at the expense of the less formal subjects was evident. The New Education of the twentieth century sought to displace the more formal aspects of English and Mathematics from their dominant position in the curriculum although English still remained the central study, it being essential to self-expression. This process of changing emphasis upon subject groupings is illustrated in the development of Music and in attempts to revitalise its teaching according to the principles of interest, correlation and the findings of Child-Study concerning readiness and maturation levels.

The utilitarian nature of the New Education appeared to be in conflict with many of the demands of educational psychology. It is this contradiction which encouraged the continuation of much that was traditional in classroom practice. As the bases of expression, the formal aspects of English teaching such as Grammar, Spelling and Writing required continuing emphasis. Likewise the teaching of the
formal principles of Mathematics and Music continued to occupy the greater part of time devoted to these subjects in the Primary school. The pressure was not eased by reduced time allocations and the need to prepare more pupils for higher education, two factors which accompanied the New Education.

All three subject groupings of Music, English and Mathematics provide evidence of resistance to the new methods and ideals to some extent explicable in terms of their traditional status in the curriculum, the nature of their subject-matter, and the attitudes of those in authority in response to social pressures.

**Music and Singing**

Although required to be taught from First class onwards by the Council of Education's Standard of Proficiency,¹ the teaching of "Singing"² was in many schools regarded as "merely extra, ornamental, and even unnecessary".³ In many schools the subject was not taught at all through lack of training or lack of confidence on the part of the teachers.⁴ Under the reorganisation of the 1880's therefore there was much ground to be made up. D.S. Hicks, District

² The term included theory of music. vide, ibid.
⁴ ibid.
Inspector at Wagga Wagga described the situation in his Report for 1881:

Little better than half the pupils present at inspection had received instruction... Nearly three-fourths of this number were in Infants' Schools, where singing is only taught by ear... The most that is as a rule attempted is to get the children to sing a few school songs which they pick up by ear. Several teachers who have been brought up in the Service, and have passed through the Training School, profess utter inability to teach this subject. The attempts which have hitherto been made to induce these teachers, and those who have not had some instruction in music, to acquire a knowledge of the subject and to teach it, have signally failed. ¹

The revised Standards of 1884 which introduced differential values of marks for various subjects, were designed to stop teachers concentrating on the "lighter" subjects² and resulted in the maximum value of Singing being reduced by 60% compared with Reading.³ However, at the same time allowance was made in the Standards for staff notation to be adopted in place of the traditional tonic sol-fa,⁴ and a special examiner, Herr Hugo Alpen⁵ was appointed from August, 1885. ⁶

¹Minister's Report, 1881, 128.
²Ibid., 1883, 9.
³Vide, Standards of Proficiency in ibid., 1884, 121 ff.
⁴Staff notation: Musical "notes" written on or between five parallel lines (the "staff"). Tonic sol-fa: "doh", "ray", "me", etc.
⁶Ibid., 1885, 24.
Thus it was hoped to de-emphasise the overall standing of the subject in relation to the formal aspects of school-work while attempting to assure an increase in the proficiency in the subject so that the minimum requirements of the Standards might be reached in all schools.

Alpen, however did not apparently appreciate fully the objectives of the new Standards in their attempt to reduce the formal work in the lower classes.¹ He set about introducing musical notation to the upper classes of Infants' schools² for which purpose he had instigated the change in the Standards.³ By 1886 he was insisting upon singing by note and not merely by ear, staff notation replacing tonic sol-fa after the Third class.⁴ A similar principle was adopted in the training of teachers, for which Alpen was also responsible.⁵ With the increased emphasis upon theory in the lower classes, the Inspectors' Conference of 1889 recommended an increase in the possible marks for the subject in Infants' classes from thirty

¹vide, ibid., 1883, 54.
²ibid., 1885, 24.
⁴ibid., 1885, 16.
⁵ibid., 1887, 24.
to forty presumably to stimulate the teachers in their difficult task of teaching to the new Standard of 1890 which was described as "a severe test of the pupils' knowledge of the theory and practice of vocal music", and "certainly higher than that of any other country".

Alpen's high ideals in regard to the mechanics of Singing which had given rise to this Standard are also clearly reflected in his Report for 1892:

There can be no doubt of the steady, if somewhat leisurely, advance our schools are making in the study of music and singing. This is best shown in the tests of "singing at sight," as in many schools fairly difficult passages - sometimes two and three part harmony - (staff notation) were rendered ...I... have also commenced to do this with the lower classes (in Tonic Sol Fa), with varying results.

This was not however the ideal of all teachers in New South Wales schools. "S.C.R." who was to become a frequent contributor to The New South Wales Educational Gazette, had written in 1891 of the

\[ \text{ibid.}, 1889, 22 \text{ and } 303. \]
\[ \text{ibid.}, 1890, 26. \]
\[ \text{ibid.}, 265. \]
\[ \text{ibid.}, 1892, 222. \]
\[ S.C. Rose, \text{ vide infra, } 683 \]
role of vocal music in true education as providing exercise for the emotional side of the child's nature. He suggested careful selection of songs so that the child could understand the words. The tunes he said, should be lively and simple, within the range of children's voices, and not over-long. The selection should be such that a taste for good music was likely to result.¹ These first thoughts on the educative function of the subject were in direct contrast to those of Alpen who the same year was busy producing an Arbor Day Cantata to be rendered throughout the schools of New South Wales. In fairness to Alpen it must be noted that in his use of the sol-fa system as a stepping-stone to the ordinary staff notation he was following the best English practice,² and his scheme, at least at Fort Street had earned the judgment from "an eminent English authority"³ that "we were doing what they were but trying to achieve in England".⁴

There can be no doubt that Alpen's work represented a determined attempt to give the teacher of the 1890's the solid background of

³Charles Vincent, Mus. Dr.
⁴Minister's Report, 1897, 157.
music theory essential to the effective teaching of Singing. Many
teachers now had the basic knowledge to allow them to understand
and enter into the discussions of methods which were beginning to
appear. 

Bearing in mind that in the teaching of Singing a prime
objective was the reading and writing of music, Alpen's work must
be recognised as highly successful, notably in the metropolitan
schools which benefited by his personal supervision. The smaller
country schools had to rely upon the products of the Training Schools
and articles in The Educational Gazette.

Nevertheless, that there was room for great improvement was
evident from an article published in the Sunday Times in 1901. In
reply to allegations that the musical education in State schools was
"sadly below the mark", J.W. Turner, headmaster at Fort Street,3
betrayed some concern at the provisions for supervision of music
teaching in country districts, while Conway, headmaster at Cleveland

1 Vide, e.g. N.S.W. Edl. Gaz., V, Aug., 1895, 49; IV, May.,
1895, 240; VI, Dec., 1896, 153.

2 H. Alpen, "Music in Our Public Schools, N.S.W. Edl. Gaz.,
VI, Jan., 1897, 174, passim.

3 Later to be one of the Education Commissioners.
Street left no doubt as to the "educational" objectives of his music teaching in claiming that his pupils left the school fit to take their places in "any choir or choral society in the city". 1

The first impact of the New Education had apparently little effect upon the teaching of music in the schools of New South Wales and certainly few suggestions for reform were heard which had not been voiced in the 1890's by S.C. Rose. The subject was virtually ignored in the series of reports and conferences which were the products of the first years of the century. Articles upon the topic in teachers' journals were conspicuous by their absence. Even the Commissioners could only point to the popularity of the sol-fa method over staff notation in the United Kingdom 2 which had been repeatedly reported in New South Wales since the 1890's 3. Turner concluded that in no country they had visited was the reading from sight from staff notation equal to that in New South Wales. 4 This was not surprising in the light of his public statements on

1Reported in ibid., XI, Jan., 1902, 133-4.
2Commissioners' Report, 485.
3vide, e.g. N.S.W. Edl. Gaz., V, Aug., 1895, 49.
4Commissioners' Report, loc. cit.
the worth of Alpen's system before the Commissioners left. In fact little reading from sight notation was attempted in England while in the United States the wisdom of teaching the theory of music at all in public schools was being questioned.

Alpen's standards virtually ignored the New Education theories of child needs and interests, as may be judged from the following report of a visit to two Sydney schools:

**PUBLIC SCHOOL SINGING**

On September 30th, at the invitation of Herr Alpen (Inspector of Music for the Department of Public Instruction), Dr. William Creser, of Trinity College, London, paid a visit to one or two of the public schools. The English musician, who is interested in the question of wider musical education, was given a thorough insight into the system in force in our public schools. At the Paddington (school) (where Mr. Cotterill is headmaster) the English examiner was first introduced to the lowest class, which had only been promoted two months from the Infants' school.

Here was shown the commencement of the teaching. Easy modulator exercises and simple time exercises were gone through. These were done well, and enabled the visitor to see how musical knowledge was imparted to the youngest pupils. The work in the other classes was briefly described, and an adjournment was made to the large room, where the highest classes were assembled. The scholars were put through a searching examination, embracing knowledge of key signatures, etc. A passage was written on the board involving transitions into various keys. This was sung admirably without the slightest hesitation.

1 vide, ibid., XI, Jan., 1902, 183-4.

2 ibid., V, Aug., 1895, 49.

3 vide, e.g. ibid., IV, May, 1895, 240.
Dr. Creser also wrote passages to be sung, examined the class thereupon, and obtained similar favourable results. The part-song, "Lovely Night," was then excellently sung. Dr. Creser, addressing the scholars, told them how gratified he had been with their work. He advised them to cultivate beauty of tone, to sing with rather modulated voice, so as always to have a reserve of power.

At the Superior Public School, Cleveland-Street, Mr. Conway's special choir of boys sung (sic) admirably some fine choruses, including the "Spinning Wheel" from Wagner's "Flying Dutchman," and the beautiful trio, "Lift Thine Eyes" (sung as a chorus) from Mendelssohn's "Elijah." Dr. Creser mentioned in regard to the latter that having taught it to his choir boys at the Chapel Royal, London, he knew the difficulties of the piece. He advised the boys to cultivate their beautiful high notes down to the lower register. Speaking of the public school music system generally, Dr. Creser said it was not equalled by any system in vogue in the English schools. Judge Heydon, another visitor, was also extremely interested in the work, and surprised at the excellence displayed.¹

There was little evidence here of any reduction in the formalistic and theoretical approach, nor of a standard other than that of competency at an adult level. The songs selected and the exercises which preceded them could hardly have had emotive appeal to children, the need for which Rose had recognised.

Faced with such standards it is little wonder that not only the non-specialist classroom teachers but also the Inspectors in country Districts, quietly forgot that music was in the curriculum. A survey of the Minister's Reports in the 1900's reveals that music

teaching and Singing were rarely mentioned anywhere in the various reports of Inspectors, city or country. In the Sydney area, the Inspectors could rely upon the skill of the Superintendent of Music and his repeated assurances that in his opinion and those of eminent musical authorities, the teaching of music in the schools could not be surpassed. In the country, the rare remarks of Inspectors upon the standard of teaching or pupil performance in the subject, were invariably derogatory.¹

The new Singing Syllabus therefore represented little more than a statement of developments in the New South Wales system of music teaching up to 1904, and showed little evidence of reorientation of the traditional approach, towards new theories and methods of teaching. The truth of this claim may be demonstrated by reference to two statements - the first from the Syllabus and the other from an article

¹vide, Minister's Reports, 1900-1910, particularly 1903, 103, "... drill and music are the weakest." (Grafton); 1904, 94, "Science, music and drawing are still subjects which are poorly taught, the majority of teachers having but a very limited knowledge of them!" (Kempsey); 1905, 66, "Singing is at a low ebb in this district ... many teachers do not appreciate the school value of music, and either teach it in a perfunctory way or not at all." (Dungog). Contrast the report of Lobban in Sydney: "Vocal Music is one of the popular school subjects. The Staff Notation is taught in all schools where there are fourth and fifth classes; but the Part Singing at sight is best where the exercises are given in the Tonic Sol-Fa method". (1903, 113.) After circa 1906, reference to music were either not made or were edited out of reports.
published in 1896. Both extracts refer to Infants' classes:

The sense of pitch to be cultivated by imitation of different tones, produced by the teacher's voice or of the sounds of a musical instrument. Singing of simple melodies by ear, correct in pitch and time. Action songs to be taught and practised daily. Actions to be in strict time so as to be actual time exercises. Songs relating to the home and school life of the pupils. Marching songs to be practised when marching into and out of school.1

Our aim then in infant school teaching should be, "Correct perception of pitch." ... Give it (the note) vocally, if possible; if not, use the tuning-fork or some musical instrument ... Having now mastered to some extent the pitch, quality, and production of sound we go on to the consummation of all these - the song. Let us bear in mind that we are dealing with children. They mostly like to play with dolls, balls, toys, animals, etc., and as these are their pets let their songs be about them ... Not only, then, must the words be suitable, but the time must be easy, and the melody taking ... Action songs - what are they? They are time exercises disguised. In them, if carried out properly, the child gets his first lesson in accent and time.2

There was apparently little attempt to apply even the principle of correlation with other subjects. Mr. Inspector Blumer (Parramatta) in his Report for 1906 decried the fact that songs were as a rule chosen without reference to other topics of instruction and were sung only at the time stated on the time-table, "so that they do not serve either to deepen impressions or to afford seasonable recreation".3 At the same time Inspector Dennis (Dungog) reported:

1Course of Instruction 1905, op. cit., 5.
3Minister's Report, 1906, 68.
The value of music in cultivating the emotions and aesthetic taste of children, and in brightening school life is not fully realised. I have urged upon teachers the advantages of making a break between lessons for singing. It seems reasonable to expect that advanced classes should be able to sing easy passages of music at sight, yet such is seldom the case. Too much labour is bestowed upon the study of barren musical theory, that has no bearing upon practice as far as the pupils are concerned.¹

Just prior to the publication of these comments The Australian Journal of Education printed an incisive appraisal of the situation:

In the educational reform movement one subject has remained untouched - that of music. Perhaps no other part of the curriculum needs reconstruction more urgently. It is possible to find schools all over the country whose pupils, able to talk glibly of tetrachords and keynotes, cannot sing a decent song. In the city we have known classes who by dint of strenuous labour were taught one or two songs in twelve months.²

Here at last was evidence of a growing recognition of the need to apply educative principles to the teaching of music but the promised reorientation was still chained to technicalities albeit of a different nature. The teacher was to correct the sitting positions of pupils, and give them voice, breathing, ear and modulator

¹ibid., 75.
exercises such that in the "ideal" half-hour lesson only twelve minutes were to be spent in singing. (H. Williams, "Singing in Schools"). Theory retained its predominant position, justified in terms of being necessary in preparing the child to actively study music in after years and to develop "taste" for good music. Even the retirement of Alpen and the appointment of his successor, Theodore Tearne failed to produce evidence of a fresh approach to the subject, although there was some promise in the idea of summer schools which had been introduced by S.A. Kenny of the Training College in January, 1908.

The year 1911 however, saw the attack taken up anew by "S.C.R." in the columns of The Sydney Morning Herald. In expressing his


3Tearne was appointed from outside the Service at the beginning of 1909. Vide, Aust. J. of Ed., VI, Feb., 1909, 1. He had a Bachelor of Music degree from Oxford. Minister's Report, 1908, 40.


6This was apparently the same person (presumably S.C. Rose) who had in 1891 written in The Educational Gazette upon the educative function of music.
dissatisfaction with the teaching of music he gave his opinion that the basis for all the defects was the failure to teach pupils to read music:

Much is being made in some quarters of breathing exercises, production of good tone, etc.; these are highly desirable, but if ability to read is not secured, it appears like teaching elocution to one who cannot read. What is wanted is an early introduction to very simple harmonised pieces, so as to create a love for music, with the addition only of such theory as is essential to the production of the music.¹

He also drew attention to the syllabus of examinations, claiming that the knowledge demanded in teachers' examination papers was useless to them in the ordinary work of the schools.²

At about the same time, Inspector E.A. Riley also entered the fray, calling for the complete abolition of the teaching of theory of music and singing by sol-fa, on the grounds that Primary school children had not developed sufficiently from the psychological point of view.³ Both articles attracted the attention of "Dotted Crotchet" who wrote a series for the Journal discussing the implications of the attacks.⁴ It was clear that "S.C.R." had raised

²ibid.
⁴"Music in Schools", ibid., 1, passim.
questions which required answering, while in Riley's article lay a real attempt to apply to the teaching of music the psychological bases of the New Education.

The evidence which has been assembled above suggests several reasons for the lack of development in the subject at a time when it has been popularly believed that the very essence of teaching in New South Wales underwent a metamorphosis, such that no aspect remained unchanged. Alpen, whose control in the centralised system irrevocably determined the course of development, could be said to have anticipated the practical emphasis which the New Education might otherwise have offered. It must be remembered that music was an important social accomplishment in Victorian times and one which required a knowledge of theory for both practical and appreciative purposes. The "preparation for life" of the New Education could not deny this fact, especially in the light of Alpen's use of the sol-fa merely as a means to the practical end of staff notation.

As with Drill, this practical orientation was not lessened by the display requirements of the massed choirs called for on numerous patriotic occasions at the turn of the century. These certainly were not conducive to the type of singing which might otherwise have been demanded in accordance with the doctrine of pupil interest. There is also evidence of inadequacies in the training of teachers due probably
to their own lack of background caused by the deficiencies of the early years and accentuated by lack of training facilities. The same could however be said of Nature Study and Science teaching where the enthusiasm of the same teachers served to overcome such difficulties.

Basically, there was a lack of confidence apparent in the service in regard to ability to teach music, probably growing out of a conviction that success depended to a great degree upon the aptitude not only of the individual teacher, but of the pupil. This lack of confidence could only have been reinforced by the high standard of examination performance required of teachers, particularly in regard to theory. The psychology of teaching offered by the New Education was certainly not sufficiently advanced to allow for the practical analysis of the difficult learning task which singing with accomplishment represents. To Riley must go the credit for perceiving and tackling this problem but his learning was itself the product of development in psychological theory stemming from and forming part of the New Education. However, in this indirect connection the influence of the New Education upon music teaching must be conceded for without this factor the threshold of reform would have been further displaced.
English

The English Syllabus of 1905 contained little in the way of subject matter which could not be traced back at least to the days of the Council of Education. Although the Standard under the Council mentioned only Reading, Writing and Grammar as Subject headings, a survey of the detailed requirements under these headings reveals that Dictation, based on the Reading lessons was given as part of Writing exercises. Grammar lessons included Composition in the upper classes while reading "with fluency and expression" provided some scope for the teaching of correct speech.¹ The later increased accent upon Spelling, Composition and Speech promoted these aspects of the teaching of English to the status of separate subdivisions yet with increased emphasis upon correlation and interdependence with all aspects of the subject.² The principle was thus established in the new Syllabus that each aspect of the subject must receive its full share of attention and that any one aspect was not necessarily tied to and dependent upon one of the original three strands.

¹ vide, N.S.W., Public Schools Act of 1866, op. cit., "Standard of Proficiency", 1 ff.

Some idea of the scope and effectiveness of the teaching of English under the new Public Instruction Act may be obtained from the Chief Inspector's Report for 1881. Reading, as was to be expected of such a basic subject, was apparently fairly well taught in terms of the old Council's Standards although it was noted that too little time was spent by the pupils in actual reading and the rate of progress in lower classes needed attention. Writing had improved since 1880 but the need to teach the formal intricacies of Grammar prescribed for the lower classes was being questioned, the subject being considered "too abstruse" for young children. The application of Grammar to Composition needed to be more thorough.

A certain amount of comprehension was being required in Reading by 1883. The copy-book was rapidly replacing the blackboard copy in Writing lessons but no set style was as yet required. The analytic aspect of Grammar continued to be stressed at the expense of Composition:

1^\text{viz.}, Second Class: Defining parts of speech and distinguishing them in the Reading lesson.
Third Class: Parsing including syntax; analysis of sentences; enlargement of the subject.

Standard of Proficiency, 1873 in Public Schools Act, 1866, or. cit.

2 Minister's Report, 1881, 54-5.
"They can pull to pieces", wrote the Chief Inspector, "but they cannot build up. They show a want of power in constructing sentences, and, except in some of the best schools, their attempts at regular composition are crude". 1

The revised Standards of 1884 were aimed at remedying these shortcomings. Composition and Spelling were given increased prominence and the maximum marks to be awarded for the various strands were adjusted to reflect the degree of attention to each expected in the various classes. Thus in all classes but Fifth, the possible mark for Reading was set at one hundred while that for Grammar in Second class was set at only forty, rising to one hundred in Third and higher classes. Grammar in the higher classes was broken into sections, each attracting a specific maximum mark, ensuring for the first time that each section received attention. For example, in Fourth class, Composition carried thirty points, Parsing, forty, Accidence, twenty and Analysis, ten. 2 However, although the objectives were thus carefully set out, their attainment was a different matter.

1 ibid., 1883, 55.

2 vide, Standards of Proficiency, 1884, in ibid., 1884, 121 ff.
Because of the high leaving rate in the upper classes, teachers were tempted to force their pupils through the lower classes in order to keep a satisfactory enrolment in the upper. The effect of this practice was particularly noticeable in Reading:

... in order to keep the upper classes well filled, some teachers crowd the work of three half-years into two in their second classes, and of two half-years into one in their third. This can only be done by sacrificing thoroughness and accuracy. In reading, the evil shows itself in the upper classes in bad spelling, and general slovenliness in regard to speed, articulation, and expression.¹

The reduction of emphasis on Grammar in the lower classes was taken a step further in further revision of the Standards in 1889. Following the recommendation of the Conference of Inspectors held in that year,² Grammar was omitted from the curriculum for Second class and the value of Writing raised in an attempt to encourage teachers to pay more careful attention to its teaching³ especially in regard to uniformity of copy, the lack of which had raised considerable comment in earlier years.⁴ In a further attempt to stimulate increased attention to Writing a circular was sent to each teacher in March 1891, which read in part:

¹ ibid., 1888, 137.
² ibid., 1889, 52.
³ ibid., 17.
⁴ vide, e.g. ibid., 1888, 137.
Inverlochy,
Walgett.
9th Feb 1896

Messrs. John Burt & Co.,
6 Loftus Street,
Sydney.

Dear Sirs,

I am sending down a small consignment of wool and skins which I wish placed on the market without delay and shall be pleased to learn that you have disposed of same at fair prices.

Yours faithfully,

Donald Maclean.
in future every pupil in your school must regularly write in ruled copy books. You are at liberty to adopt any approved series of copy books, and need not confine yourself to one series; but each individual pupil should be kept to the one series selected for him.¹

The ideal lesson outlined by the Gazette would still be considered satisfactory today if the drill in handing out books were omitted. The supervisory function of the teacher was stressed in correcting errors in writing posture, in the method of holding the pen, and in formation of letters. The blackboard was to be used to correct errors of common occurrence and all work was to be given a mark. The books were to be kept scrupulously clean for "an experienced inspector could almost estimate the tone of a school by a mere examination of the copy books and exercise books".²

The Conference also recommended that a new, properly graduated series of reading books be supplied to schools to replace the Australian School Series and the readers of the Irish National Board,³ the latter having survived from the days of the Council.⁴

¹"How to Teach Writing", N.S.W. Edl. Gaz., I, Feb., 1892, 175.

²ibid., 176.

³ibid., 1889, 53.

⁴vide, Council's Standard of Proficiency, loc. cit.
However, the recommendation was not immediately acted upon, the old books reappearing in the new Standards.¹ For the first time memorisation of poetry was required in the Primary classes from Second class on.²

Reading lessons continued to be dominated by the mechanical, drill approach, there being little appreciation of the need to develop in pupils a love of reading through a more relaxed treatment. The objective was proficiency in reading with no "frills" unless the class was well up to standard, in which case one lesson a fortnight might be devoted to "recitation", cultivating, in addition to the actual reading, "rhetorical style and appropriate gesture".³

The enjoyment of books was however the objective of a reawakened interest in the school library in the early 1890's. Children's libraries had existed in the national schools at Fort Street, Cleveland Street, William Street, Paddington, Mudgee and East

¹ vide, Standards of Proficiency, 1889 in Minister's Report, 1889, 303 ff.
² ibid.
Maitland as far back as 1858. At the Conference of Inspectors held on 25th March, 1867, after the appointment of the Council of Education, it had been recommended:

... that in schools under the Council's supervision the establishment of libraries for the use of the pupils would, in the judgment of the conference, prove very beneficial. In order to reach this desirable result, it is thought that the Council of Education might be requested to contribute a portion of the cost of the books and of the cases in which they are kept; while the remaining portion should be raised in the school and neighbourhood.

The Council decided to subsidise school libraries to the extent of 25% on donations received, but after several libraries had been established, the Government had to withdraw the subsidy under its retrenchment policy. The movement of the nineties was therefore not a new one but prior to that date it certainly had not flourished.

In 1889, acting upon a motion by Inspector J. Kevin, the Conference of Inspectors and Teachers recommended that circulating libraries be established in connection with Public schools, half the cost being borne by the State, but this was not acted upon. The

1 ibid., V, Jul., 1895, 27.
2 ibid.
Fort Street library was re-established in 1892\(^1\) but it was in the very first issue of *The New South Wales Educational Gazette*, June, 1891, that the movement was reborn. In the Library movement, as in Music, S.C. Rose led the way, anticipating the New Education in stressing the need to adapt teaching to the child:

There seems a latent love in every child for books. The obvious way to develop this love is to place in the child's way every chance of gratification. How can this be done better than having a library in every school?...

The pleasure to be derived from books needs no advocacy here, sufficient to say that every earnest teacher should endeavour to cultivate the taste for the books which elevate and strengthen and not lower and weaken the character. A love of books is no mean possession. It is a great counteracting force to the attractions of the bar-room and the evil influences of the streets. It tends to make one home-loving and refined, and is a perpetual source of pure pleasure. The nations that will lead in the world's progress will be those which practise that true political economy, the care and culture of the children.\(^2\)

This must surely be one of the earliest recorded statements proposing that the school should educate for leisure.

Before such ideals could be achieved, school libraries required practical support. Here the movement found a champion in Inspector

\(^1\)ibid.

J. Kevin at Lithgow. By the end of 1893, in the principal schools of his District he had established about forty libraries at no cost to the State. These represented "some 4,000 volumes of useful, interesting, and instructive reading for the young people at home". His achievement was immediately recognised by The New South Wales Educational Gazette as a move which would foster a taste for reading among schoolchildren. The Gazette continued to give wide publicity to developments in Kevin's District. The Sydney Morning Herald also provided publicity with a leading article on the opening of Lawson Public School Library. In spite of unfavourable economic conditions, by 1895 the District of 103 schools had ninety-three libraries with 7,000 to 8,000 volumes. On his removal to Dungog, Kevin set about repeating his performance. Having been noted in the Chief Inspector's Report for 1895, the movement began to spread.

1 Minister's Report, 1893, 149.
3 vide, ibid., III, Feb., 1894, 173; V, Jul., 1895, 27; VI, Feb., 1897, 197; passim.
4 S.M.H. 26/5/1894.
5 Minister's Report, 1895, 133.
6 ibid., 1896, 153, also N.S.W. Edl. Gaz., loc. cit.
7 Minister's Report, 1895, 119.
to other districts, notably Newcastle where by 1899 every school was provided with a library, through the efforts of the District Public Schools' Association. Publicity continued. The Maitland Mercury printed a letter lauding Kevin's work:

It is right that the Inspector should know that not only the parents of the children, but all thoughtful members of the community, set a high value on the work to which he has set his heart and hand ... So far as we know, not a penny has been received from Government for the purpose. All is the fruit of an intelligent zeal for the intellectual and moral advancement of the country.

