Sectarianism and the development of elementary education in New South Wales, 1788-1918

Kenneth Davies
University of Wollongong
Sectarianism and the Development of Elementary Education
in New South Wales, 1788-1918

Volume I

Kenneth Davies, M.A., M.Ed.

A thesis submitted to
The University of Wollongong
in fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

1976
Acknowledgements

The writer wishes to express his sincere thanks to his supervisor, Associate Professor C. P. Kiernan of the Department of History, for his continued interest in this investigation and for his advice and guidance throughout all stages of the work.

Thanks are also due to Monsignor C. Duffy, Archivist, St. Mary's Cathedral, the staffs of the Mitchell and Dixson Libraries, Sydney, and to Mr. J. Fletcher, Research Officer of the Department of Education, Sydney. A special thanks is extended to Mrs. I. Davidson, Wollongong, and Mr. F. E. McGuire, Loftus; who made available to me their extensive collections of nineteenth and early twentieth century school books.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge the indispensable assistance of my typist, Mrs. Kathie Fanning. As the work had to be completed quickly, her help was much more than that of an assistant; sometimes she seemed to be working harder than I was.
The purpose of this dissertation is to trace the influence of sectarianism upon the development of elementary education in New South Wales between 1788 and 1918. Because to date none of the historians, social scientists, or sociologists studying sectarianism has constructed a precise and universally applicable definition, a pragmatic approach has been adopted to the phenomenon. For the purposes of this study, sectarianism has been taken to mean that fanaticism or narrowness of religious belief which, because of real or imagined attacks upon religious conscience, promotes conflict between the sects. Although the various sects of Protestants differed amongst themselves, in general they were united in their endeavours to inhibit the aims and the activities of the Roman Catholic Church.

The principal source of conflict between Protestants and Roman Catholics was over the provision of religious instruction to children of different faiths. All efforts to devise compromise solutions to the problem within a general system of education failed. As a result, two major systems of education developed: a public school system which catered for the educational needs of most Protestants and some Roman Catholics and a Roman Catholic school system.

The problems created by sectarian animosity were complicated by racial prejudice. Most Roman Catholics in nineteenth century New South Wales were Irish or of Irish
descent. Anglo-Protestants were taught to regard them not only as inferior beings whose lack of intelligence made them susceptible to the erroneous doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church but as a dangerous and disloyal element within the community. The activities of Fenians in Ireland and in England, the attempted assassination of the Duke of Edinburgh at Clontarf in Sydney in 1868 and the anti-English attitudes adopted by the Roman Catholic press served to strengthen this view.

The Roman Catholic body responded to Protestant suspicions of their loyalty by taking refuge in the unity they found in the Church, in their Irishness and in their separate school system. After 1880, and free from the oversight of the State of its educational programme, the Roman Catholic hierarchy in New South Wales assisted the promotion of this feeling of estrangement from the rest of the community by the type of instruction it encouraged in its schools. Every effort was made to inculcate not only love of the Church but loyalty to Ireland. Hibernian competitions, the teaching of Irish History and the Irish language and the celebration of festive occasions such as St. Patrick's Day helped to produce a people who were seen to be different from the Protestant majority.

The public schools were also profoundly influenced by religious controversies over education. Decisions made about the subjects taught, the schools books used and the attitudes encouraged were frequently determined more by
sectarian than by educational motives. As a result, the boys and girls who emerged from these schools looked to England for inspiration and believed that the Anglo-Saxon race had a divine right to rule the world. The graduates of the Roman Catholic school system looked to Ireland as the birthplace of civilisation, regarded England as anathema and supported Home Rule.

The different politico-religious training imbibed in school was at the root of the conscription crises which tore Australian society apart during World War I and which re-awakened the sectarian animosities which had been dormant for most of the period since 1900. In the outcome, what dominated in educational issues in New South Wales was not, as is commonly assumed, the intellectual requirements of a sound education, but rather sectarianism which was allowed to predominate over all else.
## CONTENTS

Table of Contents vi
List of Tables viii
List of Abbreviations ix
Introduction xi

### Chapter

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>The Anglican Years: The Sectarian Inheritance of the First Settlers of New South Wales</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>Dissent and the Struggle for an Alternative System of Public Education</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>William Wilkins and the Board of National Education</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>1862-1865: Financial Crisis and Anglican Attempts to re-establish control of Colonial Education</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>The Churches and the Public Schools Act</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>Confrontation and Compromise: Parkes and Catholic Education, 1867-1878</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>History, Sectarianism and Educational Reform</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>1879: The Joint Pastoral and the Education Crisis</td>
<td>284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX</td>
<td>1880-1883: Parkes and the Inadequacies of the Public Instruction Act</td>
<td>357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>History and the Education of the Ideal Citizen</td>
<td>334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI</td>
<td>Roman Catholic Education and the Development of the Australian Nationalist and Irish Home Ruler</td>
<td>369</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
XII 1901-1914: Educational Reform leaves the Basic Aims of the School Systems unchanged 399

XIII The Crimson Thread of Kinship 435

Conclusion 485

Bibliography 508
LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>A Comparison of the Development of the National and Denominational Systems of Education, 1848-1865</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>Religious Affiliation of Children attending Public, Provisional or Half-time Schools, 1868</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>The Number and Religious Affiliation of Parents requesting the Establishment of Public, Provisional or Half-Time Schools, 1868-1870</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>Percentage and Religious Affiliation of Parents requesting the Establishment of Public, Provisional or Half-Time Schools, 1868-1870</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Religious Affiliation of Children attending Certified Denominational Schools, 1868</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>Total School Population and the Number and Percentage of those receiving instruction in History, 1854-1855</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>The Decline of State-Aided Denominational Education, 1867-1882</td>
<td>294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>Number of Children enrolled in the Various Schools of the Council of Education, 1867-1882</td>
<td>295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX</td>
<td>Protestant and Roman Catholic Certified Denominational Schools compared, 1867-1882</td>
<td>298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>Enrolment at Certified Denominational Schools, 1867-1882</td>
<td>299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI</td>
<td>Numerical Value of Subjects taught to Classes III to V</td>
<td>335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XII</td>
<td>Comparison of religion of Australian Imperial Force volunteers with that of Australian and New South Wales males 15 years and over at Census of 3 April 1911</td>
<td>482</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
List of Abbreviations used in Footnotes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>App.</td>
<td>Appendix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.D.B.</td>
<td>Australian Dictionary of Biography</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.N.E.</td>
<td>Board of National Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.I.</td>
<td>Chief Inspector</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. of E.</td>
<td>Church of England</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Col. Sec.</td>
<td>Colonial Secretary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. of Ed.</td>
<td>Council of Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Com.</td>
<td>Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.T.</td>
<td>Daily Telegraph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.S.B.</td>
<td>Denominational School Board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dept. of Ed.</td>
<td>Department of Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dept. of P.I.</td>
<td>Department of Public Instruction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.I.</td>
<td>District Inspector</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ed.</td>
<td>Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educl</td>
<td>Educational</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ev.</td>
<td>Evidence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaz.</td>
<td>Gazette</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H.R.A.</td>
<td>Historical Records of Australia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H.R.N.S.W.</td>
<td>Historical Records of New South Wales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hist. Studies</td>
<td>Historical studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.N.S.</td>
<td>Irish National System</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.</td>
<td>Journal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.R.A.H.S.</td>
<td>Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Full Name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.L.</td>
<td>Mitchell Library</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.L.A.</td>
<td>National Library of Australia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.S.W.</td>
<td>New South Wales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.S.W.G.G.</td>
<td>New South Wales Government Gazette</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.S.W.P.D.</td>
<td>New South Wales Parliamentary Debates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.P. (N.S.W.)</td>
<td>Parliamentary Papers of New South Wales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.P. (Vic.)</td>
<td>Parliamentary Papers of Victoria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sch(s)</td>
<td>School(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sel. Com.</td>
<td>Select Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.P.C.K.</td>
<td>Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.P.G.</td>
<td>Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.G.</td>
<td>Sydney Gazette</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.H.</td>
<td>Sydney Herald</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.M.H.</td>
<td>Sydney Morning Herald</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u.d.</td>
<td>undated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under-Sec.</td>
<td>Under-Secretary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VP/LA/NSW</td>
<td>Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly of New South Wales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VP/LC/NSW</td>
<td>Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Council of New South Wales</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Introduction

The purpose of this analysis of the development of education in New South Wales between 1788 and 1918 is to discover to what extent decisions made about administration, finance, the subjects taught, the school books used, the attitudes encouraged, were determined by sectarian rather than by educational motives.

Historians generally have avoided the subject for, as Professor Mansfield has stated "the sectarian issue is the hardest to document, its influence the hardest to estimate justly". J. D. Bollen felt that it "evades accurate assessment"; a belief shared by J. A. Ryan who listed it among the "incalculable factors". In Aspects of Sectarianism in New South Wales, c. 1865-1880, Mark Lyons took the view that sectarianism in New South Wales politics has been over-emphasised. This study of sectarianism and education finds it difficult to over-emphasise

---


the influence of the one on the other. Education aims to prepare the country's youth for citizenship. This is achieved through the inculcation of such character-moulding concepts as loyalty, obedience, patriotism, duty, and the acceptance of Christianity as the basis of society. All of these were and are subject to the sectarianism of politicians, educational administrators and teachers. In the period under discussion, this sectarianism became intense when such objectives as educational reform, concessions for Roman Catholic education, Home Rule for Ireland, Imperialism and Republicanism were at issue.

A study of sectarianism and education must be put into its social and political setting. Although comment on this has been kept to a minimum, the work of C. M. H. Clark, J. D. Bollen, M. Lyons, B. E. Mansfield, A. W. Martin, N. B. Nairn and P. O'Farrell enables me to see the effects upon education of the warring sects and of the shifting political factions with greater clarity. For my examination of the sectarian heritage the colonists brought with them to New South Wales, I am indebted to the work of G. M. Trevelyan, U. Henriques, H. McLachlan, D. Marshall, B. Simon and D. Watson.

For the purposes of this work, sectarianism is taken to mean religious conflict between Roman Catholics and Protestants. The term must also be extended to include both denominational antipathy to State educational and other institutions and the reverse, where the grounds of
opposition go beyond what is factual to include irrational
criticisms.

The problems involved in planning and running an
educational system were considerable. What played havoc
with any possibility of resolving the issues involved was
the sectarian conflict, which spread from Australian
society into its educational institutions. It is proposed
that sectarianism was far more predominant and far more
influential in nineteenth-century colonial education than
any other attitude; that even those who saw themselves as
opposing it were influenced by it. We are the inheritors
of these problems. It is time for us to examine the nature
of our inheritance.

For close to half a century after the foundation of
the Colony of New South Wales, the Church of England
sought to be recognised as the Established Church of the
Colony and claimed the prerogative of providing for pub­
lic education. The right of other religious groups to
exist was grudgingly conceded. A proclamation in 1803 on
"Respecting the Toleration of the Roman Catholic Religion"\(^5\)
did no more than acknowledge that, without access to their
religion, Roman Catholics were becoming restless. It was
felt that a "tame" priest could do much to keep them in
order. Even so, the privilege of having the pastoral care

of Rev. Mr. Dixon⁶ was hedged with conditions which indicated that Roman Catholicism was equated with seditious. To maintain a "strict decorum", Regulation 6 for the conducting of a Roman Catholic service laid down that police were to be stationed "at and about the places appointed during the service".⁷ As for the Irish Roman Catholic population of the Colony, Governor King declared:

I believe it will be admitted that no description of people are so bigotted to their religion and priests as the lower orders of the Irish, and such is their credulous ignorance that an artful priest may lead them to every action that is either good or bad.⁸

The repeal of the English Corporation and Test Acts in 1828 and the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829 signalled a new dispensation for non-Anglicans. In the Colony, the new sense of religious equality was given a further stimulus with the revocation in 1833 of the charter of the Church and Schools Corporation. The Anglican Church had lost at last its monopoly of the funds for public education. The loss was not merely a financial one. The stage was set not only for the development of a new relationship between the State and the Church of England but between the churches themselves. It was a change the Anglican leadership was slow to recognise. It was to give rise to sectarian discord.

---

⁸ Ibid., p. 83.
The power of the Church of England, curtailed but not broken in 1833, continued to be an important factor in educational decision making. The gubernatorial efforts of both Bourke and Gipps to provide a better system of public education all foundered on the rock of Anglican intransigence. It was not until 1862 that it was clear that the Anglican Bishop of Sydney could no longer dictate to the Governor and Parliament of New South Wales as his predecessor had.

From 1836 to 1862, Bourke's Church Act, an Act to promote the building of Churches and Chapels, and to provide for the Maintenance of Ministers of Religion in New South Wales, endeavoured to bring some religious equality to the Colony by acknowledging that the four major denominations, the Anglican, Roman Catholic, Presbyterian and Methodist, were all entitled to state aid. In place of the dominant Church of England with its pretensions to being the Established Church of New South Wales, Bourke raised four churches to the status of established churches. By failing to grant religious equality to all the other churches through the provision of state aid, the Church Act impeded rather than advanced this object. By the early 1860's, it was clear that this injustice could not be tolerated for much longer. On 4 December 1862, 7 Wm. IV, No. 3. The Act did not specifically refer to schools but was held to apply to them.
state aid for religious purposes was abolished. By withdrawing financial aid to the major sects, the Grants for Public Worship Prohibition Act provided the religious equality the Church Act had endeavoured to give.\footnote{10}

Despite the strenuous efforts of Charles Cowper and his fellow Anglicans, the loss of state aid for religious purposes was followed by the Public Schools Act of 1866. This Act made the public school system the State system of education. Denominational schools no longer had a right to aid. They had to meet conditions which imposed standards on their level of enrolment, buildings, equipment and the quality and type of secular instruction imparted in their school-rooms.\footnote{11} On the whole, the Protestant churches were able to accommodate themselves to this change, more particularly since the laity was demonstrating an increasing preference for the public school system. The Roman Catholic hierarchy, however, responded by attacking both the restrictions on its freedom to devise its own system of education and the originator of the Act, Henry Parkes. The confrontation provoked an equally determined and militant section of Protestantism.


\footnote{11}{See Public Schools Act of 1866. (Regulations adopted by the Council of Education, on 27 February, 1867), VP/LA/NSW, 1867-8, IV, Regs. 10 and 11, p. 163.}
In the years immediately following the introduction of the Public Schools Act, Henry Parkes used every opportunity to arouse anti-Catholic sentiments amongst the Protestants of the Colony. It was nearly his undoing. He was only saved from the consequences of his attempt to prove that a Roman Catholic conspiracy existed to kill the Duke of Edinburgh by a provident majority in the Legislative Assembly. Absence from the House for two years because of bankruptcy and a further period in opposition were sufficient to make the Roman Catholic vote more attractive to him. With the assistance of William Augustine Duncan and Charles Gavan Duffy, Parkes entered into a coalition with Edward Butler, the Roman Catholic leader in Parliament. The alliance was short-lived but until 1879 Parkes remained the champion of the status quo in education and resisted all attempts to amend the Public Schools Act.

Parkes' decision to bring down the Public Instruction Bill and his other anti-Catholic activities have been regarded by Mark Lyons as responses to ruthless Roman Catholic attempts to gain unfair advantage of the Protestant majority; that it was the Roman Catholics who were the persecutors not the persecuted.\(^\text{12}\) This is an extension of A. W. Martin's belief that Parkes was motivated by

\(^{12}\) M. Lyons, Introduction, op. cit.
idealism. Martin could not disregard the fact that Parkes was a "ruthless politician operating adeptly in a milieu which demanded compromise and guile" but he could not bring himself to admit that the 'Father of New South Wales Education' was a political opportunist. Parkes' contemporaries were more resolute. They saw in his machinations and alliances a talented political animal at work. The early idealism of his work for public education was replaced by political realism. Educational policies were based on political necessities.

The only modern history of education in New South Wales, that of Alan Barcan, also encourages belief in the fiction that, while "Parkes continued to hesitate over educational reform", Roman Catholic Archbishop Roger Bede Vaughan "precipitated" the crisis which led to the Public Instruction Act of 1880. There is enough truth in the statement to confuse the issue. Barcan has accepted too readily the argument put forward by the *Sydney Morning Herald* that:

---

14 Ibid.


Events were precipitated by the action of the Catholic hierarchy. Sooner or later the end must have been reached, but they decided that it should be sooner. The course of events could not be turned aside, nor could the public be made to go back on its convictions. . . . The only question was as to how and when. The Bishops settled that it should be now, and by the present Ministry.  

Vaughan did issue a series of Pastorals in 1879 which triggered an hysterical Protestant reaction. His language was immoderate and he did condemn the public schools as "seedplots of future immorality, infidelity and lawlessness." However, his actions were a response to a speech made by Henry Parkes at Sutton Forest in May 1879.

In his speech, Parkes referred to the education system and informed the audience that some changes could be anticipated "possibly within the present year". Parkes did not indicate that the matter was pressing and the reporter for the Town and Country Journal agreed: "Beyond a stray growl or two from members of the defunct Education League or from priests of the Anglican or Roman Churches, we now find little opposition to the public school system". However, in his analysis of the proposed changes, Parkes mentioned "a fuller improvement in the nature of the instruction given". In particular, he referred to the "great improvement" which might be made in the class-books.