Kevin was also invited to address the 1898 Conference of the Library Association of Australia.

By the turn of the century, school libraries were to be found in schools throughout the State, but with the acknowledged success of the movement, and Kevin's death in 1903, Library work was quickly overshadowed by the more pressing demands of the New Education, its vigour largely sustained by its affinity with the ideals of the

1 *ibid.*, 1896, 153.
2 *ibid.*, 1899, 119.
4 *Maitland Mercury*, 20/8/98.
6 Minister's Report, 1900, 125.
Chief Inspector Dawson reported in 1905 that libraries continued to be established and additions made to existing facilities. Through the accessibility of literature, he claimed much good was being done in fostering a love of reading:

"... one of the real tests of success in teaching English will be more and more the acquisition by the pupils of such a habit, (as love of reading) and not the ability merely to read, in a more or less distinct manner, a few sentences from a text-book."  

The Library movement of the 1890's was therefore the vehicle for the introduction of much of what the New Education was to reinforce in regard to the teaching of Reading. School libraries, in developing the idea of reading for enjoyment, also undoubtedly directly influenced reading in the schools in preparing the way for the "silent reading" of the 1905 Syllabus. The way was further prepared by the introduction in 1898 of a new series of Reading Books which had been planned back in 1889-90 but had been held up, presumably by economic difficulties. Brighter, more varied and better graded than those formerly in use, they

1 Minister's Report, 1905, 48.  
2 vide, Course of Instruction, 1905, loc. cit.  
3 vide, proposed outline of the series in ibid., 1890, 56-7.
were also produced specifically for Australian conditions. The standard of Reading at Newcastle in 1899, though perhaps not typical, reflected the strength of the Library movement in that District:

I have been much impressed with the excellent reading of many schools, particularly girls' departments. More attention has been given to clear and accurate enunciation than formerly, while the older pupils have developed a style which is not only intelligent, but attractive. The superior character of the composition of the new readers has done much to improve this important branch of education. 1

The Library movement's influence was also undoubtedly to be seen in the introduction of school papers after 1903. Although Victoria had published such a paper since February, 1898, 2 it was only after a resolution had been passed at the 1904 Conference, that a similar paper was produced in New South Wales schools. 3 The Australian School Paper appeared two months later in June, 1904, 4 and was immediately followed in July by The Commonwealth School

1Ibid., 1899, 148.


3Conference of Inspectors etc., 1904, op. cit., 216.

4Saxby, op. cit., 315.
Paper, published by Angus and Robertson.¹

Such papers were graded to suit various class levels and provided reading material to be used as aids to teaching the various subjects of the curriculum:

The matter ... is graded to suit the capacity of the child of average ability in the class, care being taken to have one or two distinctly easy lessons with which the teacher may begin the month, and a hard one with which to finish it. In order that the teacher may make a thorough success of the lesson, without spending time and energy that he cannot spare, the hard words in the article are printed in syllables, together with the meanings they have in the context, at the head of it, and notes explanatory of allusions, points in geography, history, etc., at the end. School time is too valuable to be spent in work which is not really profitable. The "new" educator has not deleted thoroughness from his creed. For a child to read without understanding, to get a part instead of the whole, is a wasteful proceeding; and the necessary help must not be too far removed if it is to be turned to account. The fear expressed by some critics, that the children would

¹N.S.W. Edl. Gaz., XIV, Jul., 1904, 37. S.H. Smith edited The Australian School Paper for its publishers, William Brooks. This publication was authorised by the Department and sold to the pupils for a penny a copy. After a few months the Department decided to authorise only The Commonwealth School Paper and its rival ceased production. However, Brooks bought The Commonwealth School Paper from Angus and Robertson and published it until 1915, at which time the Department decided to issue The School Magazine free to all pupils. S.H. Smith, A Brief History of Commercially Produced School Papers 1904 - 1915, typescript, Mitchell Library, in Saxby, loc. cit.
dislike the paper on account of these lesson-book features, has not been realised. The character of the selections and original articles is that of the contents of the high-class English and American reading-books, with, of course, the presence of local colouring, and current topics that are of sufficient importance and wide-spread interest to warrant the spending of time over them. The School Paper (a collective title applied to both papers) is not a newspaper. Some of the great passages in our literature are repeated from year to year, so that all who pass through our schools may absorb them. The danger of developing a taste for reading that does not rise above the desire to skim the trivial, the sensational, the scrappy, and the comic, is guarded against. The standard of the matter in The School Paper is fixed high; and it contains lessons that are continued from month to month.¹

The contribution of the papers lay in their adaptation of material to the New South Wales situation and to the needs of the various levels. There were advantages also to be derived from the novelty of a new issue each month and the flexibility of procedure made possible by each pupil having access to a copy.

Such ready access to a variety of reading materials already organised and adapted for presentation by the teacher, or for silent reading by the pupil, probably accounted for some lessening of the impetus of the library movement under the New Education. For while the demand for supplementary readers towards the close of the century²

²vide, Minister's Report, 1909, 43.
no doubt was an expression of the interest in the role of reading in the education of the child to which the library movement could be expected to have contributed, such demand was accompanied by the levelling out of interest in library establishment and use, which was evident in the late 1900's.¹

These readers in their turn tended to displace the school paper to an extent which made necessary a reminder from the Department as to the roles to be played in the classroom by the respective publications:

Now that Supplementary Readers are being issued, there appears to be a tendency to discard the school paper arising from a misconception regarding the function of the school paper in the reading course. It may be as well to indicate at this stage what are the relations existing between two forms of reading matter, both of which are approved by the Department.

The Supplementary Reader is intended to serve the purpose of introducing the children to the "World of Books," to create and foster in them a taste for reading in a more continuous form than is provided by the ordinary reading book.

The school paper fulfils a different function, and may very properly be regarded as complementary to the continuous readers.²

¹vide, Minister's Reports, 1905 - 10.
Thus the school paper was to complement the reader, the latter in turn, presumably supplementing the library book.

With the increasing time demands of other subjects in the 1900's Reading was subjected also to the time-saving devices of the "scientific method". In this context the "word" method of teaching Reading was introduced into New South Wales Infants' schools:

In the infant schools the use of the "word" method in teaching reading to beginners, conjoined with illustrations and objects, has enabled pupils to master quickly the first difficulties in reading. Thus time is saved which can be profitably employed in other directions. Indeed, it is reasonable to expect that the use of time-saving methods will result in pupils securing a mastery of the mechanical means of education at an earlier age than has been deemed practicable in the past.

The method was therefore not adopted on the basis of abstruse philosophical ideals but as an expression of a practical objective to reduce the basic skills to their proper position as means, and not ends in themselves:

It is, perhaps, true that the pupils may be unable to read words and sentences that adults only can understand; that they will be unable to spell words they will never need to use; ... but there will be a positive gain in ability to read freely, understanding what is read; in ability to write freely without misspelling the words they require to express their own thoughts ...

1 ibid., 1905, 50.

2 ibid.
However, by 1906, Percival Cole was directing the thought of teachers away from this preoccupation with mechanical proficiency towards treating the "word" method as an early means of leading young children "to feel that reading is worth the trouble of mastery":

There are such expressions as "come", "go", "sit", "stand", and as many others as you please, which, as sentences, represent units of thought, as words, the staple of printed form, and as symbols, activities that are easily to be expressed.1

The desirability of extending the scope of Spelling beyond the Reading lesson to involve all aspects of school work, had been suggested as far back as 1891.2 The idea was revived at a Consultation of Inspectors in January, 19043 and ultimately included in the new Syllabus.4 Generally, the contribution of the New Education in this field lay in increased emphasis upon the utility and suitability of the learning for the child's needs5 and a lessening of the emphasis upon routine in the spirit of the age.6

2"How to Teach Spelling", N.S.W. Edl. Gaz., I, Dec., 1891, 133.
3ibid., XIII, Mar., 1904, 243.
4vide, N.S.W. Course of Instruction for Primary Schools, 1905, loc. cit.
5vide, e.g. Minister's Report, 1909, 43.
6vide, e.g. ibid., 1905, 49.
Summer

Summer days for me
When every leaf is on its tree
When Robin's not a beggar,
And Jenny Wren's a bride,
And larks hang singing,
singing, singing,
Over the wheat fields wide.

Kenneth Hawkins
8 years
In the teaching of Writing little impact from the New Education was to be expected except perhaps in regard to some rationalisation of method according to current educational philosophy. Slates were already on the way out before the turn of the century, except in the lower classes. The reasons for this change were sanitary rather than educational. By 1902 slates in the Infants' schools were also rapidly being replaced by copy-books and lead pencils. In 1906 experiments were carried out involving doing away with the copy-book and using plain books, the pupils writing from the teacher's model. This resulted in some rationalisation of writing styles as under such a plan the staff of the school had to write the same hand. However, since copy-books were suggested in the Syllabus the idea met with only limited acceptance. So little scope did the nature of the Writing lesson give the reformers that some went to the extreme of attempting to carry over the "whole word" method from Reading. The scheme was described by Chief Inspector Dawson as "writing whole words currente calamo" in an attempt to give speed and a "clear, fluent style".

1 Minister's Report, 1902, 9.
2 vide, ibid., 1906, 52.
3 vide, N.S.W., Course of Instruction, 1905, loc. cit.
4 vide, Minister's Report, 1909, 43.
5 ibid.
Dawson's explanation of the rationale behind the method also provided him with an opportunity to underline the correlative relationship between Reading, Writing and Spelling:

Excellent work is done in the infants' and kindergarten schools through the adoption of the whole-word method in reading and writing, the two being brought into close relation. It is surprising how readily children manage to recognise words - and long difficult words, too - and to read easy prose when taught in this method. The objection taken to this method that spelling is apt to be a weak point with such readers is met by the constant practice in writing, and by well-directed word-building exercises based as much as possible on phonic similarities. ¹

It is difficult to understand Dawson's reasoning, for writing according to the "whole word" method then also in vogue, could hardly assist in remedying an unfortunate effect of "whole word" reading upon pupils' spelling. No doubt teachers asked themselves what was to be gained by using new methods which had to be bolstered by modifications in the teaching of other areas of English.

Since the 1890's a de-emphasis upon Grammar in favour of Composition had been apparent. This was found to be compatible with the ideals of the 1900's and was continued. Turner, in the Commissioners' Report, had drawn attention to the fact that the examination system required teachers to spend too much time on

¹ibid., 1907, 46.
parsing and analysis.\textsuperscript{1} With some lessening of examination pressures, the more liberal attitude to school inspection, and of course the emphasis upon utility of knowledge which came to characterise the period, Grammar was now to be taught only so far as it assisted in "an intelligent understanding of the structure of sentences in composition".\textsuperscript{2} However, according to Senior Inspector Lobban, parsing, analysis and knowledge of the rules of syntax were still necessary to equip the student for expressing his ideas in correct form, although he admitted Composition to be an art, "apart altogether from parsing and analysis" and of "very much more importance".\textsuperscript{3}

There was more emphasis in the later years upon oral expression,\textsuperscript{4} definite attention to correct speech being required by the new Syllabus.\textsuperscript{5}

Memorisation of poetry, introduced in the 1889 Standards,\textsuperscript{6}

\textsuperscript{1}Commissioners' Report, 485.
\textsuperscript{2}N.S.W., Course of Instruction, 1905, op. cit., 14.
\textsuperscript{3}Minister's Report, 1903, 112.
\textsuperscript{4}vide, ibid., 1907, 46.
\textsuperscript{5}vide, N.S.W., Course of Instruction, 1905, op. cit., 1 ff.
\textsuperscript{6}Minister's Report, 1889, 303 ff.
continued to be regarded as an accomplishment, taught as an end in itself, appreciation being required only in respect of "literary characteristics" in the Fifth class. "The pieces chosen are not unfrequently (sic) of a solemn lugubrious character", reported Dawson. "There is no reason why a cheerful, hopeful, inspiring note should not pervade the poetry committed to memory."²

Developments in the teaching of English in New South Wales Primary schools prior to the turn of the century had therefore placed the subject on a well-defined course, such that the impact of the New Education should be interpreted as development of established principles rather than re-orientation of a somewhat radical nature. The new Syllabus certainly did not represent a break with the past, its elements having been established at least as far back as 1890 before economic depression forced curtailment of educational activities. The monumental work of Inspector Kevin in fostering the Library movement in the 1890's could not but have played an important role in paving the way for later educational

¹ ibid.
² Minister's Report, 1907, 46.
reforms through cultivating public interest, co-operation and even financial support for education which in the economic, social and political circumstances of the time was nothing short of phenomenal. The movement provided stimulus for a more educative learning of English which must be assumed to have extended to other subjects of the curriculum, providing a correlating force long before such principle came to be the conscious intent of the teacher.

Mathematics

The teaching in arithmetic is too mechanical, and, in schools taught by one teacher, the lower classes are left too much to themselves. There is not enough of oral explanation, blackboard exercise, or vigilant oversight of the pupil's work. The teaching in the higher classes is marked by the same faults, and by the further one that the questions are too bookish. Greater resource, a better understanding of the reasoning faculty, and a wider acquaintance with the business requirements of everyday life will need to be shown by our teachers.¹

Such a report from a Chief Inspector might well have been written in the early years of the twentieth century as the New Education promoted a reassessment of traditional methods of teaching. That it was written in 1881 leads one to propose several hypothetical explanations. Was there in spite of the recognition of shortcomings, no reform over the ensuing twenty years? Perhaps there was no radical reform under the New Education, but rather a gradual development which in a time of heightened public interest became identified with reform in other

¹Minister's Report, 1881, 54.
subject areas? Or had the passage of two decades seen radical changes in the general criteria in terms of which such subjective assessments of teaching skill were made? Consideration of these questions would appear to be particularly pertinent to the development of mathematics teaching in the Primary schools of New South Wales.

The problem facing most teachers of Arithmetic after 1880 was one of reorientation towards Departmental demands for more attention to be paid to arithmetical reasoning\(^1\) while at the same time endeavouring to satisfy Inspectors' examinations in the subject which in Inspector F. Bridge's estimation were more difficult for pupils in an ordinary Third class than were those given to candidates at a Civil Service examination.\(^2\) The deductive approach was encouraged so that the "reasoning faculty" was appealed to rather than the "memory":

The pupils are enabled to understand each arithmetical process, and gradually to resolve problems not coming under any particular rule ... The old method of using text-books, of getting the pupils to learn each rule, and then leaving them to grope along by themselves, obtains only in the worst class of schools.\(^3\)

\(^1\) *vide, ibid.*, 1883, 55.

\(^2\) *ibid.*, 1881, 113.

\(^3\) *ibid.*, 1883, 55.
Nevertheless, according to an article published in 1894, the subject absorbed more energy in the Public Schools than any two subjects combined, while the percentage of pupils up to or above standard in Arithmetic, including Mensuration, was lower than for any other subject.¹ The writer of the article went on to deplore the lack of "prospective" teaching.² In spite of Departmental encouragement of Mental Arithmetic in the 1889 Standard as a means of developing reasoning power,³ the average teacher in 1894 was said to be lacking in appreciation of the educative significance of such work:

I have never yet known a school where consistent attention was paid throughout to mental arithmetic. Almost always it is taken up spasmodically for a short time and then neglected for months at a time ... Many who give a mental arithmetic lesson with fair regularity go through a soulless mechanical repetition of the same things week after week, till it is a weariness to themselves and their class. Variety, freshness, and real teaching will make this lesson one of the best liked in the day's work.⁴

²i.e. teaching looking forward and preparing the way for future work.
³vide, Minister's Report, 1890, 478 ff.
⁴E.A.R. loc. cit.
By 1900 there was no apparent improvement:

Something still has to be aimed at in Arithmetic. The questions for solution need to be more practical, modern contracted methods of working should be more generally introduced, and mental arithmetic be more systematically taught. ¹

The little development that did take place to 1900 was then, mainly along the lines of attempting to raise standards of mechanical work and developing a more reasonable and utilitarian approach to the subject. There is little evidence of these endeavours meeting with much practical success in the schools, but mechanical proficiency remained at a high level. In 1900, 77% of pupils were assessed on the basis of individual marks, to be up to or above the Standard of Proficiency in Arithmetic. This percentage, said the Chief Inspector, showed what "painstaking care and industry" the teachers had wrought upon the subject, but there was still in his opinion, something to be aimed at:

The questions for solution need to be more practical, modern contracted methods of working should be more generally introduced, and mental arithmetic be more systematically taught ... Whatever the standard may be, the pupils should be trained to be quick, to use the best methods, to be neat in work, to be dear as to the why and wherefor, to be absolutely correct. ²

¹ Minister's Report, 1900, 122.
² ibid., 1900, 121-2.
Algebra and Euclid remained virtually untouched over the twenty years under review. They remained confined to Fifth class and Fourth and Fifth class respectively and rarely warranted even a mention in the Minister's Reports.\(^1\) There was therefore little apparent development in the teaching of mathematics in the twenty years prior to the turn of the century.

It remains to assess the impact of the New Education upon the subject. In essence the 1904-5 Syllabus was pragmatic both in the examples to be used and the methods to be employed. It was also progressive in the sense that work was to progress from objects to numbers and the course was to be graded.\(^2\) But notwithstanding the lack of material development in the subject beforehand, many of the elements of this Syllabus may be identified in the 1890's, especially in the article "Hints on Teaching Arithmetic" mentioned above and in texts such as The Pictorial Method of Teaching the First Steps in Arithmetic.\(^3\) The Gazette reported this book as

\(^1\)vide, the various Standards, loc. cit., and Minister's Reports.

\(^2\)vide, Course of Instruction, 1905, op. cit., 25 - 6.

exposing and condemning "the irksomeness and often cruelty of the 'rote system'". The author explained the "rational, intelligent, and carefully worked-out system" in his preface:

The prime object of this method, like those of Pestabozzi (sic) and Froebel, is to bring the minds of the children through the avenues of the senses into direct relation with the facts to be learnt, so that they may learn in school as they learn out of school, by seeing and doing, and that what they acquire may be a real knowledge, not a pretence of knowledge. I do not mark out one straight walled-in way of working, but show various ways of applying the newer methods, in order that young teachers desirous of employing them may be forced to compare them and decide for themselves which they will adopt.¹

The utilitarian influence was already becoming apparent in 1896 when Dawson mentioned complaints from parents that their children could not assist them in such matters as areas of land, length of fencing, contents of tanks, quantities of farm produce and so on.² However, the real problem under the old scheme, according to Peter Board, was that the objective had been to teach mathematical science which was unsuited to the capabilities of the Primary school child. The new Syllabus was designed to bring the study of the subject down

¹ibid.
²Minister's Report, 1896, 116.
It is interesting to note that initially, disillusionment rather than educational considerations apparently prompted Board to advocate change:

I believe, if there is one subject more than another that teachers have made inquiry about as to the best way of teaching, it is that subject of arithmetic. They have tried in every possible way to produce what has been thought to be satisfactory results in arithmetic ... There has been too much time devoted to it in our schools, and, notwithstanding that, we have not ourselves been satisfied with the results ... Throughout your arithmetic course you are required only to deal with numbers which the child at its age can comprehend, and with operations that come within the sphere of its every-day experience. Now, when we restrict our arithmetic to that, we shall lop off work that has taken up and wasted a great deal of our time hitherto.  

That Board's objective was the real motivation behind the drawing up of the Syllabus is supported by a comparison between the contents and notes of the Syllabus and the relevant sections of the Commissioners' Report. The recommendations of the Commissioners which were incompatible with Board's objective were virtually ignored.

Turner had remained wedded to the old system on the grounds that

\[1\textit{N.S.W. Conference of Inspectors etc., 1904, op. cit., 117.}\]

\[2\textit{ibid.}\]

\[3\textit{vide, N.S.W. Course of Instruction, 1905, op. cit. and Commissioners' Report, Chaps. XXIII, XXV and LVI, 484.}\]
it was producing good examination results,¹ but Knibb's approach remained distinctly academic. While he admittedly stressed an approach based upon the new psychology, Knibbs also advocated further extension of the boundaries of the subject which would have demanded further time allocations.²

Board basically was attempting to prune "dead wood", hoping thus to achieve a reduction in emphasis upon the mathematical subjects which were occupying too much time in an increasingly overcrowded curriculum. Euclid, which epitomised the complexity and unreality of the "old" mathematics, had been phased out since 1903.³ It was replaced by a more practical approach to Geometry which lent itself to correlation with measurement and Arithmetic thus leading to further time savings. Time spent in working long written exercises was to be reduced by using short, practical problems and increasing the emphasis upon oral questions and answers in Mental Arithmetic. It was thus possible to justify

¹vide, Commissioners' Report, 484, and 486.

²vide, ibid., particularly 254.

³Minister's Report, 1903, 19-20.
the basic innovations of the New Education in terms of time saved alone - time which could be diverted, perhaps to the school garden.

The jargon of the period was used in defence of the de-emphasis. In 1903 the subject was described by the Chief Inspector as not being generally treated in an intelligent and skilful manner. There was "a dearth of explanation of principles involved and formulae employed, neglect of frequent exercises in new rules ... and too little use of the blackboard". The alleged change by the next year was truly remarkable:

Mental arithmetic receives its proper place as the introduction to written arithmetic, the numbers used are such as the pupils can understand, concrete applications are the rule and not the exception, easy practical problems are proposed for solution, and an intelligent grasp of the reasons of a process takes the place of a blind following of a rule ... Correlated with number are exercises in measurement and in drawing geometrical forms ...

Dawson however had overestimated the impact of the new scheme. Many teachers were content to merely do less of the same work, while others went overboard in having pupils understand processes which they could not solve. His report for 1906 was less enthusiastic:

\[1\text{ibid.}, 1903, 79.\]
\[2\text{ibid.}, 1904, 76.\]
The older teachers whose methods were stereotyped before recent common-sense changes in the treatment of mathematics were made, find it hard to give up their faith in mechanical processes in accordance with rules ... The mechanical aspect of arithmetic needs cultivation, however, and it is occasionally stated in reports that though processes are understood, and problems solved, there is a lack of quickness and accuracy in the handling of numbers. It is not sufficient, e.g., that pupils should understand how to build up the multiplication table. To this must be added the drill that will render inevitable a speedy and correct answer.

The swing of the pendulum on the side of practical geometry seems to have been excessive. There is no reason why boys of 13 and over should not be able to demonstrate the leading propositions regarding triangles and parallelograms ...

In spite of the difficulties which the Department faced in up-dating methods used in mathematics teaching it is obvious that the New Education did lead to an increasing condemnation of the treatment of the subject-area in the Primary school as mathematical science or worse still, as inexplicable dogma. The series known as Blackie's New Concentric Arithmetics which began to appear in 1906, provides a convenient summary of the New Education objectives which both the Department and textbook publishers were trying to establish:

1. The treatment throughout is concentric. From the beginning the pupil is familiarised with the four fundamental processes of addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division (in its two forms); into an ever-widening circle are brought the various combinations in which these processes are involved.

1ibid., 1906, 52-3.
2. There is no artificial distinction between mental and written arithmetic. It is recognised that the line of demarcation varies for and must be adapted to suit the case of each individual pupil.

3. Formal rules are avoided. The pupil is encouraged to discover or make these for himself; it is made clear that oftentimes the same problem may be solved in different ways — that with increase of knowledge the "rule" of yesterday has to give place to the "rule" of today. If principles are understood, rules will come of themselves. To the pupil the injunction is — Understand what is to be done. Do it as best you can.

4. The exercises are practical in character. In the earlier books, for the greater part, small numbers are employed, but there is abundant material to afford sufficient exercise in the manipulation of larger numbers.

5. Fractions are early introduced, and systemically treated. The treatment is largely concrete, the tables of money, length, etc., being used. It is hoped that the diagrams given will be found alike of service and of interest.

6. Various tables, e.g., money and length, are treated concurrently. In this the aim has been to give real power in arithmetic by getting the pupil to see that surface differences often hide fundamental agreements.

7. Experimental work in measuring, weighing, etc., is provided.

8. The newer methods of subtraction and multiplication are explained.

9. "Number stories" are introduced. These serve a double purpose: (a) Make clear the practical application of abstract problems. (b) Afford varied exercise in oral composition.¹

In accepting the popularisation of such ideas as the main contribution of the New Education in the mathematics field, it should be remembered that many such tendencies have been shown to have been evident and actively encouraged by the Department during the last two decades of the preceding century, albeit with little success. A constant complaint from the Department was that teachers continued in practice to ignore such principles, relying upon old standard texts.\(^1\) It must therefore be concluded that in addition to there being little absolute reform in mathematics teaching under the first decade of the New Education, there was also no appreciable change in the criteria for subjectively assessing teaching skill in the subject. The best teachers throughout the thirty years under review were deemed to be those who achieved accurate results through careful explanation of underlying principles, while stressing the practical nature of the exercise.\(^2\)

There was thus little real reform in the teaching of Primary school mathematics during the period 1880 to 1910. The claims of the New Education in this field appear to have had a theoretical rather than a practical basis. Enthusiasm for other subject areas of the curriculum in fact demanded less emphasis upon the basic subjects, while directing attention to a method of teaching

\(^1\)\textit{vide}, \textit{e.g., Minister's Reports}, 1906, 52; 1907, 47.

\(^2\)\textit{vide}, \textit{e.g., Minister's Reports}, 1881, 54; 1908, 36.
mathematics based upon utilitarianism and contemporary psychology. Such a method was however, essentially similar to that expected of teachers in the 1880's.

Review of Curriculum Developments

The above outline of the development of the Primary school curriculum in New South Wales has pursued the theme that pre-1900 developments in each subject area significantly limited the overall impact of the New Education and its effect upon teaching practice in particular fields.

Drawing, one of the traditional subjects of the curriculum, continued to dominate the 1904-5 Syllabus. In so doing, it excluded much of that which the Manual Training movement had to offer in the relation of hand work to overall and specific development of the child. Emphasis upon trade training was still to be found during the 1900's, in teaching practices which tended to ignore the more abstruse areas of New Education philosophy in favour of a utilitarian and technical education. This emphasis had been carried over from the nineteenth century and later reinforced by stress upon scientific method and education for life. Such influences were the more potent for their English

¹Chapters V to VIII.
nurturing which in accordance with established New South Wales educational tradition, was prognostic of their adoption in New South Wales.

The transmutation of Needlework into the broader Domestic Arts typified the inconsistency between New Education philosophy and its actual application in the classroom. Here revealed was also the concern for health which characterised the reform movement but which in the field of physical education was overshadowed by the nineteenth century drill influence. The peculiar organisation of the Cadet Corps in the schools, maintained the drill approach to Physical Training, helped by the influence of other outside agencies such as the Athletics Association and the need to advertise and display the achievements of the system at a time of intense patriotism and nationalism.