---

17 S.M.H. 28 Nov. 1879.
18 S.M.H. 25 July 1879.
by the introduction of history. This threatened the security of the Roman Catholic school system. Parkes had bowed to the demands of David Buchanan to introduce history and to expose the "superstition known as Popery, Romanism, or whatever other name it might be called". Archbishop Vaughan could not permit a change in the educational system which exposed Roman Catholic children to a Protestant version of history. Father J. L. Moore explained the Roman Catholic view when he said: "There is one true story of mankind, and only one: that is the Catholic story of man, Catholic history. ... There is a Catholic interpretation of history, a Catholic version of the story of man, the only true version of the story." The vehemence of the Protestant reaction to Vaughan's Pastorals and the loss of state aid with the passage of the Public Instruction Act put the Roman Catholic authorities onto the defensive. Criticisms of the public school system and of those Roman Catholics who supported it became more moderate. What the Church now wanted was to

20 S.M.H. 15 May 1879. See also Illawarra Mercury, 20 May 1879.
21 S.M.H. 12 Sept. 1873.
23 This is not to say it disappeared. See B. J. Pennay, The Political Concerns of Bathurst, 1885-1910. For the case of Michael Fitzpatrick, a Roman Catholic who refused to send his children to Roman Catholic schools, see Freeman's J., 17 & 24 Dec. 1881, and Protestant Standard, 17 & 24 Dec. 1881.
convince the more tolerant Protestants that it was entit­
led to a restoration of state aid.

Moderation failed to appease that section of Protest­
antism which was violently anti-Catholic. Not even the
death of Archbishop Vaughan in 1883 lessened their anti­
pathy to "the tribal religion of the Irish". Sectarianism became a part of political life. Writing at
the end of the nineteenth century, T. A. Coghlan remarked
that "It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that from 1869
to 1889 sectarianism was the strongest issue at elections
held in New South Wales". In 1885, F. B. Suttor was
elected to the Legislative Assembly on an anti-Catholic
ticket. When he abandoned Parkes for Jennings in 1886,
he was not only condemned for taking office with "a pron­
ounced Roman Catholic" but sowed the seeds of his defeat
at the elections of 1887. W. P. Crick standing for the
first time for the seat of East Macquarie at the same elect­
ions, declared, on the declaration of the poll, that he had
been defeated "all because he was born of an Irishwoman".

---

24 T. L. Suttor, "The Position of Catholicism in
Australia, 1840-1900", quoted A. G. Austin, Australian
Education, 1788-1900, p. 229.

25 T. A. Coghlan, Labour and Industry in Australia,

26 Parkes Correspondence, Suttor to Parkes, u.d.,
A928, p. 494.

27 Bathurst Daily Times, 6 March 1886.

28 Bathurst Free Press, 15 Feb. 1887.
Rejected by their Protestant Anglo-Saxon fellow-colonists, Roman Catholics reacted with a more determined Hibernianism. While Archbishop-Cardinal Moran, who succeeded Archbishop Vaughan, claimed that the Roman Catholic parochial school was the equal of the public school in all the secular subjects and its superior as a provider of religious and moral education, at the same time he encouraged a larger Irish content in what was taught. Together with an increasing number of Irish priests in the parishes and religious in the schools, this generated attitudes different from those being expounded in the public schools of the Colony. Through looking to Ireland for their culture, Roman Catholics rejected many of the objectives of their persecutors. Most turned to Protection instead of Free Trade. Free traders looked to England. Protection stood for the development of local industries. Protection was, therefore, a form of colonial nationalism. While it was conceded that an Anglo-Celtic federation was a way of achieving Home Rule for Ireland, most Roman Catholics preferred an Australian Nationalism to the Imperialism advocated by leading Protestants.

28 Bathurst Free Press, 15 Feb. 1887.


30 E. W. O'Sullivan, Under the Southern Cross, p.10.
Despite the doctrinaire Socialist policies expounded by some Labor Party ideologues and antipathy towards some of these by Moran and other Church leaders, the Labor Party offered most Roman Catholics the opportunity to espouse a political faith not tarnished with the acceptance of imperialism and English domination of Ireland. In addition, most Roman Catholics were members of the working classes and it was their interests the Labor Party claimed to represent. If the Roman Catholic schools did not consciously advocate support for the Labor Party, the attitudes imbibed in the school rooms prepared Roman Catholic children for acceptance of many of its policies; and, in particular, those concerning Australian Nationalism.

Empire Day, that great excuse for a public display of jingoism, demanded that all schools and individuals pay homage to the imperial greatness of Great Britain. It was a burden Roman Catholic leaders found increasingly difficult to accept. In 1911, the Very Rev. M. J. O'Reilly suggested to the Catholic Educational Conference that Roman Catholic schools celebrate 24 May, not as Empire Day, but as Australia Day. Cardinal Moran supported the idea "as a help to the cultivation of the patriotic spirit" but in so doing he reminded his audience that

---


32 For a survey of the reasons why most Roman Catholics turned to the Labor Party, see C. Hamilton, *op. cit.*, pp. 254-67.

"those who were the champions of Imperialism and Empire Day were many of them avowed enemies of the Catholic Church, and were identical with those who advocated Prim­rose Day in England, and tried to impede the progress of the Catholic Church at home and abroad".34

Acceptance of Australia Day and of the "Australian National Hymn", "God bless our lovely morning land"35 by the Conference resulted in an outburst of sectarianism.36 Fr. O'Reilly, through the school magazine Echoes from St. Stanislaus',37 defended Moran and the decision to keep Australia Day:

For all his love for Ireland, the Cardinal was the most far-seeing of Australian patriots. He regarded . . . as enemies of this great land those who would teach her children to regard England, and not Australia, as having the first claim on their affection. Empire Day, on account of its parentage and connections, he scorned . . . But, here again, we Catholics were denied the liberty of repudiating a jingoistic celebra­tion, . . . 38

Despite the different emphasis of educational influence upon public school and Catholic school children - in policy, syllabus, text books, school magazines and school celebrations - all were led to the same spirit of

34 Ibid.
35 I am indebted to Fr. A. Maher of Hurstville for a copy of this song.
37 Ibid.
38 Ibid.
patriotism which encouraged the development of the School Cadet Corps and the martial spirit. By 1914, most young Australians, while they viewed loyalty to Australia and loyalty to the Mother-Country differently, had been taught to view war as glorious and the defence of their race and its ideals as an inescapable duty. Race, nation, Empire, glory, duty - all taught and imbibed in a multitude of ways in Australian classrooms - dominated men's thoughts in 1914. Patriotic fervour and the insistent call of the drumbeat drowned out the sectarianism of decades. The parting of the ways was reached only with the English suppression of the Irish revolution of 1916, when the divisions latent in Australian culture were actualised in the bitter, divisive issue of whether or not to send conscripted Australians for service overseas. By 1918, sectarianism in education was as bitter as it had been at any time in the previous 130 years in New South Wales.
Sectarianism was part of colonial life from the very inception of the Colony. It arrived in the hearts and minds of the men and women who stepped ashore from the boats of the "First Fleet" during the last week of January and the first week of February, 1788. The ideas of the new colonists about society and the place of religion in it were those that they had learnt in England. They had grown up with the notion of a highly structured society, one which contained a small elite of immensely wealthy and privileged people and a vast mass of disadvantaged fellow-creatures. ¹ They had also been taught to regard the Church of England as the Established Church, pre-eminent in England and a repository of power and privilege. Coincidental with the dominion of this Church were the legislative actions of the British Parliament to subvert the Nonconformist sects and the Church of Rome.

Most Protestants, Anglicans and Nonconformists alike, firmly believed that the Roman Catholic Church was determined not only to enslave men's minds but that it was

committed also to the overthrow of the Protestant constitution which had been made possible by the "Glorious Revolution" of 1688. This belief was freely aired in the public press in the late eighteenth century\(^2\) and vehemently supported in Parliament when any move was made to repeal the repressive sectarian Acts which Parliament had passed in even more intolerant times. Through their emphasis on class and denominational distinction, these Acts of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries effectively separated the English people into what was described by Benjamin Disraeli as "Two Nations".\(^3\) On the one hand was the privileged elite, adherents of the Established Church. On the other, were the labouring poor and the new but growing middle class, without political power and providing solid support for the Nonconformist sects and the despised Roman Catholic Church.

For almost two centuries following the Restoration of Charles II in 1660, Nonconformists and Roman Catholics were subjected to religious and political disabilities. Popery and Nonconformity were identified with sedition and rebellion. With the Puritan Revolution a recent memory, the Cavalier Parliament of 1661-65 took steps to

---


\(^3\) *Sybil or the Two Nations*, published in 1845, was an attempt by Disraeli to portray the social conditions of the English people.
protect the autocracy of Church and monarch by breaking the social, religious and educational foundations of its opponents. It did this through a series of Acts which came to be called the "Clarendon Code" after Chancellor Hyde, Earl of Clarendon. The attack on religious liberty began with the Act of Uniformity in 1662 which effectively defrocked some 2,000 Puritan clergy who refused to accept everything in the Anglican Prayer-book. In 1664, the Conventicle Act prohibited the assembly of more than five persons for non-Anglican religious purposes. Dissent and sedition were seen as one. The Act was directed against "seditious Sectaries, and other disloyal persons who under pretence of tender Consciences, do at their Meetings contrive Insurrections, as late experience hath shewed." The Five Mile Act of 1665 was designed to keep Nonconformist ministers and schoolmasters out of corporate boroughs. This Act, G. M. Trevelyan asserts, did more to impede educational progress than anything the Puritans ever did.

The assault upon the political liberties of non-Anglicans began with the Corporation Act of 1661. Those who refused to receive Holy Communion according to the rites of the Church of England were debarred from member-

---


5 For an outline of the Acts which made up the Clarendon Code, see A. A. Seaton, The Theory of Toleration under the later Stuarts. G. M. Trevelyan supplies a very short summary in England under the Stuarts, pp.283-84.
ship of municipal corporations. This Sacramental Test became the main vehicle for excluding Roman Catholics and Nonconformists from offices of profit or power and was included in the Test Act of 1673. Under this Act, holders of civil or military offices under the Crown were disqualified if they failed to take the Anglican sacrament at least once every three months. The Act itself was aimed more at Roman Catholics than at Nonconformists as its title indicates: "An Act for exempting their Majesties Protestant Subjects, dissenting from the Church of England, from the Penalties of certain Laws". The ban was lifted on freedom of worship for Trinitarian Nonconformists. "Papists" were specifically denied the benefits of the Act, as were the Unitarians who refused to accept the Doctrine of the Trinity. As if to reinforce the sectarian penalties directed against Roman Catholics, the Act listed the penal laws directed against them, including the clause in the 1559 Act of Uniformity enforcing attendance at Church of England services. It was a grudging tolerance which lifted the penalties but left the laws intact. The Corporation and Test Acts thus retained their force. Religious tolerance was not to be seen as religious equality.

---

7 Ibid., p. 314.
8 U. Henriques, op. cit., p. 11.
Many Nonconformists complied with the demands of the Acts by participating in the Anglican Sacrament of the Eucharist when the occasion demanded but by otherwise adhering to the teachings of their own churches. The Occasional Conformity Act of 1711 was an attempt to end this practice by making it an offence, punishable by heavy fine, for any man who had qualified for State or municipal office by taking the Anglican Sacrament afterwards to attend a Nonconformist chapel. The Schism Act, passed three years later, was, like its predecessors, a piece of sectarian legislation. Unlike them, however, it was designed to coerce children rather than their parents. With the object of extirpating dissent within a generation, the Schism Act denied Nonconformists the right to educate their own children. G. M. Trevelyan claimed that only the death of Queen Anne and the break-up of the Tory Party saved England from possible civil war in consequence of this Act.9

The Occasional Conformity Act and the Schism Act were repealed in 1718, early in the reign of George I. The Sacramental Test, however, remained in force until 1828. When the Colony of New South Wales was being founded, William Pitt, the Prime Minister, in 1787 and again in 1789, successfully opposed the abolition of the Test and Corporation Acts and the Sacramental Test which was

embodied in them. The clergy of the Church of England and their supporters in Parliament rejected all attempts to remove the penalties placed on Nonconformists and Roman Catholics because the repeal of repressive legislation was seen as the first step in the disestablishment of the Church of England.

The abrogation of the Test Act was followed in 1829 by the Catholic Emancipation Act. This was a victory for Daniel O'Connell and the Catholic Association of Ireland. It had been made possible by the schism in the Tory Party which split it into three mutually antagonistic factions: The Canningites, the High Tories, and those who still put their trust in Peel and Wellington. Legal equality was still not yet complete for non-Anglicans. This came with the political emancipation made possible by the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 and the Second Reform Act of 1867.

The sectarianism which was behind the Schism Act and the penal legislation which handicapped Nonconformist schoolmasters in the practice of their profession actually promoted the expansion of educational facilities for working class children. The Church of England Charity School system appears to have been started in response

---

to the threat seen in the spread and popularity of the Dissenting Academies. In 1698, the Charity School system was initiated by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge. The call for financial aid in support of these schools met a ready response. Many Anglicans felt a moral obligation to contribute to charity and to provide for the spiritual well-being of the poor and for the education of their children. The education of the children was at a very rudimentary level but even so was in such demand that by 1754 a network of some 2,000 Charity Schools covered England. Neither the financial support nor the Church's interest in the Charity School Movement was entirely altruistic. The principal subject of instruction was religious knowledge, designed to teach "the obedience due, from Christian subjects, to Christian magistrates".

The increasing momentum of the Industrial Revolution with its concomitant demand for all types of workers, including children, led to the collapse of the Charity School Movement. Its role as principal agent for the provision of education for the children of the working poor came to an end.

---

11 H. C. Dent, The Educational System of England and Wales, pp. 15-17. For an account of the work of the Established Church in education prior to 1870, see H. J. Burgess, Enterprise in Education. For the evangelical revival and its influence on education to 1800, see P. Sangster, Pity My Simplicity.

12 A Sermon preached in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul's, London, on Thursday, June 6, 1799; . . . by Thomas Rennell, 6, quoted C. H. E. Smyth, Simeon & Church Order, p. 57. See also M. G. Jones, The Charity School Movement in the Eighteenth Century.
classes was taken over by the Sunday School Movement. The Sunday School Movement was keenly supported by the Nonconformists and by the Evangelicals, a body of men who, while mainly of the Church of England, even included some Roman Catholics. Both the Nonconformists and the early Evangelicals had two things in common: a belief that the world was bad and that children must be taught to cling to the spiritual side of man and a belief in a "subjective relationship between the individual soul and God". For children to be "saved", they had not only to hear and believe the word of God but to read and study it for themselves. The Sunday Schools were therefore schools in the normal sense of the word. Children were taught to read and to memorise long extracts from the Bible. Social Christianity, a stress on works of charity, was also a corner stone of the philosophy of the leaders of the Sunday School Movement and the children were prepared for "the fit discharge of their social and public duties".

For the children of the middle- and upper-classes, secondary education was available through the old-established

---

13 P. Sangster, op. cit., p.16.

14 M. G. Jones, Hannah More, p. 97.


Anglican Grammar Schools, the Dissenting Academies, and a small number of "public" schools such as Harrow. The latter had survived its foundation in 1571 as a grammar school for "the most apt and most poore sorte that be meete, . . . and such as are borne within the said parish of Harrow" to become an upper class boarding school by the late eighteenth century. For the paying boarder, life at the school left pleasant memories in later life but for the poor boy who managed to get in "on the foundation", acceptance by his teachers and fellow pupils appears to have been rare. Anthony Trollope could never overcome the stigma of being a day boy:

The indignities I endured are not to be described. As I look back it seems to me that all hands were turned against me - those of the masters as well as boys. I was allowed to join in no play. Nor did I learn anything - for I was taught nothing. 

His brother Tom was even more explicit:

What a pariah I was among those denizens of Mark's and other pupil rooms! For I was a "town-boy", "village boy" would have been a more correct designation; one of the very few, who by the terms of the founder's will, had any right to be there at all; and was in consequence an object of scorn and contumely on the part of all the

---

17 For the genesis of the Public Schools of England, see H. Staunton, The Great Schools of England; T. W. Barnford, Rise of the Public Schools; or E. C. Mack, Public Schools and British Opinion.

18 Isaac Williams, "I enjoyed much freedom and happiness at Harrow", Autobiography, p. 7; Cardinal Manning, "Harrow was a pleasant place and my life there a pleasant time", E. S. Purcell, Life of Cardinal Manning, p. 19; Charles Wentworth, "I seemed to realise that I had been happier there than I could ever hope to be again", Early Life, p. 24.

19 A. Trollope, Autobiography, p. 11.
paying pupils.\textsuperscript{20}

The repeal in 1779 of the penal legislation which debarred Nonconformist teachers from the established schools and colleges promoted an upsurge of activity in the field of secondary education. In addition, a number of Dissenting Academies was founded with the object of providing the Christian education the rising class of Nonconformist industrialists and merchants wanted for their sons. The old established grammar schools with their heavy emphasis on Latin and Greek, their adherence to Anglican precepts and, worse still, their failure to inculcate a Christian viewpoint in their pupils made them unacceptable to Nonconformists and to many Anglicans as well.\textsuperscript{21} The Dissenting Academies provided a more utilitarian education and the curriculum was modified to include commercial and scientific subjects. When secondary education began in the new Colony of New South Wales, it was these schools which provided the model.\textsuperscript{22} Attempts to reform the curriculum of the Classical Grammar Schools in the late


\textsuperscript{21} See H. McLachlan, English Education under the Test Act, p. 5. For an account of the Dissenting Academies, see I. Parker, Dissenting Academies in England, or J. W. Ashley Smith, The Birth of Modern Education. For an attack on paganism in the Public Schools, see C. H. E. Smyth, \textit{op. cit.}, Ch.2, "Religion in the Schools", p. 46-96.

eighteenth century failed. Powerful conservative interests opposed change. Their views were upheld by the Lord Chancellor, Lord Eldon, in 1805, when he was asked to adjudicate on the matter. It was not until the passing of Eardley Wilmot's Grammar School Act in 1840 that the purely classical curriculum could be modified by the introduction of modern commercial and scientific subjects.

When, at the end of the eighteenth century, the British Government decided to use New South Wales as a receptacle for unwanted felons, the men and women who were to settle the new land could look back to a long history of religious intolerance and also to Government neglect of education. There was a firmly held belief that education was a parental responsibility and that it was no part of a Government's duty to make provision for the education of the children of the State. Traditionally, lower class education had been the preserve of the Church; and in England this meant the Church of England. Even in 1833 when the first grants of public moneys were made available for education, the British Government preferred to make the disbursements to the two rival religious societies, the National Society and the British and Foreign School Society, rather than establish its own system of national education.

B. Simon, op. cit., pp. 102-09.
Ibid., pp. 318-19.
J. S. Maclure, Educational Documents, England and Wales, 1816-1968, p. 28. See also M. Cruickshanks, Church and State in English Education.
When it came to the establishment of the Colony of New South Wales, the British Government did no more than follow its usual course and ignored provision for education.

In 1788, working class education in England was provided by a number of agencies. In addition to the Sunday Schools and the remaining Charity Schools, there were endowed or free schools, small private schools which charged a fee and, at the very bottom of the educational ladder, the "dame" schools. The latter were usually run by elderly women who, for a small sum, offered to instruct boys and girls in reading, writing and arithmetic. It is open to question whether, in the majority of these schools, even this meagre education was given. Most appear to have been childminding institutions for the children of working parents rather than schools.\textsuperscript{26} It was of such schools that William Shenstone wrote in "The Schoolmistress":

\begin{quote}
In ev'ry village mark'd with little spire
Embow'r'd in trees and hardly known to fame,
There dwells, in lowly shed, and mean attire,
A matron old, whom we Schoolmistress name;
Who boasts unruly brats with birch to tame;
They grieven sore, in piteous durance pent,
Aw'd by the pow'r of this relentless dame;
And oft-times, on vagaries idly bent,
For unkempt hair, or task unconn'd; are sorely shent.\textsuperscript{27}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{26} For a description of the dame school, see J. Higginson, "Dame Schools", \textit{British J. of Educational Studies}, Vol. XXII, No.2, June 1974, pp. 166-181, or H. M. Pollard, \textit{Pioneers of Popular Education}, p. 136. For a description of the Common Day School, a private fee-paying school little if any better than the dame school but run by a man, see Pollard, p. 264.

\textsuperscript{27} Quoted H. C. Barnard, \textit{A History of English Education from 1760}, pp. 2-3.
It was the Dame School which provided the first education in New South Wales. Despite the British Government's reluctance to become directly involved in the provision of education or even to subsidise others to provide the service, Governor Phillip found he could not absolve himself from some responsibility in this regard. Phillip had been instructed to set apart "in or as near each town as possible" four hundred acres for the maintenance of a minister and a further two hundred for a school-master but while Rev. Richard Johnson had accompanied the First Fleet as its Chaplain, the Government omitted to send any teachers. Isabella Rosson, a mantua worker when arrested and tried for theft at the Central Criminal Court Sessions on 10 January, 1787, opened a Dame School in Sydney late in 1789 or early 1790. About a year later, Mary Johnson opened a similar school in Parramatta. Like Isabella, she too had been sentenced to seven years

---

28 Grenville to Phillip, 22 Aug. 1789, H.R.A., I, i, p. 127. The first school teachers sent as such were John Hosking and Isaac Lyon who arrived in 1809. S.G., 29 Jan. 1809.


30 For an outline of her criminal career, see J. Cobley, The Crimes of the First Fleet Convicts, p. 239.


32 Ibid., pp. 25 & 36.
transportation for petty theft.  

What was the relationship of Rev. Richard Johnson with these schools? Some writers have presumed that "from the start Johnson assumed responsibility for schooling" or even that he "instituted his classes at Sydney and Parramatta". Johnson himself made no such claim. In a letter to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, dated Sydney, March 21, 1792, he made reference to the schools but claimed responsibility neither for their foundation nor their superintendence:

For a considerable time after their arrival, they were in so confused a state that no Schools could be established for the instruction of Children. . . . They now have one School at Sydney and another at Parramatta, a Schoolmaster to each, and they teach the Children of the Convicts gratis, the Military officers making them some little acknowledgment for their trouble.

For the first few years in the new Colony's life, survival, not education, was the principal preoccupation of the settlers and of their administrators. The first real efforts to provide education had to wait until conditions had improved. It was 1793 before Johnson was able to erect even "a temporary shelter" in which to

33 See J. Cobley, op. cit., p. 150.
34 A. Barcan, op. cit., p. 25.
35 J. F. Cleverley, op. cit. p. 27. See also R. Border, Church and State in Australia, p. 20, who insists that Johnson "alone did anything for the education of the children in the colony".
37 Grose to Dundas, 4 Sept. 1793, Enclosure I, Johnson to Dundas, 3 Sept. 1793, H.R.A. I, i, p. 452.
perform public worship. Acting-Governor Grose reluctantly supplied the services of a couple of convicts, a boon Johnson gratefully acknowledged, as he was fully aware of the priority of "publick works of different kinds".\(^\text{38}\) The church, which was to double as a schoolroom, was built at Johnson's own expense. It was to be some years before his repeated requests for reimbursement from the British Government were heeded.\(^\text{39}\)

At the time the Church was built, Johnson had three convicts, William Richardson, Isaac Nelson and Thomas Taber, teaching in various parts of Sydney. The new building enabled him to bring the three together and "thus to unite in their Endeavours for the Better Improvement of their scholars".\(^\text{40}\) At the same time, it provided Johnson with greater ease of superintending the 150 to 200 children it was to house.\(^\text{41}\)

The schools under the superintendence of Johnson, the public schools of the Colony, taught religious instruction and the Catechism of the Church of England. Acting-Governor Grose appealed to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel for assistance. Unable to supply

\(^{38}\) Ibid.


\(^{40}\) *Johnson Correspondence*, Johnson to S.P.G. 1798, unpagedinated, M.L.

\(^{41}\) Hunter to Portland, 1 Nov. 1798, *H.R.N.S.W.*, III, p. 505.
teachers, the Society offered "an encouragement" to those teachers found worthy by the Colonial Chaplain. The encouragement was a bonus of £10 per year and was to be awarded to a maximum of four teachers.  

It was an insignificant amount in view of the Society's claim that "the most likely means of effecting a reformation must be by paying all the attention that can be to the instruction and morals of the rising generation". Nevertheless, it was an indication of the desire of the Church of England to use education for religious purposes. The destruction of the Church-Schoolhouse, burnt down by "some worthless and infamous person or persons" in 1798, merely inconvenience but did not stop the take-over of public education by the Anglican leaders of the Colony.

The development of the Church and of its educational facilities were enhanced late in 1798 by the arrival of a group of London Missionary Society missionaries who had been driven out of Tahiti. Some of the missionaries became catechists for the Church of England while others

---

43 Ibid., II, p. 282.
44 Government and General Order, 3 Oct. 1798, ibid., p. 495.
45 See "Missionary Letters from N.S.W., 1798-1828", Missionary Papers, Bonwick Transcripts, Box 49, pp. 59-67, M.L. For a short description of the work of the missionaries, see J. F. Cleverley, Ch. 7, "Missionary Contributors", op. cit., pp. 73-86.
took up teaching posts. The latter was a duty urged upon them by their superiors in London:

> There is one branch of duty . . . of peculiar importance for the discharge of which we hope most of you are qualified, and which is equally incumbent on the preacher and on the lay brother; we refer to the education and the religious instruction of the children both of the convicts and the poor colonists and of as many of the native heathens you can procure and attend to.

The Colonial church and its clergy professed evangelical sympathies. The missionaries, especially those of Methodist leanings, had much in common with them. Although doctrinal differences were of little moment, the Anglican chaplains felt that they had to supervise the educational activities of their Nonconformist schoolteachers. This was justified on the grounds that the schools were conducted as Church of England Schools; and that the missionaries had been enjoined to show "all possible respect and affection to the Revd. Mr. Johnson and Mr. Marsden, and use all your influence to increase the attachment of the colonists both to their persons and their ministry."  

The usefulness of the missionaries as teachers and catechists did not prevent some friction developing between them and their Anglican masters. Their very success in the public school system and their establishment of a

---


47 Ibid., p. 732. See also Hassall to L.M.S., 29 Sept. 1800, ibid., IV, p. 210, for the opening of the Kissing Point Chapel and school by Johnson.

48 Governor King praised the quality of their schools, King to Hobart, 1 March 1804, H.R.A., I, iv, pp. 470-71.
thriving Sunday School movement served to alert Marsden and his fellow clerics of the Church of England to the growing competition within the Colony for control of the children's minds. The formation of a Nonconformist New South Wales Sunday School Society with Macquarie's approval goaded Marsden to take action against intrusion on Anglican privilege. He condemned the Sunday School movement as "implying a reflection on the clergy of the Established Church". Much of the opposition appears to have been inspired by pique, for the Anglican Sunday Schools had proved unequal to the competition. Marsden induced Macquarie to close the offending institutions. He used the argument that there was no place for the Sunday School in the Colony:

There are no manufactories yet here for the employment of the children, and the benevolence of the British Government has provided for the Instruction of the poorer classes in the week days. The collecting of the children on the Sabbath Day to the Public Schools, has been with a view more to induce Habits of Morality and respect for the Sabbath, and the Divine Ordinances, than to learn them to read.

As far as Macquarie was concerned, sectarian conflict


50 Ev. E. Eagar, Bigge Appendix, Vol. 127, Bonwick Transcripts, Box 8, p. 3499, or J. Ritchie, Evidence of the Bigge Reports, Vol. 2, pp. 177-78.

51 Macquarie to Marsden, 20 April 1818, H.R.A., I, ix, p. 780.

52 Quoted R. Arndell, "Ebenezer", The N.S.W. Presbyterian, Pt. IV, 1961, p. 11.
had alerted him to political considerations which had previously escaped his mind when approving of the Sunday School Society. In his letter to Marsden, Macquarie acknowledged that if the Nonconformists continued to attract children in large numbers to their Sunday Schools and chapels, he could foresee a situation when, "at no distant period", the Colony would be filled "with Dissenters of all Denominations - a consequence much to be deprecated".\(^53\)

The breakdown of Anglican-Nonconformist co-operation in the Sunday School movement in New South Wales had followed the same sectarian animosities which had led the Established Church in England to withdraw its support of the movement earlier in the century. There, too, the Sunday Schools had been taken over by the Evangelicals and the Nonconformists. Supporters of the High Church and the Tory Party saw a clear connection between the Sunday School and the increasing radicalism of the working classes. As John Gifford wrote in the *Anti-Jacobin* in 1799:

> Though we give the fullest credit to the worthy characters who originally instituted, and encouraged the extension of SUNDAY SCHOOLS, yet we ever entertained very strong doubts, . . . We knew perfectly well that Sunday Schools had, in many instances, been rendered channels for the diffusion of bad principles, religious

and political. 54

The Sunday Schools had done their job too well. They had provided many of the poor with the ability to read the Bible but no one had been able to teach this skill without also enabling them to read The Rights of Man. The Sunday Schools were, therefore, seen as "nurseries of schism, and introduce a motley compound of Dissenters, Methodists, and Republicans, into the Church of England". 55 Their supporters were condemned as fanatics, "very industrious in establishing Sunday Schools, in order to gangrene the principles of the country, and to give an unkind, unsocial Calvinistic complexion to the manners of the people". 56

After 1815, the close links between the Sunday School movement and agitation for political reform made them suspect to the Tory Government of the time. 57 Inevitably, the Tories also became obsessed with the belief that to educate the working classes was to imbue them with revolutionary ideas. In the Colony of New South Wales in


57 For the part played by the Sunday School movement in the struggle for political reform, see B. Simon, op. cit., Ch. IV, "The Workers' Movement and Education, 1790-1832", pp. 183-222.
1818, Macquarie's decision to close the Sunday Schools was an attempt to diminish radicalism. Marsden was unconcerned with the reason so long as the supremacy of the Church of England was sustained.

This triumph of the Anglican Church over Nonconformity came hard on the heels of a victory over Roman Catholicism. Rev. Jeremiah O'Flynn had arrived in the Colony in 1817. Expecting official notification of O'Flynn's permission to settle in the Colony to arrive by a later ship, Macquarie allowed him to carry out his pastoral duties and to establish a school. When the expected papers failed to arrive, O'Flynn was deported.⁵⁸

O'Flynn's truculence was part of his downfall. Though uneasy at the lack of a landing permit, Macquarie was anxious to provide a ministry to Catholic convicts. However, ultimately, he decided to banish O'Flynn when it was seen that O'Flynn's apparent determination to flout authority might suborn his flock.⁵⁹ There was fear of an armed uprising of Irish-Catholic convicts. The presence

---


of men sent to the Colony after the Irish Rebellion of 1798 and memories of the Castle Hill Uprising of 1804\textsuperscript{60} were constant reminders of the Irish spirit of revolution and the dangers of dissent. The 1804 episode had led Governor King to abandon the first attempt to provide a Roman Catholic ministry through the services of Father James Dixon, one of three priests transported for their part in the Rising of 1798.\textsuperscript{61}

In a "Proclamation respecting the Toleration of the Roman Catholic Religion" in May 1803, Father Dixon was given a conditional emancipation:

\begin{quote}

to enable him to exercise his clerical functions as a Roman Catholic priest, which he has qualified himself for by the regular and exemplary conduct he has manifested since his residence in this colony, and his having taken the oath of allegiance, abjuration, and declaration prescribed by law.\textsuperscript{62}
\end{quote}

According to the Regulations under which Fr. Dixon was to conduct his services, police were to be stationed at and about the church service to see that order prevailed.\textsuperscript{63}

When the Castle Hill outbreak occurred, Dixon was with


\textsuperscript{63}Ibid., "Regulations", Reg. 6, p. 105.
the military who intercepted the principal band under Cunningham.\textsuperscript{64} This was not to save him. Following investigations of the outbreak, King withdrew Dixon's salary, "for very improper conduct, and to prevent the seditious meetings that took place in consequence of the indulgence and protection he received".\textsuperscript{65} Now O'Flynn's radicalism and the Governor's fears of another convict uprising combined to deprive the Roman Catholic body of spiritual guidance.

By deporting O'Flynn and supporting Marsden on the question of Sunday Schools, Macquarie reaffirmed the exclusive principle of the Church of England as the Established Church of Australia. To preserve this and the Church's role in public education, he urged upon Lord Bathurst, Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, the necessity for "all persons, sent hither for the purposes of disseminating the principles of education, being of the Established Church, untainted with Methodism or other sectarian opinions".\textsuperscript{66} This proposal to preserve education as a private domain for Anglicanism and as a power base for proselytising was given practical expression later in 1818 when the Assistant Chaplain, Rev. William Cowper,

\textsuperscript{64} Ibid., Vol. iv, Enclosure 5, Major Johnston to Lt.-Col. Paterson, 9 March 1804, p. 569. Cunningham, "one of the rebel chiefs", was summarily executed by Johnston, \textit{ibid.}, Enclosure 4, Johnston to King, 6 March 1804.

\textsuperscript{65} King to Hobart, 14 Aug. 1804, \textit{ibid.}, I, v, p. 99.

introduced his "Rules for the management of the Public Schools at Sydney, New South Wales". Some of the Rules were general in nature; but others were clearly sectarian. The first rule outlined the object of the schools and declared this to be "to afford useful and religious instruction to the Children of the poor in general". Just what type of religious instruction was envisaged was set out in later rules. It was made clear that the entire education was to be subjected to Anglicanism: "The Children, according to their ages and improvements, shall be taught Reading, English, Writing, Arithmetic, and the Catechism of the Church of England". The school day was to begin and end with the singing of part of a psalm or hymn and with a short prayer. But there was more than this. Those children who were "admitted to the great privilege of being taught in these schools on the five days" were required to attend, both morning and afternoon, before Divine Service to be "variously exercised in lessons of Piety, Scripture reading, or in learning to read" before going into church for public worship.

Lord Bathurst supported the Anglican hold on public

---

68 Ibid., Rule 5.
69 Ibid., Rule 6.
70 Ibid., Rule 8.
education. He ordered the introduction of the Bell Monitorial system of teaching, that is, the Anglican system of mass education, and provided an instructor in the method in the person of Rev. Thomas Reddall, who arrived in the Colony in September, 1820. The Secretary of State left no doubt that, in his opinion, the Bell system was the best:

not only for securing to the rising generation in New South Wales the Advantages of all necessary Instruction, but also in bringing them up in Habits of Industry and Regularity, and for implanting in their Minds the Principles of the Established Church. 71

The Bell Monitorial system had been devised by Dr. Andrew Bell as a means of instructing large numbers of children cheaply and efficiently. While in charge of the male orphan school in Madras, India, he introduced the idea of using older children as monitors to instruct the younger scholars. In 1797, he published an account of his innovations in education in An Experiment in Education. He wrote:

It was not proposed that the children of the poor be educated in an expensive manner, or even taught to write and to cypher... It may suffice to teach the generality, on an economical plan, to read their bible and understand the doctrines of our holy religion. 72

Quaker Joseph Lancaster conducted similar experiments in mass education at his school in Borough Road, London. In 1798, like Bell, he published his results and his method.

Improvements in Education as it Respects the Industrious Classes of the Community at first attracted large and influential support. However, both men were to find themselves the centre of a storm of religious controversy. Lancaster's supporters founded the Royal Lancasterian Society in 1809. With the apparent backing of the King and members of the aristocracy, the future of the Society seem assured. It was not to be. The Church party denounced the Lancasterian system for its non-Anglican approach to religious education. In 1811, the National Society was set up to establish schools in which education was conducted according to the tenets of the Church of England. The King and the other noble patrons of the Lancasterian Society were prevailed upon to transfer their support to the new society. After a period of confusion, brought about by the withdrawal of many influential members, in 1813 the Lancasterians reconstituted their society as the British and Foreign School Society.