The teaching of Nature Study too was partly a reaction to outside influences of overall growth and increasing industrialisation of the State. The subject happened also to provide the opportunity for practical implementation of a combination of New Education principles. Opportunities for self-activity, interest, and the application of scientific and even health knowledge through physical exercise and outdoor teaching were inherent in school gardening and
nature excursions. As a centre for correlative activity in Drawing, Modelling and other manual work, physical exercise, Geography, and indirectly, History, Nature Study proved so adaptable that it tended to dominate the whole curriculum, forcing English from the central role in which the new Syllabus had hoped to establish it. The swing towards pragmatic subjects accentuated the neglect of the mathematical group which had already been pruned back to make way for the added time-table demands of subjects representing movements within the New Education.

This interpretation has divested education in the first decade of the twentieth century of much of its aura of revolution. Rather, it places the reform movement in a perspective which emphasises its status as being merely another step in the process of social evolution.

That there was in the new philosophy scope for revolution in New South Wales Primary education is not denied. However, the lesson to be learned from detailed study of the curriculum is that the actual effect of the New Education upon classroom practice did not entail the reversal of conditions, the fundamental reconstruction, which perhaps for political and personal reasons was the advertised contemporary verdict. Although the contemporary assessment was taken up by succeeding generations of teachers and commentators upon the educational scene, their comparison of modern practice with that
alleged by the reformers to have been typical of the nineteenth century approach to education, has led them to underestimate the contribution of more recent developments in an educational tradition which stretches far back into the previous century.

Moreover, it appears that the New Education was not as general a movement in regard to the curriculum as was believed for it was confined primarily to the fields of Nature Study and to a lesser extent, Art. The effective working of the principle of correlation within and between subject groupings has been too readily assumed. In practice teachers found it difficult to effect a carry-over of general principles to the full range of subjects and in fact appear to have been seduced from a broad approach to the Primary curriculum, by the more attractive and less philosophic attributes of the school garden and "drawing from nature".

In all subject fields there were however undeniable changes and subtle shifts of emphasis. In some instances such as the Library movement the tendency to change had been established well before the 1900's. Other cases such as increased emphasis upon health practices appear to have been developments associated with expanding scientific and medical knowledge. Still others may be traced to increasing social demands for technical education in a transitional
social, economic and political context. It is clear that whatever the original impetus, a complex of co-existent impulses was found to be more or less compatible. It is this variety of influences of varying strengths and compatibilities which explains the degree of impact of the New Education in the respective subject areas.

But the New Education was not only a conglomeration of subjects such as Nature Study, Manual Training, Health and Domestic Arts. These were only the more obvious products of complex, coincident motivating forces of psychological, political, social and economic derivation. These forces together with their practical attributes made up the New Education. In this, the broadest sense, the era of New Education cannot be confined to the first one or two decades of the century for influences essential to the process of interaction were contained in a much older New South Wales educational tradition. The products of the reaction which took place at the beginning of the twentieth century continued in their turn to determine future innovation.
CHAPTER IX

THE PRIVATE SCHOOLS

In a centralised system such as had developed in New South Wales, the continued existence of private schools after the passage of the Public Instruction Act promised an avenue of independent thought and practice which might have been expected to alleviate the in-bred nature of the Public school system. A survey of the private sector of Primary education in New South Wales is important from the point of view of comprehensiveness but it is also necessary to the tracing of sources of ideas through a process of cross-pollination within the State itself.

Many of these private schools had shared as Denominational schools under the 1866 Act, the same traditions which moulded the Public school system. Nevertheless, the reasons for the continuance of private schools after the 1880 Act in opposition as it were to the Public schools, could be expected to have led to later modifications of that tradition.

During the period under review the government followed a policy which concentrated on the provision of elementary education,
originally in the interests of literacy and egalitarianism and perhaps later as a preparation for secondary and tertiary education. Hence the fields of Infants and Secondary education remained more open to private schools ready to meet these needs. It may be argued that the willingness of the private schools to fulfil the educational demands of sections of the community was an important factor determining the neglect of similar facilities within the Public school system. The limited resources of the private schools coupled with the alleged effectiveness of the Public Primary schools seem also to have acted to create a void in some types of private schools as far as Primary or preparatory work was concerned. In general the State schools tended to dominate the Primary field leading to little possibility of cross-fertilisation from a vigorous independent system. On the other hand it appears that much of the initiative in the Infants field, particularly in regard to Kindergarten, may be traced to the private sector.

These generalisations will be qualified below. They serve however, to point to the direction which the argument will take, and to underline its relevance to this study of tradition and developments in the field of Primary education.
The Components of the Private Sector of Education

The private schools in New South Wales in the thirty years prior to 1910 cannot be described as one system as distinct from the State organisation. Their role as part of the one educational system of the State was accounted for in Chapter I, but it is clear that within this unifying and comprehensive framework there existed various types of private schools, each variety distinguished primarily by the reasons for its existence.

Thus the Roman Catholic schools continued to be maintained because the Church Hierarchy could agree neither with the "secular" nature of the teaching in the State schools, nor with the religious teaching which was required within the curriculum of those schools. The Church of England appears to have maintained its Parochial schools chiefly from inertia and inherent conservatism abetted by adherence to the Great Public school tradition of England. It and other Churches seem also to have been motivated by a combination of factors concerning the role of religious training and the social implications of a controlled school community.

Another group of private schools was characterised by their emphasis upon the exclusive nature of their clientele and the more
mundane concern of having to make a profit. These often took the form of finishing schools for ladies. At the other end of the social scale were those schools which existed purely for commercial reasons, patronised by those wishing to avoid the incidence of the compulsory clauses of the Act through enrolment at a school which did not require attendance to accompany payment of fees.

Finally a more philanthropic objective appears to have motivated the more reputable of the private kindergartens, providing for both the physical and educational needs of young children.

Growth following the 1880 Act

In 1881 there were in New South Wales, 507 private schools and 144 Certified Denominational schools the latter faced with deprivation of State aid by December 1882. In the following year it was calculated that approximately one-tenth of the statutory school population attended private schools with a similar proportion being taught at home. At least twenty-seven Denominational

1 Minister's Report, 1881, 2-3.
2 ibid., 1882, 24.
schools were immediately closed following the cessation of State aid in 1882, and 17,290 children transferred to Public schools. The increase in private schools for the year was ninety-seven.¹

Attendance at private schools continued to increase over the succeeding years, reaching a peak in 1899 when there were 1,053 schools with 47,560 scholars in average attendance² out of an enrolment of 60,159.³ At this time it was estimated that 79.4% of the statutory school population attended State schools and 17.9% attended private schools.⁴ Thereafter numbers enrolled at private and State schools fell with the decrease in child population so that by 1910 the enrolment figure of 59,650 pupils at private schools was still below that at the turn of the century.⁵

Such statistics can be only indicative of trends and the

³Minister's Report, 1899, 7.
⁴Ibid.
⁵vide supra, graph facing 190
relative importance of the private sector of education, for without registration of private schools, reliable statistical information was difficult to obtain, figures even for State schools being often grossly inflated. Those figures which are available also generally fail to give an overall idea of numbers being educated at the Primary as distinct from the Secondary level in private schools. It does appear however, that on a statistical basis alone, provision for education in other than State schools was sufficient to warrant a detailed assessment of the contribution of private schools to the educational climate of the period under review.

**Roman Catholic Primary Schools**

The refusal of the Roman Catholic Church to recognise the Public Schools of New South Wales as providing an education of a type suitable for adherents of the Church, meant that provision had to be made within eighteen months of the passage of the Public Instruction Act for the continuance of educational facilities according to the ideals of Roman Catholicism. The exigencies of such reorganisation without State financial aid

1 vide, Minister's Report, 1882, 14-15.
reinforced a propensity towards centralism which was inherent
in the attitude of the Church itself:

The pioneering work had been done, the foundations laid,
but there still remained the task of fashioning the edifice
into something that was more efficient, more serviceable
and more in keeping with the needs of society at the time.1

To Cardinal Moran is attributed the initiative in the
unification of the system against a background of increasing
liberalism both within and without the Church.2 Shortly after
his arrival he "swept away Vaughan’s Educational Board and assumed
all its responsibilities and functions himself",3 thus clearing
the way for increasing diocesan direction, to be followed by
attempts not only at State-wide but Australia-wide uniformity in
Church provision for education. Thus in 1905 the Third Plenary
Council decreed that "until a uniform national system was
established for the whole of Australia,...Catholic schools in
each state were to conform, as far as possible, to the standard
laid down for the public schools of that state".4

1 Fogarty, op. cit., 305.
2 ibid., 421 ff.
3 ibid., 424.
4 ibid., 358.
Not only therefore, were the Catholic schools to follow a uniform standard, but this standard was to be that of the State schools. This compounded the insularity of the New South Wales educational system, not only by contributing to redundant uniformity but also through the explicit acknowledgment that the State schools set the standard of educational excellence. Such an acknowledgment by the Catholic authorities must surely have appealed to the layman and the Department as irrefutable evidence of the merit of the State schools. It would thus have been an important factor in determining the susceptibility of the State schools to the New Education, while effectively cutting the State system off from possible reform influences emanating from a self-acknowledged lower strata of the educational system.

Perhaps the most dominant factor determining the centralised organisation of the Catholic system was the fact that until 1880 these Denominational schools had shared the same traditions as the Public schools except insofar as there had existed some Catholic schools outside the system administered under the 1866 Act.¹ The sectarian issues which had played a dominant role in precipitating the 1880 Act also complicated the provision of

¹Coghlan, 1892, op. cit., 522.
educational facilities by the Church by encouraging Catholics who had previously attended Public schools to transfer to schools run by their Church. ¹ The growth in numbers of Catholic schools from seventy-five in 1882 to 250 in 1891 and enrolment numbers from 16,595 to 30,691, ² would have been unlikely in other than a centralised system for such an organisation alone was capable of such rapid and co-ordinated expansion.

The system of the eighties and nineties was however centralised in a sense different from that applicable to State schools. Each teaching order was to a great extent responsible for the running of its own schools and within some orders the jurisdiction of the superior was limited to a particular diocese. ³ However much of the initiative in overall policy-making was taken by Archbishop

¹ Fogarty's estimation is that "whereas the older denominational system had never appealed to the imagination of the Catholic people, the system that supplanted it had won their support almost from the very start". Fogarty, op. cit., 305.

² Coghlan, loc. cit.

³ Fogarty, op. cit., 289.
Vaughan and later Cardinal Moran. Their success in attracting an ever-increasing flow of members of overseas religious orders, determined not only the ability of the Church schools to survive and increase, but also was to influence the nature of the teaching in the schools, and in turn the degree of support forthcoming from the Catholic population.¹

The policy of placing the schools in the hands of religious orders and displacing lay teachers wherever possible had become uniform throughout the State by the 1880's.² Late in 1883 it had been reported that two-thirds of the teachers in Catholic schools were members of religious orders³ and by the following year only a few lay teachers remained.⁴ By the 1900's the archdiocese of Sydney had eighteen different orders teaching within its boundaries.⁵

¹vide, ibid., Chaps. VII-X.
²It has been said that Moran recognised this as more of a crusade than a policy. ibid., 268.
³J.W. Rogers, "Report of Inspection of Catholic Schools in the Archdiocese of Sydney, 1883", The Express, 15/3/1884 (S.M.A.)
⁴Fogarty, op. cit., 280.
⁵ibid., 275.
The existence of such a variety of teaching orders promised a variety of approach between the schools of different orders which was further enhanced by the fact that several had brought with them and maintained contact with European traditions and methods.¹

However the same basic factors which required the establishment and maintenance of an elementary school in every mission where there was a priest² also demanded a conformity to the standards set by the State schools. Even before the cessation of State aid, Polding had recognised the need for Catholic schools not only to "rival" the Public schools but to "successfully rival" them.³ The Church also realised that in requiring Catholic parents to send their children to Catholic schools they should not be thereby asked to jeopardise their children's educational prospects.⁴

¹Amongst several of the orders there was said to be "a constant interchange of teachers between New South Wales and Europe". B.A.A.S., N.S.W. Handbook, op. cit., 204F.

²Fogarty, op. cit., 309.

³Ibid., 356.

⁴Ibid., 357.
The standards of the State schools in the profane subjects therefore seem to have been unquestionably accepted as the ideal towards which the Catholic schools should strive. The motivation for the development of a Catholic school system was not to outrival the State schools in areas common to both, but to provide the religious training for Catholic children which in the view of the Church could only be provided in schools run by it and staffed wherever possible by members of religious orders. In this provision the Church was highly successful. Polding in 1883 had already clearly established the lines of future development:

(Since 1875) the number of Catholic schools had been exactly trebled, and four out of every five were in the hands of the religious. Of the 15,200 Catholic children of school age then in the archdiocese, 12,500 were in Catholic schools, over two-thirds of them being in schools taught by the religious. Sixty-eight of the eighty establishments in the hands of the religious had been started, as the Archbishop himself put it, since he had 'troubled the peace of Sleepy Hollow', and forty-five since Parkes had prophesied 'death' to the calling of the clergy. Twenty-seven had been established in the first four months of 1883.¹

Moran and his counterparts in other Australian States were to see a rapid increase in the establishment of parochial schools so that by 1900 there existed an average of two schools for every parish in

¹ibid., 259-60.
Australia, with an equally marked tendency between 1900 and 1910 towards consolidation. In Sydney for example, the ratio in 1900 of 158 schools to 68 parishes had fallen by 1910 to 166 schools to 74 parishes.¹

Just as the State had been forced to concentrate upon the tangibles of educational provision after the 1880 Act, so too had the Catholic system successfully faced a similar problem. There was therefore little from the organisational point of view which might have led to the development of an approach to education differing to a marked extent from that of the State. The contrary was in fact so, with the Catholic schools attempting to emulate State schools in all but religious instruction.

The centralising tendency was clearly defined in an inspection system which continued to be imposed upon the schools after the break with the State. Pastoral supervision had operated since 1844, not only over the teaching of religion, but over the ordinary literary studies.² An additional regular inspection at diocesan level was set up. J.W. Rogers, a layman, was appointed in Sydney, priests in other dioceses, with a tendency towards the appointment of laymen becoming apparent in the 1900's.³ Not only was

¹ibid., 306-7.
²ibid., 424.
³ibid., 425.
inspection and examination in each diocese uniformly established by 1895, but repeated requests for government inspection were made, both for scholastic purposes and to enable the Church to show that it was doing in the field of secular education, what was being done in the State schools.\(^1\) Moran also believed that if Catholic schools were recognised to be just as efficient as those of the State, they would have a better claim to equal recognition and therefore government finance.\(^2\) The Catholic inspection system was therefore from 1880 on, orientated towards encouraging uniformity with the State curriculum and methods, except in regard to religious instruction.

Given the impoverished state of teacher training within the Catholic system, even this objective seemed beyond the realms of possible achievement. Religious orders with no teaching background had been pressed into service to staff the schools and lay teachers drawn from those not sufficiently competent to enter the State service. In the teaching orders training periods had been curtailed and inexperienced teachers sent into the classroom.\(^3\) The attainment

\(^1\)ibid., 427.
\(^2\)ibid., 428.
\(^3\)Rogers, loc. cit.
of the ideal of giving a training equivalent to that received by State teachers was still a long way off in 1910. In the meantime the pupil-teacher system remained the general basis upon which the Church strove to implement the New Education.

In the provision of the material ancillaries of the New Education, the financial structure of the Catholic school system provided little room for expansion. In spite of the saving in costs effected by having members of religious orders teach, the financial burden falling directly upon the parishes taxed their individual resources to the full. There could be no leadership afforded by the Catholic schools in regard to school buildings and equipment. Again, there was little scope for provision of materials and equipment essential to the implementation of New Education ideas and techniques.

On the organisational side it seems that Catholic parents were required to pay dearly for a system which at best could only hope to duplicate what was already being provided free in the State schools. The competition with State schools was made the more unequal by the successful efforts of the Church, in gathering its children into Catholic schools, thereby significantly reducing the

1 vide, Fogarty, 431ff.

2 vide, Inspection Reports to 1910. (S.M.A.)

3 vide, Fogarty, 444.
school population for which State schools had to cater. 1 It seems reasonable to assume that if the Church had not provided education facilities for these children, the development of the State system would have been adversely affected. From Roman Catholic parents the State collected taxes to pay for the Public schools but during the 1900's had not to provide accommodation or teachers for Catholic children numbering between fifteen to sixteen percent of the total school population of the State. 2

- The Curriculum in the Catholic Parochial Schools of the Eighties.

Facing such organisational and financial exigencies, and with the avowed ideal of duplicating the State schools in regard to the profane subjects, little was to be expected from the Catholic Parochial School system in the way of innovation. Whatever was introduced in the State schools had, perforce, to be attempted in the Parochial schools. Curriculum development in these schools is therefore largely the story of how the Catholic schools reacted to and adapted innovation in the Public Schools.

1 By 1910 about 60% of Roman Catholic children were attending their own denominational schools in New South Wales. vide, B.A.A.S. Federal Handbook, op. cit., 517.

Rogers, the Inspector of Catholic schools in Sydney had recommended soon after his appointment, that the 1884 Standard of Proficiency for Public schools should be adopted in the schools of the Church. However, it was not until 1890 that three bishops were appointed to draw up a Standard of Proficiency for use in Australian Catholic schools. This Standard was to be followed in all the schools of the Sydney archdiocese and presumably in the dioceses of Armidale, Bathurst, Goulburn and Maitland, into which the rest of New South Wales was divided for ecclesiastical and educational purposes.

Prior to the publication of the Standard the work of the Catholic schools appears to have been governed by the ideals of the various religious communities, the parish priest and most importantly for the maintenance of some uniformity, the diocesan Inspector. The Sydney archdiocese, if not entirely typical,

1 Rogers, loc. cit.

2 Decrees of Diocesan Synod, Sydney, 1891, Decree xvi, in Fogarty op. cit., 356. The bishops were Dr. Carr (Melbourne), Dr. Doyle (Lismore), and Dr. Higgins (Sydney).

3 Rogers, loc. cit.

4 There existed obvious advantages in the urban nature of much of the archdiocese and in its enjoyment of a full-time lay Inspector. There were however, sufficient country areas to give some indication of the overall situation. The archdiocese included an area bounded by the Hawkesbury, Eden, Cooma and Lithgow. vide, e.g., 1908 Report (S.M.A.)
may be taken as representing the general state of Catholic education in New South Wales. It is clear that there would be few aspects of Church education of the time which were not represented in the schools of this area.

Rogers' report for 1883 appears to be one of the few surviving surveys of the state of the Catholic system immediately after the withdrawal of State aid. Understandably, the contrast between the work of the Catholic and Public schools in general was not marked, but in the field of school management, it was obvious that the Inspector did not enjoy the authority of his counterparts in the Public schools. His analysis of deficiencies and suggestions for improvements were not always acted upon and in the absence of clear regulations and a Standard of Proficiency for the conduct of schools, this had serious implications for a system which aimed at rivalling the efficiency of the Public schools. The keeping of official records, timetables, distribution of teaching power, allocation of time to secular instruction and basic teaching methods all came in for Rogers' criticism whereas these aspects appear, through the operation of regulations, to have been taken for granted in the Public schools.

\[v^1\text{ide, Rogers, loc. cit.}\]
Rogers was at a loss to explain the stagnant situation in the schools for there were books on school management to be read and members of religious communities in living together had ideal opportunities to share learning and experience. In any event, wrote Rogers, the requisites for teaching at the Primary level were few:

The mode of conducting Primary schools to satisfy the Board has been reduced to a system which anyone with some scholarship and a natural turn for teaching can acquire if placed under an experienced person in a good school.¹

Religious instruction was naturally a highlight of the curriculum of all schools while secular instruction, though "by no means perfect", was "satisfactory, considering the short period most of the schools have been under present management and the difficulties they have had to contend with".²

Reading was fluent but characterised by carelessness of pronunciation while in a few Infants' schools "sing-song" reading in unison was to be deprecated. Rogers found "the objectionable and old-fashioned angular hand" in vogue in Writing lessons in a large number of girls' schools and there was evident a general desire among younger teachers "to get their classes to write as

¹ibid.
²ibid.
soon as possible rather than as well as possible". Many classes were put to transcribing from a printed book rather than from a blackboard copy and there was a lack of consistency between the work of the Writing lesson and other book work. Spelling was fair but more time might be spent on transcription rather than dictation, "especially in rooms where many classes are taught together". Dictation however, had to be continued as it was "sure to be given at examinations". Grammar was in transition "from a state of chaos to something like order", due to inaccurate texts having been used. Rogers advocated "the more practical part of that study, such as the correction of prevalent mistakes... and the practice of English composition, which is fair in some schools and what may be termed wooden in others".

Weakness in Arithmetic was most marked in the lower classes where tables were neglected. Mental Arithmetic was "not sufficiently prevalent", although recent improvement was evidenced. Euclid and Algebra were "taught with success in some schools".

Geography was weak "almost everywhere". Map drawing was suggested as something the pupils could become proficient in "with little instruction, and when silent work is required this exercise, like transcription, can advantageously be resorted to". History was another "easy" lesson in which the schools were not sufficiently
ambitious. It might with advantage be taught from the Third class. Rogers criticised the rote learning of texts like Nelson's and suggested the study of Irish History¹ and that of Australia. Sutherland's History of Australia was recommended for its "pleasing style" and its "avoidance of anything that can offend religious susceptibilities".

Drawing was taught in "about half the schools, but in few with success, as the majority of the teachers are not proficient in it". Wide variations in the standard of Singing was found, with little theory being taught. Rogers favoured the tonic sol-fa system which was to be retained throughout the period as the basis of music teaching.²

Drill was in a fair state as far as assembly and dismissal of pupils was concerned but military drill had "almost died out" except in one or two schools conducted by lay teachers. The reason, it was suggested, lay in teachers often being "essentially

¹Irish History was to become one of the subjects of the curriculum, but was never very successfully taught, according to later inspection reports.

²vide, Inspection Reports to 1910. (S.M.A.)
men of peace" and the fact that many headmasters had come from countries where military drill had been "rendered odious by conscription". The government also gave the Catholic schools "no encouragement" in the formation of Cadet Corps.

Needlework appeared to concentrate upon fancy rather than plain sewing.

Latin, French and Physics were scarcely taught at all for there were no Fifth classes "properly so called". Rogers regarded the fact that these subjects were not taught "a cause for congratulation" for he advocated "a more distinct line of severance... between our Primary and Secondary schools so far as the curriculum goes".

The Catholic schools therefore appeared to be suffering from much the same ills as the Public school system, aggravated by difficulties of supervision and organisation, but yet through some of these deficiencies seemingly avoiding the rigidity of the Public school system, as for example in the teaching of drill. There was also distinctly less orientation towards public examinations than in the Public schools, and a possibility of some effective decentralisation of control. But these, admittedly ill-defined opportunities for development of a system, independent in more than mere name from the government system, were never
really viable. The financial problem was an overriding consideration determining the scope and organisation of the schools and their curriculum.

It is quite clear that an alternative to following and attempting to emulate under impossible pre-conditions, the public schools, was never seriously considered by the Hierarchy or its advisers, amongst whom Rogers appears to have been dominant in educational matters.¹ The Church never gave up hope that its system would be recognised and financially supported by the government. Until that day, it had to survive with its basic principles intact. The important thing was that the Church should maintain its right to teach its religion in its own schools so long as the State refused to alter provisions for religious instruction in Public schools to permit Catholics in conscience to attend them:

...the present law...might be so amended by a clause of fifty words as to do away with all injustice and satisfy the Catholic people. Till something of this kind is done New South Wales can boast no truly national system of education.²

¹Most of Rogers' suggestions were to be adopted. See below.

²Rogers, loc. cit.
In the meantime it was essential to provide for the secular education of Church members, against the day when the government would accede to requests for State inspection and supervision of Catholic schools as a prelude to their recognition as equal in status to Public schools and therefore entitled to a share of government education funds.

The immediate challenge of the break with the State had been faced and the continued expansion and staffing of the Parochial schools had been guaranteed by ecclesiastical law and the handing of schools to the various religious communities. Now the Church found itself faced with an increasingly unequal contest with the Public schools which by the late eighties were turning to curriculum development. The Church had no alternative but to accept the challenge. There was no question of waiting until its own development could be consolidated. While the Public schools had continued along the old established lines, the Catholic schools had limped along without the rigidity of a set Standard of Proficiency but it was clear that the only hope to compete with the now developing curriculum of a centralised Public school system was for the Church system to take upon itself the trappings of its rival.
- Development Under the 1890 Standard of Proficiency

The Standard of Proficiency drawn up at the behest of the Australian Hierarchy, was naturally based upon the New South Wales Public school Standard, for two of the committee of three were from that State.¹ It is however, no simple task to compare the Catholic and State Standards, for the Catholic schools used a different basis of classification which generally appears to have spread the work of the Primary school over a greater age range than did the Public schools.

Unlike the state procedure, age of pupils was taken as a guide to promotion. There therefore does not appear to have

¹Fogarty could not discover a copy of the Catholic Standard: "What form this standard took, how practical it was, and how widely it was used, are now difficult to discover." (Fogarty, op.cit., 356.) The writer was fortunate in being able to discover in St. Mary's Archives, much previously untouched material amongst which he has identified three separate Standards. Although undated, a Standard of Proficiency for Catholic Primary Schools in Australia is undoubtedly that drawn up by the 1890 Committee. This was apparently used in schools of the Sydney archdiocese until 1898 when, no doubt in response to changes then made in the Public School Standard, a new Standard for the archdiocese was drawn up. The date of this Standard was fixed from a copy upon which appeared the handwritten date "1898". The History content of this Standard also suggests that it was based upon the 1898 Public School Standard. The final Standard was written following the setting up of a Committee by the Plenary Synod of 1905. The handwritten suggestions of this committee, their handwritten draft programme and notes thereon, were all discovered by the writer, together with a printed copy of the final Standard. vide, 672
been the forcing of students through classes, which characterised the half-yearly promotions of the Public schools. In fact there is evidence to suggest that pupils were deliberately held back in lower classes. Reports of inspection during the nineties complained of this practice, in one case boys being held in the Infants' classes run by nuns at a girls' school, and then being far too old for the lower classes at a nearby boys' school conducted by brothers.¹ The practice seems to have arisen from teachers wanting to show superiors and inspectors a higher level of attainment in their classes than would have been possible if such pupils had been promoted.²

Pupils, according to the Catholic Standard, entered the Infants' class before six years of age, passing through a higher Infants' class, and then all classes First to Sixth inclusive. The average age in Sixth class was specified at fourteen-and-a-half years. From the theoretical point of view the Catholic classification appeared to be more realistic than that of the

¹*Vide,* Timoney to Higgins, 16/11/1896. (S.M.A.) also, Patrician Brothers to Higgins, 31/8/1905. (S.M.A.)

²*c.f.*, a similar reaction in the Public schools to the inspection and Standards of the eighties and nineties.
The latter tended to rely upon pupils leaving school following satisfaction of the requirements for a certificate of exemption rather than through the expiration of time, having reached the leaving age of fourteen. However, in practice the Catholic schools followed the Public schools in providing means of education up to the requirements for exemption except in those cases and areas where pupils might require a higher standard of education to prepare them for public examinations or for entry to High schools.

The Infant's classes, as in the Public schools, could take two or more years to complete. First class was not as in the Public schools, alternative to Infants but end-on, occupying a whole year but apparently equivalent in concept to the "Fifth" class of some metropolitan Public Infants' schools. By the end

\footnote{\textit{vide supra}, 195.}
\footnote{\textit{vide}, Inspection Reports to 1910. (S.M.A.)}
\footnote{Used in the sense of the highest class in the school. Later known as "Transition".}
of First class the pupils of Catholic schools might have been at school for three years and yet have reached only the standard of a Public school pupil after eighteen months' enrolment. When according to the Standard a Catholic child of eight was completing First class, his counterpart in the State schools would normally be in Second class. This discrepancy became more marked as the pupils progressed through the various classes in the respective systems. The age differences should not, however, be exaggerated for average ages in the various Public school classes were often higher than the regulations might appear to indicate.

The lack of correspondence with the Public school classification raised obvious difficulties in transfer from one system to the other. There is evidence to suggest that the Catholic system may have been deliberately engineered to discourage defection to Public schools. When perceived to be ineffective in this regard and actually working in the opposite direction it was suggested that the classification be brought into line with the Public schools.¹

Taking the Catholic Infants' and First classes as equivalent

¹vide, Marist Brothers and Sisters of Charity, Suggestions for alteration of the Standard of Proficiency, 1905. (S.M.A.)
to the Infants' or First class in the Public schools, the Standards were practically identical in most subjects. A more detailed course in Religion replaced the Scripture of the Public school. Geography was introduced in First class but only in such detail as would have been covered in Object Lessons in the Public schools. Nevertheless, this formal teaching of Geography had been deferred under the State Standard from Second to Third class. Drill was far less formal than provided for in the State Standard and involved only "four movements to music".

The Second classes in both systems roughly corresponded, as did their Standards except for Geography and Grammar. The Catholic Standard specified almost the same attainments, if not a little higher, as had the 1884 Standard for Public schools for that class after eighteen months' enrolment. Drill was confined in the Catholic classes to "six movements to music" while the more formal "marking time" was among the requirements in the Public schools.

1 *viz.*, Cardinal points; shape of the earth; to distinguish land and water on a map of the world.
Third class corresponded with the first year of enrolment in Third class in the Public schools. Geography and Grammar were of course more advanced and drill decidedly less formal. Australian rather than English History was taught, presumably because it was less controversial to the Church which found Sutherlands' text book to be acceptable.¹ The Catholic Standard foreshadowed the 1898 Public school Standard in this respect. Requirements for Needlework and the theory of music were more advanced in the Public schools.

Comparison of the Catholic Fourth class with the second year of Third class in the State schools reveals a similar pattern as in the earlier classes but with Algebra and Euclid being introduced in the former,² along with English and Irish History. The study of Australian History was also continued. Domestic Economy was specified for girls in addition to Needlework, and included the study of nutrition, hygiene and cooking. This subject group was

¹vide, Rogers, loc. cit.

²Algebra was left till Fifth class in the Public schools, even under the 1884 Standards. The Euclid required by the Catholic Standard was in advance of the 1884 Public School Standard for Fourth class (first half-year), which corresponded with this stage of the Catholic classification. The 1891 State Standard deferred Euclid for another year (i.e. to Fourth class).
not to be introduced into the curriculum for girls in the Public schools until the 1900's and therefore represents one area in which the Catholic school curriculum of the nineties anticipated that of the State.

Fifth class in the Catholic schools was roughly the Fourth class of the Public. The Object Lessons of the State Standard became Physics lessons in the Catholic, but the content prescribed for both was similar. Geography in the Catholic schools was to concentrate upon Europe and the British Possessions while in the Public schools the study of Asia was required in addition to "Physical Features and Chief Towns of each Country". Grammar for both systems appeared to be approximately equal in requirements, by this stage. Singing in the Catholic schools remained practical rather than theoretical. Company drill for boys was to be introduced "where practicable". Agriculture for boys was laid down as a special subject, apparently as a practical science corresponding to the Domestic Economy of the girls.

The Sixth class of the Catholic and the Fifth class of the Public school both reflected the commercial influence. However, while the Public school Standard was explicitly tied to the public examinations, the Catholic Standard, being for the whole of
Australia, was more generally expressed. Latin and French were introduced in both Standards. The Catholic Standard was able in this class to place less emphasis upon basic subjects which had been treated at earlier stages. Thus Grammar was dropped altogether. Algebra, Geography, Euclid, History, Drawing, Singing, Drill, Needlework and Domestic Economy all consisted mainly of revision of the work of the previous class. Writing was orientated towards bookkeeping and commercial lettering. An innovation lay in the inclusion of lessons on Physiology.

The Catholic requirements therefore retained an emphasis upon formal work in the lower classes at a standard somewhat higher than that obtaining in the Public schools at equivalent levels. The State Standard had by this time developed towards deferring much of this formal work until the higher classes. In theory pupils in both Catholic and Public schools would have reached a similar standard by the end of their Primary school course. In practice, the Catholic Standard recognised that there would be few, if any, Sixth classes established.\(^1\) Therefore the Fifth class Standard was designed to complete the upper Primary education

\(^1\)No Sixth classes had been established by 1909. vide, Hogan to Moran, 13/7/1909. (S.M.A.)
to be offered in Church schools. This also helps to explain the age discrepancies between various stages of the two classifications. That Catholic children in general left school at the same age as Public school pupils, but approximately one grade behind them in attainments is borne out by criticism from within the Church itself. One of the main arguments put forward in 1905 for the reclassification of Catholic schools in a manner similar to the Public schools, was that the Catholic schools were publicly regarded as providing this lower standard of education.\footnote{\textit{vide}, Sisters of Charity to Moran, 1/10/1905. (S.M.A.)}

The overall impression received from a comparison of the two Standards is that particularly in the higher classes there was more emphasis in the Catholic Standard upon a practical education for life. Thus more emphasis upon Domestic Economy, and Agriculture was to be found in the Standards for classes which in the Public schools were oriented towards more academic requirements imposed by the public examinations. In this regard the theory of the Catholic curriculum was perhaps in advance of the State in providing for the needs of the majority of its charges. Counteracting the possible educational benefit to be derived from such a policy, was
At a Meeting of the School Council of the Archdiocese of Sydney, on 16th January 1892, the Right Reverend Dr. Higgins presiding, it was resolved that a notice be sent to the Principals of the Catholic Primary Schools in the City and Suburbs, of the following Regulations.

The Schools of the City and Suburbs are grouped into six School Districts, and a Member of the School Council is appointed to each, for the purpose of visitation. The six Districts, and the Visitors for the current year, are as follows:

1. **Sydney, St. Mary's**: Including St. Mary's, 4 schools; Sacred Heart, 2; Surry Hills, 1 and St. Patrick's, 2. Total, 9 Schools. **Visitor—Rev. P. L. Coogan**.

2. **Sydney, St. Benedict's**: Including St. Benedict's, 4 Schools; St. Francis' 2; St. John's, 1; Pyrmont, 2; and Forest Lodge, 2. Total, 11 schools. **Visitor—The Very Rev. J. J. O'Reilly, B.D.**

3. **Petersham**: Including Petersham 3 schools; Leichardt, 2; Campersdown, 1; Newtown, 2; Marrickville, 1; and Hurstville, 2. Total, 13 Schools. **Visitor—The Very Rev. P. A. Stapleton, O.S.F.**

4. **Wooloowara**: Including Wooloowara, 7 schools; St. Canice's, 1; Randwick, 2; Mount Carmel, 1; Redfern, 1. Total, 13 Schools. **Visitor—Rev. J. Moylan, P.P.**

5. **Hunter's Hill**: Including Villa Maria, 2 schools; Ryde, 1; Rydalmere, 1; Parramatta, 2; Granville, 1; Rockwood, 2; Concord, 3. Total, 12 schools. **Visitor—Rev. T. O'Reilly, P.P.**

6. **North Sydney**: Including Lane Cove, 1 school; Mosman, 2; Malabar, 4; and St. Michael's, 2. Total, 13 schools **Visitor—Rev. J. J. Byrne, A.D.C.**

The following are the points on which it will be the duty of each Visitor to report:

I. The material and sanitary condition of the School buildings.

II. The character of the interior appointments.

III. The discipline, good order, and general morale of the school.

IV. The attendance, its average and progress.

V. The number of keeping the roll.

VI. The arrangement of classes according to the standard of proficiency.

VII. The teaching capacity, knowledge, tact, earnestness of the teachers, and their general success in securing the respect and obedience of the pupils.

VIII. The number of Catholic children absenting themselves from School, or attending Public Schools, or Private Schools conducted by non-Catholics.

IX. The centres of population in the School Visitor's District, where any new School is needed.

Visitors will not be required to make any formal examination of the pupils, except by the special instructions of the Right Rev. President. The teachers however shall be requested to examine their classes in the presence of the School Visitor of the District. Visitors are requested to visit their respective Schools quarterly, and to invite from the School-Principals and their teachers, suggestions of whatever they may deem desirable to be known by the Visitor or the Cardinal Archbishop. A quarterly return shall be required from the Principal of each School, and shall be forwarded by him at the end of each quarter to the School Visitor, showing the number on the roll, and the average attendance during the quarter, and any other particulars that the School Council may require.

SCHOOL DISTRICTS AND INSPECTION REGULATIONS, 1892

(S.M.A.)
the Catholic tendency to crowd into the early years the formal work which in the Public schools was deferred to the highest classes. Also, some Catholic schools did not provide even a Fifth class.¹

From the beginning of February 1892 a system of school visitation was introduced into the schools of the city and suburbs of Sydney. A Visitor was appointed from the membership of the School Council of the archdiocese to one of six School Districts, upon which he was to report quarterly.²

One of the first reports made under this system of visitation was written by J.P. Moynagh (Woollahra)³ and gives some idea of the early operation of the Standard. In regard to the curriculum he appeared to be mainly concerned with the "answering" of pupils but noted that the Franciscan Brothers, newly-arrived at Waverley Boys', considered the Standard to be very high. The boys seemed "backward in most of the Standard subjects" due to the fact that a

¹vide, e.g. Hogan to Moran, 22/4/1908. (S.M.A.)

²For details of Districts and the specific duties of such Visitors vide, plate opposite.

³June, 1892, Moynagh. (S.M.A.)
"secular" had had sole charge of over one hundred boys until the
Brothers had arrived. At Waverley Girls', conducted by the Poor
Clares "the answering was poor on some of the subjects and only
fair on the others". In the Infants' class one teacher for
eighty pupils did not to him appear sufficient "no matter how
hard she works". Of Randwick Mixed school conducted by two
seculars, Moynagh wrote: "They seem to work hard. The children
are not well advanced to standard subjects, but answer intelligently
in those subjects they have studied". However, at Paddington Girls'
the answering in many of the Standard subjects was described as
excellent, and the school the best-conducted he had seen. This
was apparently due to the sister in charge whose system of school
management he regarded as unique amongst the Catholic schools and
worthy of emulation.

She is not satisfied with looking after her own classes, but
has an eye over the other classes also. She has a system of
monthly Examination by which she finds out the subjects the
children are weakest in and requests the teachers of the
respective classes to pay special attention to those subjects
during the following months. By this means she can know not
alone what her own class can do, but what all the classes can
do. And I think that this is a great advantage for the whole
school, where there are 4 or 5 classes conducted by teachers
who have not as much experience as (the) teacher in charge
is supposed to have. It is not an uncommon thing to find in
large schools the teacher in charge and perhaps two, very
good and the rest - well not so good. And it is only
reasonable to find the classes as you find the teachers.
I think the system I have just referred to, would insure (sic)
the lower classes against much harm done by inferior or
inexperienced teachers.1

1 ibid.
P. L. Coonan, The Visitor for Sydney (St. Mary's) District, in reporting the results of the last meeting of the Synod, found nothing of "Very Particular importance" to report in connection with discussion on the schools. The only points touched upon by the Synod were listed as:

i. Loud-voiced answers in Public-schools and absent in Catholic schools. (O'Brien)

ii. Grammar not taught to 3rd. Class in Boys' School at Parramatta. (Sheridan)

iii. Several grades of Pupils in one class in some schools. (O'Reilly)

iv. 300 Boys at Redfern School taught by 2 Religious and 2 Secular teachers. (Moynagh) He considered that Justice could scarcely be done to all the lads in all their subjects.

v. A deaf Religious managing a school. (Byrne, Wollongong).

vi. Ample time for Contemplation allowed in some schools. (Timoney).

I may mention that some of the best and most experienced teachers in the Schools I visit say that the Standard is not so much too high, as too extensive - It is scarcely possible to teach all the subjects, in such a manner as to be useful, that are contained in the Standard as at present existing - A Revision perhaps might be desirable.¹

There were hardly grounds for complacency. Reports written the same year by the very men who had attended this meeting revealed,

¹Coonan to Moran 19/12/1894. (S.M.A.)
for example, that at Manly "apart from the Catechism which the children seem to know well there is no subject taught". 1 St. Brigids' School, Kent Street, had "neither discipline nor teaching" although it was "an important school with two hundred and ten on the roll". 2 The Marist Brothers' school at Parramatta was "not as Satisfactory as it should be" and in the Third class Reading was "of the poorest description" and Spelling "bad". There was no Grammar taught in this class and in "Geography and other subjects there was plenty of room for improvement". 3 At Rosebank the staff consisted of "a Sister very young in religion and a young lay teacher". O'Reilly thought the pupils attending the school were "not properly looked after". 4

There were of course several schools in these Districts which were in the opinion of the Visitors, doing a good job. Parramatta Convent had greatly improved and "throughout the whole

1 Dec., 1894 Report, Timoney. (S.M.A.)

2 Ibid.

3 Dec., 1894 Report, Sheridan. (S.M.A.)

4 Dec., 1894 Report, O'Reilly. (S.M.A.)
range of subjects there was hardly one question left unanswered by some one or other child in each class". Waitematta (North Parramatta) had made "great progress" in spite of overcrowding and lack of equipment. The children were "very anxious" and worked hard. The school at Windsor had ninety-four children crowded into a room forty-four feet by nineteen feet because the heat outside prevented the usual classes from being taught inside. In spite of these conditions "the answering of the Third and Fourth classes was good in all subjects of the Standard" and the Mental Arithmetic of the Second class was "equal to that of Fourth class in some of the schools".1 Burwood schools under the Sisters of Charity were "well and carefully taught" and "the classification of the pupils everything that could be desired".2

On the whole however, there were obviously serious deficiencies in the schools, apparently attributable to inexperienced and untrained teachers working in sometimes near-impossible conditions. There is no doubt that the authority of the Church Standard and of

1 Sheridan, loc. cit.

2 O'Reilly, loc. cit.
its Visitors was not established in the same degree as in the Public school system of inspection. The qualifications of the School Visitors and their personal standards for assessing the schools are also called into doubt by the style and quality of their reports.

That little improvement was to result from the activities of these Visitors was suggested by the petty nature of the 1894 Synod discussion. Later reports also reflected little advance and generally repeated the same criticisms of the same schools. Sheridan for example, realised the following year that Parramatta Marist Brothers' School was not following the Standard, nor were the classes arranged according to it. It was however, he wrote one of the best schools although the moral tone was not so satisfactory:

There is a want of gentleness, obedience and simplicity among the boys that bears a striking contrast with the good conduct, gentle manners and submissiveness of the boys trained in the Sisters' (of Mercy) School.¹ Waitematta school was described as being taught by "two simple, innocent Novices" who Sheridan predicted would soon be found out by the parents of the Protestant children attending. The

¹June, 1895. Report, Sheridan. (S.M.A.)
DEAR REV. FATHER IN CHARGE,

The accompanying Circular-sheets addressed to the reverend and Most Reverend Bishops, will serve to bring before you the arrangements made for the Hibernian competitions "to promote the study of Irish History and Language." I request you to intimate these arrangements to your faithful people, and especially to the Parochial Schools of your district, so that those who so desire may have an opportunity of competing for the allotted prizes.

As regards the usual Diocesan competitions for the Parochial Schools of this Diocese, the competitions will be held this year in the appointed centres as follow:

SATURDAY, 12TH NOVEMBER: Forenoon, Religious Knowledge; Afternoon, Physics and Domestic Economy.

MONDAY, 15TH NOVEMBER: Forenoon, English; Afternoon, Geography.

TUESDAY, 16TH NOVEMBER: Forenoon, Arithmetic; Afternoon, History.

SATURDAY, 17TH NOVEMBER: Forenoon, Algebra; Afternoon, Needlework and Geometry.

In these Diocesan competitions the questions will be taken from the usual "Manuals," as assigned in the Standard of Proficiency.

Regarding the age of competitors, it has been considered expedient to make a slight change, so that the Rule will read as follows:

"The Diocesan examinations will be restricted to the Fourth and Fifth Classes, according to the new Syllabus. The ages of the children must not exceed fourteen and sixteen years respectively, on the 31st December, 1906."

Special Prizes (two copies of Webster's Dictionary) have been presented by G. & C. Merriam Co. These, with £1 to each, will be assigned for competition to the Sixth Class in "Spelling" and "Spelling Hand," respectively. The competition will be held at St. Mary's and St. Patrick's on Friday, the 16th of November.

The names of intending Candidates should be sent as usual to Right Rev. Monsignor O'Prien on or before the 10th October.

Referring to a discrepancy which appears in the Standard of Proficiency regarding History, it is to be understood that the Text Books for "Australasian Catholic Schools" will be followed. That "Senior History Stories" for 4th Class, "Intermediate for 3rd Class," and "Junior" for 6th Class.

In Irish History, the matter will embrace "Joyce's History of Ireland for Australian Catholic Schools" to the reign of Henry VII (page 161), and "Joyce", pages 184 to 194. Owing to the difficulties experienced in the introduction of the New Standard of Proficiency and the shortness of notice to the schools, only leading questions will be given this year.

Only seven subjects may be taken by any competitor. The Rules of former years are otherwise dispensed with will be followed.

I take this occasion to publicly thank the members of the Hibernian Society for the admirable example they have set in presenting their munificent prizes; and I also offer sincere thanks to G. & C. Merriam Co. for their valuable prices. I trust that many others may follow the example thus given by presenting valuable and interesting prizes to be competed for in our Parochial Schools.

Your Faithful Servant,

P. F. CARDINAL MURPHY.

ST. MARY'S CATHEDRAL, SYDNEY,

5TH SEPTEMBER, 1906.

DIOCESAN EXAMINATIONS, 1906

(S.M.A.)
fate of the Catholic children was apparently unavoidable:

Whatever I may have said in its (the school's) favour on my last visit there is very little to be said now. These Novices have no idea of conducting a school, and it is altogether too bad to have a number of children left entirely to their care. It is certainly the poorest attempt at keeping a Catholic School that I have seen in any part of the Archdiocese. I found here some children of the most respectable and wealthy Protestants in the neighbourhood. Those parents, no doubt will sooner or later find out that their children's time is wasted and it is only reasonable to suppose that unless an immediate change in the teaching staff is effected the character of our schools will suffer.¹

Apparently in an attempt to encourage the acceptance of the Standard in schools diocesan competitions had been introduced by 1894.² The examinations covered the Third, Fourth and Fifth class Standards, pupils competing for prizes and the honour of being listed in the annual publication of prize winners. Upon these examinations also depended the award of free places and scholarships⁴ from a prize fund - originally proposed by the Dean of St. Mary's and warmly supported by Rogers.⁵

¹ *ibid.*

² This is the earliest date when evidence of these examinations can be traced. Copies of papers set in this year are to be found in St. Mary's Archives.

³ *vide,* Marist Brothers. Suggestions for Revision of the Standards, 1905. (S.M.A.)

⁴ *vide,* Annual Prize Lists. (S.M.A.)

⁵ *vide,* Rogers, *loc. cit.*; also 1901 Annual Report. (S.M.A.)
The rather unsatisfactory superintendence by School Visitors was retained, but as a means of imposing some order and system upon the schools, Francis Timoney was appointed as Inspector of Diocesan Primary schools on 1st February, 1896. Shortly after his appointment he was sent a comprehensive outline of his duties in which it was made clear that the Hierarchy was determined to institute a centralised system of control in an attempt to improve the condition of the schools. The Inspector was to visit the schools at least once a year, for the first time being empowered and required to examine each class. The examination was to be based upon the Standard and a report written. Timoney was instructed "to attend to the classification of the pupils and the length of time they may be retained in their respective standard", and to the distribution of teaching power. He was to "note with what fidelity the standard of proficiency is followed by the teacher and also the number of prescribed subjects - if any - which are not taught".

1 Timoney to Higgins, 16/11/1896. (S.M.A.)

2 vide, Appendix C.

3 Rogers' powers had not so been defined. vide, Rogers loc.cit.
Catholic schools were therefore to be arranged "in strict accordance" with the provisions of the Standard, while Timoney was invested with an authority more akin to that enjoyed by his counterparts in the Public school system. He shared their responsibility for detailed inspection of "the general state of repair in which the school may be, the sufficiency of the water supply, the condition of the closets, the fences and recreation ground." As in the State schools, inspection and advice were to be subordinated to examination. Teachers were merely to be "invited" to teach in the presence of the inspector if time permitted or during unofficial visits. There was no formal provision for the Inspector to record his "opinion on their judgment and practical skill as instructors", apart from privately drawing the teacher's attention to defects and seeking "to ascertain on the occasion of his next visit, how far they may have been corrected".

Timoney's appointment represented a decisive step in the direction of bringing the Catholic educational system more closely into line with that of the Public schools. That Timoney recognised and was prepared to wield his new authority was suggested by his promise to bring to the attention of J. Higgins, the Auxiliary Bishop and President of the School Council, schools
in which he found serious defects: "...in future whenever I meet a school that is badly taught or conducted I shall immediately bring the matter before your Eminence". This statement was made in an unofficial report of his activities which Timoney wrote on 16th November, 1896. In this he revealed that immediately following his appointment he had travelled to Victoria and had spent a month there "to acquire a knowledge of the system of examination".

Although he had been one of the original Visitors, he was "very much discouraged" when he found that "in most of the schools there was no standard of proficiency, no time-tables, no rules as to classification". The pupils' answers lacked confidence, and in "many cases clever children who by their merit had won the esteem of their teachers were kept in lower classes while less gifted children were promoted". There was also, he wrote, "a dullness and want of activity in nearly every school". Each religious order had its own system of teaching and "the want of a good system of teaching any subject" led pupils to "prompt and copy because they have no self-reliance". New maps were available in most schools but the want of reading books was "very common".

1Timoney to Higgins, 16/11/1896. (S.M.A.)
He gave as an example the fact that at Forest Lodge, boys in Third class were using history texts as Readers.

However, his own appointment, in Timoney's opinion, had wrought great changes:

The teachers and the children feel that the examination is a serious test and that the programme of studies will be followed from the first to the last line. The efficiency of the schools is rapidly rising. In the schools I have lately examined, the children had such a perfect knowledge of the subjects that they were anxious to be examined. The teachers and children have been working hard and for long hours in preparation for the examination.

Timoney went on to recommend changes in the Standard which he regarded as "in some cases too high, in other cases too low". The lowest classes in particular were neglected although they were "very important ones". These classes he claimed, were "taught by little girls or boys or by some other person totally unfitted for teaching".

In regard to the "literary education" provided by the schools he found "scarcely any science taught in any of the schools". Euclid and Algebra were "at a very low ebb in boys' schools". He found it "not pleasant to see sisters drill boys and girls in a mixed school and the result is nil. The boys pay no attention whatever". The appointment of drill masters was recommended to overcome the difficulty.
Timoney concluded his report with a somewhat unconvincing comparison of the Catholic with the Public schools:

Without any reliable proofs to the contrary I am not willing to admit that the Catholic schools are inferior to the public schools. In the country, from what I heard from public school teachers, the Catholic schools are better taught and disciplined. There is undoubtedly a healthy tone in all the schools I have visited.

In the light of his private report to Higgins, the published First Annual Report, 1896\(^1\) was positively misleading in its ambiguity.\(^2\) Under the heading "Proficiency", Timoney wrote:

"The standard of proficiency in our schools is higher in most subjects than that of the public schools. I find withal that the answering in the majority of the schools examined was satisfactory." To the casual reader this statement would have conveyed the idea that the Catholic schools were better than the State schools, whereas what Timoney was in truth saying was that the standards which were asked of the Catholic schools were, as has been shown above, "higher" or more difficult, in some subjects. The report continued on to "commend highly the energy and devotedness of the teachers" to whose "earnestness and zeal must be attributed

\(^1\text{S.M.A.}\)

\(^2\)Note that the Inspector was required never to "publicly manifest dissatisfaction with what may meet with his disapproval". vide, Appendix C.
the high efficiency of the schools". Timoney did, however, disclose the poor state of Arithmetic and History and the fact that it was impossible to compare school performances because many were not yet following the Standard. The want of textbooks and libraries, especially in the country areas was one of Timoney's main criticisms of the system for it could not be expected "that pupils without books will attain any respectable standard of efficiency, either by listening to other children or by borrowing books from their neighbours". Perhaps the most significant aspect of the report was that Timoney pointed out it was "well nigh impossible" to classify country pupils according to age. "The time-table and classification must depend on the judgment and discernment of the teachers" he wrote. The 1896 Standard was to recognise this suggestion in omitting reference to average ages for each class.

There was however definite signs of improvement in the schools following the introduction of the Australian Standard and more formal provisions for inspection. This development was apparent not only in Timoney's reports but also for example, in the report for 1895 of O'Reilly in the Parramatta District.¹ Here was evidence of a determined effort being made to improve accommodation.

¹O'Reilly, 27/12/1895,(S.M.A.)
A new Infants' school had been erected at Auburn, the accommodation at Burwood Girls' was "first class", at South Creek and Penrith it was "good", and at Granville additions had led to "a marked improvement in accommodation". There appeared to be an appreciable increase in the number of schools considered to be doing good work according to the Standard but scholastically the achievement was still patchy.

Typical of O'Reilly's criticisms were statements such as:

The teacher is very earnest and energetic, but is not capable to teach so many boys without assistance, in anything like a satisfactory manner.

...the teachers seem to be efficient, but the pupils are not so far advanced as they used to be a year or two ago.

The Infant school is not by any means suitable to the requirements of Burwood, and whilst the girls' school is splendid, the infants' school is the most wretched in my district.

(Ryde) school doesn't seem to be making any progress. The Sisters in charge, although anxious to get the pupils on, have failed to bring them near the standard during the last half year. There is a noticeable absence of school materials such as reading books, slates, maps etc., in this school.

I found it very hard to examine the pupils in this (South Creek) school, the teachers were so anxious to prompt them.

Rookwood. I don't consider this school properly supplied with teachers. The pupils are by no means in any sort of workable order by reason of the want of classification. I have never seen a school so badly classified and progress seems to me on that account impossible. I don't consider any class in the school efficiently taught.
Villa Maria - Boys' ... in the junior classes there is either a want of diligence on the part of the pupils or a want of ability on the part of the Brother in charge. I have rarely seen boys so deficient in knowledge....

There was thus still much room for improvement, the main areas of weakness in the teaching being summed up by Coonan in his 1898 report upon the Sydney (St. Mary's) District:

All the schools professed to follow the Standard of Proficiency in the arrangement of classes yet there was a marked difference in the proficiency of the Various Classes in the different schools.... The teaching Capacity, Knowledge, tact and earnestness of teachers varied considerably....