In New South Wales, the Church of England pressed on for continued recognition as the Established Church of the Colony and for the prerogative as sole arbiter in the matter of state-aided education. It found support in the reports of John Thomas Bigge who had been sent to the Colony at the end of 1819 to enquire into the state of the prison-colony under Governor Lachlan Macquarie. Bigge submitted three Reports to Parliament during 1822-23. In the third, on the State of Agriculture and Trade in the
Colonial New South Wales, he recommended that the National System of monitorial education be introduced into the public schools of the Colony. This proposal was not only acceptable to the Church of England in the Colony but also to Secretary of State, Bathurst, who had already signified his desire to see "the Plan of Dr. Bell" introduced into New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land. Thomas Hobbes Scott, Bigge's secretary in New South Wales, took the plan a stage further. He offered Lord Bathurst not only an Anglican system of public education but also suggested the way in which this could be financed without cost to the British Treasury or to the Anglican Church. His plan, submitted in March, 1824, provided for the perpetual endowment of religion and education by reserving one tenth of the lands in each county.

The simplicity of Scott's plan appealed to Bathurst, the more so since Scott was not asking for anything new. The practice of tithing, of making endowments of land to a colonial church, had been well-established in North America, where the first grants of glebe land had been

---

73 Report of the Commissioner of Inquiry, on the State of Agriculture and Trade in the Colony of New South Wales, pp. 74-5.


75 See R. J. Burns, "Archdeacon Scott and the Church and School Corporation", in C. Turney, Pioneers of Australian Education, pp. 9-25.

76 Scott to Bathurst, 30 March 1824, Governor's Despatches, Vol. 5, 1823-4, A1194, p. 709-60.
made to the Church of England in Nova Scotia in 1749.77

On 17 July 1825, Governor Darling was instructed to set in motion the machinery for the acquisition of land for the Clergy and School Estates. The role of the Church of England as the Established Church in the Colony was clearly indicated:

And Whereas it is necessary that effectual provision should be made for the establishment and support, within Our said Territory, of the Protestant reformed Religion, as by law established in England and Ireland, and for the education of Youth in the discipline and according to the principles of the United Church of England and Ireland; And We have for that purpose thought fit that such part, as hereinafter mentioned of the Waste and unoccupied Lands within Our said Territory and its Dependencies, should be appropriated and set apart.

After this ominous preamble, what followed was even more typical of government policy:

We do hereby direct that you do require and authorize the before mentioned Commissioners to mark out and set apart in each and every County, Hundred, etc., . . . a Tract of land comprizing one seventh part in extent and value of all the Lands in each and every such County, to be thenceforward called and known by the name of the Clergy and School Estate of such County. 78

It came as no surprise when Scott was appointed Arch-deacon and thus head of the Anglican Church in New South Wales. He returned to the Colony in May 1825 determined


78 Instructions to Darling, 17 July 1825, H.R.A., I, xii, p. 117-19. See also Bathurst to Brisband, 1 Jan. 1823, ibid., xi, pp. 444-45. For the amended version of the Charter of the Church and School Corporation sent to Brisbane on 1 Jan. 1823, (ibid), see W. W. Burton, The State of Religion and Education in N.S.W., App. I.
to assert the right of his Church to direct and control education. His authority seemed unassailable. He had the backing of the Secretary of State for War and Colonies in England, the support of the Governor of the Colony and what appeared to be unlimited finance to establish the schools and churches required to sustain Anglican supremacy. Even he did not expect that his request for one tenth of the land in each and every county would not only be acceded to but would be increased by almost fifty per cent.

Scott had no doubt that the Church of England was the Established Church in New South Wales as it was in England. The Church and School Corporation which had been set up to administer the Clergy and School Estates had been created by an Act of the Imperial Parliament. Again; when the Imperial Parliament passed the Judicature Act of New South Wales (4 Geo. IV, c.96)\(^79\) under which an advisory Legislative Council had been set up, the head of the Church of England in the Colony had been made an *ex officio* member. Some of the earliest legislation by the new Legislative Council recognised that the Church of England and its clergy held a privileged position in the Colony. For example, the Act 6 Geo. IV, No. 21, required that the registration of all births, marriages and deaths be recorded by "the established minister of the parish", and that ministers of other denominations pay him a small fee for the service.

The only major problem was that since Scott had left

\(^79\) *Statutes at Large*, Vol. IX.
the Colony in 1821, the political climate which had hitherto favoured Anglicanism had changed. This resulted from Macquarie's encouragement of the emancipists, who generally saw the Church of England not only as tyrannical in ecclesiastical affairs but as a prop for autocracy and as a supporter of the ruling class, the exclusives. The ability of the emancipists to attack their enemies was enhanced by Governor Brisbane's abolition of press censorship in 1823. Scott found himself under attack from the newly established *Australian* whose emancipist-supporting proprietors, W. C. Wentworth and Dr. Wardell, saw his appointment as a reward for his part in the downfall of Governor Macquarie. No less than Macquarie himself, they believed that Bigge and Scott had engineered the Governor's disgrace by manipulating the evidence against his administration "with little discrimination, and still less fidelity". The *Monitor*, which also supported the Emancipists, joined the *Australian* in a campaign of vilification.

---


of Scott and of the ambitions of his Church. The Archdeacon himself was dismissed by the Monitor as "a mere chronicler and clerk". The territorial ambitions of the Church of England produced a picture of "half the territory being clawed by spiritual teachers yet temporal tyrants". Leading emancipists had every right to fear the effects of a land policy which favoured the Church of England. They were numbered among the principal landowners of the Colony in 1820. One of them, W. C. Wentworth, who held 30,100 acres in the Parramatta District, owned more land than any other man in New South Wales. Clearly, the outraged protests of the Australian over the land policy of the British Government ring somewhat false. Nevertheless there was a widely-held belief that the Church:

will annihilate every interest and sway in the Colony. The Clergy will reign triumphant - the tyrants alike of the people and the constituted Authorities - their possessions and their wealth will serve to crush on the one hand, enslave on the other, and New South Wales from being a prosperous and rising Colony, will sink into a Priest-ridden, nerveless Community.

The power of the Anglican Church in England to influence the sectarian policies of the Tory Government and the activities of its reactionary Bishops in the House of Lords did not escape the attention of the colonial

82 Monitor, 9 Feb. 1829.
83 Monitor, 30 May 1829. See also Australian, 17 Jan. 1827.
emancipist press. The Monitor disparaged the colonial clergy for:

the same grasping avarice and ambition of the High Church party. Everywhere they are drawing, by falsehood, intrigue, and sycophancy, to themselves exclusively, the whole public funds allowed for instruction and religious worship.\(^5\)

In addition to the attacks on himself and his Church from the emancipist section of the press, Scott also had to face the sectarian assaults of energetic and aggressive leaders of non-Anglican sects.\(^6\) These men, particularly Father Therry and the Presbyterian Dr. John Dunmore Lang, were themselves newly-arrived in the Colony when Scott arrived; but they added a new dimension to inter-Church relations in the Colony. Both were unashamedly sectarian in their outlook and time was to prove them hard, uncompromising men, filled with the belief that God directed their activities. They were filled with missionary zeal.\(^7\)

Father Therry arrived in the Colony in 1820. His determination to stand against the Anglican-dominated administration of the Colony soon brought him to official notice as a trouble-maker. His efforts to make Roman

\(^5\) For Scott's comments on his problems with his clergy, the depravity of the press and his difficulties generally, see Scott to Bishop of London, 9 Jan. 1826, Bonwick Transcripts, Missionary Papers, Vol. 5, box 53, pp. 571-78.

\(^6\) See, for example, E. M. O'Brien, Life and Letters of Archpriest John Joseph Therry, Founder of the Catholic Church in Australia, and J. D. Lang, Popery in Australia and the Southern Hemisphere and how to check it effectually.
Catholics proud of their religion and to refuse to accept a second-class status were diminished by his propensity for quarrelling. Not only did he have conflict with Scott and Governors Brisbane and Darling, but with his own flock and clergy as well. 88

Dr. Lang, who first landed in the Colony in 1823, was an equally controversial character. 89 Like Therry, he was able to arouse strong feelings of admiration or hate in his acquaintances. He too was a man difficult to get along with. His lack of tact and his determination to have his own way not only infuriated his enemies but ultimately led to his expulsion from the Presbyterian Church. 90 Capable of the harshest vituperation, he denounced the Presbyterian Synod of Australia as a "mere Synagogue of Satan" which had been actuated by "a spirit of rancorous

---


90 See Presbyterian Synod of Australia, Rep. of a Com. of the Commission of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, relative to the divisions in the Presbyterian Church of N.S.W.; . . . A.D. 1842; J. D. Lang, Statement of Facts & Circumstances illustrative . . . of the monstrous proceedings of the Synod of Australia in 1842; Presbyterian Synod of Australia, An Authentic Statement of the Facts and Circumstances of the Deposition of Dr. J. D. Lang . . . For the charges against Lang and the sentence of deposition, see Presbyterian Synod of Australia, Minutes of the Synod of Australia . . . A.D. 1842, pp. 16-19.
hostility". 91

Such were the men Scott had to deal with in his efforts to uphold the Anglican monopoly of public education. His task was not made any easier by his own lack of prudence and uncertain temper. 92 Even his teachers complained of his quarrelsome disposition and his determination to keep costs down by paying the lowest possible salaries. The latter was forced upon him. He had taken up his position at the worst possible moment, for the Colony was to be afflicted with an economic depression from 1826 to 1829. 93 In addition, he was faced with the inability and the unwillingness of Deputy Surveyor Mitchell to survey the vast amount of land required to make the Church and School Corporation viable. 94 Despite Governor Darling's own request that Mitchell co-operate, even if in so doing his Department was "slightly inconvenienced", the general land hunger and

---

91 J. D. Lang, Reminiscences of My Life and Times, Introduction by D. W. A. Baker, p. 17.

92 See Darling to Horton, 26 March 1827, H.R.A., I, xiii, p. 190, for Scott's too intimate connection with the Macarthurs and for the complaint of Darling that the Archdeacon did "not possess sufficient character for his place". See also ibid., xii, p. 256.

93 For the effects of the depression on the economy, see H.R.A., I, xv, Darling to Murray, 21 Nov. 1829, r. 253; Cunningham to Murray, 21 Oct. 1830, pp. 797-8; Dumaresq to Murray, 22 Oct. 1830, pp. 798-800. See also S.G., 14 Sept. 1830 (legal column).

94 Enclosure, Mitchell to Darling, 29 April 1828, in Darling to Huskisson, 13 May 1828, ibid., xiv, pp. 178-79. See also Surveyor General Oxley to Darling, 26 Jan. 1826, ibid., xii, p. 379.
unauthorised occupation of unsurveyed land created unforeseen and protracted delays. Attempts by Charles Cowper, clerk of the Corporation, to obtain information upon which to make decisions merely served to irritate Mitchell:

I am well aware that, in this Country where all are interested more or less in land, it would be very convenient for the corporation and the Public to have a complete Map; . . . I am frequently occupied in furtherance of this desirable object while Mr. Charles Cowper and the Church Corporation are at Tea, or at Dinner, or in Bed, or at Church.95

The generous land grant with its promise of ample funds to provide for an expanding system of schools and churches was to prove a delusion. The threat of "the exclusive predominance of the colonial Episcopacy in the management of the education of the whole colony, for all time coming" disappeared with Scott's inability to take immediate possession of the Clergy and School Estates.

To get the scheme under way, he was forced to rely on funds from the Colonial Treasury.96 It was a solution for

95 Enclosure, Mitchell to Colonial Secretary, 3 June 1829, in Darling to Murray, 28 March 1831, ibid., xvi, pp. 202-03. The Monitor also criticised the "intemperate and ungodly haste" of the Corporation to get its land and the hostility this aroused in the Settlers, Monitor, 20 Jan. 1827.

96 Authentic Documents illustrative of the resources actually possessed by the late Church and School Corporation for the Promotion of Education in this Colony, p. 11, M.L. The first grant of land was not made until 3 Feb. 1829, W. W. Burton, op. cit., p. 25. See also "Documents and Correspondence Relating to the Establishment and Dissolution of the Corporation of Clergy and School Lands in the Colony of N.S.W.", pp. 21-54, G. B. & I: Parl. Docs. Vol. 19; A. G. Austin, Australian Education, 1788-1900, p. 20.
which Darling was reprimanded, which was unlikely to be long lasting.

Assailed from all sides and unable to gain control of assets promised to him, Scott decided to give up the struggle and informed Darling of his determination to resign. Disappointed with his failure to establish the Church and School Corporation on a permanent footing, Scott left the Colony without regret in 1829. In a letter to Governor Arthur of Van Diemen's Land, he wrote:

"Friend and foe are equally dissatisfied with me and I prefer a quiet retirement amongst those to whom I may be of service . . . That I have failed is clear and I have taken it much to heart and feel my spirits and exertion flag daily."

The Emancipist press farewelled him with the same venom which characterised their reports of all the earlier activities of Scott and the Corporation. His resignation was not the end of the Corporation, but the


revocation of its Charter was now but a matter of time. Sectarian conflict for control of colonial education which had only occasionally come to the surface before 1833 was about to burst upon the Colony.
CHAPTER II

DISSENT AND THE STRUGGLE FOR AN ALTERNATIVE SYSTEM OF
PUBLIC EDUCATION

The doom of the Church and School Corporation was not sealed by Archdeacon Scott's inability to get on with his subordinates nor by the economic difficulties which had assailed the Colony during his administration of the Corporation. Neither the opposition to Scott's plan within the Colony nor the British Government's refusal to provide financial aid had rendered the idea inoperable. The death-blow to Anglican domination of public education in the Colony was dealt by Roman Catholic and Nonconformist agitation for religious and political emancipation in England. There, as in the Colony, Roman Catholics and Nonconformists were on the offensive against the power of the Established Church. The ruling Tories were torn by internal strife and everywhere the forces of a reaction were in retreat. Describing the English political scene of the late 1820's, G. M. Trevelyan said it had "all the confused inconsequence of a great military retreat, when no-one knows what anyone else is doing, and positions are taken up only to be abandoned".1 The repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts in 1828 and the Catholic

1 G. M. Trevelyan, British History in the Nineteenth Century and After, 1782-1919, p. 218.
Emancipation Act which followed in 1829\(^2\) were preludes to the victory of the Whigs at the 1830 elections and to the downfall of the Church and Tory Party. The Whig ascendancy sealed the fate of the Church and School Corporation, although the formal revocation of its Letters Patent did not come until August 1833. The recall of the hated Governor Darling and his replacement by Sir Richard Bourke, a liberal and a Whig supporter, signalled that a new era in education had dawned.\(^3\)

On receiving the Order of the King in Council to dissolve the Corporation,\(^4\) Bourke proposed state aid for all the major Christian sects.\(^5\) He refused to accept the Anglican claim that the colonial Church of England was entitled to the same prerogatives and pre-eminence in

\(^2\) For the break-through which brought religious equality instead of mere toleration, see C. New, *Life of Henry Brougham to 1830*, pp. 322-34. J. W. Derry, *1793-1868, Reaction and Reform*, p. 97, holds that the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts were a necessary prelude to Catholic Emancipation. See also E. Halevy, *The Liberal Awakening, 1815-1830*, Ch. II, "Catholic Emancipation", pp. 239-309.


\(^4\) Goderich to Bourke, 10 March 1833, *H.R.A.*, I, xviii, p. 34.

\(^5\) Bourke to Stanley, 30 Sept. 1833, *ibid.*, pp. 224-29. The Christian sects to be granted aid were the Church of England, the Roman Catholic Church and the Presbyterian and Wesleyan Churches.
religious affairs which custom and law had set aside for the parent-church in England:

In a new Country, to which Persons of all religious persuasions are invited to resort, it will be impossible to establish a dominant and endowed Church without much hostility and great improbability of its becoming permanent. The inclination of these Colonists, which keeps pace with the Spirit of the Age, is decidedly adverse to such an Institution; and I fear the interests of Religion would be prejudiced by its Establishment.  

Bourke's pronouncement vindicated the stand taken by Father Therry against the exclusive and sectarian privileges of the Colony's Anglican Church. From his arrival in 1820, Therry had fought the injustices perpetrated upon the Roman Catholic minority. He had been particularly incensed at the treatment of Roman Catholic children placed in the Orphan Schools. In these institutions, all children, regardless of the wishes of their parents or guardians, were indoctrinated in the tenets of the Church of England.  

Therry's request for permission to visit the Female Orphan School to give Roman Catholic children instruction in their faith was denied. He was reminded that, under Instruction 5 of the Official Instructions sent to him on 14 October 1820, it was laid down:

That you do not interfere with the religious education of orphans in the Government charitable institutions of the Colony, they being by the fundamental regulation

---

6 Ibid.

7 See King to Johnson, 15 Sept. 1800, ibid., ii, n. 206, p. 742. See also King to Portland, 9 Sept. 1800, ibid., pp. 532-33, and King to Portland, 21 Aug. 1801, ibid., iii, p. 123.
of the institution to be instructed in the faith and doctrine of the Church of England.  

Therry's complaint to Commissioner Bigge that to exclude Roman Catholic children in the Orphan Schools from contact with their religion was unjust, went unheeded. Commissioner Bigge dismissed the criticism by asserting that all children were admitted to both the Male and Female Orphan Schools "without any reference to their religious . . . creed, or without objection on the part of the parents".  

Therry refused to accept this and continued to denounce "the odious, irreligious and unjust system, which is still upheld by clerical ingenuity at the Orphan Schools".  

Therry had no doubt that the sectarian nature of the education provided by the two Orphan Institutions was a

---

8 Quoted P. F. Moran, History of the Catholic Church in Australasia, p. 87. I have been unable to find the Instructions quoted by Moran, but these apparently are the second set presented to Therry. On 10 Oct. 1820 the Governor's Secretary, J. T. Campbell, informed Therry and his fellow priest Phillip Conolly that the Governor had "reconsidered the hastily drawn up Instructions" issued on 6 June. He believed that they were "not so full and comprehensive on some points as they ought to be and that there were some Distinctive Injunctions in them not absolutely required by the Laws of the Land" and so they were recalled.