- The 1898 Standard of Proficiency

It was in this context of a more acute recognition of the deficiencies of the Catholic system and the need for systematisation, that a new Standard of Proficiency was drawn up in 1898. This Standard for the schools of the archdiocese of Sydney had nevertheless to be based upon the original Standard for Australia which apparently remained in force. The new Standard therefore incorporated

\[1\text{Coonan}, 30/12/1898. (S.M.A.)\]

\[2\text{vide, Note in suggested programme (undated) amongst documents relating to the 1905 Committee of Education: "The preceding Syllabus is a revision of the Programme which has been in use for so many years in the Catholic Primary Schools of the archdiocese of Sydney". (S.M.A.)}\]
only modifications to that existing, but modifications which were designed to parallel wherever possible, the Public school system.

The new Standard for the archdiocese approached more closely the classification system used in the Public schools and did not specify the average ages of pupils for each class. The classification followed was in effect very similar to that to be adopted by the State in 1904, but retained the concept of First class laid down in the Australian Standard and ended at Sixth class. Classes were divided generally into two divisions corresponding in standard with the half-year divisions of the Public schools. The requirements for Infants' first and second division were obviously designed to conform with those of the first two half-years of the Public school First class while the Catholic First class (one division) represented the third half-year of enrolment in the Public school First class. The similarity of Standards for these classes had already existed, but the classes were now to be more nearly equal in regard to age ranges and time spent therein.¹

¹It is probable that the practical interpretation in New South Wales of The Australian Standard had led to the adoption of this practice before the 1898 Standard for Sydney was introduced.
Reduction in the formal subjects which characterised the Public school Standard of 1898 was not incorporated in the Catholic Standard of the same date, presumably because of the need for the latter to follow reasonably closely the Australian Standard. Thus Geography and Grammar retained their position in the lowest classes, and in the Second class Arithmetic remained at the same level of difficulty in the Catholic schools while it was being pruned in the Public schools.

The freer approach to History teaching in the Public schools was not apparent in the Catholic Standard which continued to specify texts which could be relied upon not to injure religious susceptibilities.\(^1\) English History continued to find no place in the Catholic Third class. In the Catholic Fourth class, Arithmetic requirements continued to be more advanced than the Public school Third class in the second year of enrolment. Geography in the Catholic schools continued to emphasise factual knowledge and textbook study. The introduction of Public school pupils to Australian History at this stage was paralleled by the introduction of Catholic pupils to Irish History.

\(^1\) viz., *History of Australia for Catholic Schools* - Angus and Robertson.
The Catholic Fifth and Sixth classes under the Sydney Standard contained only one division each which appeared to indicate a vagueness as to how long the courses should take. This was of course evident also in the Public school arrangements, particularly for Fifth class, but was less marked than in the case of the Catholic Standard. The vague outline of Sixth class work in the Catholic schools was retained as in the Australian Standard, but there was no specific provision for Agriculture for boys.

The main modification had therefore been in the direction of attempting to show the classification of the Catholic schools as paralleling that of the Public schools. The most significant innovation was the introduction of the Australian Catholic Readers as a source of standardised and uncontroversial reading material for the schools. These were however to prove none too satisfactory. They were expensive, being provided under contract from New York;\(^1\) were more difficult than the Standards required;\(^2\) and contained Americanisms.\(^3\)

\(^1\)vide, Statement by O'Haran, 1908. (S.M.A.)

\(^2\)This had the effect of preventing promotion from lower classes because pupils could not pass examination in Reading. vide, Annual Report, 1901. (S.M.A.)

\(^3\)vide, Marist Brothers, Suggestions for Improving the Standards, 1905. (S.M.A.)
By 1899 the system of examination which had for so long
characterised the Public school system had been firmly established
in the Catholic schools. Reports for that year presented
comprehensive lists of percentages gained by the various schools
in each subject and used these percentages to indicate the proficiency
of the various schools in relation to one another. The report
on the Cathedral schools may be taken as an example:

I give the Percentages obtained by the classes at Surry Hills
as the comparison will be helpful. The I and II Classes of
that school made a splendid examination and moreover, those
classes were very large, 113 children being examined and
securing 698 marks out of 807. The corresponding classes
at St. Mary's obtained 369 marks out of a possible 490, 68
children being examined in those standards.  

In general, Grammar, Arithmetic and History appeared to produce
the lowest results while Writing was "not above common, except,
occasionally, in some particular class".  

The Catholic school system was therefore by the turn of the
century in a decidedly improved position and one which was to
permit it to adjust to the demands which the New Education was
to place upon it. A definite organisation now existed by means

1Report, July - Dec., 1899. (S.M.A.)
2Ibid.
of which decisions of the Hierarchy might be implemented with some uniformity in the schools, and conformity to a given syllabus and set regulations had become an accepted practice.

As was to be expected, religious teaching was "the best subject on the whole programme". The 1900 report of James Whyte, a priest who had replaced Timoney as Inspector, dealt in a general manner with "the subjects studied in our Primary Schools". Reading was satisfactory but monotonous "with few exceptions" and weak in comprehension. Spelling ability was said to vary with that of Reading. Writing had improved but "a great deal" remained to be done although the results of a Writing competition were said to show that Catholic schools were "not at all inferior in this branch to the Public Schools". Grammar was still regarded as the weakest subject, yet "by all accounts far ahead of our friends".

Arithmetic displeased the Inspector:

I am not pleased with the results of the exam in this important subject. Nevertheless, I see no necessity for changing my tactics, the questions being suitable to the Standard and the Standard being manifestly well-arranged. When pupils fail, they fail in accuracy. Problems I have frequently recommended as preferable to rule-sums as a means of making the children think.

1Whyte to Moran, Feb., 1900. (S.M.A.)
Geography was satisfactory except in the Fourth class where the Standard Whyte thought, contained "too much matter". In both Australian and English History unsatisfactory results were attributed to unsuitable and difficult texts. Physical exercise appeared to be neglected although drill was taught in most schools "with precision". Drawing was "done in a slovenly way". Singing was "always in careful hands" but the emphasis placed in the Public schools upon theory was neither expected nor realised in the Catholic schools.

Organisation in some Infants' schools "would not stand a close inquiry", but Whyte thought the practice in some schools sound. He advocated changes in the Standard to conform with the custom of having more than two Infants' divisions:

...in large schools there are, at least, four classes.... I have the programme followed by two or three very successful teachers; and, perhaps, it will be found advisable at the end of the year to introduce this change into the Standard....

That the Inspector still did not enjoy the authority over teachers which might have been expected to accompany increased centralised control, is vividly brought home by Whyte's account of one of his experiences. He had attempted to duplicate the procedure of Departmental Inspectors by observing an Object
Lesson in order to determine the teacher's skill. ¹

...when I asked a teacher to question the class on one of the subjects taught them, I was unceremoniously taken to task and, accordingly, I desisted. Furthermore, I have since found only three or four (Object) lessons presented as twelve months' work. Of course, with the limited time at my disposal, I cannot hope to go into any subject very fully. Yet, the criticism that many teachers have, of their own accord, passed upon my system of examining, encourages me to continue in substantially the same course.

Whyte's determination to bring his schools into line with the Public schools is even more forcibly apparent in a further report dated 1900, again directed personally to Cardinal Moran. After dealing at length with some schools failing to observe the requirements of the Standard he revealed that he was requiring pupils to be kept for two years in Third class before promotion to Fourth, as was the practice in the Public schools. ² He showed himself to be aware of the underlying problem of unqualified teachers. "There is no advantage," he wrote, "in concealing from ourselves the fact that there are many incompetent teachers in our schools". He made no suggestion however, as to how the

¹ vide, Appendix C, Rule 10.

²In doing this he however ignored the fact that as shown above, the Catholic Standard for Third class was equivalent to only the first year of enrolment in Third class in the Public schools. Catholic pupils were therefore to take two years to reach a standard required of Public school pupils after one year.
difficulty might be overcome. Of the qualifications of teachers in the Infants' schools he was particularly critical and went so far as to write a personal note to Moran describing one of his experiences:

As a specimen of what I generally experience in Infants' Schools, I shall mention here what I found at Balmain yesterday ....The little girl now in charge of the class found the children at page 17 (of the Reader) when she was put over them four months ago, and since then she has kept them at those same pages.

There is scarcely a Report Book in the archdiocese that does not contain a complaint about this or similar defects. I am confident, however, that before long a great improvement will be noticeable.¹

The means of such proposed improvement presumably rested in Whyte's personal supervision.

Overall development was also evident in other areas of the archdiocese. At Parramatta, schools which Sheridan had criticised in previous years were now in his opinion, teaching satisfactorily to the Standard.²

The published Report on the Catholic Primary Schools of the Archdiocese of Sydney, 1901,³ followed a format very similar to the

¹Whyte to Moran, 9/8/1901. (S.M.A.)

²1900 Report, Sheridan. (S.M.A.)

³(S.M.A.)
Minister's Reports of the Department of Public Instruction. Each school was listed along with its overall percentage obtained at examination, followed by a summary of progress in the subjects of the Standard. Since the Report was intended for public consumption, criticisms contained in it were relatively mild compared with the reports that Whyte had been writing to Moran. It provides however, a valuable indication of the degree of divergence between the methods advocated by Whyte and those in vogue in the Public schools.

The successful teaching of Grammar, he claimed, was dependent upon sentences being parsed and analysed in every Reading lesson. Although this remained the practice in many Public schools, there was already a clearly defined movement in some towards a less formal format for the Reading lesson, aimed at encouraging a love of literature. Whyte was more up-to-date in his advice that in History "time should not be squandered in committing to memory the dates of battles fought between England and her enemies or in following through every detail, the work done by the Governors of Australia from the beginning to the present hour". His rationale for this advice was however, not that such memorisation contravened sound educational practice, but that "with a curriculum so extensive as ours, time is precious...". Of drill he felt that "if a drill manual were adopted for general use in our schools, within a few
months several thousand children would be able to give a magnificent display". The need to rival the Public schools' displays was here clearly uppermost in Whyte's mind. In all other subjects Whyte claimed satisfactory progress.

In concluding his Report, Whyte elaborated upon the system of monthly examinations by the head teacher, which Moynagh had advocated in 1892 after seeing it in operation at Paddington Girls' :

The efficiency of our best schools is, to a great extent, due to the head teacher's monthly examination. The strong subjects and the weak, the proficient pupils and the backward, then come under notice, and a remedy where necessary, is applied before the time for examination arrives. The importance of this regular test cannot easily be exaggerated, and the information thus acquired enables the teacher in charge to form a correct estimate of the general efficiency of the school. In such schools, too, attention is given to individuals; it requires only ordinary tact to find opportunities for giving special help to pupils below the average. The lessons, furthermore, are prepared beforehand by the teacher, much time being thus saved; and the attention of the children is called to the important portions of each lesson, so that in learning it at home the pupils may pass quickly over the "padding" which finds a place even in the best of text books.

Here was Whyte's blueprint for dealing with the problem of the untrained and incompetent teacher. Careful supervision by head teachers was perhaps the only means available under the existing conditions, for raising the attainments of the schools. There was however nothing original in this proposal. Its primary purpose was efficiency, and proficiency at examination, which would only have to be broken down again under the New Education.
SUGGESTIONS FOR ACCEOMODATING CATHOLICS
IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN THE 1900'S

(S.M.A.)
According to Whyte's own estimation, the scheme was, by the following year (1903) proving its merit: "With regard to the large schools, the most successful examinations were made by those, the head teachers of which are left wholly, or almost, free to supervise and direct the whole machinery."¹

It was in this report for 1903 that Whyte felt compelled to note the reaction of the Catholic system to the spate of educational conferences which characterised the period:

...the city and suburban members of one of our Religious Orders hold conferences at regular intervals for the purpose of comparing methods, and the meetings already held have borne much fruit.

But the educational ferment outside the Church had apparently had little effect upon teaching in its schools. At the close of 1905, Whyte's report² contained the usual list of percentages, and comments upon the curriculum subjects which merely repeated what he had said in former years.

¹1903 Report, 8/1/1904. (S.M.A.)
²1905 Report, 31/12/1905. (S.M.A.)
Method showed little, if any, development, except perhaps in Geography. In this subject Whyte promised more attention would be paid to the teaching of Physical Geography but implied a continued emphasis upon factual learning. The scope of the course rather than the method of its teaching was the object of his attention. The use of Geography Readers however, was advocated as "imparting valuable information and ... investing with interest a subject which should otherwise be dry and unpalatable to pupils and teachers". Drawing, he wrote, continued to be neglected but "in view of its increasing importance, it should be taught wherever possible". Object lessons continued to be given in the old style for they were the basis upon which Whyte based his assessment of teaching skill:

A new arrangement to take effect in the coming year is, that any teacher may be called on at the time of the examination to give a lesson on a subject to be chosen by the inspector from the (Object) lessons previously given or, at least, prepared.

This was the system which Whyte had tried to establish at the time of appointment, and represented what he had at that time (1900) observed to be the practice in the Public schools.

He was, of course, not unaware of recent developments in the educational field but appeared to under-estimate their
significance. Moreover he found himself confronted by the perennial problem of the untrained teacher. As a partial solution he proposed the reading of books:

As treatises on pedagogics are multiplying rapidly, teachers should make every effort to keep pace with them. A knowledge of method successful elsewhere should have a stimulating and suggestive effect. Educational journals of a practical nature should be read and discussed with a view to self-improvement and to greater efficiency as teachers. Some of these papers give every week, object lessons, test questions in all branches of primary school work, the experiences and methods of expert teachers.

Moran however, had already taken far more positive steps towards meeting the new challenge.

- The New Education in the Catholic Schools

The Cardinal determined to invite the various Teaching Orders to criticise the existing Standard of Proficiency. A Committee on Education set up by the Plenary Synod of 1905 was to consider these criticisms and draw up a new programme for the Catholic Primary schools.¹ The response to the Cardinal's invitation revealed a widespread awareness amongst the various Orders, of the deficiencies

¹vide, Documents concerning the Committee of Education, 1905. (S.M.A.)
of the Standard and the associated organisation of the system.

A selection of the more important suggestions included:

**Sisters of Charity:** (1/10/1905)
- Redegrading classes to correspond with the Public schools.
- Restriction of Infants' promotions to one per year.
- Supplementary Readers similar to the "Commonwealth Papers".
- Abolition of the November Competitive Examinations for lower classes to prevent young children cramming until late at night and also during the weekend.

**Christian Brothers:** (28/8/1905)
- Modification of a programme "overloaded with much that is unpractical and devoid of educational value" - especially in Geography, Grammar, History, Mathematics and Drawing.
- Abolition of the Competitive Examinations ("...a foolish desire for distinction and display") and the substitution of examination for scholarships only.
- A well-arranged course in Drawing as a substitute for real Manual Training, not possible "in the present circumstances of our Catholic schools".
- Training of teachers.
- "Inspection and Organisation of the Schools by experts, not by faddists."
- Regular conferences of teachers.

**Patrician Brothers:** (31/8/1905)
- The issue of notes supplementary to the Standard.
- Easy and concrete numbers in Arithmetic.
- Linking of oral and written language.
- "New" Geometry to be introduced.
- Uniform texts be issued to schools.
- Boys to leave the Infants' school at eight years - not be kept there until age eleven or twelve.

**Marist Brothers:** (n.d.)
- An excessive amount of "Memory Work" in the Standard.
- A new syllabus based upon the Syllabus for Public Primary schools to allow pupils to transfer easily from the Public schools; to allow use of new textbooks; to provide for the possibility of future State inspection.
The teaching of Religion according to the concentric system.

Revision of the Reading Books.

Selection of History material for its educational value.

The introduction of Nature Study and Elementary Science.

Drawing to be introduced according to the Public school Syllabus.

Manual Training.

Examination to be replaced by inspection and a trained inspector appointed.

The abolition of the Third and Fourth Standard examination during inspection to avoid the tendency of paying special attention to gifted pupils.

Anonymous: (Notes - Primary School Standard, n.d.)

- Reductions in Geography, History, Arithmetic, to allow for Technical subjects.
- Higher Arithmetic, Algebra and Euclid to be dispensed with in Girls' Primary schools.
- A wider reading of general History.
- Reading books to be curtailed "to make a thorough knowledge of their contents more probable within a given time".
- Four distinct classes in the Infants' school, a year to be spent in each.
- Teaching of Handicraft.

A Programme for the Catholic Primary Schools of the Archdiocese of Sydney was drawn up and presented in handwritten form by the Committee of Education. This Programme incorporated many of the suggestions which had been made by the Teaching Orders and also reflected some of the more dominant of New Education practices which had been established in the State schools by their 1904-5 Syllabus. The general nature of the Programme was indicated on the title page:

(S.M.A.)
As compared with the programme followed till now, the revised syllabus, besides shaping the work generally in accord with the most modern methods, lightens materially the work prescribed in Arithmetic, Grammar, Geography and History. This makes room for a course of manual training.

Such a narrow appreciation of the ideals and methods of the New Education continued to be reflected throughout the Programme which showed little evidence of an attempt to obtain expert advice from outside the Church and certainly did not convey the spirit of the new Syllabus of the Public schools. The Programme was rather a development, literally in accordance with the statement on its title page, upon the former Standard.

Religion was set out in detail with some slight modifications. Reading in the Infants’ class included reading script from the board of words and sentences from the Reader. This practice was developed throughout the classes in addition to direct reading from the original Australian Catholic Readers. Fluency, expression and comprehension were to be aimed at. Spelling remained tied to the Readers and took the form of Dictation. Of the other subjects, except for the reduction in scope indicated, there was little worthy of note. Manual Training commenced with simple straight line drawing with a ruler, paper-folding, stick laying and brickwork. The work developed in difficulty to
include more detailed drawing, freehand drawing, modelling and
brushwork, with cardboard work, netting, weaving and woodcarving
in the senior classes.

Notes on the Programme which accompanied the broad outline,
sought to fit New Education principles within the rather static
framework of the Programme. It was stressed that the main aim
was to lighten the curriculum "but while on this work occasion
was taken to so shape the teaching in the several subjects as
to bring it more into harmony with mental growth, the present-
day views of education and the practical needs of life". The
Infants' school was to be divided into two, three, or four
grades depending on "the teaching resources of each school, and
the extent to which the teacher can personally shape the matter
and present it...". The importance of the Infants' classes
was formally recognised in laying the basis for future development:

Unity of aim should be apparent at every stage of the
curriculum, and the part that falls to the earliest
section of school life, in addition to or rather side
by side with the knowledge imparted is the cultivation
of interest in the things of nature, the training of
the observing faculty and the expression in words of
the ideas gained by this interest and this observation.

In the teaching of Reading the main point was "the grasp by
the pupil of the ideas, the substance, the mental picture, the
meaning of the thing in hand". Modulation and expression would follow. Writing was to be taught primarily from the board, stressing attention to detail and the holding of the pen; Spelling by "careful observation of the words in the reading lesson, by careful transcription...; and by practice in spelling difficult words but always in association with their meaning and use in a phrase or sentence".

The scope of Arithmetic was designed to keep pace with "the growth of the thinking faculty of the child". There was to be "constant reference to objects, groups and transactions borrowed from everyday life". Mental Arithmetic was to precede written work "and all the back work should be briefly reviewed in this connection".

Oral expression was to permeate the curriculum. "Only a fraction of the time formerly spent on parsing and analysis" would be needed to meet the new requirements. Geography teaching was to proceed "from the known to the unknown", stressing observation and activity. A similar method was laid down for Nature Study and Object Lessons, the gaining of information being "quite secondary". Children were to be taught "to see what they look at, to think of what they see and to talk of what they are thinking about". The programme in these subjects was not to be regarded as prescriptive.
The aim in teaching Drawing was "to sharpen the perception of form, and to make the knowledge acquired an additional mode of thought expression". Manual Training was offered as a graded series of subjects, some of them alternative. The objectives quoted were based upon the principles of Sloyd work.

History for Third and Fourth class was designed for oral presentation in narrative or lecture form to obviate the intrusion of "the dry text book". Drill was to aim at "the orderly movement of the pupils" to "simple words of command". There was no mention of the educational or physical development to be derived from physical education. The Singing lesson was to begin with deep breathing and voice training exercises, but its prime object was to be the cultivation of "a soft sweet tone".

The objectives and methods outlined in these Notes paralleled to some extent the Notes on the Syllabus incorporated in the 1905 revision of the Syllabus for the Public schools, but remained in comparison, conservative in both spirit and content. The changes were however, in the circumstances of the Church educational system, probably as radical as could be expected and certainly marked the development of New Education influences in the Catholic schools. Just as the new Syllabus of the Public schools represented an
approach to the New Education modified by past experience and
development, so too did the Programme for the Catholic schools.
Development in the latter system had led to an increasing
identification with the ideas, methods and organisation of the
Public schools but always, as it were, at a distance. The new
Programme, although still a somewhat belated response to developments
in the State schools, brought the Catholic system theoretically
closer to that of the Public schools than they had been since the
days of the Council of Education.

The Programme when printed, retained the form of a Standard
of Proficiency.\footnote{Standard of Proficiency for Catholic Primary Schools in the
Archdiocese of Sydney, n.d., but obviously based upon the handwritten
Programme. (S.M.A.)} It provided for three divisions in the Infants' classes and omitted the First class, thus bringing the classification
more directly into line with that in the Public schools which treated the First class as alternative to the Infants' school.

In Reading there were important additions to the Programme.
Silent Reading and "questions thereon" were specified along with supplementary reading. Oral and written Composition received more stress. Art work emphasised "drawing from Nature".
The new Standard therefore provided a Primary course paralleling even more closely than the Programme, the Public school curriculum and obviously influenced by the 1905 revised Syllabus of the Public schools which may not have been available to the Committee on Education when the Programme was first drawn up. 1

The Catholic Standard retained, however, some features of the earlier Standard both in form and content. Drill and physical exercise were to receive but scant attention, being restricted to dumb-bell and club exercises to music. 2 History from Fourth class on retained the study of Irish in addition to English History. Book-keeping was continued as part of the commercial orientation of Fifth class. More direct emphasis than in the Public schools was to be placed upon the teaching of Domestic Science for senior girls, and typewriting and shorthand were provided for in the Sixth class Standard. There was no provision, as in the Public schools, for a Seventh class.

1 The 1904 Syllabus of the Public schools, while giving an outline of the content proposed for each class, did not contain the detailed exposition of method and objectives which was included in the 1905 Syllabus. vide, 1904 Syllabus in N.S.W., Conference of Inspectors etc., 1904, op. cit., 223 ff, and N.S.W., Course of Instruction for Primary Schools, 1905, op.cit.

2 Obviously because of the difficulty facing nuns in teaching this subject.
By the end of 1906 the new Catholic Standard had been introduced throughout the archdiocese. Writing from Moss Vale during a tour of inspection, Whyte told the Cardinal that "the new work is being carried on everywhere in a more or less satisfactory way".¹ But the lack of training facilities still worried him. Lectures and articles were, he wrote, not sufficient training:

In Sydney the Sisters of all the Religious Orders have had a course of lectures from State school teachers. These lectures were much appreciated. Then, the articles in the Catholic Press gave further help. All this, however, is a poor substitute for training.

However, he clung to his faith in "pedagogical books" as an immediate means of overcoming the difficulty:

It is a defect in our schools that young girls fresh from V class are, in the majority of cases, the teachers of the "babies". If the Sisters could be induced to make a study of pedagogical books, they would be more successful in teaching infants.

The stress which the 1905 Notes on the Programme had laid upon the educational importance of the Infants' classes was clearly impossible to put into effect in the absence of skilled teachers.

The general tone of Whyte's report was not very optimistic. Vague statements concerning the improved teaching of the almost

¹Whyte to Moran, 10/10/1906. (S.M.A.)
traditionally neglected subjects suggest that the implementation of the new ideas was equally sketchy. The old trouble spots appeared to be glossed over. Singing was becoming "much sweeter". Irish History suddenly became "a favourite subject in a number of schools" and Arithmetic was "improving rapidly". Nature Study was "going on" in many schools but Whyte's illustration of "Nature Study" suggests it was undertaken in name only: "In one school I find wheat or beans growing, and in another caterpillars are imprisoned in little boxes and closely studied." His account of practices in the Infants' classes was equally vague:

In infant schools, various little schemes are in operation for brightening up the pupils. There is no uniformity, however. Stick-laying is taught in one, paper-folding in another, etc., but there is no complete system carried out. Whyte, although undoubtedly sincere in his efforts, had proved unequal to the task of reform. His report for 1907 was by his own admission "pessimistic". But in response to the Cardinal's request to him to make some suggestions for improving the schools, Whyte could only supply some statements, rather than proposals, concerning school libraries, to which "the Public schools pay great attention";

1907 Report, 2/5/1907. (S.M.A.)
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<th>Girls (%)</th>
<th>Total (%)</th>
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<tr>
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the difficulty of obtaining and retaining "suitable girls as pupil teachers"; the fact that two Marist Brothers had attended and passed Professor Anderson's course of lectures in Education (University Extension); and his intention "to push on the lower classes more quickly", some schools apparently having held the pupils in the second division of the Infants' school for two years. Whyte concluded his letter with the rather pathetic statement: "These remarks may not be useful now nor at any other time to your Eminence, yet they are the only ones that I think of".¹

Whether by this date Whyte had already heard he was to be replaced or not is not clear, but by the following year (1908) G.J. Hogan had been appointed Inspector. His first report to the Cardinal² followed a tour of country areas and revealed the condition of the schools, with some exceptions, to be "very gratifying indeed". However, a tour of inspection of city schools apparently led him to change his mind. His July report³ showed only a small percentage of schools inspected to that date,⁴

¹Whyte to Moran, dated "Tuesday" and filed with 1907 Report. (S. M. A.)
²Hogan to Moran, 22/4/1908. (S. M. A.)
³Hogan to Moran, 4/7/1908. (S. M. A.)
⁴twelve out of forty-five.
ST. MARY'S CATHEDRAL, SYDNEY,
2nd October, 1908.

MY DEAR LORD,

I have pleasure in intimating to your Lordship that, after many unforeseen delays, the Approved Readers for our Religious Schools, as ordered by the Plenary Synod of 1905, are now ready for delivery at St. Mary's Book Depot.

Twelve months ago the contract for bringing out this series of Readers was entered into with the Sydney Publishing Firm, William Brooks & Co. Ltd., and I am happy to attest that this eminent firm has spared no expense and has left nothing undone to carry out in every respect the instructions given them by the Committee appointed at the Plenary Synod. Some of the leading experts of the Commonwealth in the various branches of education and art were employed by them in the work of selecting and grading and illustrating the Readers; and I have been assured by persons of considerable experience in such matters, that whether considered in the light of literature and patriotism, or under the aspect of religious and moral training, these Approved Readers will compare favourably with any other existing Series.

Under these circumstances I have given my Imprimatur to the Approved Readers, and I heartily commend them to your kind patronage. It is only by their being generally adopted in all our schools, that the publishers can be in any measure compensated for the heavy outlay and expense incurred in the preparation and printing of these excellent Readers for our Religious Schools.

Your very faithful servant,

PATRICK F. CARDINAL MORAN,
Archbishop of Sydney.

PUBLICATION OF AUSTRALIAN CATHOLIC READERS, 1908

(S.M.A.)
thoroughly following the "new methods". A "radical change" was needed in several: "I am afraid that your Eminence would not be satisfied with the singing, drill, drawing, etc., in a large number of the schools." In none of the schools had he found a Sixth class presented for examination.