9 The Male Orphan School, established in 1819, was also controlled by the Church of England. For its establishment, see Macquarie to Bathurst, 24 March 1819, H.R.A., I, x, p. 94.

10 J. T. Bigge, op. cit., p. 75.

deliberate attempt to subvert the faith of Catholic children. He was equally convinced that this could not do other than lead to social disaster:

The partial and proselyting system of our Orphan Schools had been long tried in Ireland, and its baneful influence has withered and the fairest flowers, and blasted the finest fruits in the land; its unvarying tendency was to disunite, demoralise, degrade, and impoverish.\(^{12}\)

It was the announcement of the establishment of the Church and School Corporation, with its enormous grant of land to make permanent the Anglican control of public education, which really aroused his ire. In a letter to the editor of which the *Sydney Gazette*, he complained:

that public provision is to be made for Protestant parochial schools exclusively; and that the children of the Catholic poor are either to be excluded from the salutary benefits of education, or compelled or enticed to abandon the truly venerable religion of their ancestors.\(^{13}\)

To redress the disadvantages imposed upon Catholic children in the matter of education, in his letter to the *Gazette*, Therry called for a Catholic Education Association. He also chose to call the attention of readers to the further injustice of forcing Roman Catholics to pay an Anglican minister stole-fees for burial. In an attempt to keep his criticisms directed at a system rather than at the men behind it and thus avoid the immediate hostility of the Anglican clergy, Therry wrote of the "unqualified respect" he held for Scott and the Protestant clergy.

\(^{12}\) Darling to Bathurst, *ibid.*

\(^{13}\) *S.G.*, 14 June 1825.
A misprint recorded him as having "qualified" respect for the "other Revd. Gentlemen of the Establishment". Informed of this disrespect towards Protestantism and thus to the King and the Protestant Succession, Lord Bathurst ordered Darling to withdraw Therry's official salary upon one month's notice. To expedite the priest's removal from the Colony, Darling was further instructed to offer Therry £300 towards the expenses of his passage, provided that he remained of good behaviour prior to embarkation. 14 Before this dispatch was received, Therry compounded his offence by launching a violent attack upon the Anglican administration of the Orphan Schools. 15

Such attacks upon the legal and ethical foundations of Anglican privilege could not be permitted to go unnoticed or unpunished. 16 Therry's capacity for moral fury and his influence over an Irish-Catholic population whose loyalty and peaceableness seemed questionable made him a threat to autocracy and to the Church which supported it. Seeking his removal from the Colony before he could

---


15 S.G., 14 June 1825.

16 Therry was not the only one to be attacked for his comment on Anglican privileges. E. S. Hall, the editor of the Monitor, was another. See H.R.A., I, xiv, Darling to Murray, 2 Jan. 1829, Sub-enclosure No. 5, Hall to Col. Sec. Macleay, 3 Nov. 1828, pp. 589-91.
do further harm to the established order, Darling reported that the Roman Catholic Chaplain had indulged "in the most improper observations and invectives, conceiving that our clergy are actuated by the same motives as he is". 17 As for Therry's character, Darling said:

Mr. Therry is a man of strong feelings and not much discretion. He is evidently disposed to be troublesome, and, constituted as this community is, might be dangerous, a large proportion of the Convicts being of the lowest class of Irish Catholics, ignorant in the extreme, and in proportion bigotted and under the domination of their Priest. 18

The loss of his salary was a very severe blow to Therry. It was an even greater shock to be asked to leave the Colony for what his enemies had described as "very unbecoming language". 19 If Darling had had his way, the departure of Therry would have put an end to the presence of Roman Catholic priests in the Colony for all time; 20 but he was forced to accept Therry's request for permission to remain until his successor arrived. It was not a humanitarian gesture. As Darling reported to Lord Bathurst, "any order for his immediate removal would in all probability have called forth some expression of the public opinion in his favour, which is as well

---

17 Darling to Bathurst, 6 Sept. 1826, H.R.A., I, xii, p. 543-44.
18 Ibid., p. 543.
19 Minute of the Executive Council, Enclosure 2, ibid., p. 547.
20 Darling to Bathurst, Ibid., p. 544.
avoided. In the event, the Archpriest did not leave Australia although for some time his superiors chose to employ him in Van Diemen's Land and in the Port Philip District. He never lost hope that his colonial chaplaincy would be restored. Despite repeated requests, it was 1837 before it was considered that his aggressive attitude towards Protestantism had been purged. By this time, the Anglican monopoly of public education had been destroyed.

By 1837, the Church and School Corporation was a thing of the past and the power of the Church of England to seduce Roman Catholic orphans from their faith had been broken. Despite sectarian opposition in the Legislative Council to his proposal to allot £500 "for the Establishment of an orphan School for destitute Roman Catholic children", Bourke finally put an end to the teaching of the doctrines of the Church of England to Roman Catholic children. Even so, he had to make a minor compromise. Because Anglican supporters in the Legislative Council would not hear of a separate Roman Catholic orphanage, Bourke was forced to delete all reference to

21 Darling to Bathurst, 18 Nov. 1826, ibid., p. 693. If a replacement was unavoidable, Darling argued that "an Englishman should have the preference, the Catholics here being, I believe, nearly all Irish", Darling to Bathurst, 6 Sept. 1826, ibid., p. 544.

22 His salary was restored by Glenelg on 23 June 1837. See Glenelg to Bourke, 23 June 1837, ibid., xviii, p. 793. For requests for reinstatement, see Bourke to Glenelg, 21 Nov. 1836, ibid., p. 591-3, or Col. Sec's Clerical Corres., I, 11 May 1829, No. 29/59, M.L.
such an institution in the resolution authorising the expenditure of £600. The money was voted "for the support of destitute Roman C. (sic) children". In his despatch to Lord Glenelg on the appropriations for 1837, Bourke explained that his action in deleting reference to a Roman Catholic Orphan School was not merely because one or two Anglicans in the Legislative Council objected to its establishment:

This change was made . . . lest it should be thought by the public that it was the intention of this Government to establish under its direction and management a R.C. Institution similar to the Protestant orphan Schools of the Colony.

With the money safely voted, the Roman Catholic hierarchy in the Colony went ahead and established the Catholic Orphan School at Parramatta. By 1839, Governor Gipps could propose a vote of £1500 for the institution without objection.

Important as these inroads into the Anglican monopoly of state aid to education were, it was Bourke's proposal of 1833, to provide a general system of education for children of all faiths, which united Anglicans in a spirited defence of their privileges. Archdeacon William Grant Broughton, Scott's successor, responded to the

---

24 Ibid.
25 Gipps to Normanby, 9 Dec. 1839, ibid., xx, p. 428. See also a report by Dr. J. B. Polding, Archbishop of Sydney, in P. F. Moran, op. cit., p. 231.
challenge with all the vigour which was to typify his subsequent defences of Anglican privileges. In a letter to his friend, Governor George Arthur of Van Diemen's Land, he confided his fears:

When your Legislative Council and our Legislative Council and even the Parliament of England sit down and vote first for the support of Protestantism and the next minute for the support of Popery, I am convinced that they are doing what in them lies to root out all sense of the importance of truth from men's minds. . . . all governments instead of being zealous for the cause of God according to their own principles, are at this moment blowing hot and cold at once, a miserable expedient into which they are betrayed by the affectation of being thought liberal.26

Bourke's solution to sectarian divisions within the Colony, which for so long had thwarted the progress of public education, was the introduction of the Irish National System of Education. Devised for Irish conditions by Lord Stanley when Bourke had been his secretary, this system had, as its guiding principle, the separation of the school children for special religious instruction on one or more days of the week and their uniting for all other instruction. It was anticipated that, if a similar system were adopted in New South Wales, Protestant and Roman Catholic children could be educated in the same

26 Broughton to Arthur, 24 Jan. 1834, Arthur Papers, Vol. 12, M.L. For Broughton's views on liberalism and Irish Catholicism, see G. P. Shaw, William Grant Broughton and His Early Years in New South Wales, pp. 219-28.
school and by the same teachers without animosity or ill-will.\textsuperscript{27}

That the Irish National System had been accepted in Ireland,\textsuperscript{28} where religious enmity appeared closer to the surface than in New South Wales, seemed to augur well for its successful introduction into the Colony. However, Bourke had underestimated Broughton's determination to preserve the privileges of an Established Church. Broughton's organising genius and the easily whipped-up Protestant fear of Popery were to prove insuperable barriers to the attainment of Bourke's plan. In March 1834, Archdeacon Broughton returned to England in an endeavour to persuade the Government to deny Bourke's recommendation for a non-Anglican system of public education. Bourke was aware of Broughton's mission and, in a confidential letter to Whig politician T. Spring Rice, warned his English supporters of the Archdeacon's determination to keep colonial Roman Catholics and

\textsuperscript{27} Bourke to Stanley, 30 Sept. 1833, H.R.A., I, xvii, p. 231. For the origins of this system, see J. Murphy, \textit{The Religious Problem in English Education}; D. H. Akenson, \textit{The Irish Education Experiment}; or J. J. Auchmuty, \textit{Irish Education: A Historical Survey}.

\textsuperscript{28} Many Catholics appear to have accepted the plan solely in deference to the wishes of Archbishop Murray of Dublin, R. Fogarty, \textit{op. cit.}, I, pp. 176-77. See also U. Corrigan, \textit{Catholic Education in New South Wales}, p. 31. By the late 'sixties, Irish schools had become, to all intents and purposes, denominational schools. D. H. Akenson, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 7.
Nonconformists "in fetters and chains of iron".  

The fluctuating fortunes of the Tories, now led by Sir Robert Peel, kept Broughton for a while alternating between hope and despair before the Whigs were again safely entrenched on the Treasury benches. It was now clear to Broughton that on his return to New South Wales he would be faced with a struggle for control of public education. It was the thought of this struggle which caused him to hesitate before accepting the new Bishopric of Australia. In a letter to Lord Glenelg, Secretary of State for the Colonies, Broughton declared frankly that he would not be able to act "in concert with Sir Richard Bourke in carrying into effect the proposed system of giving public support to three separate forms of religion, and possibly also to every congregation of Dissenters and Jews upon the same principle". As far as "the new system of education" was concerned, he reiterated his implacable opposition to it and announced his determination "to counsel all Protestants to pursue the same course".  

29 Bourke to Spring Rice, 12 March 1834, Bourke Papers, M.L. Bourke appears to have been moved to support the Catholic position by Roger Therry's pamphlet, An Appeal on behalf of the Roman Catholics of New South Wales, in a Letter to Edward Blount, Esquire.  

30 Enclosure 2, Broughton to Glenelg, 3 Dec. 1835, in Glenelg to Bourke, 27 Feb. 1837, H.R.A., I, xviii, p. 700. For a comment on the effects of "successive changes" of government on the implementation of Bourke's plan, see Glenelg to Bourke, 30 Nov. 1835, ibid., p. 201.  

31 Ibid. See also Bourke to Glenelg, 8 Aug. 1836, ibid., p. 476.
Lord Glenelg assured Broughton that there was never the intention of imposing conditions of acceptance on the bishopric:

In intimating to you my hope that His Majesty's Government might receive your concurrence and co-operation in the plan of education recommended by Sir Richard Bourke, it was not my intention to impose any condition upon your acceptance of the Bishopric or to fetter the free exercise of your judgment in the course which you may feel it incumbent upon you to pursue.32

Broughton was consecrated Bishop of Australia by Archbishop Howley of Canterbury on 14 February 1836, and returned immediately to New South Wales. On the day he landed, 2 June 1836, Bourke tabled in the Legislative Council Glenelg's approval for the introduction of the Irish National System. As he had warned the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Broughton declined to co-operate with Bourke and set about rallying Protestant opposition to its introduction.33 The changed attitude of the Anglican Church in England to the dissenting sects and a common sense of purpose within the Colony, that of preventing Australian Anglo-Saxon Protestant society

32 Enclosure 3, Glenelg to Broughton, 7 Dec. 1835, in Glenelg to Bourke, 27 Feb. 1837, op. cit., p. 701. For the decision to appoint Broughton as Bishop of Australia and to introduce the Irish National System of Education into N.S.W., see Glenelg to Bourke, 30 Nov. 1835, ibid., p. 201-7.

33 Bishop W. G. Broughton, A Speech delivered at the General Committee of Protestants on Wednesday, August 3, 1836. See also General Education: resolutions at a meeting . . . held at the Pulteney Hotel, Sydney, on Friday, June 24, 1836.
falling beneath the heel of Popery, combined to provide Broughton with the united front he sought. A Committee of Protestants was set up to organise resistance. Through the bustling energy of Secretary Rev. Ralph Mansfield, twelve active sub-committees in country areas were kept informed of decisions and activities in Sydney.34

Bourke was appalled by the vehemence of the attacks leveled against him and against his plan for a national system of education. There was a multitude of catch cries and the *Sydney Herald* gave them the widest circulation, for example: "Liberalism has done the work of Popery"; "The Irish Education Scheme . . . that subtle device of Popery and Triflingly"; "The Anti-Bible Schools".35 In a desparate to Lord Glenelg, Bourke gave a glimpse of his despair and frustration when he complained that Broughton and the Protestant alliance were trying to defeat "by clamour and misrepresentation the declared objects of His Majesty's Government".36 There was truth in the accusation but fear of Popery was seen as justifying opposition and sectarianism. All supporters of national education

34 Bourke to Glenelg, 8 Aug. 1836, *ibid.*, vxiii, p. 473. See *Australian*, 19 July 1836, for meeting which led to the appointment of the "Coordinating committee" and *S.H.* 25 July for the Protestant "Resolutions".


36 Bourke to Glenelg, 8 Aug. 1836, *op. cit.*, p. 467. In addition to the irate letters to the colonial press on the "education question", the *S.H.* encouraged sectarian antagonisms by publishing inflammatory articles such as "Tortures by a Priest", 25 July 1836.
were accused not only of "riding rough shod over the Protestant community" but of promoting an education scheme "almost solely for the benefit of the majority of Irish Roman Catholic transported felons".

The apparent willingness of the Roman Catholic Church to accept the Irish National System only served to strengthen Protestant suspicions that it was "a system of public education devised for the sole purpose of conciliating a Roman Catholic people, to be forced upon a Protestant people who don't want it". It was widely believed that if Bourke's proposals were accepted the schools would become "little better than Popish mass-houses". In its leader of 4 July 1836, the Sydney Herald announced its utter rejection of the proposals. It could not support, it said, any plan which would "give an ascendance to the children of the present race of transported Irish papists.

---

37 S.H., Supplement, 20 Oct. 1836, letter from "A Protestant".
40 R. Therry, Explanation of the Plan of the Irish National Schools, shewing its peculiar adaptation to New South Wales. See also, Australian, 23 Aug. 1836.
42 S.H., Supplement, 26 Dec. 1836.
at the expense of the Protestant landowners of this country. This sectarian rallying cry was the signal for bigoted and self-assertive Protestants to intensify their efforts to arouse such a storm of protest that Bourke would be forced to withdraw his plan.

With the balance of opinion swinging towards rejection of the plan, Roman Catholic spokesmen tried to present it as essential to the preservation and encouragement of social harmony. "Catholicus Ipse", a correspondent to the Australian, tried to argue that the introduction of the system would produce the same calming effect as it had had in Ireland where, he said, it had "smoothed down animosities . . . encouraged the spread of education . . . (and) introduced a noble range of feelings". Conditions there were somewhat different from those existing in the Colony. In Ireland, the Roman Catholic population was in the majority; in New South Wales, the position was reversed. In accepting a common system of education, Dr. Doyle, Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, had but one concern; to prevent the possibility of Protestant attempts at proselytism. With this fear nullified by the regulations for special religious instruction, he declared himself in favour of "mixed education", arguing that: "Children united know and love each other, as children brought up together

\[43\] 23 Aug. 1836. R. Fogarty, op. cit., I, p. 30, n.9, suggests that "Catholicus Ipse" was Archbishop Polding, the leader of the Roman Catholic community in Australia, as does U. Corrigan, op. cit., p. 17.
always will; and to separate them is, I think, to destroy some of the finest feelings in the hearts of men". It was a view held by Dr. (later Cardinal) Wiseman. In 1836, when Bourke was endeavouring to introduce the system into New South Wales, Wiseman pronounced himself a supporter of common schools, asserting that mixed education would not lead to sectarian animosities if steps were taken to reserve "the religious education of their respective classes to their own pastors".

In the Colony, militant Protestants were in no mood to consider co-operation with the Roman Catholic minority as a means of ensuring love and harmony. As for the reassurances of priests that intolerance and sectarian arguments would disappear, Protestants were encouraged to believe that priests were "villains . . . ready to excite the people to rebellion, but too timid, like O'Connell, to risk themselves". Throughout the cries of protest ran one common theme: that "respectable Emigrant colonists" could not be forced to send their children to charity schools nor could they be compelled "to support the children of all the profligate vagabonds, freed and fettered, in the Colony".

44 Quoted W. M. Wyse, Notes on Education Reform in Ireland . . . , p. 10.


46 "Hibernian" on outrages in Ireland, S.H., 24 Nov. 1836.