Nevertheless, the published Annual Report of the Diocesan Inspector of Schools for 1908,¹ claimed the schools to be "in a very satisfactory condition". In only "two or three" schools was there reason for complaint regarding the implementation of the requirements of the new Syllabus. Reading, Spelling, History and Geography were the weakest subjects due, in Hogan's opinion, to unsatisfactory textbooks.

The problem of developing suitable Readers had been one of the main reasons for setting up the 1905 Committee on Education,² but the task of compiling them fell personally to Moran.³ They were officially described as follows:

¹1908 Report, 23/12/1908. (S.M.A.)
²vide, Statement by Moran, 2/10/1908. (S.M.A.)
³vide, Statement: Approved Readers for the Catholic Schools of Australasia, O'Haran, 1908. (S.M.A.)
CONTENTS OF BOOK V, AUSTRALIAN CATHOLIC READERS, 1908

(S.M.A.)
It will be found that whilst the new Readers, are thoroughly religious in character, still they are up to date in every other respect. They are short, and leave ample room for supplementary reading. They are replete with the most recent exemplars of well-chosen literary matter. They are thoroughly Australian in local colouring, and abound in new matter and concise information. They aim at cultivating Australian National Sentiment founded on the Faith of our Fathers.¹

These books would not have been available to the schools until the beginning of 1909.² However, approved textbooks in Mathematics, Geography and English History, "revised by...the Cardinal, and everything uncatholic...removed", had been available since mid-1906.³

Hogan's personal report to Moran in July 1909,⁴ was markedly more critical than the previous Annual Report. He noted "a general inclination to pass over some of the new subjects". Nature Study, Drawing, Brushwork and Manual Work were reported to be "somewhat neglected". While Reading had improved in response to the new Readers, History was "still very disappointing". No

¹ibid.
²ibid.
³vide, Text-Books of the New Standard of Proficiency for the Catholic Primary Schools of the Archdiocese of Sydney, O'Haran, 24/5/1906. (S.M.A.)
⁴Hogan to Moran, 13/7/1909. (S.M.A.)
APPROVED READERS FOR THE CATHOLIC SCHOOLS OF
AUSTRALASIA.

The ten years' contract with Benzie Brothers, of New York, for the supply of Readers to
our Catholic Schools closed at the end of last year. Owing to the extravagant prices of the
Readers, and the difficulty of obtaining regular supplies from New York through London, the
Australian Hierarchy refused to renew the contract. At the urgent request of the Commission of
Bishops entrusted with this work, His Eminence Cardinal Moran undertook the task of compiling a
Catholic series of up-to-date School Readers to be printed and published in Australia.

During the past twelve months His Eminence the Cardinal has laboured on the
compilation of these books. With the assistance of the best expert advice available in
Australia, the Series of "Approved Readers for the Catholic Schools of Australasia" is now
completed. This Series consists of First, Second, and Third Infants; and I., II., III., IV.,
V., and VI. Primary School Readers. They are designed to correspond with the Sixth, Seventh,
and Eighth years of age for Infants; and the 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, and 14th years for the
Primary school children.

In the New Series the cost of the Books has been reduced to a minimum. The published
prices are 3d., 4d. and 5d. each for 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Infants; and 6d., 7d., 8d., 9d., 10d., and 1s. each
for I., II., III., IV., V., and VI. Reader respectively.

Benzie's First and Second Books were the best and cheapest of their Series. These two
books, of which we have large stocks, will be retained in use for the present at the former cost
prices of 6- and 7½- per dozen respectively, without reduction or the aid of any kind. The First
and Second Readers of the New Series will not be issued for the present.

Sufficient matter is included in each book to embrace one year. The First Infants is short,
because the beginners are expected to commence with the Alphabet Table. The higher Readers
are not encumbered with superfluous lessons, in order to leave scope for supplementary reading. For
this purpose we recommend the Catholic Truth Society's Penny Pamphlets, many of which are really
classical; Commonwealth School Papers (published by W. Brooks & Co., Ltd.); or extracts from
the leading columns of the daily or weekly Press for senior pupils, according to the best judgment
of the teacher.

All those to whom the New Books have been submitted for critical examination declare them to
be the most perfect series yet issued. It will be found that whilst the new Readers, are thoroughly
religious in character, and yet are up to date in every other respect. They are short, and leave
ample room for supplementary reading. They are replete with the most recent exemplars of well
chosen literary matter. They are thoroughly Australian in local colouring, and abound in new
matter and concise information. They aim at cultivating Australian National Sentiment founded
on the Faith of our Fathers.

All the School Books will be distributed, wholesale only, from St. Mary's Cathedral Book
Shop. A Discount of Twenty-five per cent. (25%) will be allowed to the Trade and to Religious
who desire to retain at their head house stocks for the schools of their various communities.

A discount of 15% will be granted to Religious and of 10% on orders of less than 12 dozen.

We have arranged with Mr. E. J. Dwyer, Catholic Bookseller, of 105, George Street, Sydney,
for smaller orders to Schools at a discount of 10 per cent.

CATHOLIC TEXTS, 1908
(continued over)

(S.M.A.)
We would also note that, as we carry large stocks at cost price, ours is purely a cash business. In the absence of written orders or formal acceptance of orders, we must resist the temptation to extend credit beyond our formal policy. 

We have been enabled to make such advantageous arrangements with our publishers that we can deliver free of charge for transit wholesale quantities to the order of their Lordships or Bishops in any of the Capitals of the Australian States.

There will be only two Companions to the Readers. Number One Companion will embrace spelling and explanatory information bearing upon the First, Second, and Third Infants, together with I., II., and III. Primary Readers. The earlier part of this book will contain suggestions as to the best method to be followed in dealing with Reading in Infant Classes. It is hoped that this section of the Companion will be of much assistance to the Teachers so engaged. Number Two Companion, which is being elaborated to be useful alike to the Teachers as to all their Senior Pupils, will cover Readers IV., V. and VI. Both Companions are now being compiled.

We have actually in stock a Companion to the New Catechism. It takes up each chapter of the Catechism, and explains the difficulties, shows the scope of the work and sources of information. It is bound to be invaluable both to Catechetical Instructors and Senior Pupils. It is compiled by Rev. J. Power, recently lecturer in the Training College, Waterford, Ireland. The book is published with the Imprint of His Eminence Cardinal Moran, by Mr. E. J. Dwyer, of George Street, Sydney. We retain it in stock at a cost of 6s., subject to usual 25% discount for wholesale orders.

We have decided to allow the usual 25 1/2% discount also on the published pieces of Schuster, History, Joyce's History of Ireland, as well as on the Catechism approved by the Third Plenary Council of Australia, which can be supplied per gross only.

Reference to our "Price List" will show that we have obtained from our publishers substantial reductions in Mathematics, Geography and English History. The books will also be done in more durable binding with cloth backs. On these also we can allow the usual 25 1/2% discount for wholesale orders. The Australian History requires re-writing. We hope to supply a more suitable manual in the near future.

Our Prize Books will be in stock this year on 1st November. We sell always at cost price.

The Catalogue is now in course of preparation, giving published and reduced prices in detail, which will be supplied on application.

St. Mary's Cathedral, Sydney.

FEAST OF THE ANGELS' GUARDIAN, 1908.

DENIS F. O'HARAN.
Sixth class had yet been formed in the whole of the archdiocese. By the following year he had apparently decided to excuse low standards in such subjects on the grounds that "in the State schools these subjects are given a less important place than heretofore".

An improvement is noticeable right through in the essential subjects, owing chiefly to the fact that less time has been given to such subjects as Brush-work, Drawing, Manual-work etc. . . . They are not by any means neglected and perhaps with advantage to the general character of the schools still less attention might be devoted to them.\(^1\)

Thus the very subjects which had been in the Public schools, vehicles for the popularisation of the New Education, were not to be given a chance to establish themselves, let alone mature. The experience of the Public schools had already shown that the encouragement of such subjects was one of the most effective means of conveying to inadequately trained teachers at least some conception of the deeper philosophical and psychological bases of the reform movement. They had also proved to be a means whereby teachers could be led to some appreciation of the need for their own professional development. It was unfortunate

\(^1\)Hogan to Moran, 4/7/1910. (S.M.A.)
for the Catholic system, whose need was even greater than that of the State system, that a legitimate reaction in the Public schools against excesses in the "new" subjects should have been interpreted as obviating the need for the Catholic schools to continue to develop them. Of the two extremes represented by traditional "literary" education and the faddism of the New Education, it seemed that the Public schools had shown by 1910 that the latter was preferable. It might be argued that a period of "adolescence" such as the Public schools were passing through was inseparable from the achievement of some progress towards the goals of the New Education. The opposing hypothesis that the Catholic schools learnt from the mistakes of the Public school system and thereby avoided the excesses associated with the New Education, might only be accepted if it could also be shown that in so doing they developed and retained the advantages which the State schools had derived from the movement. The available evidence presented here, is to the contrary. Progress there certainly had been, but often it would seem towards objectives which represented a stage of development which the Public schools had left behind.

Thus by 1910 the Catholic Primary school system was apparently no further advanced than it had been during the nineties, in its
TEXT-BOOKS
OF THE
NEW STANDARD OF PROFICIENCY FOR THE
CATHOLIC PRIMARY SCHOOLS
OF THE ARCHDIOCESE OF SYDNEY.

Our Catholic School Series of Class Books in Mathematics (4), Geography (4) and English History (3) are now completed. These have been revised by His Eminence the Cardinal, and everything uncatolic has been removed. The series throughout has been either specially written for or carefully adapted to the New Syllabus in such a way that the text books specifically define the Syllabus minus in the respective classes. This new series now becomes obligatory.

The price of the books has been reduced in every instance. No Class Book of the New Series costs more than one shilling. They range down to 3d in the inferior classes, as may be seen from the price list. St. Mary's Book Depot is the only Distributing Centre. The books are sent in parcels of not less than a dozen of each class. They will be assigned to the Catholic booksellers for retail purposes in smaller quantities. We have made such advantageous arrangements as will enable us to reduce the cost for large orders by one-fourth. Religious communities and large schools who desire to order from us a gross of any particular Class Book, or even half a gross (five dozen) will receive trade terms, viz., 25% off published prices.

Early in the year His Eminence the Cardinal decided that the Diocesan Primary School examinations would be held as usual at the close of this year. The examinations, however, will be restricted to the Fourth and Fifth Classes according to the new Syllabus. The ages of the children must not exceed fourteen and fifteen years respectively. The Scholarships will be attached to the Fifth Class.

An Honours' Examination in special subjects, with prizes attached, will be arranged for the Sixth Class, the age not to exceed sixteen years. The conditions will be issued with a programme of examinations in Irish History, Language and Literature, for which the Hibernian A. C. B. Society has guaranteed to place at the disposal of His Eminence the Cardinal a special fund of not less than £20 annually. His Eminence the Cardinal wishes it to be known that for the future these are the only examinations in Irish History and Literature in which the children in our Catholic Schools will be permitted to compete.

By Command of His Eminence the Cardinal,

(S. M. A.)

NEW STANDARD TEXTBOOKS, 1906

(S. M. A.)
avowed aim to "successfully rival" the State system. The condition of the schools had noticeably improved and there were isolated cases where teaching orders such as the Sisters of Mercy and the Christian Brothers were no doubt fulfilling their mission with a success rivalled by few of the Public schools. The overall picture, however, was one of a system starved of finance still struggling for stability and therefore in no position to concern itself with the "frills" associated with development in curriculum and method. The financial problem, although a basic factor limiting growth and adaptation, was not the only one. The lack of all but the most rudimentary training facilities was a problem which by the end of the period was only just beginning to attract attention in spite of the stress which the State was placing upon the pre-training of teachers. The progress which might stem from such training was still a long way off as the Church hoped for the closer relationship with the State system which would allow them the advantages of facilities provided initially by the State for its own teachers. There was also a remarkable failure of the Catholic education system to spawn an individual approach on the part of personalities, which characterised even such a bureaucratic administration as the Department of Public Instruction. It is
difficult to assess whether the dominant role played by Cardinal Moran was a symptom or a cause of this feature, but it is obvious that his was almost the sole initiative in Catholic educational progress throughout the period.

Primary Education in Protestant and Other Private Schools

The withdrawal of State aid from the end of 1882 led to a quite predictable decrease in the schools formerly run as Denominational schools by the Protestant Churches. One of the effects of Vaughan's Pastorals had been to identify the Public school system with Protestantism but as F.B. Boyce had foreseen,¹ the result of the denial of State aid was a closing of many Protestant schools while the Catholic system increased. The Church of England was divided within itself upon what attitude to adopt, for on the one hand it still saw itself as the Established Church and therefore entitled to State assistance, while on the other, saw that there was much to be said for the abandonment of Primary education to the Public schools which moreover provided acceptable facilities for religious instruction.

¹S.M.H., 22/4/1880.
The Nonconformist Churches tended to leave the matter to the pronouncements of individual clergy. Their schools represented but a small part of the educational system. Of the schools receiving State aid in December, 1879, only three were Presbyterian at which only sixty-six Presbyterian children were enrolled, the rest of the total enrolment of 414 being made up of pupils of other denominations. In the six Wesleyan schools about half of the 807 pupils enrolled were of that denomination.¹

Divided within and amongst themselves, the Protestant Churches found it unnecessary and impossible to project a considered and cohesive policy in competition with the Public schools:

...it was not possible to speak of the Church's attitude to the State in education, for there was no single clerical organisation to plead the cause of all ecclesiastical groups, nor was it possible to speak of the several Churches' attitude in educational matters, for there was little unanimity even within each Church.²

This statement was as true after the withdrawal of State aid as it had been before, and was complicated by a reaction to centralised control which expressed itself in the development


of Protestant Church schools as institutions, largely autonomous and retaining only formal relations with the denomination sponsoring them.

In this context, and also reacting to a State monopoly of Primary education, the Protestant educational facilities tended to gravitate towards filling what they perceived as a serious gap in the education system in New South Wales. It was one moreover, which by its very nature, led the Churches to doubt that any effort which the State might make to fill it would be successful.\(^1\) This need was to reproduce schools "of the type of the English public school with certain differences required by the conditions of this country".\(^2\) The main aim was to be, as in the Old Country, "the development of character at least as much as the imparting of knowledge".\(^3\) However, the narrowness of the English product was to be avoided in New South Wales:

"Our great public schools do not, nor can they, attempt to produce any one type; they aim at producing all-round, adaptable

\(^1\)vide, B.A.A.S., New South Wales Handbook, op. cit., 204B. The section on private schools is based on "information supplied by some of the leading schools".

\(^2\)ibid.

\(^3\)ibid., 204C.
This objective and that of concentrating upon the high scholastic achievements of the English tradition, were regarded as not requiring the general establishment of preparatory classes in competition with the Public Primary schools. These would be wastefully repetitive when the resources of the State might be availed of, and were less compatible with the broader conception of character which was required in "a new country,... its children... less conventional and affected by tradition, good or bad, more individual and independent and careless....". The conception of the Church school as a "finishing school" for the products of the Public Primary schools complemented its perceived role as providing Secondary education facilities and was to characterise the whole period under review. In 1906 the retiring President of the Teachers' Association of New South Wales, C.J. Prescott, bemoaned the fact that preparatory schools were "few in number, and at best are imperfectly appreciated".

1ibid., 204B.

2ibid.

On the other hand there was a distinct tendency in the girls' schools towards accepting children from their earliest school years, which was presumably an expression of the more sheltered life and decorum expected of the products of these schools, together with the fact that there was less demand for the higher education of girls.

- Church of England Parochial and Day Primary Schools

The Church of England in 1879 maintained sixty-seven Denominational schools with an enrolment of 10,050 pupils. It thus rivalled in importance the Catholic schools of which there were eighty-three, attracting an enrolment of only about 1,300 pupils more than the Church of England schools.¹ By 1886 Church of England schools of all types in New South Wales totalled fifty-six and accounted for an enrolment of only 3,373.²

¹Reports of the Council of Education, 1879, 104 ff. Note that these figures do not account for schools run by the Churches but not qualifying for State aid.

²T. A. Coghlan, The Wealth and Progress of New South Wales, op. cit., 1886-7, 449. Note that such statistics were notoriously optimistic but they may be considered as indicating trends in school populations.
Apart from a peak enrolment of about 4,150 at the turn of the century\(^1\) the size of the Church of England system remained fairly static throughout the period to 1910, accounting for approximately 1.2 to 1.5\% of the school population. This meant that it accounted for only three in every ninety-seven of the total school population of the State.\(^2\)

This decline in the Church educational provision after the withdrawal of State aid appears largely to have been due to the failure of the Church leaders to agree upon a future course of action. A question asked by W. Page at the Third Session of the Fifth Synod of the Diocese of Sydney\(^3\) brought only the reply from the President that he did not think it was intended to retain Church Denominational schools under the existing administration, although he thought some efforts were to be made in some parishes.\(^4\) It was not until 1892 that a

\(^{1}\text{Trivett, op. cit., 1909-10, 163.}\)
\(^{2}\text{Ibid.}\)
\(^{3}\text{Synod Proceedings, Jul., 1882, 34.}\)
\(^{4}\text{Ibid.}\)
Report was presented to the Synod, revealing the state of the schools and making recommendations for future action.¹

By this stage only eight Primary schools operated in the Diocese, catering for an enrolment of 1432 children. There was no central authority for supervision and "little systematic inspection efficiently conducted". The local clergy held out no prospect for the establishment of new schools, but the Committee considered schools might be established in "populous areas". It further recommended:

- Consolidation of the system under a Primary Church Schools Council.
- The appointment of an Inspector and the determination of a general system of instruction by this Council, the same class of lessons to be given in all schools of the Diocese.
- The introduction of a system of teacher promotion.
- Training of teachers.
- Aid to be given to struggling schools.
- Assistance to be given in the establishment of new schools.²

Upon these proposals no action was taken, the only apparent

¹Report of the Select Committee on Church Parochial Schools (Primary), ibid., 1892, 163 ff.
²ibid.
further involvement of the Church before the turn of the century being the result of a motion proposed by Thomas Holme that the Synod condemn the intention of the government to do away with school fees in Public schools as "a menace to religious liberty and an insult to the loyal and independent citizens of New South Wales". Holme was obviously concerned that the availability of free education in the Public schools would attract pupils away from the religious influence of the Parochial schools. His views were not however, shared by his colleagues for the amended resolution passed, merely noted that the proposed abolition was "unnecessary and therefore undesirable".

It was not until October 1900, that W.I. Carr-Smith moved the appointment of a Diocesan Board of Education "to foster the establishment and maintenance of Church Day Schools". The proposal received little support. Instead a Select Committee was appointed to consider the whole question of education and

1 *ibid.*, 1898, 71.
2 *ibid.*
3 *ibid.*, 1900, 62.
the Church's duty in that regard,¹ but the Committee was not set up until September, 1901.² When no report was forthcoming by September, 1902, W. Hough sought information upon the Committee's activities. The President of the Synod replied that to the best of his knowledge it had done nothing.³

Apparently stirred at last to action, the Committee presented its Report the following year. In a singularly undistinguished and matter-of-fact manner, this Report revealed the existence of twenty-two Parochial schools⁴ in New South Wales between which there was little semblance of uniformity of organisation, staffing or procedure. The qualifications required of teachers varied from school to school but among typical provisions were those requiring teachers to be:

- members of the Church with practical skill in teaching;
- communicant members and trained;
- holders of certificates from the Department of Public Instruction;
- capable of teaching to Fifth class;

¹ibid., 64.
²ibid., 1901, 61.
³ibid., 1902, 51.
⁴ibid., 1903, 102.
holders of a Kindergarten certificate with practical skill;
- qualified similarly to Departmental teachers;
- pupil-teachers having passed the University Junior Examination. ¹

Salaries of Principals varied from £250 to £24, and that of First Assistants from £125 to £12 or a share of the fees. ²

The standard of instruction was reported to be similar to that given in Departmental schools, but with the Fifth class being reached in only "some". One school presented candidates for the University Junior Examination. Four schools were never inspected, two "sometimes". The rest were either inspected by a retired Departmental Inspector or teacher, visited by the clergy, or supervised by their own Principal. ³

Of the fifty-seven parishes without Parochial schools only four had Church day schools. In thirty-six of these fifty-seven parishes the clergy felt no Church school to be necessary. Only nine held out any prospect for the establishment of a Primary or Secondary school in their parish and of these, only four thought

¹ibid., 103.
²ibid.
³ibid.
that such schools could be maintained by local effort.¹

The Select Committee noted the need for a Board of Control because the standards of instruction were so variable² but concluded that there existed "insuperable difficulties" in maintaining Church Primary schools. The great expense involved in any extensive organisation was too great a burden to be placed upon the parishes and there was a lack of loan funds. Religious instruction of an acceptable nature was already being provided in the Public schools and the attitude of the laity was against the development of separate Church schools. Such schools would also involve the rectors in additional work.³

The response of the Synod to the Report was to carry a motion moved by A.G. Stoddart for the setting up of a Church Day School Council, but only for the Diocese of Sydney. This Council was to develop a uniform organisation between the Parochial, Day and Grammar schools regarding inspection, training of teachers, and

¹ ibid., 104.
² ibid., 105.
³ ibid., 106.
the programme to be carried out in the schools. ¹

In attempting to implement such arrangements the Day School Council proved abortive. It made one report to the Synod in August 1905, in which it was admitted that little progress had been made and suggested that it might ask the various schools "in which ways they could be helped". ² There is no record of further progress in the succeeding five years. ³

It is clear that both numerically and organisationally the Parochial and Day Primary Schools of the Church of England were in no position to contribute an independent approach to educational theory and practice in New South Wales. In the absence of a system of inspection and supervision which might have produced documented evidence of the quality of teaching in the schools, it is possible only to surmise from the Reports of the two Synod Select Committees and the Day School Council, that at the very

¹Ibid., 60.
²Ibid., 1905, 92.
³Vide, ibid., 1906-1910
best the provisions in one or two Church schools might have approximated that being offered in the Public schools. It is highly probable that given the lack of initiative, organisation, supervision and standards implied by the various Reports, the Church schools could hardly have responded effectively to the reform movement of the 1900's. The Public schools undoubtedly set a standard to which the Anglican Parochial and Day Primary schools could but aspire.

- The Schools of the Great Public School and Ladies' College Tradition

In considering the provision made for Primary (preparatory) education, there is little need to distinguish between the main Church schools, girls or boys, and the more successful of those run as individual rather than denominational enterprises. These institutions were in general, established primarily as boarding schools for the higher education of children of middle class parents, and based upon the English Great Public School tradition. Such schools emphasised moral training and the development of character regardless of whether they were affiliated with a particular Church or not. Stress was placed, particularly in
the boys' schools, upon preparation of pupils academically for entry to the commercial world and university through public examinations, and upon the results thus obtained depended to a great extent the standing of the school in the public image. Most schools claimed the educational advantage of small classes. Also, in a society which was still acutely aware of social class, there were recognised social benefits to be derived, particularly for boarders, in the controlled social relationships which such schools implied. Often one of the main attractions for day pupils of these schools, appeared to be the opportunity to share in the "tone" which the school derived from the regulated activities of its boarders. Although he did not entirely agree with the validity of such sentiments, Professor W. Scott speaking before the Teachers' Association of New South Wales, summed up the attraction of these schools. He spoke of the "education which one gets from comparisons" and the "formation of character" which pupils "cut off from the home influence" might enjoy, but took care to point out the risks some parents took in placing their children in schools which they merely presumed to provide the desired environment. Scott also reminded his listeners of
the difficulty which faced them in deciding the degree of control which should be exercised over the social intercourse of their pupils and questioned the desirability of encouraging social distinctions.¹

But such considerations could hardly carry much weight in what was essentially a commercial undertaking. The ideals and therefore the curriculum and methods of such schools were the expressions of public demand, which even the Church schools in their appeal to religious susceptibilities of parents could not ignore. In these schools therefore is represented a fine balance between an individualistic and progressive approach to education motivated by commercial rivalry and the conservative tradition demanded by society. Most importantly for education in New South Wales, they appeared to offer through their independence of centralised control and varied academic and training backgrounds of staff, a possibility of some variety of approach from that of the bureaucratic Department of Public Instruction. Unfortunately the schools found themselves bound by tradition and financial and social pressures, to a role perhaps even less prone to alteration than that of the State schools.

Typical of these private schools was some provision for preparatory classes in conformity with the English tradition. The rationale behind such provision in schools essentially concerned with Secondary education was expressed by C.J. Prescott in 1906:

...no one in England would seriously dream of supposing that a fit preparation can be laid for a Secondary school and the University in ordinary Primary schools, even though there have been isolated and individual cases where boys of superior ability have passed by that road to University honours. It would be taken for granted that, if he was intended to enter a Secondary School, and more especially a Public school, he should be so designated at an early age and taught accordingly.¹

However, as already mentioned, such a tradition had met with only limited acceptance in New South Wales, particularly in boys' schools which were few in relation to private establishments for girls. The exigencies of finance and limited accommodation no doubt reinforced the underlying social conception of the need for a more worldly education for boys, which no one denied they would receive in the Public Primary schools. On the other hand it is also clear that during the depression years and in schools where accommodation was not fully taxed, the preparatory classes

¹Prescott, loc. cit.
provided a means whereby extra pupils might be admitted.

The significance of this rather opportunistic arrangement was that since a significant number of pupils entered the private schools from the Public schools, standards and courses in the preparatory classes had of necessity to be kept roughly parallel with the State schools, both in curriculum and classification. This did not of course preclude the possibility of the recognition and practice in the preparatory classes of methods and ideals differing from those in vogue in the Public schools, but in practice the ideals and methods were those of Secondary education.

Newington showed the typical reliance of these schools upon the Public schools for the elementary preparation of future pupils. Pupils were not admitted until they turned nine. They were then taught Latin, Greek, French, English Literature and Grammar, History, Geography, Arithmetic, Mensuration, Algebra, Geometry, Trigonometry, Conics, Chemistry, Physics, Geology, Writing, Drawing, Music and Scripture History.¹ With the transfer in 1900 of C.J. Prescott from the Ladies' College at Burwood to

the principalship of Newington, greater things might have been expected in regard to the preparatory classes, but plagued by financial troubles, he was forced to sacrifice development in this section of the school to what he considered to be the more pressing needs of the higher classes.¹

The Cooerwull Academy at Bowenfels (Lithgow) upon passing in 1895 to the trusteeship of the Council of St. Andrew's Presbyterian College (Sydney University),² automatically embraced the Great Public School tradition:

For the modern boy a closer system of supervision was thought desirable - an individual spirit, too, less independent, but no less loyal and energetic. This the English Public School regime alone seemed capable of furnishing, and under its zeal for the common good rather than in the direction of personal distinction is - it is hoped - being inspired. The Monitors are setting the example, and in their steps the other committee-men seem to be following. One result of this is that the interests of the Juniors - in the play-ground more particularly - are no longer overlooked or subordinated. In School the Classes have been re-arranged - the (State) public school system of classification being adopted. The effect of this is to bring the form-work into line with that of our greater contemporaries.³

¹vide, ibid., 85 ff.

²Presbyterian Church of New South Wales, Proceedings, op. cit., for 1895, 100.

It appeared that the State Primary school organisation was to be paralleled insofar as it was compatible with the Great Public school tradition and that in the latter tradition, increased emphasis was to be placed upon sport in the lower school. The school's uniformity with its "greater contemporaries" had been assured by the appointment in 1895 of C.A. Flint (late of Newington and Kings) as Rector,\(^1\) and inspection at the close of 1896 by A.B. Weigall, Head of Sydney Grammar.\(^2\) Given this guarantee of uniformity, there was nothing unusual amongst the list of subjects offered in the lower school in the 1900's. Special attention was given to Reading, Writing and Object Lessons, the latter being given weekly throughout the lower school "on subjects of general information".\(^3\) By 1907 the traditionally academic curriculum was still firmly established. Pupils studied Reading, Spelling, Dictation, Writing, Arithmetic, Geography, History, Grammar, English Composition, French, Latin, \\

\(^1\)Proceedings, ibid.  \\
\(^2\)ibid., for 1897, 115.  \\
\(^3\)Presbyterian Church of New South Wales, College Manual, 1900, 46.
Object Lessons and Elementary Science. Special emphasis was placed upon gymnastics and drill with "exercises carefully adapted to the age and physique of the individual".¹

Such a curriculum may be regarded as typical of those in schools upon which Cooerwull was modelled such as Scots College (Bellevue Hill) and the King's School (Parramatta). However, in the private girls' schools the situation was somewhat different. Prescott in his Presidential Address to the Teachers' Guild² in 1909 expressed his belief that such private schools would continue to flourish in spite of the government's avowed intention to provide free Secondary education:

Parents are often willing enough to send their boys to a place where they have to rough it,... but they will never consent to allow their daughters to do as much work as their sons. Every man feels that nothing is too good for his girls, and is prepared to strain a good many points to shelter them from every rough wind that blows, and mothers, gentle and refined, are all too quick to

¹Prospectus, c.1907, Presbyterian Assembly Library.

²The name of the Teachers' Association of New South Wales was changed to The Teachers' Guild of New South Wales on 10th September, 1909, to overcome confusion in the public mind with the Public School Teachers' Association. Aust. J. of Ed., VII, Sept., 1909, 12.
suspect that a public institution, where their daughters must meet girls drawn from families of which they know nothing, or perhaps know what they do not like, does not afford the same kind of protection as a more private institution, where they think they have a surer guarantee for their being brought up on the lines they prefer. People may sneer at this feeling, but so long as girls are girls, and mothers are mothers, it will last. ¹

Such schools, generally concentrated upon the "finishing" of a girl's education both socially and culturally, the latter objective showing throughout the period a distinct orientation towards preparation for university rather than vocational work. ²

But catering for the demand expressed above by Prescott, the private girls' schools tended to cover the preparatory stages more thoroughly than was the case in the boys'. The records available have been interpreted by Milburn as showing that a number of girls entered girls' schools "at a relatively late age". ³ But the figures also suggest that a significant proportion, if not in some cases a majority of pupils, entered the schools before their middle 'teens, that is at an age when they


² vide, Milburn, op. cit., 46 ff.

³ ibid., 90.
would in the Public schools be receiving Primary education. The records of the Presbyterian Ladies' College Croydon, for example, show in 1888, sixty-six percent of pupils enrolled at ages below fifteen.

Both boys' and girls' private schools followed the Great Public School tradition not only in including provision in their schools for preparatory classes but in regarding the curriculum in these classes to be in every way "preparatory" to the higher school, but it would seem that the girls' schools, being less dependent upon the Public Primary schools for their intake, were in a far better position to develop new approaches to the curriculum and methods of teaching. The determination of their curriculum by public examination requirements was still a very significant factor, but it is important to note that the Women's Movement of the nineties, unlike its English counterpart, agitated for occupational rather than educational advantages for women.

1 ibid., 89.

2 Milburn makes the point that older girls entering these schools tended to receive their elementary education in other than Public schools. ibid., 89.

3 ibid., 24.
This agitation had a slight effect in encouraging a more utilitarian curriculum in the girls' schools, but no doubt partly due to its coincidence with a similar movement among the male working class, was not completely acceptable in the middle class girls' schools. Therefore the emphasis even in the 1900's tended to be upon "accomplishments" of which there was an ever-increasing variety open to women in the 1890's and 1900's, but with continued stress upon academic distinction. The latter appeared almost to be regarded as an excuse for the existence of such socially pretentious institutions.

Pupils of the girls' preparatory classes were therefore not subjected to as formal an academic training as boys, who faced a more distinctly examination-orientated curriculum which at best might reflect a slightly utilitarian approach.

The Methodist Ladies' College Burwood for example had been founded as "a school for girls corresponding to Newington",¹ for the establishment by the University of Senior and Junior examinations had brought the realisation to some that girls

¹Methodist Ladies' College, Burwood, Jubilee Souvenir, 1886-1936, Sydney: Epworth, 1936, 10.
were not inferior academically to boys. Under the Headmastership of C.J. Prescott, the curriculum from the beginning emphasised the accomplishments of music and singing, drawing and painting, gymnastics and later swimming. It can only be assumed that the younger pupils also partook of these activities for the original ten girls were divided into only two classes. With larger enrolments, the lower division received "a sound knowledge of the musical elements" thus saving the time of the practical teacher and preparing for advanced courses in the higher classes and perhaps the examinations of Trinity College (London) or in later years, of the Sydney College of music. The Methodist in 1892 advertised "Music, Drawing and Drilling without extra fee". "Singing at sight, class singing and simple theory" were taught by a visiting master. "With the exception of the youngest" all pupils were taught one language besides English. French and German were

1 ibid.
2 ibid., 13.
3 ibid., 37.
4 ibid., 18.
available at extra fee, Latin and Greek free. A Kindergarten was conducted. ¹

This Kindergarten was housed in what was claimed to be the first building erected in the State "expressly for the purpose" and was equipped with "all kindergarten appliances". Miss Grady, a student of "the system" and known as "a strict disciplinarian", was engaged by the Council. Upon her return to England the work was carried on by Miss Scheer. ²

The sporting tradition which was so strong in the boys' schools did not find acceptance in the refined atmosphere of the school until about 1905, when basketball was introduced and the first attempt made at holding a sports day. No regular competitions were held however. In November 1906, the school held its first athletic sports meeting, apparently somewhat of an innovation, but the next year other girls' schools followed suit. The College also claimed to be the first to introduce hockey into the curriculum in 1910. ³

¹ The Methodist, I, Mar., 1892, 10.
³ ibid., 77-9.
Competing with, and organised along similar lines to the Methodist College, the Presbyterian Ladies’ College opened at Ashfield in 1888.¹ The first Principal, John Marden came in fact from the Methodist Ladies’ College, Melbourne upon which the Burwood College had been modelled.² In common with its sister school the new College was non-sectarian and open to all including Catholics. However, boarders were carefully screened and references were required for all pupils.³

The prospectus offered the "Ordinary branches of English education" in addition to French, German, Latin, Science and Domestic Economy.⁴ Music, Singing, Calisthenics, Painting and Drawing were all included in the curriculum.⁵

¹Presbyterian Church of New South Wales, College Manual, 1900, Sydney: Leigh, 1899, 53.
²Presbyterian Church of New South Wales, Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly for 1887, 69.
³College Manual, loc. cit.
⁵ibid., 6-11 and 42.
Following the removal of the College in 1889 to Croydon, a Kindergarten was set up under a trained teacher with five pupils in a fully-equipped special room. Furniture for the new school was specially imported from America and gymnasium equipment installed.

The curriculum now consisted of:

- Scripture and Scripture History
- English, French, German, Latin
- Grammar and Composition
- English Literature
- Ancient and Modern History
- Physical and Political Geography
- Arithmetic
- Mental Arithmetic
- Algebra, Geometry, Trigonometry
- Science (Botany, Geology, Physiology and Science)
- Domestic Economy, Needlework
- Writing
- Class Singing and Harmony
- Drawing and Perspective (Continental system from models only)
- Ambulance and Nursing of the Sick

1 ibid., for 1889, 70.
2 ibid., for 1890, 87.
3 ibid., for 1891, 79.
4 vide, ibid.
By the close of the century the College boasted a large library
and the fact that even in the lower school, specialised teaching
was given by several individual teachers rather than by one class-
teacher. 2

That the teaching of the ordinary curriculum generally
conformed with that of the State schools is suggested by the
fact that the College was prepared to undergo examination by a
Departmental Inspector of Schools in 1906. The Inspector on
this occasion was acting on behalf of the Board of Education,
London, to which the College had applied for registration as
a school where teachers might receive training and experience
which would count towards a registration certificate under the
British government. 3 It is clear nevertheless that teaching
in the lower school remained orientated towards formal and
academic learning as preparation for higher classes.

1 ibid., for 1892, 84.
Similar organisation, objectives and methods to those pursued in the two Ladies' Colleges appear to have been in vogue in many of the other private schools offering Secondary education in New South Wales.¹

Ascham provided for Infants' classes from its foundation in 1886 but the teaching during the early years of the school was described as "book-learning" with special emphasis upon History, French, Mathematics, English and Scripture. By 1901 basketball had been introduced, and tennis followed soon after. The school's continuance in the established tradition of its contemporaries was ensured when it was purchased by Herbert Canter, Senior Mathematical Master at the Sydney Grammar School, who emphasised Mathematics, Music, especially class singing, and Natural History.²

Abbotsleigh opened in 1885 at North Sydney, offering "gymnastics under supervision" as a speciality.³ Miss Clarke, the Headmistress

¹Among the more notable were: Abbotsleigh (North Sydney-Parramatta-Wahroonga); Addington (Potts Point); Ascham (Edgecliff); Argyle School (Miss Baxter's); Burnadoo Park (Bowral); Clergy Daughters' School (St. Catherine's, Waverley); Kambala (Bellevue Hill); Kingsley College (Burwood); Lotaville School; Maybanke College (Dulwich Hill); Misses Garran's School (Glebe); Normanhurst (Ashfield); Redlands (Misses Liggins and Arnold); Riviere College (Woollahra); Shirley School (Edgecliff); Wellesley College (Newtown). Vide, S.M.H. 1880-1910.


WOODWORK AT ABBOTSLEIGH
(Parramatta in the early 1890's)

- Abbotsleigh Archives
recalled later the difficulty of introducing new material into the curriculum:

Parents...were inclined to interfere with the curriculum: and, though then, and twice later, I arranged for geometry to be taught in every class, having no Council behind me, I had to give in and the "unnecessary subject" was taught to the few only.¹

Teaching from the inception was towards presenting candidates for the Junior Examination. Apart from Gymnastics, Dancing and Music were given by special teachers. Botany was popular, but there was no Latin. The School moved to Parramatta in 1888 where a Kindergarten was set up. Tennis and walking were prescribed as exercise for the girls. Some curriculum development was evident by this time. Design became a compulsory subject and even Woodwork was included in the curriculum.² Increased emphasis upon sport was recognisable after the school moved to Wahroonga.

¹Ibid., 3. This statement implies that the Church schools might have been in a better position than the more purely commercial schools, to bring about curriculum change in the face of the conservatism of parents, if the Principal were fortunate to have behind him a Council of eminent men prepared to back his proposals.

²Ibid., 5-7.
Riviere College,

Nicolahra. November, 29th, 1886.

Mrs. Goergs, having made arrangements for the transfer of her school, takes this early opportunity of introducing her successors (Miss Hull and Miss Catherine J. Hull), and in retiring from the College which she has conducted for so many years, it is a source of the greatest satisfaction to her to introduce as her successors two Ladies under whose management she has the fullest confidence that the established reputation of Riviere College will be fully sustained.

Miss Catherine J. Hull (Hale) after taking highest honours at the Senior University Examination, viz. the Fairfax Prize and four Medals, has spent twelve months at a first-class training school in Melbourne, for the purpose of perfecting herself in the Art of Teaching and school Management.

Mrs. Goergs will be at the College from the 14th January to receive the parents of the pupils, introduce and personally recommend her talented successors. The same staff of Masters and Lady Teachers being retained the school will be conducted in every respect as usual.

The domestic arrangements will be under the supervision of Mrs. Hull.

Dear Madam,

Having purchased the goodwill and personality of Riviere College, we beg to solicit a continuance of the support previously afforded.

Our predecessor, Mrs. Goergs, has been good enough, in her attached circular, to recommend us to your confidence, and, in assuming the charge, we venture to hope that our devotion to its responsibilities will secure for us your recommendation.

[Please turn over]
The importance of High-class Education for Young Ladies is no longer a debatable question; the intellectual progress of the age declares it to be a paramount and imperative obligation. Acting upon this conviction we have carefully prepared ourselves for teaching and Miss Kate, of whose ability and success Mrs. Goerge has assured you, will, assisted by the accomplished professors already on the staff, direct and instruct those pupils who aspire to the modern and higher accomplishments of the age. The Preparatory Classes will be under the charge of the well-trained and competent teachers now in office.

The comfort of the pupils will be carefully attended to by Mrs. Hall, who takes the superintendence of the domestic arrangements.

For terms we most respectfully ask your attention to the prospectus, which we will do ourselves the satisfaction of forwarding shortly.

We shall be prepared to receive pupils, on Monday the 24th January, 1887.

Commending this new era of Riviere to your approval,

We have the honour to be,

Madam,

Your most obedient servants,

Louisa M. Hall,

Catherine J. Hall,

Mrs.
In 1901 a games field was opened which included two tennis courts, a basketball court, and a cricket pitch. In spite of her obviously advanced ideas on the education of girls, Miss Clarke's school nevertheless appears to have retained the conventional approach to the basic subjects of the curriculum studied by the younger girls.

Shirley, the New School and Kindergarten was a relatively latecomer in the field. The school was opened by Miss Margaret Hodge and Miss Harriet Newcomb in 1900 at Edgecliff, covering all grades from Kindergarten to Secondary. It was however, more than just another girls' school for it was set up for the express purpose of providing training facilities for students studying for diplomas in Kindergarten, Primary and Secondary teaching.

The curriculum at Shirley included subjects already established in its sister-schools, such as Class Singing,

1 ibid., 16.
2 Milburn, op. cit., 120.
Drawing and Art History, Carpentry, First Aid, Physical Education and Sport, Physiology, Botany, Geology, Nature Study, English Literature, History, Geography and French. But in organisation and discipline there appeared to be some divergence from the normal practices in girls' schools. Attendance in the afternoon was not compulsory. There were no punishments and no restriction of rewards to the few best pupils. A book was given to all pupils who worked well. Pupils were allowed to attend higher or lower classes for special subjects. Examinations, although still the ultimate tangible goal of the school's education, were regarded as simply "more important tests, to be taken without cramming."2

A vitality of approach was also apparent in the teaching methods employed by both teachers:

...the relief map of the district...was the pride of the whole school. What fun it was to make a tiny flag and put it as accurately as possible to mark one's own house!

...No wonder we did not work from text-books (in History lessons), and that seven-league boots took us from country

1 ibid., 150.
2 ibid., 151.
to country in a single lesson! Miss Hodge used no notes. The lecture method was used extensively, we could take notes or not, but we were expected to read further, to reproduce or expand the information later in discussions, essays or other written work.¹

This evidence of the practice of New Education principles in a private school during the early 1900's is the more significant for it took place in a school used for the training of private school teachers. Student teachers trained at Shirley might be expected to have spread New Education practice and theory throughout the private school system. The training movement unfortunately was to have but little immediate effect upon the schools which it was designed to benefit. The Teachers' Association was itself not strong and survived mainly through the efforts of a few dedicated men and women. In its three major undertakings, the publication of a journal and the setting up of a Teachers' Registry and training system, it was to meet with little support.²

¹R.B. Docker, in ibid.
The idea of the Teachers' Association of New South Wales entering the field of teacher training had been the subject of a paper by Miss Scheer read before the Association in 1894, two years after its inception.¹ Her idea was that every teacher of Elementary classes should be a Kindergarten teacher. Later in the year a scheme of training was proposed which would result in the award of Diplomas in either Kindergarten, Primary, Lower Secondary or Higher Secondary teaching.² By 1895 applications for Kindergarten students had been called³ and the following year five students were being trained. Mainly because of the difficulty of finding suitable practice schools, the other courses were less successful.⁴

To organise a course of training in the Secondary field, the Association in 1897 was offered the services of Misses

¹M. Scheer, "A Scheme for the Training of Kindergarten Teachers in Order to Improve Elementary Education", Aust. Teach., I, May, 1894, 5.

²"Proposed Scheme for Training and Certification of Elementary and Secondary Teachers", ibid., Sept., 1894, 7.


⁴Ibid., Aug., 1896, 2-5.
Newcomb and Hodge. They had had twelve years' experience in the "first Secondary Training College in London" but apparently found it more easy to attract and train students for Kindergarten teaching. By September, 1899, there were forty-five students in training of whom forty were training for Kindergarten and three for Primary. These students before entering training had to provide evidence of character and health and were required to have passed the Junior Examination of the University, or its equivalent. Primary students received ten lectures in each of the subjects of Psychology and History of Education from Miss Hodge and sixty lectures in the Practice of Education, from Misses Newcomb and Hodge. They studied additional subjects for sixty hours, and then had to complete at least one hundred hours teaching in a school approved by the Training Board. After successful examination, they received the first part of their Diploma, qualifying for the full Diploma after two years of successful teaching, at the end of which the teacher and the class were inspected.


3 ibid., 4.
Kindergarten students attended the same lectures in Psychology and History of Education and a further twenty by Miss Newcomb on Nature Knowledge. They then completed one year of training and practice under an approved teacher before being examined in Theory and Art of Kindergarten Education, Practical Class Teaching, and Reading and Elocution.¹

These courses were a decided improvement upon the pupil-teacher system which had been condemned by the New Education, but the latter system had of necessity to remain until sufficient numbers of students could be trained to meet the demand from the private schools. The great difficulty facing the Training Board² was the shortage of schools of sufficient quality to be registered for training purposes. Such schools had to meet minimum requirements in regard to space, lighting, ventilation, apparatus,

¹ibid., 13.

²Profs. Scott and Macallum. (Sydney Univ.); One of H.M. Inspector’s of Public Schools; Dr. Harris (King’s); P.A. Robin (Newington); Mr. Giles (Grammar); H. Banff (Registrar, Sydney Univ.); Miss MacDonald (Women’s College); Miss Garvin (Girls’ High); Mrs. Davis (M.R.C. Preceptors). ibid., Sept, 1894, 7.
furniture, playgrounds, staff, time-table and programme. By 1899 only ten Kindergartens and three Primary schools had been registered, along with two Kindergarten and three Primary trainers. Following the opening of Shirley, the number of Kindergarten students rose to sixty-six but there were no Primary students being trained.

After eleven years of training work in New South Wales both Miss Newcomb and Miss Hodge returned to England. Their school had handled only a total of twenty students, of which eleven Primary and six Secondary students had gained Diplomas. An additional three Primary and a Secondary teacher were about to complete the course. The limited scope of the Association's training system was fully realised by these two pioneers of private school pre-training:

The record...is rather a melancholy one of the petty done, the undone vast, but the omissions were not due to any want of energy or lack of enthusiasm for the cause which we have both so much at heart. It may

---

1 ibid., Sept., 1899, 3.
2 ibid., Aug., 1901, 10
3 Hodge, loc. cit.
be that our appeal was made prematurely, when we urged embryo teachers to receive a technical training and thus constitute themselves into a professional class, if so, we have at least sown the seed, and we shall live in hope that our successors in the work will gather from this seed a plentiful harvest.

By 1910 the efforts of the Teachers' Association and of progressives such as Miss Newcomb and Miss Hodge had had only a marginal effect upon educational practice in the elementary classes of the private schools represented in its membership. With few exceptions the initiative in the New Education movement seemed still to lie with the Public School teachers and their own administrative and professional associations.² These Public schools were after all those which affected the majority of the population and which involved the expenditure of public money. The reform of the private schools was the concern of no one but themselves and those who supported them financially. Little constructive criticism was to be either expected or accepted from

¹Ibid.

²Few Public school teachers actively supported the Teachers' Association (Guild) of New South Wales.
private schools who had enough difficulty putting their own house in order\(^1\) and were moreover, preoccupied with Secondary rather than Primary education.

- **Private Kindergartens\(^2\)**

If the work of the Ladies' Colleges had shown but limited evidence of the New Education in comparison with the Public Primary schools, they were not so ineffective in their influence upon the growth of the Kindergarten movement in New South Wales. Though popularly misconceived, Kindergarten had by the early 1880's become a popular and fashionable form of "education" due to its introduction into the Infants' Public schools and a general interest in technical education to which, through hand and eye training, it was held to contribute:\(^3\)

\(^1\) That the private schools recognised the dominant role of the Departmental system in the Primary field is clearly shown in the discussion which followed an address to the Association by A.B. Piddington, in which he criticised the Public schools, particularly in regard to the pupil-teacher system. *vide*, *Aust. Teach.*, Nov., 1897, 6-10.

\(^2\) For a detailed account of the development of Kindergartens, *vide*, Walker, *op. cit.*

\(^3\) *vide supra*, 279 ff.
There is no doubt that the word had gained a popular appeal and that this was being exploited by people with no training and probably with little knowledge of the system. Many of the attempts to start Kindergartens failed, others were short lived, but a nucleus persisted.¹

This nucleus was to be found in the well-established private schools such as Redlands (then known as The College for Girls), The Methodist Ladies' College, and Maybanke, in all of which Kindergarten training was carried on.² The centre of the movement appears to have been at Burwood where Miss Scheer's Kindergarten was "little less formal than those under the Department of Public Instruction and...equally concerned with progress in the 3 R's".³

Both Mrs. David⁴ and Miss Scheer expressed their concern for the problem of the untrained teacher of Kindergarten who set herself up as an exponent of the method. Each presented papers before the Teachers' Association⁵ and continued to keep

¹Walker, op. cit., 170.
²ibid.
³ibid., 173.
⁴Miss Mallett, Principal of Hurlstone, 1882-5.
⁵Aust. Teach., May, 1894, 2-6.
the problem before it. Their attitude was expressed by Miss Scheer in a further paper published in October 1895:

The word (Kindergarten) is now universally known, often misunderstood, and very often the mark for the most irrational methods of work, often totally in opposition to the principles of its founder.¹

Meanwhile the Kindergarten Union of New South Wales had been formed in July 1895, by enthusiasts in the private schools, notably Redlands and the Methodist College,² and training of Kindergarten teachers was being undertaken under Miss Buckey³. By 1904 the initiative in training such teachers had passed to the Union's Training College at Roslyn Gardens, Darlinghurst where there were sixteen students in residence.⁴

From the Ladies' College tradition had therefore emerged a movement which was not only to successfully establish a private system of Kindergartens⁵, but which undertook the training of

¹ibid., Oct., 1895, 5.
²S.T.C. Kindergarten Society, op. cit., 18.
³vide supra, 285.
⁴Walker, op. cit., 181-205.
⁵attracting a government subsidy of £1,000 annually after 1901. S.T.C. Kindergarten Society, op. cit., 23.
teachers to staff these schools. Of particular significance was the fact that this work was undertaken at a time when, in spite of the enthusiasm of the 1904 Conference there was no special provision in the Public schools for children under six, no special training college, and an inadequate conception of the educative principles upon which Kindergarten was based.

The Union served to keep Kindergarten theory and practice in contact with overseas developments, particularly in America. This influence was reflected in the Public schools through the work of Miss Simpson at Blackfriars, but the main impetus in these schools was attributed by Professor Anderson to the Union: "The Free Kindergarten Union...established training schools and

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1 N.S.W. Conference of Inspectors etc., 1904, op. cit., 137-141.
2 A more comprehensive course was introduced at Blackfriars after 1906. vide, S.T.C. Kindergarten Society, op. cit., 12 ff.
3 vide supra, 296.
4 vide supra, 299-300.
colleges for teachers, and their efforts and success stimulated the Departments to remedy the defects of the existing official system.\textsuperscript{1} In the Kindergarten movement is represented the most tangible evidence of the contribution of the private schools to the New Education in New South Wales. Whereas in the general area of private Primary education there is little evidence of the innovation which might have been expected of an "independent system", in the specific field of Kindergarten it seems clear that progress in the Public schools was to a significant extent influenced by the development of private Kindergartens under the Kindergarten Union.

The Contribution of the Private Schools to Educational Development in New South Wales.

Professor Anderson, looking back on the reform movement of the 1900's, recognised that circumstances had combined to make three things absolutely necessary. These were:

1. The drawing up of a new programme of school instruction in accordance with the new ideals.

\textsuperscript{1}B.A.A.S., Federal Handbook, op. cit., 526.
2. New methods of selecting and training future teachers.

3. That the Department of Public Instruction should come to the aid of the great body of teachers in the difficult years of transition from the old system to the new.¹

If these requirements are accepted as having been prerequisite to successful adaptation of schools to the New Education, and allowing for the tradition and circumstances surrounding both the Public and private school organisations, it is clear that the initiative in such change had to rest with the Department of Public Instruction. This is not to deny the complex factors both inside and outside the Public school system which determined Departmental activity,² but in response to these influences it was the Public schools rather than the private which were forced to act.

It has been shown that neither the Roman Catholic nor the Church of England Primary school systems were in a position to initiate new programmes of instruction or training schemes in accordance with the new ideals. Both were plagued by financial difficulties, the Catholics because of their committal to expansion of their schools more so than the Church of England which was prepared in the event to let things take their course. Both


²vide supra, Chaps. I-IV.
Churches were committed by tradition and inclination to attempting to follow the standards set by the Department, so far as their resources and religious objectives in education would allow. The result was a blot upon educational provision in the State. This suggests a gross deficiency in Departmental organisation in failing to develop some effective plan for supervision and regulation of schools which after all were legally recognised as part of the State provision for education.¹

The lower divisions in schools of what has been termed the Great Public School and Ladies' College tradition, also tended to be neglected and subordinated to the academic and social ideals recognised in these schools of predominantly Secondary education. The academic orientation was particularly noticeable in the boys' schools, being apparently modified only by the need to keep preparatory classes generally abreast of developments in the Public Primary schools, from which they continued to draw a good proportion of pupils to be taken on to Secondary work.

¹vide supra, 11 ff.
The girls' schools typically displayed a freer approach to curriculum development and method but their objectives, largely for commercial reasons, remained those of academic, moral and social development. There was therefore not to be expected of these schools the same degree of development in curriculum and methods which, as advocated in the Public schools, were distinctly orientated towards boys' education. Much of the emphasis in the girls' private schools upon character building and the preparation of pupils for the changing role of women in society, was compatible with the character formation and education for life which characterised the New Education. But the main development emanating from such schools was that of the Kindergarten which contributed not only programme development to the New Education but also trained teachers. It represented the greatest achievement of the private Primary schools during the period, contributing not only in private, but also in State schools, to the development of one of the more important influences composing the New Education.
CHAPTER X

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRIMARY SYSTEM OF EDUCATION IN

NEW SOUTH WALES: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The study of the development of Primary education in New South Wales has been shown to be one which necessitates the identification of established patterns in order that the continuity of the evolutionary process might be demonstrated. But evolution also implies the modification of institutionalised patterns in the name of progress, the need for which is recognised in the existence of society.

Ideals of democracy pursued in New South Wales in the thirty years after 1880 did not mean that the roles of the individual and of pressure groups were subordinated in the policy-making process, to some coherent and popular expression of "the common good". Indeed the growth of political parties had taken place in a context of an increasingly bureaucratic public service controlled by that peculiarly Australian institution, the Public (or Civil) Service Board. Over all remained the concept of Ministerial responsibility which also had been definitely established during the period. The "common good" was defined under such circumstances according to the particular needs and
interests of the various parties to the policy-making process. How much (or how little) of the educational demands placed upon government could or should be satisfied without alienating the bases of electoral and internal support for the government, was a problem constantly multiplied in complexity by the dictates of finance and economics.