47 S.H., Leader, 13 Oct. 1836.
When a Catholic correspondent to the Monitor tried to denounce such tactics and accused Broughton of being a "presumptuous, dangerous man","the leader of domineering professors of exclusive piety, kindling the flames of religious fanaticism and persecution", Edward Hall, the editor of the paper, found himself under sectarian attack. "Constans", in a letter to the Sydney Herald, criticised Hall for prostituting "his pages to some hireling of the Jesuits". 48

All activity in favour of the Irish National System was seen by the more extreme Protestants as a plot to promote Papal supremacy. To ensure that the Government was left in no doubt as to the strength of the Protestant opposition, a massive campaign for the signing of petitions was mounted. Rev. George Rusden lent all his energies to the struggle and went so far as to force several assigned servants to sign his petition. The coercion of the men came to the notice of the Police Magistrate at Maitland. Broughton was forced to apologise for the behaviour of his overzealous subordinate. In extenuation of Rusden's conduct, the Lord Bishop tried to argue that he was unfamiliar with colonial conditions. 49 Bourke refused to be mollified as

48 S.H., 22 Sept. 1836. For other S.H. attacks on the Monitor's pro I.N.S. stand, see the 3 column attack, 6 Oct. or the Leader, "The Monitor on 'Religious Contentions'", 20 Oct. 1836.

Rusden was no newcomer. He had been two years in the Colony. Besides, as Bourke reported to Lord Glenelg, Rusden had not been:

the only Divine of the Church of England who, under the Bishop's control, inveighs from the Pulpit against the establishment of the proposed Schools, misrepresenting their character and aims, and connecting them with the Church of Rome, in a strain of declamation which, however deficient in argument and unfounded in fact, serves the mischievous purpose of keeping up excitement, and creating anger and suspicion in the minds of Persons of different religious creeds who have hitherto lived in perfect harmony.  

Broughton was not innocent of the charges. In the same despatch, Bourke provided glimpses of an incident, the full story of which was never revealed:

The Bishop himself, when preaching some short time ago in the church at Parramatta, which I usually attend, took occasion to attack the Schools as subversion of Protestantism. It happened that, being indisposed, I felt myself obliged to quit the church before the Sermon commenced, and thus accidentally escaped being present at a discourse which I understand betrayed more zeal than discretion.

The Sydney Gazette tried to pretend that colonists with liberal views would set at nought the activities of Bishop Broughton and "his small band of heterodox squire Thwackums" in their crusade against the Irish National System. Its commendation of a counter-petition from Illawarra, however, did little to stem the increasing volume of

---

51 Ibid.
protests. A change in the editorship of the paper removed even this small prop to Bourke's self-esteem. From 1 September 1836, a series of leading articles announced that the Governor and his Roman Catholic allies had yet another sectarian foe with which to contend. The Leader of 3 September condemned that part of Bourke's plan which provided for the reading of scriptural extracts instead of placing the whole Bible in the hands of the children. It was an attack on a fundamental element of the scheme and crucial to its success since the Roman Catholic authorities had made it plain that they would not participate in any scheme of education which included the use of the whole Bible in the teaching of non-dogmatic religious instruction. At the same time, the Gazette raised the deeper sectarian issue as to why it was that the Protestant majority had to submit to the Roman Catholic minority "by sacrificing a great principle of their religious rites to their prejudices". The emotive overtones of "principle" and "prejudice" were not lost on contemporary readers. Protestant acceptance of Broughton's presentation of the national school as a Jesuitical device designed to prepare the way for the "ultimate establishment of popery" made rejection of Bourke's plan inevitable.


Assertions by Roman Catholic supporters that the presence of Broughton in the Colony was conducive to sectarian discord and that he should be removed were countered by the Sydney Herald which urged the recall of the Governor.\(^55\)

Lord Glenelg viewed with concern the lack of harmony among the religious sects of the Colony and the open hostility to its Governor which his promotion of a general system of education had aroused. He urged Bourke to do his utmost to conciliate those who opposed him. He was to treat "with forbearance and consideration the opposition and even the prejudices of those whom further experience and observation may render more disposed to co-operate".\(^56\)

Conciliation and co-operation were unattainable as the rival parties had adopted uncompromising positions. In an effort to destroy the power of Broughton to influence the Legislative Council, the supporters of National Education had taken the unforgiveable step of urging the forfeiture of Broughton's ex officio seat in the Chamber.\(^57\)

Bourke himself believed that Broughton's changed status, from Archdeacon to Bishop, excluded him from the provisions of the New South Wales Judicature Act of 1823 and therefore abrogated his right to a seat on the

\(^{55}\) S.H., 6 Oct. 1836. The Gazette even advocated ex-Govr. Darling's return, 8 Nov. 1836.


\(^{57}\) "Nemo", a frequent correspondent to the S.H., replied to the Catholic attacks on the Bishop's position, S.H., Supplement, 7 Nov. 1836.
Legislative Council as an *ex officio* member. This view seemed to have the support of the Colonial Office in England. When appointing Broughton as a member of the Executive Council of New South Wales, Glenelg had accidentally left the Bishop's name off the Warrant appointing members of the Legislative Council. It was an error speedily put right; but in the meantime Bourke made it plain that he did not believe Ecclesiastics should be admitted into the Colonial Councils, the more so in view of Broughton's undisguised hostility to the Irish National System: "It cannot be denied that the Bishop of Australia's uncompromising hostility will throw great difficulties in the way of forming a Board and making other preliminary arrangements". Broughton's overt sectarianism was of such a nature that Bourke had no doubt that if the Bishop were to be restored to his former positions in Government, he would be "a source of disunion and strife of the most prejudicial description . . . by exhibiting in an Exalted Member an exclusive and intolerant spirit".

When Bourke put his recommendations for introduction of the Irish National System before the Legislative Council

---

for ratification, the vote gave him a comfortable majority. However, four of the nominated members\(^{62}\) not only voted against the inclusion of £3,000 on the Estimates for the establishment of schools "on the Irish System" but issued formal protests.\(^{63}\) In the *Sydney Herald*, "Nemo" protested that the money had been voted away in an "indecent hurry" for an experiment, an experiment forced upon an unwilling Colony by an aggressive Irish Roman Catholicism: "It appears extremely degrading, that we are to be taught lessons of jurisprudence, arising from the turbulent principles of a Papistical Irish mob".\(^{64}\)

With his Council divided and the majority of the colonists determined to oppose the implementation of his proposals, Bourke quietly pigeon-holed the plan for educational reform.\(^{65}\) Initially, he put on a bold front; sets of Irish National School textbooks were ordered;\(^{66}\) a national school for Wollongong was approved and building

---


\(^{64}\) S.H., Supplement, 20 Oct. 1836.

\(^{65}\) When Governor George Gipps arrived in the Colony in February 1838, he found Bourke's plans "virtually abandoned". Gipps to Normanby, 9 Dec. 1839, *H.R.A.*, I, xx, pp. 426-27.

commenced; and a request was made for teachers from England. These were just face-savers. The school at Wollongong was never opened and the teachers requested were not those trained in the Irish System but "according to the method of Lancaster or Bell". Bourke had assessed the situation correctly. Even if he had built and staffed his national schools, the implacable hostility of the united Protestant opposition would have made them unworkable.

Unwilling to leave education in the same state in which he had found it, Bourke felt obliged to make other arrangements. He did this through the Church Act. Although it did not specifically mention schools, the Act was held to include them as religious institutions. State aid was provided to the churches on a pound-for-pound basis, the "half-and-half" system. That this subterfuge

---


68 Bourke to Glenelg, 17 June 1837, ibid., xviii, p. 788.

69 A two storied brick school was erected on the site of the present Council Chambers but was not used as a school until opened by the Board of National Education in 1851. See B.N.E. Fair Minute Book, 18 Oct. 1851, p. 434. See also N. C. Mitchell, "The History of the National School Wollongong and the School Life, 1840-1889. Typescript, in City of Greater Wollongong Public Library. The Anglicans and Roman Catholics immediately erected their own schools in Wollongong when Bourke's decision to build the school became known. Gipps preferred to leave "the Government school empty, rather than . . . to give fresh cause for dissention", Gipps to Russell, 24 Oct. 1840, H.R.A., I, xxi, p. 58.

had to be adopted in order to improve the educational facilities of the Colony was an admission that the "factious and licentious appeal to religious passion" had won more support than had Bourke's call for social unity and for an end to sectarian animosities. Now the most hated man in the Colony, Bourke awaited the recall which was not only inevitable but one which he had already admitted would be received without regret:

I am weary of the incessant labour of the Government and did I not desire to lay the foundation of free Institutions in the Colony and a good system of general education . . . I would very earnestly ask to be relieved.  

Relieved he was. Not because of the pressures the Anglican community may have exerted against him but because the Secretary of State for the Colonies had failed to uphold his suspension from the Executive Council of C. D. Riddell, the Colonial Treasurer, and as a result Bourke resigned. He left the Colony in December 1837, a frustrated and embittered man. However, his work for a

---


72 Bourke to Spring Rice, 15 April 1836, Bourke Papers, M.L.

system of national education was not a complete failure. Although defeated by sectarianism over his plan to introduce the Irish National System, his initiation of state aid to denominational schools ultimately led to demands for government control over the funds it expended on education and to demands for a secular system of education.

The departure of Governor Bourke and a recognition that his successor, Sir George Gipps, would not implement Bourke's educational proposals served to lessen tensions between the Government and the Church of England. Relations between the Roman Catholic Church and the Protestant Churches remained embittered. Protestant landowners, the most influential men in the Colony, were incensed at the evidence given by Dr. Ullathorne, the Roman Catholic Vicar-General, before the Select Committee on Transportation. He had argued that the horrors of transportation could only be removed by the abolition of the system. The end of transportation would have meant the end of the supply of cheap and tractable labour for the landowners of the Colony. On his return to the Colony

---

74 Gipps made no attempt to introduce Bourke's plan. In explanation of this, he informed the British Government that he could not do so as the teachers sent to the Colony had not been trained in the Irish National System, ibid., xxii, Gipps to Normanby, 9 Dec. 1839, pp. 464-65.

75 For Dr. Ullathorne's evidence before the Select Committee on Transportation, see W. Molesworth, Rep. from the Sel. Com. on Transportation, 3 Aug. 1838, pp. 14-37. See also W. B. Ullathorne, The Horrors of Transportation briefly unfolded to the people, and The Catholic Mission in Australasia.
on 1 January 1839, the Vicar-General found himself dubbed the "Agitator-General" and subjected to a campaign of vilification. As landless Protestants, many of whom had arrived in the Colony as convicts or who were the descendants of convicts, were unlikely to respond to the economic argument against Ullathorne and the Roman Catholic Church, there was an attempt to arouse their religious prejudices. "Philanthropos", one of the most aggressive of the anti-Catholic correspondents to the Sydney Herald in 1839, accused Ullathorne of asserting that "the Church of Rome is the 'Church of Australia'". In a bitter attack on the Roman Catholic Church, "Philanthropos" declared that if "anything were wanting to exemplify the arrogance, and show the dangerous designs of the Roman Catholic Priesthood, this mendacious and insolent assertion supplies the hiatus".

It was in this atmosphere of intolerance and bigotry that Gipps announced his intention of setting up another system of general education; that of the British and


77 S.H., 15 Apr. 1839.

78 Ibid. For a sample of the letters written by "Philanthropos", see S.H., 1 May 1839, for his comments on the threat of Papal "predominancy" in the Colony, and S.H., 17 May 1839, for his remarks on women converts and Roman Catholicism.
Foreign School Society.  

On this occasion, the plan was to introduce a system of education acceptable to all Protestants but with separate provision for Roman Catholic children. Gipps was confident that the scheme would be accepted with a minimum of opposition. One British and Foreign School Society school was already in operation in Sydney under the control of the Australian School Society, an affiliated society. Gipps could see no problems. As far as he was concerned, he saw himself acting in "the highest interests of mankind" and he believed that others would also nurture "feelings of love and charity towards each other, irrespective of religious creeds". He had reckoned without the stubborn and bigoted resistance of Bishop Broughton. The British and Foreign School Society's system was but another name for the non-denominational monitorial system of education devised by Quaker Joseph Lancaster. Not only did it not permit the use of the whole Bible but it also excluded the teaching and saying of the

---

79 For the history of the Society, see Australian School Society, A concise statement of the principle of the British and Foreign School Society; with a sketch of the Society's history and systems of teaching.


82 Governor's Minute on Education to the Legislative Council, S.H., 26 July 1839.
Church of England catechism. To Broughton, these were a sine qua non and he refused to tolerate any system which omitted them.

During his struggle to preserve the Anglican monopoly of public education and to foist upon the people of New South Wales the image of the Church of England as the Established Church, Broughton had developed a strong antipathy towards the colonial government. He saw it as bent upon the total destruction of the power of his Church and of its role in religious education. With this in mind, in 1838, he advised the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts that the Church was in danger:

For the seeds of evil have already taken deep root, and its branches will spread far and wide except where we have the present means of checking their extension. . . . Much of this by God's blessing might have been checked if the Government had ever taken a faithful and decided part in maintaining and encouraging good institutions and good principles. . . . I must say that a weak and timid if not a treacherous policy on the part of our governors had thrown down every barrier which ought to have been upheld as most sacred.  

As for Governor Gipps, Broughton saw him as a second Bourke who would never rest until he had rooted out religious

---

83 Founded in 1701, the S.P.G. was an off-shoot of the Society for the Promoting of Christian Knowledge, a C. of E. society established in 1698 to educate "Poor Children in the Knowledge and Practice of the Christian Religion, as profess'd and Taught in the Church of England", D. W. Sylvester, Educational Documents, 1800-1816, p. 171. From 1793, the S.P.G. gave financial assistance towards the salaries of colonial school teachers. See Rep. of the Diocesan Committee of the SPG & SPCK, 1837.

84 Broughton to Warneford, 12 Nov. 1838, SPG "C" MSS, Microfilm FM4/560-1, M.L.
education and replaced it by "such a system as Lord Brougham appears anxious to inflict upon England".85

The system of education Brougham espoused for England was the one Gipps was now asking the Protestants of New South Wales to accept, a system strongly supported by Non-conformists in England but operating in direct competition with the Anglican National Society. Bishop Broughton was too skilful a politician to fight on two fronts. Playing down Anglican-Nonconformist differences over which monitorial system was the more acceptable, Broughton concentrated his energies on re-establishing a united Protestant opposition to the concessions to be granted to the Roman Catholic clergy in Gipps' plan. In the main, these were, first, the acceptance that Roman Catholics would not unite with other Christian sects in a system of general education where the question of religious instruction involved the use of the Bible, "in consequence of the well known tenets of their faith",86 and, secondly, a readjustment of the financial provisions to Roman Catholic schools which "stood more in need of assistance of the government than any other persuasion".87

Broughton's resistance to Gipps' plan followed the pattern which had proved so successful against Bourke. Once again, he organised a noisy opposition both within and outside the Legislative Council. He himself delivered

85 Ibid.
86 Governor's Minute on Education, op. cit.
87 Ibid.
a fiery speech to the members, denouncing what he saw as partiality towards Roman Catholicism. The usual petitions, public meetings, pamphlets and letters to the press provided the Governor with ample evidence that his belief that Protestants could and would accept the principle of the British and Foreign School Society, "without the smallest sacrifice whatsoever of any essential principle of their faith", was wrong. The growth of the Roman Catholic Church in New South Wales since the arrival of Australia's first Roman Catholic bishop in 1834, Dr. J. B. Polding, and its increasingly aggressive demands for equality could not but be assisted by Gipps' plan and this could not be tolerated by Protestants.

"Philanthropos" set the tone of the public debate when, in his most bigoted and abusive letter of 1839, he warned fellow Protestants of the consequence of aiding a militant and resurgent Church of Rome:

The cloven foot, which Jesuitical cunning for some time endeavoured to conceal, is again put forth — the


89 Governor's Minute on Education, op. cit., Gipps had believed from what leading Protestants had said that his plan would be acceptable to them. See, for example, Report of Select Committee on Transportation, 1837, ev. James Macarthur, pp. 176-77, qq. 2672-78.
tyrannical and exterminating spirit of Popery again rears its head - now, viper-like, insidiously stinging those whose too great liberality and charity have restored to the serpent its venomous fangs - now again boldly trampling under foot all that resists its blighting progress.\textsuperscript{90}

The \textit{Sydney Herald}, as in 1836, supported the extreme Protestant stand and slightly referred to the Governor's proposals as "His Excellency's peculiar views".\textsuperscript{91} The sectarian arguments against the introduction of the Irish National System were now directed against the suggestion that there should be a separate and state-aided system of Roman Catholic Schools. Were the honest and industrious to be taxed to educate "the offspring of misery and vice"?

"Are we to trust the Popish priesthood? Have they any interest in enlightening the minds of their deluded fellow?" The \textit{Herald} contended that as four-fifths of the "Papists" had arrived as convicted felons, it was for the Home Government to instruct their offspring "and not tax the productive industry of the free population . . . to propagate the Anti-social system of Romanism".\textsuperscript{92} Its attacks on Roman Catholicism in general and on Dr. Ullathorne in particular made nonsense of the \textit{Herald}'s claim that "We are not the

\textsuperscript{90} \textit{S.H.}, 15 April 1839. For other anti-Catholic letters, see "The Love of Truth, the Handmaid of Religion", 17 April; "Z", 14 June; "Alpha". 16 Sept.; "Nemo", 16 Oct. 1839.

\textsuperscript{91} \textit{S.H.}, 26 Aug. 1839.

\textsuperscript{92} \textit{Ibid.}
champion of Sectarianism but of Protestantism". In the eyes of the editor, the Church of Rome was a "tyrant of the worst species" and wherever tolerated was "intriguing and seditious". As for the Irish Catholic convicts who made up the body of the Church, the best he could say of them was:

Are they not, for the most part, as brutally ignorant as the veriest savages in New South Wales, and shall Government perpetuate this evil by empowering the Priesthood opposed to education to fetter the minds of the rising generation of this Colony in the dungeons of Popish superstition?

Roman Catholics were no longer prepared to accept passively the insults of aggressive and narrow-minded Anglicans. To put the Roman Catholic viewpoint before the general public and to provide the Roman Catholic body with a journal devoted to their interests, in July 1839, a group of affluent Roman Catholic laymen purchased Andrew Bent's recently established *News and New South Wales Advertiser*. First published as the *Australasian Chronicle* on 2 August 1839, the paper quickly made a name for itself under the tempestuous editorship of W. A. Duncan, as

---


95 Ibid.

96 Bent had been a printer in Van Diemen's Land before coming to N.S.W. to publish the *News*, 13 April to 27 July 1839. He was an emancipist originally sentenced to transportation for life for burglary in 1810. In 1850 he became a convert to Roman Catholicism, A. H. Chisholm, (ed.), *Australian Encyclopaedia*, Vol. I, p. 491.
a champion of social equality and an enemy of privilege. In its first issue, the Australasian Chronicle gave full coverage to "The Catholic Meeting" of 14 July when Dr. Polding in his Pastoral Address gave notice that Roman Catholics were not only determined to achieve equality with Protestants but were equally resolute on the question of the proper education for Roman Catholic children:

Our duty requires us to caution you not to send them to schools conducted on principles adverse to the principles of your holy faith, in the benefits of which they cannot participate without surrendering their freedom of conscience.

He denied all desire to obtain that ascendancy and superiority that partisan supporters of Protestantism ascribed to Roman Catholicism. In his view, it was regrettable "that misrepresentation of our doctrines and of our practices has not yet ceased. . . . Of misrepresenting either the doctrines, or motives, or actions, of our Christian brethren, we deem ourselves guiltless".

The resolutions passed at the meeting reflected the new sense of dignity Dr. Polding had inspired in the Roman Catholic population. The "good feeling which has authoritatively declared the existence of perfect equality amongst all denominations of Christian belief in the social relations of the Colony" was therefore gratefully acknowledged but, at the same time, the meeting agreed that this existed "not solely by reason of legislative enactment, but

---

97 Ibid. See also Vol. III, "William Augustine Duncan", p. 311.
in virtue of man's own right." 98 As for Anglican claims to recognition as the Established Church of the Colony, the Roman Catholic community pledged itself never to cease to work against such a view. Broughton's position as member of the Legislative Council also came under attack and his removal was sought. 99 Finally, and on the question of education, the meeting unanimously claimed freedom of conscience and anticipated that "no Board of Education will be formed in which we cannot be duly represented; no principle established as the basis of an educational system which will exclude us from a participation in its benefits". 1

The resolutions were embodied in a memorial and sent to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

In suggesting the introduction of the British and Foreign School Society's system, Gipps had pleased no-one. When he realised the extent of the opposition to his proposals, he abandoned them. Bourke's Church Act had made it possible for all the denominations to build up their schools systems and had provided a measure of security and

98 Australasian Chronicle, 2 Aug. 1839.

99 When Lord John Russell received the memorial, he refused to accede to the request for the removal of Broughton from the Legislative Council but offered his regret that the dissensions between Polding and Broughton should have become so bitter. Russell to Gipps, 17 Dec. 1839, H.R.A., I, xx, p. 436. He also dismissed as "frivolous", Broughton's complaint over the "Pontifical Habiliments of a Bishop of Rome" being worn at the Governor's Levee, ibid., p. 435. See also ibid., pp. 265-70 and ibid., xxiii, Stanley to Gipps, 12 Sept. 1843, p. 125.

1 Australasian Chronicle, 2 Aug. 1839.
independence which they were loath to give up. As the Chief Justice pointed out, the inducements offered to Protestants were insufficient for them to abandon what they already had. The Roman Catholic Church was also lukewarm towards the proposals although the Australasian Chronicle initially supported them:

It being . . . understood that this system is essentially Protestant, we have no hesitation in bearing testimony to its relative excellence, as a system calculated to benefit, in a high degree, the great bulk of the Protestant population. With this view, we gave our support to the measure of his Excellency during the last session, notwithstanding the grievance we felt at the exclusion of our body from the general benefit; for although provision was made for the support of the Catholic schools to a certain extent, it was clear to us, that . . . our schools would have every disadvantage, compared with a system organised as is that of the British and Foreign School Society. . . .

Having thus . . . given our reason for supporting that system when brought forward last year, we take leave to state, now that the measure has been withdrawn, that we are most decidedly opposed to its future introduction, and to every system which does not include our body.

Despite the militancy of the Australasian Chronicle and of the Roman Catholic population, the capitulation of yet another Governor to the demands of the Church of England strengthened Broughton's view that his Church alone had the right to provide a system of public education. At

2 Gipps to Normanby, 9 Dec. 1839, H.R.A., I, xx, p. 428. See also Bourke to Glenelg, 14 Sept. 1836, ibid., xviii, pp. 537-38. The success of the Act is to be seen in the rise in the numbers of the clergy from thirty five to about 100 in five years. See J. Barrett, That Better Country, pp. 14, 41ff.

3 Australasian Chronicle, 3 Sept. 1839.

4 Australasian Chronicle, 14 Feb. 1840.
a meeting of the "Diocesan Committee of the S.P.C.K. and S.P.G." held on 2 October 1839, resolutions were passed which reaffirmed this stand. The first agreed:

that it is an object of the highest national importance to provide that instruction in the truths and precepts of Christianity should form an essential part of every system of education intended for the people at large; and that, such instruction should be under the superintendence of the clergy and in conformity with the doctrines of the Church of this realm as the recognised teacher of religion.⁵

With the battle won and aware that its readership was made up of people of all creeds, the editor of the Sydney Herald was not prepared to support this extreme view of an Anglican monopoly of public education. While committing the paper to the support of the Church of England: "We are supporters of the Church of England in this Colony, upon Protestant principles", the editor was careful to point out that "we are . . . no advocates of exclusiveness".⁶ As far as the Herald was concerned, "State education is essentially secular - it is of no creed".⁷

Broughton was under no misapprehension that his victory over Gipps meant the end of the struggle. In a letter to his friend Edward Coleridge in October 1838, he urged upon him the necessity of maintaining the supply of

---


⁷ S.H., 4 Oct. 1839.
funds from England for the provision of colonial education under the patronage of the Church of England. The need, he said, was all the greater since the Anglican schools were "now under the Ban of Government and menaced with extinction". The rout of Gipps had brought Broughton no pleasure. He saw the Governor's behaviour on the question of education as that of a traitor:

I was not prepared for, and therefore very acutely felt, the unkind observations which he made upon the Church of England in whose bosom he was nourished, and of which he was born, not only in baptism, but by natural descent, being the son of a clergyman. Yet he said the world had experienced no inflections so painful and serious as those occasioned by the endeavour to uphold the Church Establishment: . . . speaking with some apparent exultation of the threatened if not actual extension of Popery (Catholicism he terms it). . . . He is still engaged in seeking favor for his Education project, and I have little doubt will bring it forward again next year. The odds are fearfully against me.

The education question was only one of the fears which beset the Lord Bishop. The assumption of the Roman Catholic hierarchy of claims to equality had never been accepted and Broughton had not taken lightly the wearing of a pectoral cross and ring by Bishop Polding at the Governor's levee in 1839. Broughton had expected and received precedence over all other clerics in the Colony. This was threatened in 1843 when Polding was appointed Archbishop of

8 14 Oct. 1839, Bishop Broughton Papers, Microfilm FM 4/225-6, M.L.

9 Ibid.

10 See Note 90. See also H. N. Birt, Benedictine Pioneers in Australia, Vol. II, p. 13.
Sydney. As Bishop of Australia, Broughton's status was now inferior to that of the Archbishop. He immediately protested on the ground that the appointment infringed the oath of Supremacy: "No foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate hath or ought to have any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm". Even though the civil authorities recognised Polding's new designation, Broughton denied the right of papal authorities to confer such ecclesiastical dignities within the British Empire. When Governor Fitzroy informed Broughton that, from his reading of the regulations on the rank and precedence of prelates, Archbishop Polding had precedence over the Bishops of the Church of England in the Colony, Broughton warned that, if this happened, he would never again present himself at Government House.

In the campaign against Popery, Presbyterian John Dunmore Lang proved an able assistant to the Anglican Bishop. Lang was not only a fine orator but also a gifted orator.


12 Ibid. See also Rev. R. Allwood, Lectures on the Papal Claim of Jurisdiction; W. A. Duncan, A Letter to the Lord Bishop of Australia; A Second Letter . . . in Reply to a Lecture of Rev. Robert Allwood; A Third Letter . . . ; A Layman, An Answer to the Letter addressed to the Lord Bishop . . . in Defense of the Most Rev. Dr. Polding's Usurpation of the Title and Dignity of Archbishop of Sydney and Metropolitan of New Holland.

writer of vitriolic attacks upon enemies. The presence of the Roman Catholic Church in Australia was a constant source of aggravation to him. A prolific producer of inflammatory pamphlets, Lang endeavoured to warn his fellow-colonists of the activities of "Romish recusants" and in 1841 tried to highlight the growing power of Roman Catholicism in New South Wales in a pamphlet entitled, The Question of Questions: or is the Colony to be Transformed into a Province of Popedom? The following year, he followed up this pamphlet with Popery in Australia and the Southern Hemisphere and How to check it Effectively.

In their separate ways, throughout the depression of the early 1840s, Broughton and Lang kept sectarian issues before the public and the politicians. No disagreement was too small to take to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Broughton's dispossession of Roman Catholics of a school-room they had used for years, on the ground that it had formed a part of the legal estate of the Church and School Corporation, brought outraged protests from Dr. Polding.\textsuperscript{14}

The Roman Catholic proposition that the annual vote for the support of religion should be apportioned to the sects in accordance with the number of their adherents as disclosed in the census met a similar reaction from Dr. Broughton. The Lord Bishop of Australia used the occasion to

\textsuperscript{14} Russell to Gipps, 31 Aug. 1841, Enclosure, Polding to Russell, 27 Aug. 1841, \textit{ibid.}, xxii, pp. 497-98. See also Gipps to Stanley, 8 Feb. 1842, \textit{ibid.}, pp. 681-84.
complain that the celibacy of the Roman Catholic clergy imposed a disadvantage on the Church of England. Since his priests were, in general, married men with dependents, it was obvious that his Church was at a comparative disadvantage:

The celibacy of her clergy . . . enables her by the possession of equal means to employ them in much larger numbers, and so to carry on with superior effect a system of proselytism.\(^\text{15}\)

With sectarian issues thus constantly before the public, Gipps preferred not to confront his Protestant antagonists over the education question but instead provided regulations for the more equitable distribution of funds and for the better management of the schools.\(^\text{16}\)

However, the vision of a national system of education for New South Wales was not lost. It was merely shelved until the times seemed more favourable. In London, the Colonial Office continued to look to the day when it could be introduced.\(^\text{17}\)

Roger Therry accurately assessed the tremendous attraction of Bourke's plan when he said that it "produced an impression so strong as to sustain the supporters of it, who persevered throughout Sir George Gipp's administration, and ultimately prevailed in its extensive


\(^{17}\) Russell to Gipps, 19 April 1841, H.R.A., I, xxi, p. 327.
and successful establishment".  

It was 1844 before Gipps felt that the time was right for another attempt to solve the education question. A Select Committee of the Legislative Council was set up to investigate the condition of colonial education and to ascertain the wishes of the people on the type of school and curriculum they desired for their children. Robert Lowe, a barrister and the future Viscount Sherbrooke, was appointed to chair the Committee's proceedings. He had arrived in the Colony in October 1842, and, through the patronage of the Governor, had been given a seat in the Legislative Council as a nominated member.

The Lowe Committee pursued its task energetically and questioned twenty-one witnesses who represented differing views on public education. Almost all were prepared to admit that the system was in a deplorable state or, as William Macarthur of Camden preferred to say, was "exceedingly imperfect". Some supporters of Church of England Schools found it difficult to criticise a system to which they had given so much time and devotion. Rev. James

---

18 Reminiscences of Thirty Years' Residence in New South Wales and Victoria, p. 158.


20 P.P.(N.S.W.), 1844, II, p. 583.
Fullerton could not admit that the Church Schools were inadequate to their task but instead preferred to say that they were "in general pretty well conducted". 21 Charles Kemp 22 had no such reservations about the Church of England parochial school system. 23 An intolerant and opinionated man, Kemp left no doubt of his loathing for those Anglicans whose reluctance to support their religion had encouraged the erosion of the powers and privileges of his Church. 24 With the arrogance of a member of the High Church and Tory Party, he dismissed the suggestion that Anglican parochial school education was of an inferior quality by asserting that it was "sufficient for persons in the lower classes of life to be supplied with, so far as the State is concerned." 25 Although spiritual leader of the Church of England in Australia and governor of the church school system, Bishop Broughton did not display a similar confidence in his

21 Ibid., p. 488.

22 In March 1841, Kemp and John Fairfax took over publication of the Sydney Herald which they bought from F. M. Stokes the following September. His religious convictions impelled "a zeal for promoting the Anglican Church ... a branch of Christ's Holy Catholic Church here on earth". "Charles Kemp", A.D.B., Vol. 2, 1788-1850, pp. 41-42.

23 He was not only Church Warden of Holy Trinity but by his exertions and a gift of £250 opened an Anglican school in the parish. Ibid., p. 41, and C. Kemp, Diary, 1847-8, 2 June, 19 July 1847, M.L. A2063.

24 Ibid., 19, 22, 30 July 1847, 7 Feb. 1848.

parochial school system. Unwilling to condemn it out of hand and thus lose the support of those parents who sent their children to his schools, Broughton conceded that the Anglican school system was "perhaps, not altogether satisfactory but yet ... quite as advanced as could be expected, still ... it would admit of great improvement".\(^2\)

Despite his reservations about the ability of his Church to provide an adequate education, nonetheless, he set about organising and conducting yet another determined campaign to prevent the establishment of a non-Anglican system of public education. Spirited public meetings took place and once again petition and counter petition flooded the Legislative Council.\(^2\)

On 10 October 1844, the Legislative Council accepted the recommendation of the Lowe Report that the Irish National System be adopted. Lowe based his argument for change on the irrefutable evidence that, with the existing system, the churches left "the majority uneducated in order to thoroughly imbue the minority with peculiar tenets".\(^2\)

\(^{26}\) P.P. (N.S.W.), 1844, II, p. 540. See also comments by George Allen, p. 465; Rev. Ralph Mansfield, p. 469; W. A. Duncan, p. 482; Rev. John McKenny, p. 572; Rev. J. Saunders, p. 555; James Cosgrove, p. 525, and John Baillie, Secretary to the Sydney District Council, who saw public education as "a disgrace to any community calling itself Christian or civilized", p. 533.

\(^{27}\) There were seventy-four petitions in all, fifty against and twenty-four in favour of the introduction of the Irish National System.

\(^{28}\) Report of the Sel. Com on Ed., P.P. (N.S.W.), 1844, II.
As he explained, such a system saw "a superfluous activity produced in one place, and a total stagnation in the other".\textsuperscript{29}

The Legislative Council was almost evenly divided on the issue. The Council, ultimately, agreed to adopt the Report by the narrow margin of thirteen votes to twelve.\textsuperscript{30}

Gipps was in a quandary. The Council had accepted proposals which he himself favoured and yet he knew that, if he took steps to implement them, outraged sectarianism would not only convulse the Colony but would displease his masters in London. The fact that the vote recorded a majority of only one and that both the Anglican and Roman Catholic\textsuperscript{31} hierarchies were determined to resist the setting up of a National System decided him against implementation of the Lowe recommendations. Lowe was furious. Through \textit{The Atlas}, a weekly literary journal of which Lowe was editor, Gipps was chided for continuing "to entertain doubts as to whether the time be yet arrived at which an attempt to introduce a better system is likely to be successful".\textsuperscript{32} The sectarianism behind the opposition to

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{29} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{30} P.P.(N.S.W.), 1844, I, p. 272.
\item \textsuperscript{31} Archbishop Polding gave evidence before the Select Committee (ibid., II, p. 514) and later, in a letter to Fr. Hestonstall, averred that not one member of the Committee really understood what education was. (Polding to Hestonstall, 13 July 1844, quoted Birt, op. cit., II, p. 88). For discussion of the clerical opposition to the Lowe Report, see F. J. Baker, \textit{The Educational Efforts of Robert Lowe in New South Wales}.
\item \textsuperscript{32} \textit{Atlas}, 7 Dec. 1844.
\end{itemize}
the Select Committee's Report was denounced:

Has His Excellency looked at the last controversy without being fully aware that the bigoted clamour against the general system has not been raised by the people, but solely by the clergy? . . . It is quite scandalous to see a great benefit withheld and thwarted by such gross cant and humbug! 33

On 17 December 1844, a further attempt was made by the Legislative Council to have its decision on the Lowe Report implemented. 34 Once again, the Governor failed to respond, this time justifying his inaction on the ground that economic depression was still affecting the Colony. 35 However, the end of clerical opposition to a national system was in sight. In a letter to Governor Fitzroy who had replaced Gipps in 1846, Bishop Broughton signified the "anxious desire" of his clergy to co-operate with the Government in a system of education satisfactory to the public, providing that religious instruction of members of the Church of England "be left under the exclusive direction of the clergy without interference from any other quarter". 36

Why Broughton chose to compromise at this time is still not clear. Using Robert Lowe's diatribes in the Atlas as the

---

33 Atlas, 7 Dec. 1844.
34 p.p.(N.S.W.), 1844, I, p. 323. This time the vote was twenty-two to five in favour of the resolution.
basis of his argument, Kelvin Grose has attempted to show that there was some kind of conspiracy between the Governor and the Bishop. On 24 May 1845, Lowe declared that the cause of education had been "heartlessly sold" in return for the Bishop's support of the Governor's "ruinous pastoral policy". However, it is difficult to avoid the view that the aggressively sectarian Bishop with his widely proclaimed ideal of the Established Church of Australia was a realist who agreed to the establishment of a national system of education on the most favourable terms he could obtain for his Church. There can be no doubt that by 1847 the Church of England was no longer able to withstand demands for a reform of the education system of the Colony. A number of events indicated to Broughton that his attitude to a national system of education would have to be modified: he had lost the support of the Nonconformist sects; his Church had suffered acutely from the effects of the 1841-44 depression; the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel which for over fifty years had provided financial assistance to the Colonial Church, had indicated that this was to cease; and the "popular" Legislative Council was showing signs that sooner

---


or later it would institute a national system of education with or without the support of the Church of England.