At the same time government was realising its increasingly responsible role of regulation and leadership in the process of social change. No doubt events leading to the 1880 Act themselves played a part in contributing to the sophistication of government control, for in sectarian bitterness Parkes recognised the need for society to be saved from itself, as it were, through the intervention of government. Here was some recognition of the rights to be derived from government action which would guarantee a climate of social confidence. The majority might then voluntarily conform, in the knowledge that in so doing they would not be prejudiced by the actions of others who did not so choose.

There was therefore a changing social conception of freedoms resulting from government action and intervention, which gradually was to replace in such fields as education, the recognition of
the right to be left alone. The 1880 Act represented to some extent this advanced role of government in democracy in withdrawing State aid and setting up a comprehensive framework for a Public school system. But government was unable or unwilling to go further. In the circumstances Parkes no doubt felt that the withdrawal of State aid was in itself a great enough step to take, without prejudicing his position further, but the failure of government to make education effectively "free, compulsory and secular", meant that the Department continued to be pre-occupied with the administrative aspects of the educational scene. Effluxion of time was eventually to bring about the solution of these problems but until then the questions of school fees, attendance and the religious content of the curriculum, continued to attract attention away from the less tangible aspects of educational philosophy, curriculum and method.

Solution of these problems implied the extension of government inspection, regulation and control of private schools but this seemed completely unacceptable to government and society, for it implied a return to the organisation of 1866, both organisationally and financially. The Catholic Church especially had made it clear
that the recognition of its schools as providing education equivalent to that provided in Public schools, would assume support of its schools from public funds. In the event, it would appear from the government's point of view, that the only way in which private schools could be tolerated when they competed with Public school provision, was if they continued to occupy an inferior position. The government could not under the circumstances forbid the existence of private schools, nor could it allow them to provide successfully education for the children of the State at a level equal or superior to that in the Public schools.

Even among the private Secondary schools there appears to have been tacit recognition of this fact. They provided an education of a type which by its nature could not be provided in a State system. The Free Kindergartens were an even more special case, fulfilling as they did both a philanthropic and educational function in an area neglected by the Public schools, and therefore receiving a government subsidy.

To justify such arguments as these it has been necessary in the preceding pages to place the development of New South Wales Primary education in perspective. This meant reviewing
developments in 1880 to show both the traditionalism and achievements of the 1880 Act, and to identify those factors which were to continue to influence educational development throughout the ensuing thirty years. The organisation and administration of the Public school system has been studied not only to assess the impact of the Act upon it, but to develop an acquaintance with policy-making procedures and lines of communication within the Department. It has thus been possible to place the educational Conferences of the 1900's in a context of customary reaction of bureaucracy to times of stress.

As a prelude to discussion of the educational climate at the turn of the century the educational machine from the point of view of the teacher has been surveyed under the recurrent theme of probing the morale of a service of which such great adaptation was demanded under the New Education. The machine was found to have been characterised by rigidity and pre-occupation with the material and organisational aspects of a centralised educational system, to the point where severe restrictions were placed upon interpretations of the New Education in attempts to incorporate new ideas without changing established patterns. It has been suggested that the embracing
of the New Education by most teachers was in itself an act of conformity.

The reform movement of the 1900's arose in the context of a well-established English tradition in New South Wales educational institutions. In spite of the growth of Australian nationalism firm bonds of heritage and loyalty continued to ensure a propensity towards English educational institutions, which was reinforced by their obvious compatibility with a system predominantly a product of past importations from the Home Country. The New Education in England however, represented modifications of movements which had originated and developed on the Continent and in America.

Technical developments and expansion in communication facilities had brought Australia and particularly New South Wales into direct contact with a bewildering variety of movements composing the New Education. With this facility grew a realisation in some quarters, not only of the limitations of the nineteenth century conception of education, but of the existence of other than English ideas and practices. Although it might be argued that conditions in Australia so differed from those in England than an abrogation of English educational
practice was desirable, such radical reorientation was certainly not feasible in the educational and wider social, economic and political circumstances of the time. However, the conservative attitude of society and the system to change required that the new influences be adapted as far as possible to the existing framework, rather than the framework to them. Thus the continued reliance of New South Wales upon English interpretations of components of the New Education would appear to have been inescapable.

In order to identify changes and developments in the New South Wales Primary curriculum, together with their sources, English, Continental, American or local, the wider educational climate has been investigated, leading to a discussion of the philosophies of Herbart and Froebel in their various manifestations as underlying the spirit of the New Education.

Much of the tangible evidence of New Education practice was found in the content, organisation, emphases, methods, and underlying philosophy of the curriculum. Throughout this section it was sought to establish the continuity between the curriculum of the nineteenth and twentieth century in an attempt to assess
the real impact of reform upon practice in the schools. It was
the especial objective to identify instances of ideas and
practices which during the nineties anticipated and prepared
the way for the New Education, and to single out those which
were claimed to be among its products, although in evidence
prior to the reform era. Established subjects such as Drawing,
Needlework and Object Lessons, which happened to be by nature
or intent compatible with the new ideals, were found to have
been vehicles for the dissemination and practice of the New
Education.

The excesses and faddism of the 1900's have also been
exposed in their unwarranted dominance of the curriculum and
their misapplication of principles. There was not in practice
the fundamental reconstruction and reversal of former conditions
which the widespread avowal of conformity to contemporary
educational philosophy and psychology suggested. Moreover
the movement has been shown to have been restricted primarily
to the subject of Nature Study and to a lesser extent, Art,
the principle of correlation in fact providing little carry-
over to the remainder of the curriculum. In essence the New
Education was reduced to practical terms in the schools, but
such practices were not based upon an understanding of the theory behind them and therefore were confined to specific subjects. Forced correlation of subjects and blind obedience to the Herbartian "steps" were symptomatic of a lack of appreciation amongst practising teachers of the true significance of reform.

In all subject areas however, undeniable changes and shifts of emphasis have been noted, many originating in other than distinctly New Education influences, but proving to be more or less compatible with the movement. The degrees of impact of the New Education in the subject areas have been explained in terms of these influences of varying strengths and compatibilities.

Finally the possible influence of the private schools in determining the nature of the New Education in New South Wales and upon its general acceptance in the State Schools has been shown to have been extremely limited except in their contribution of a decidedly American influence to the Kindergarten movement. Of the two dominant private Primary school systems only that of the Roman Catholic Church proved to be capable of expansion and consolidation. This was achieved only at the cost of reduced standards. The problem of finance contributed both to the low overall standards of the Catholic schools and to their
determination to follow the lead of the Public schools in the hope of attracting government financial aid. Inability of the government to extend inspection and training facilities to them, though apparently unavoidable in the circumstances of the time, ignored the fact that a significant proportion of children for which the State was ultimately responsible, were subjected to methods and conditions of teaching which it publicly condemned in its own schools.

In other private schools the problem was of less magnitude and depended to a great extent upon the establishment of closer co-operation between the State and the Catholic Church for its solution. The government could not regulate the numerous small private schools of inferior standard until it could devise a scheme to comprehend all private schools. The Church of England system had been reduced to not very significant proportions, for the basis of its existence had been weakened by a lack of coherent Church policy and Public School provision for religious instruction.

Such inferior educational provision obviously detracted from the overall reform movement in New South Wales and cannot be excused in terms of the abuses and excesses which were associated
with the New Education in the Public schools. By-products of progress and of an enthusiasm amongst the State teaching service, these might be deemed to have been essential to the development of the professionalism implied in the move to pre-training and in-service training of teachers. Such a spirit was notably absent in the private schools except in regard to those represented in the Teachers' Association (Guild) of New South Wales. These schools however, generally placed emphasis upon Secondary education in the Great Public School tradition. Particularly in the case of boys' schools, they were content to follow the Public Primary school curriculum in so far as it was compatible with their ideals of character formation and academic excellence. But the methods and philosophy of teaching in preparatory classes generally reflected the less child-centred and more academic approach of the upper classes.

The girls' schools on the other hand were a little more adaptable to the New Education, within the limitations imposed by the new emphases being orientated towards working class males rather than middle class ladies. However, there is some evidence of New Education philosophy in the teaching methods employed in these schools, a decisive factor being the attention
paid to Kindergarten. Among teachers in these schools was born the Kindergarten Union which played an important role in the development of Kindergarten practice and in the training of Kindergarten teachers, both in the private and State systems.

The New Education was a phenomenon of mainly Public school initiative so far as its practical application in the Primary schools of New South Wales was concerned, although it was embraced by them at the instigation of complex, predominantly external factors. It appears on the surface to have consisted of little more than a few new subjects and a more child-centred but predominantly utilitarian approach to teaching. It was however more than this, for it undoubtedly realised a spirit among educators which expressed itself in the substitution of "education" for "instruction" and "inspection" for "examination". The "easy" became the "simple", the "difficult", the "complex" and in the relationship of cause and effect as a teaching method, the elements of interest, levels of difficulty, activity and self-expression were all to play a role. But a complex of historical psychological, social, political and economic forces which reinforced and coincided with overseas influences, was also the New Education. In this sense the New Education movement may be
regarded as one of gradual and continual change, originating in the earliest systems of national education and having yet to realise in New South Wales schools, the ideals and philosophies the effective application of which, after sixty years, would still be considered progressive.
APPENDIX A

MINISTERS AND OFFICERS OF THE DEPARTMENT
1880–1910

MINISTERS

Suttor, F.B. 21 December 1878 to 30 April 1880
Robertson, Sir J. 10 November 1881
Suttor, F.B. 5 January 1883
Reid, G.H. 6 March 1884
Trickett, W.J. 22 December 1885
Young, J.H. 26 February 1886
Renwick, A. 19 January 1887
Inglis, J. 17 January 1889
Suttor, F.B. 8 March 1889
Carruthers, J.H. 23 October 1891
Suttor, F.B. 3 August 1894
Garrard, J. 27 August 1898
Hogue, J.A. 14 September 1899
Perry, J. 14 June 1904
Fegan, J.L. 29 August 1904
O'Connor, B.B. 13 May 1907
Hogue, J.A. 1 October 1910
Beeby, G.S. 10 September 1911

UNDER-SECRETARIES

Wilkins, William 1 May 1880 to 13 November 1884
Johnson, Edwin 7 March 1894
Maynard, John 10 April 1894 to 30 September 1903
Bridges, Frederick (Acting) 16 November 1904
Board, Peter (Director) 8 February 1905 to 31 December 1922
### CHIEF INSPECTORS

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<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>From/To</th>
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<td>1 May 1880 to 13 November</td>
<td>1884</td>
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<td>1 December 1884 to 9 April</td>
<td>1894</td>
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<td>Bridges, Frederick</td>
<td>30 September</td>
<td>1903</td>
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<td>7 February</td>
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<td>Dawson, James</td>
<td>9 August</td>
<td>1920</td>
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### DEPUTY CHIEF INSPECTORS

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<td>McIntyre, William</td>
<td>29 February</td>
<td>1902</td>
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<tr>
<td>McCredie, James</td>
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<td>31 December</td>
<td>1909</td>
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<tr>
<td>McLelland, Hugh</td>
<td>9 August</td>
<td>1920</td>
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</table>
STANDARD OF PROFICIENCY
FOR
CATHOLIC PRIMARY SCHOOLS
IN AUSTRALIA.

INFANTS (under 6).

RELIGION.—
(a) Sign of the Cross, Lord's Prayer, Hail Mary, and Creed.
(b) Approved Catechism. Chap. I.

READING.—
To read and spell words of three letters from charts.

WRITING.—On slates.
(a) Strokes.
(b) Small letters and capitals.
(c) Words of three letters from blackboard (half-text).

ARITHMETIC.—
Counting to 100; easy mental addition.

SINGING.—
Three simple songs with action.

INFANTS (under 7).

RELIGION.—
(a) Prayers as before, with Confiteor and Act of Contrition, and Hail Holy Queen.
(b) Approved Catechism—Chapters I. to IV.
(c) Morning offering.

READING.—
(a) Approved Primer.
(b) Phrase spelling from Primer.

WRITING.—On slates.
Paragraphs from Primer, copied from blackboard.

ARITHMETIC.—
To set down and read numbers up to 100; Addition, three addends; easy mental operations in Addition and Subtraction.

OBJECT LESSONS.—
Form and colour.

SINGING.—
Four simple songs with action.

DRILL.—
Four different movements.

NEEDLEWORK.—
Simple Hemming.
How to write numbers.

NEED TO KNOW.

DUNIL—Your movement to make.

(a) To express number on a graph of figures.
(b) To express number on a graph of figures.
(c) To express number on a graph of figures.

SIRRING.

Linen and motion with any proposed lesson from handwriting.

DRAWING—On line.

Drawing activities and materials in common use.

OBJECTISSONS.

To distinguish the noun in any sentence.

GRAMMAR.

(c) Knowledge of numbers in science

(a) Knowledge of numbers.
(b) Knowledge of numbers.
(c) Knowledge of numbers.
(d) Knowledge of numbers.

ARITHMETIC.

(a) Knowledge of numbers from tables of figures.
(b) Knowledge of numbers from tables of figures.
(c) Knowledge of numbers from tables of figures.

WRITING.

(a) Knowledge of numbers from tables of figures.
(b) Knowledge of numbers from tables of figures.
(c) Knowledge of numbers from tables of figures.

READING.

(a) Knowledge of numbers from tables of figures.
(b) Knowledge of numbers from tables of figures.
(c) Knowledge of numbers from tables of figures.

RELIGION.

FIRST CLASS (Reference only, if necessary).
SECOND CLASS (Age 6, 7 years):

- Arithmetic
  - Mental calculation in fractions
  - Addition, multiplication, and subtraction of money
  - Directions in simple stories
  - Directions in narrative
  - Multiplication Tables in full

- Writing
  - To form from memory the names of Proverbs from second book
  - Instruction in writing
  - Second book (approved method)

- Reading
  - Introductions for right communication
  - "I and they" on acts of Faith, Hope, and Charity, and "Conscience"
  - Second book (approved method)
  - "Approved Catechism": Chapter I to XX

- Religion

- DRILL
  - as before

- OBJECT LESSONS
  - Object lesson on the Animal, Vegetable, and Mineral Kingdom

- GEOGRAPHY
  - To distinguish the parts of speech and cases of Names and Pronouns in easy sentences

- GRAMMAR
  - Physical calculation in fractions
  - Mental calculation in fractions
  - Addition, multiplication, and subtraction of money
  - Directions in simple stories
  - Directions in narrative
  - Multiplication Tables in full

- ARITHMETIC
  - Directions: Right hand on paper from second book
  - Van Patter's 27 and 28

- WRITING
  - To form from memory the names of Proverbs from second book
  - Instruction in writing
  - Second book (approved method)

- READING
  - Introductions for right communication
  - "I and they" on acts of Faith, Hope, and Charity, and "Conscience"
  - Second book (approved method)
  - "Approved Catechism": Chapter I to XX

- RELIGION

- SECOND CLASS (Age 6, 7 years)
II

NEOPLASM

Right movement to music

BRIT.

Lo apte in motion six seconds and at least two part surgery

SINGING.


DRAWING.

General outline of American History

HISTORY.

To draw from memory a long essay in which school is entitled

GEOGRAPHY.

To write a short letter

PRINTING.

Paragraph and Analysis of Simple Sentences

GHAZALE.

Fraction: Common Fraction (A Few Poems)

ARITHMETIC.

Division: Whole and Fraction

WRITING.

To copy from memory six pages of poetry from that book

READING.

Exposition of the Proven Statement

RELIGION.

THIRD CLASS (Ages 10-13 Years)
| Subject          | Fourth Book (upper part)   | Fifth Book (upper part) | (b) Intell. Knowledge of subject matter of 5th class.
<table>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RELIGION</td>
<td>(c) Bible History from the Call of Abraham to the Reign of Solomon.</td>
<td>(d) Public Life of our Lord. (Psalms.)</td>
<td>(e) Fourth Book (upper part).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>READING</td>
<td>(f) Fourth Book (upper part).</td>
<td>(g) To repeat from memory six pieces of poetry from Fourth Book.</td>
<td>(h) Fourth Book (upper part).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WRITING</td>
<td>(i) To repeat a passage from Fourth Book.</td>
<td>(j) To repeat a passage from Fourth Book.</td>
<td>(k) Fourth Book (upper part).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EUCLID</td>
<td>(o) Book I and prop. XX.</td>
<td>(p) Book I and prop. XX.</td>
<td>(q) Fourth Book (upper part).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GRAMMAR</td>
<td>(r) Paring and Analytical Practical Rules of Syntax.</td>
<td>(s) To write a letter or the salutations of a short narrative novel or (old)</td>
<td>(t) Fourth Book (upper part).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEOGRAPHY</td>
<td>(u) To draw on paper a map of the Countries, British Empire and Australasia.</td>
<td>(v) To draw from memory a map of the Countries, British Empire and Australasia.</td>
<td>(w) Fourth Book (upper part).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HISTORY</td>
<td>(x) To draw from memory a map of the Countries, British Empire and Australasia.</td>
<td>(y) To draw from memory a map of the Countries, British Empire and Australasia.</td>
<td>(z) Fourth Book (upper part).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRAWING</td>
<td>(a) To name at least three historical periods.</td>
<td>(b) To name at least three historical periods.</td>
<td>(c) Fourth Book (upper part).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SINGING</td>
<td>(c) To follow a choral song.</td>
<td>(d) To follow a choral song.</td>
<td>(e) Fourth Book (upper part).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DOMESTIC ECONOMY</td>
<td>(f) To make up any plain garments.</td>
<td>(g) To make up any plain garments.</td>
<td>(h) Fourth Book (upper part).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DILL</td>
<td>(i) Plain and fancy knitting.</td>
<td>(j) Plain and fancy knitting.</td>
<td>(k) Fourth Book (upper part).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The food we eat, the beverages we drink, and atmosphere—cooking food, general laws of health, cleanliness, and sanitation. (Harrington's Science of Home Life.)
APPENDIX C

SOME RULES FOR THE GUIDANCE OF THE DIOCESAN
SCHOOL INSPECTOR

21st February, 1896.

1. The Diocesan school inspector shall pay an official visit to each primary school under Catholic management in the archdiocese, at least once a year.

2. On the occasion of this official visit he should hold an examination in each class in the school so visited, of which examination he should make a record with a view to a formal report on same to the Cardinal and bishop. A synopsis of this report should be entered in the "observation Book" with date of entry and read by the teacher in the presence of the Inspector.

3. This examination should be kept within the limits of that portion of "the standard of proficiency" corresponding to the period of the year at which the examination may take place and conducted orally except in the subjects of dictation and English Composition.

4. The report should refer not only to the efficiency of the teaching and progress of the pupils but also to the good order, discipline, cleanliness and general morale of the school.

5. He should attend to the classification of the pupils and the length of time they may be retained in their respective standard, and should also see that all the pupils share equally in the educational advantages afforded by the teachers.

6. That these examinations may be as far as practicable, an evidence of the literary work done by teachers and pupils, it will be found advisable to hold them during "the second half-yearly Enrolment" in the higher classed schools, and during "the first half-yearly Enrolment" in the Secondary school, when the number of pupils is small and the proficiency slow.
7. He should note with what fidelity the standard of proficiency is followed by the teacher and also the number of prescribed subjects — if any — which are not taught.

8. It will be a duty with the Inspector to see that "the standard of proficiency" is kept in a prominent place in each school, also "the time table" and that the various duties of the school are arranged in strict accordance with their provisions. Also that the roll book is regularly and accurately kept and the quarterly returns of attendance made at Midwinter, Xmas and at the end of March and September together with an annual return at the close of the academic year. A duplicate of all these returns should be preserved by the teachers.

9. There should be a visitors' book in each school in which visitors shall be invited to record their opinion on the working of the school and neither in "the visitors' book" or in the "observation book" must any change or erasure be made.

10. That the teachers be invited (when time permits or on the occasion of unofficial visits) to conduct their classes in presence of the inspector, that he may have an opportunity of passing an opinion of their judgment and practical skill as instructors. On these occasions the Inspector shall note any marked defect or peculiarity of manner that may appear; afterwards privately draw the teacher's attention to these defects, and seek to ascertain on the occasion of his next visit, how far they may have been corrected.

11. The Inspector should show all due respect for the teachers and a generous recognition of the services they are rendering to the cause of Catholic education. He should never correct faults in the presence of the pupils or publicly manifest dissatisfaction with what may meet with his disapproval. He should also see that their personal comfort is duly consulted for.

12. He should report on the sufficiency of the teaching staff, the supply of book and other school materials, furniture, and on the attention paid to the preservation of the last mentioned.
12. He should inquire into the manner in which the recreation of the pupils is supervised and see that all impropriety is guarded against and, in the case of mixed schools, that the sexes are duly separated.

13. He should also report on the general state of repair in which the school may be, the sufficiency of the water supply, the condition of the closets, the fences and recreation ground.

14. Vacation time should be uniform in all the Catholic schools of the archdiocese and as far as possible corresponding with those of the public schools of the Colony.

15. It may be found convenient to divide the primary schools of the Diocese into classes viz., First Class, Second Class etc. In carrying out this classification regard shall be had principally to the number of pupils on the roll and the average attendance. The inspector may however and should, consider the progress of the school, the number of subjects taught and the excellency attained in each subject.

16. The Inspector of Schools will in all matters of detail take counsel of and be guided by his Lordship the Auxiliary Bishop.

- from a rough copy in St. Mary's Archives.
APPENDIX D

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

BOARD, Peter

Appointed pupil-teacher on probation, Glebe

January 1873

Removal from Glebe to Lambton (Newcastle)

April 1873

Promoted Class IV to Class III

January 1874

Promoted Class III to Class II

January 1875

Promoted Class II to Class I

July 1875

Awarded IIB Certificate during session ending

June 1876

Temporary charge of Windsor

October 1876

Temporary attendance at Fort Street

January 1877

Teacher at Gunning

July 1877

IIA by examination

October 1881

Paddington as temporary First Assistant

January 1882

IB by examination

January 1883

Teacher at Macdonalldtown

June 1883

IA after supplementary examination

April 1885

Batchelor of Arts, University of Sydney

1891

Inspector of Schools, Lismore

July 1893

Long service leave on Continent and in Great Britain. Report on Primary Education

1903

Under Secretary and Director

February 1905


1909
BRIDGES, Frederick

First male pupil-teacher appointed in New South Wales, Fort Street July 1852
Junior Assistant, Fort Street July 1856
First Assistant, William Street July 1857
First Assistant, Fort Street 1859
Headmaster, National School, Balmain March 1861
Mudgee Model School 1862
East Maitland 1865
Cleveland Street 1865
Fort Street 1866
Inspector, Sydney June 1876
Inspector, Wellington 1880
Inspector, Bathurst 1882
Deputy Chief Inspector December 1884
Concurrently member of Board of Examiners October 1889
Superintendent of Technical Education Branch November 1889
Member of Editorial Committee of New South Wales Educational Gazette 1891
Chief Inspector of Schools April 1894
Concurrently Acting Public Service Commissioner
Acting Under-Secretary October 1903
Died November 1904

DAWSON, James

Appointed Inspector from outside the service because of university training.
Braidwood July 1880
Goulburn 1884
Mittagong 1885
JOHNSON, Edwin

Pupil-teacher and trained at Kneller Hall Training College, England.
Selected by Board of National Education to be brought to New South Wales and first appointed May 1855
Special Class I Certificate of the National Board 1857
Lecturer, Fort Street Training School, shortly after
Organiser of new school at Deniliquin 1861
 Inspector of Schools October 1862
 Hunter River District 1863
 Sydney January 1867
 Cumberland 1878
 Chief Inspector May 1880
 Under-Secretary November 1884
 Concurrently Chairman of Board of Examiners October 1889
 Died March 1894

MAYNARD, John

Trained with Johnson at Kneller Hall but refused offer of employment in the National schools.
Tasmania (Mathematics master at Hobart Grammar) c. 1858
New South Wales, Acting Training Master 1868
IA Certificate by examination c. 1869
Note: "S.C.R." was a notable contributor to educational thought and method in the nineties through articles in the Educational Gazette and the daily press. That this was the pseudonym of S.C. Rose was revealed by the fact that Rose addressed the 1901 Conference of the Public School Teachers' Association. (vide, N.S.W. Edl. Gaz., XI, July, 1901, 32.) A report of an address given by

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Date</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Headmaster, Wollongong and Goulburn</td>
<td>c.1869</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Inspector, Braidwood</td>
<td>January 1872</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>District Inspector, Maitland</td>
<td>1880</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deputy Chief Inspector</td>
<td>1882</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chief Inspector</td>
<td>December 1884</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under-Secretary</td>
<td>April 1894</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leave prior to retirement</td>
<td>October 1903</td>
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**McCREDIE, James**

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>First appointed</th>
<th>Class IIIA confirmation of National Board's classification while Assistant at Goulburn</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>April 1862</td>
<td>August 1869</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Class II</td>
<td>June 1870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Burwood</td>
<td>December 1870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>IIA to IB</td>
<td>May 1875</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>IA</td>
<td>January 1879</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Inspector, Yass</td>
<td>1880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Inspector, Grafton</td>
<td>May 1882</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>District Inspector, Bathurst</td>
<td>February 1888</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Acting Deputy Chief Inspector</td>
<td>May 1901</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Deputy Chief Inspector</td>
<td>March 1902</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Acting Chief Inspector</td>
<td>October 1903</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Leave prior to retirement</td>
<td>February 1905</td>
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</table>

**ROSE, Samuel Charles**

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Name</th>
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<td>Occupation</td>
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<td>Burwood</td>
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<td>IIA to IB</td>
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<td>Inspector, Yass</td>
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<td>Inspector, Grafton</td>
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<td>District Inspector, Bathurst</td>
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<td>Acting Deputy Chief Inspector</td>
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<td>Acting Chief Inspector</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Leave prior to retirement</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
"S.C.R." to the same Conference was later published in the Gazette. (S.C.R., "The Educational Outlook", ibid., Aug., 1901, 54 ff.) A check of Departmental records revealed no other person in the service of the Department at the time with the same initials.

Born
Temporary charge of Ballandean
Temporary charge of Pilliga
III A
Teacher at Eden
II B
II A
Unanderra Evening Public
Retired

8th May 1863
October 1888
November 1889
January 1891
January 1892
January 1892
July 1895
October 1896
May 1929

ROTH, Dr. Reuter

Born, Brighton, England
M.R.C.S., England
Practised in Switzerland
Admitted as a registered practitioner
(New South Wales)
Honorary Surgeon to Cadet Corps
Principal Medical Officer of Cadets
(Surgeon Captain)
Lecturer in Elementary Anatomy,
Physiology and Hygiene at the
Training Schools
Lecturer in Physiology, Technical
Education Branch
South African War
Acting as Medical Inspector of Schools
Medical Inspector and Lecturer

1858
1881
1881 - 1883
January 1883
July 1886
January 1890
January 1896
August 1897
1900
1907
1909
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C. Published Articles and Addresses

D. Unpublished Articles, Essays and Theses

E. Magazines, Newspapers and Journals

F. Archive Materials

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University Files, 1906-7.

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