The loss of Nonconformist support was signalled by Dr. J. D. Lang. His forthright support for Bishop Broughton in 1836 had done much to persuade Nonconformists to align themselves with the General Committee of Protestants to resist Bourke's planned introduction of the Irish National System of Education. Lang's renunciation of his allegiance in September 1843 was equally pointed. In a series of resolutions introduced into the Legislative Council on Notice of Motion, Lang declared his opposition to the denominational school system which had sprung up with the aid of Bourke's Church Act. He condemned the provision of education within the Colony as "totally inadequate to meet the wants of the colony, - uncertain in its application, - inefficient in its character, - and likely to entail a heavy and intolerable burden on the community". In its stead, he looked to a general system of education under the immediate supervision of the State. To placate those who would condemn a secular system of education, he suggested that the religious character of the schools would be continued through provision for non-dogmatic religious instruction. In a bid to make the schools truly national, he put forward a further resolution excusing both Roman Catholic and Jewish

40 Ibid., Resolution 3.
41 Ibid., Resolution 4.
children from participation in the religious activities observed by Protestant children.

Anglican petitions and members of the Legislative Council denounced Lang's resolutions and he was forced to withdraw them. However, Bishop Broughton realised that Nonconformist support for Anglican views on education was a thing of the past. Despite Lang's repudiation of the idea that he held any animosity towards the Church of England, the editor of the Sydney Morning Herald pointed out that Lang's actions were scarcely those of a friend.

Lang's resolutions put into words Nonconformist disillusion with what they had believed was an anti-Catholic crusade. There had been a growing realisation that Bishop Broughton was more concerned with the continued supremacy of his Church than with co-operation with the other Protestant denominations. The Anglican defeat of Gipps' plan for the introduction of the British and Foreign School Society's system of education in 1839 made the destruction of the coalition inevitable. From this time, Lang began to speak of the "narrow-minded and illiberal jealousy . . . entertained towards Presbyterians and Presbyterianism by

---

42 See S.M.H., 10 & 12 Oct. 1843.
43 S.M.H., 12 Oct. 1843.
44 S.M.H., 10 Oct. 1843.
45 S.M.H., 12 Oct. 1843.
the more prominent and influential members of the Episcopal Church in the Colony of New South Wales".  

The desertion of his Nonconformist allies was followed by the depression of the early 'forties and by the growth of a democratic spirit in the Colony. Together, they undermined the previously strong position of the Anglican Church. The financial hardships suffered by supporters the Church resulted in a drastic reduction in subscriptions. In a letter to his friend Coleridge, Broughton confided that:

Those who in times past stood by me (among the laity I mean) in defence of the Church of England Schools, have to a man fallen under the disastrous influence of that change of circumstances which has come over this community like a dream.  

However, what made him "dread the worst" was the prevalence within the Legislative Council "of a shocking spirit of democracy and sectarianism". It was time to make concessions.

In April 1847, Bishop Broughton and Governor Fitzroy met in the vestry of St. James' Church. A few weeks later, Broughton wrote to Fitzroy offering "to co-operate steadfastly with the civil authority in carrying into

---

47 Port Philip Patriot and Melbourne Advertiser, 11 Nov. 1841. See also J. D. Lang, General Education Vindicated, and An Historical and Statistical Account of New South Wales, II, pp. 512-14 (1852 ed.), pp. 357-9 (1875 ed.).

48 Broughton to Coleridge, 15 Aug. 1844, Bishop Broughton Papers. See also Jones to Coleridge, 26 Oct. 1844, ibid.

49 Ibid., Broughton to Coleridge, 11 Sept. 1844.

50 Broughton to Stiles, 17 Apr. 1847, Rev. H. T. Stiles' Papers, pp. 69-72, A 269.
effect a system of Education which shall be at once benefi-
cial to those who are placed under it".\textsuperscript{51} Within days, Edward Deas Thomson, the Colonial Secretary, announced in the Legislative Council that the Governor had expressed an interest in introducing the Irish National System as a general system of education for the children of the Colony.\textsuperscript{52} Without opposition from the clergy, the Legislative Council or the public, £2,000 was placed on the Estimates for 1848 as the first move in the establishment of the Irish National System.\textsuperscript{53}

In place of a system of grants for denominational education, a Board was to be appointed to superintend "the temporal Regulation of the Denominational Schools supported in whole or in part from public funds" and a separate Board to oversee the activities of the schools "to be established on Lord Stanley's National System".\textsuperscript{54} For the moment, Bishop Broughton had provided a breathing space for all denominational schools. It was not to last. The Board of National Education was soon to bring to the Colony, William Wilkins. Not only was he to inject organisation

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item[51] Broughton to Fitzroy, 3 May 1847, Col. Sec's In-Letters, Box 2/1717.
\item[52] S.M.H., 13 May 1847.
\item[53] S.M.H., 27 Aug. 1847.
\item[54] P.P. (N.S.W.), 1848, Governor's Opening Address, 21 March 1848, p. 2. See also "An Act to incorporate the Board of Commissioners for National Education, 1848", The Public General Statutes of New South Wales, 1792-93, or The Acts and Ordinances of New South Wales, Public Acts Assented to, No. 48.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
and vigour into the infant National system, but he was to
stimulate secularists to demand an end to state aid to
denominational schools.
CHAPTER III

WILLIAM WILKINS AND THE BOARD OF NATIONAL EDUCATION

William Wilkins came to New South Wales on 6 January 1851, to take up his appointment as Master of the Fort Street Model School. The school had been set up by the Board of National Education to provide prospective teachers with some understanding of the teaching methods and classroom organisation used in the Irish National System. It was also to furnish teachers already employed by the Board with "such instruction and discipline there, as may be thought proper to improve their qualifications as teachers". The engagement of a competent Master of the school was essential to the success of the National System. To get


3 VP/LC/NSW, 1850, I, p. 608.

4 Unless included in a quotation, "national" schools will be referred to as public schools, the designation officially accorded them by the Public Schools Act of 1866 and by which the State primary schools of New South Wales are still known. The official title "National System" will be retained. "Denominational" schools, also in receipt of state aid and part of the public school system, will retain that title to distinguish them from the non-sectarian public school and from the independent private school.
such a man, the Board of National Education had asked Governor Fitzroy to invite the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland to select "a person properly trained in one of their Model Schools" for employment in the Colony.\textsuperscript{5} It was stipulated that the successful candidate must be married as it was expected that his wife would undertake "the duties of mistress of a Model Girls' School".\textsuperscript{6} The Colonial Board eagerly awaited notification of the name and qualifications of the man who was to train their teachers.\textsuperscript{7}

In Ireland, the Commissioners of National Education were unable to nominate a suitable person. Notwithstanding that the Colonial Commissioners were only interested in a man trained in the system which apparently had been successfully introduced into a country noted for the bitterness of its sectarian discord, the Irish Commissioners passed on the request to the Committee of the Council on Education in England. It was they who selected Wilkins.\textsuperscript{8}

Wilkins' arrival in the Colony came as a shock to the Board, as notification of his appointment had not preceded

---

\textsuperscript{5} H.R.A., I, xxvi, BNE to Col. Sec., 2 March 1848, pp. 376-77.

\textsuperscript{6} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{7} VP/LC/Nsw, 1850, I, p. 608. See also BNE Annual Rep., 1848, p. 3.

\textsuperscript{8} BNE, Letters Received from the Col. Sec., Grey to Fitzroy, Item 23, 20 June 1850, 1/377, p. 239.
him. What was more important, his qualifications did not meet the requirements set out for the guidance of the Irish Commissioners. Wilkins had been trained by Dr. Kay at the Battersea Training College in London, so that he was unacquainted with the working of the Irish National System. In addition, as his wife had died in Adelaide on the way out, he could not fulfil the second major requirement for appointment, namely, a wife to take charge of a Model Girls' School. Reluctantly, and only after prompting from the Governor, the Board of National Education decided to give Wilkins employment on a trial basis. The decision introduced into New South Wales public education the man who, more than any other, was to leave his mark on the Public School system. He became the Board's first inspector in 1854 and in 1863 took charge of the direction of public education, a position he retained until his retirement because of ill health twenty years later.

Wilkins speedily demonstrated "great zeal and aptitude" as Master of the Model School. His first major reform was the introduction of the improved methods of

---

9 Debate on the Estimates for 1852, Attorney General's speech, S.M.H., 29 Nov. 1851.
10 BNE, Letters Received from the Col. Sec., 13 Jan. 1851, 1/377.
12 BNE, Letters Received from the Col. Sec., 13 Jan. 1851, 1/377. See also S.M.H., 29 Nov. 1851.
teaching he had learned under Dr. Kay. He abandoned the monitory system brought into the school by his predecessor, D. O'Driscoll, condemning it as "defective in organisation, in discipline and in methods of teaching employed". He replaced this system of mass instruction with one which organised children into classes according to age, sex and ability. It was an important change as it dismissed as ineffective a mode of teaching regarded with deference for its long established claim to being the best and cheapest method of providing for the large scale education of working class children in England. Wilkins' rejection of the monitory system did not meet with the approval of denominational schools which continued to use it for many years.

As he had only recently left an England which had witnessed a decade of intense religious turmoil, Wilkins was aware of the need to placate sectarian adversaries. After 1840, the Anglican Church in England had attempted to reassert itself. With a renewed militancy, it had

---

13 BNE, Annual Report, 1851, App. I, 1; BNE Fair Minute Book, 1/331.


15 There were two variants of the monitory system: the original devised by Dr. Bell and called the Bell or the National System and that of Joseph Lancaster (the Lancasterian or British and Foreign School Society's System). Both were used in N.S.W. See A. Barcan, op. cit. pp. 19-132, passim.

endeavoured to impose its will upon the other churches.\textsuperscript{17}
In the Colony, Wilkins took steps to minimise sources of conflict. At the Model School he made much of Religious Instruction as a course of study. Not only were the children guided in dogmatic theology by their own Ministers, but the teachers gave a course of lessons from the Bible under the title "Religious Knowledge".\textsuperscript{18} So that there could be no doubt as to the importance of Religious Instruction in a public school, these subjects headed the list in the school's curriculum.\textsuperscript{19} In addition, in his "Instructions to Candidates in Training at the Model National School", Wilkins defined the basic requirements for a teacher and again placed the religious aspect first:

A Teacher should be a person of Christian sentiment, of calm temper and discretion, imbued with a sense of peace, of obedience to the law and loyalty to the Sovereign; and should not only possess the art of communicating knowledge, but be capable of moulding the minds of youth, and of giving a useful direction to the power which education confers.\textsuperscript{20}

Wilkins' employers, the Commissioners for National Education, were also concerned to show that they stood


\textsuperscript{18} BNE, Miscellaneous Letters Received, Wilkins to Wills, 18 March 1851, 1/385.


\textsuperscript{20} J. Legislative Council, 1859-60, II, p. 289.
aloof from the "fierce battle of the creeds". Their mission was, they said:

to carry out the main principles of our system, viz.: That our Schools be open alike to Christians of all denominations, and that accordingly no child be required to be present at any religious instruction or exercise, to which his parents or guardians object; that such religious instruction be, nevertheless, diffused through the general class books, so far as is compatible with the exclusion of those controversies, which violate the foregoing rule.

To show that the eradication of sectarian animosities was part of the work of every public school teacher, they ordered that the following notice be exhibited in all classrooms under their control:

Christians should endeavour, as the Apostle Paul commands them, to live peaceably with all men. Rom. Ch. XII, 18.

. . . Many men hold erroneous doctrines but we ought not to hate them or persecute them. We ought to seek for the truth and to hold fast what we are convinced is the truth; . . .

Quarrelling with our neighbours and abusing them is not the way to convince them that we are in the right and they in the wrong; it is more likely to convince them that we have not a Christian spirit.

The time was yet to come when the Board of National Education would condemn the "existence of two rival systems of public instruction, each of which, to a certain extent, lives and flourishes in proportion to its ability to

---


23 See Regulations of the National Board, ibid., 1849.
destroy the other" and to suggest the demise of the Dual System. In its formative years, the National Board tried to appease clerical opposition by displaying its own reasonableness:

We would here sedulously distinguish between the preference given by each denomination to its own Schools, and that misrepresentation of the National Schools, of which we have reason to complain. To the former we would never think of giving the name opposition; on the contrary, so far as it can be rendered compatible with the unfettered Education of the children of other communions, and with a wise economy and impartial application of the public money, we are ready to hail all efforts at Denominational Education, as a valuable cooperation in the great work of teaching and civilising the youth of the Colony.26

Clerical antipathy to public schools was not lessened by such statements.

The Board's verbal expressions of appeasement were accompanied by the employment of two agents to ride through the country districts to enlist support for its schools. The instructions prepared for agents John Kinchela and George William Rusden27 indicate that they had two

---


25 Another name for the system of two Boards to administer public education. For the incorporation of the Boards, see Governor's Opening Address, 21 March 1848, VP/LC/NSW, 1848, I, p. 2, and Governor's Message No. 18, 2 May 1848, ibid., p. 47. See also ibid., pp. 63, 65, 77, 133.


principal tasks; the organising of local committees for the establishment of a public school and the refuting of clerical arguments that the National System of public education was an irreligious system of education. They were ordered to point out to their audiences that public schools were firmly based upon religious teaching and that the tenets of the various faiths were not interfered with. As the books used in the schools were those supplied from Ireland, a connection sufficient to condemn them for Romish contamination, the agents were further instructed to explain that the books contained a large amount of scriptural material and moral precepts embodied in extracts from the Old and New Testaments: "the teaching therefore under the system, may justly be considered of a religious, though not of a sectarian character".28

The Board's effort to proclaim the value of the National System through the country districts was short lived. Within three months of his appointment, Kinchela died at Bathurst on his first tour.29 Rusden became sole agent and when he decided to accept "more lucrative employment


under the Government of Victoria" at the end of 1850. The failure to replace the agents left the Board without adequate means of publicising its work. A decade after Governor Fitzroy had set up the Dual Boards, Wilkins reported that in the more "secluded" districts the very existence of non-denominational public schools came as a surprise to the settlers. In other cases, the character of the system was misunderstood. To some people, it had been depicted as an exclusively Protestant system, to others, as "wholly Roman Catholic in principle:; and, in a few instances, the settlers had been persuaded that it was purely secular and irreligious".

While the public school system suffered a setback in lacking agents to explain its values and benefits and to assist local communities to contact the Board of National Education, the Denominational School Board suffered a correspondingly debilitating disadvantage, namely, inter-Church rivalry. This was complicated by the fact that, as some areas attracted schools as they were wealthier or more closely settled than others, there was a surfeit of educational opportunities in some places and an acute shortage elsewhere. The results of this development were

---

30 BNE, Annual Rep., 1850, p. 3. Rusden maintained his interest in education. See G. W. Rusden, National Education.

clear to all: too many schools in one place and none at all in another. In reviewing the situation, the editor of the *Sydney Morning Herald* called for a better utilisation of the resources of the Denominational School Board. He suggested that "the evils which attend any system by which twenty schools are supposed to do the work of five" could only be overcome by co-operation. This was ignoring the fact that the reason for intense competition for scholars in some areas was not to provide a better education but to prevent possible proselytism. It was this fear and the mutual antagonisms of centuries which prevented the Denominational School Board from becoming a co-ordinating body for denominational education. In a partisan comment on the role of the Denominational School Board, Henry Parkes declared that it was merely the means by which public money was distributed to the Churches.

The Churches themselves did not regard the Denominational School Board as the executive branch of a co-ordinated system of denominational education. Even its meetings were poorly attended. When Colonial Secretary Charles Cowper

---


34 Cowper was a leading supporter of Denominational education. For his biography, see A.D.B., III, p. 478. For his work for Denominational education, see K. J. Cable, *The Church of England in N.S.W. and its Policy towards Education prior to 1880*, or P. D. Davis, *The Educational Policy and Influence of Bishop Frederic Barker, 1855-82*. 
enquired into criticisms that the Board rarely met and that
toollance was poor, he concluded that the complaints were
well founded. Of fifteen meetings held over a period of
twelve months, only one was fully attended. 35 The Board's
secretary, C. E. Robinson, an unimaginative and ineffici­
cient authoritarian, 36 was unable to bridge the gap between
the Churches. The ecclesiastical hierarchies were too
conscious of the enmities of the past and of the need to
preserve the independence of their schools to co-operate
with each other. A proposal that, as an economy measure,
the various denominational inspectorial systems be
rationalised and a common system instituted was rejected
by all the Churches except the Wesleyan whose school system
was very small. Archbishop Polding spoke for Anglicans and
Presbyterians as well as for Roman Catholics when he
declared that to "concur in the proposal to appoint an
Inspector of Catholic schools irrespective of the approval
of Church authority" would destroy his school system. The
proposal was abandoned. 37

35 DSB, Miscellaneous Letters Received, Col. Sec.
to DSB, 22 Sept. & 6 Oct. 1858, 1/315.

36 For complaints of Robinson's "ungentlemanly,
despotic and inefficient" behaviour, see ibid., Cuthbert
to Robinson, 10 Oct. & 3 Sept. 1857, 1/314; Barker to DSB,
7 Dec. 1857, 1/314; Cowper to DSB, 25 Ap. 1860, 1/316;
Hardy to DSB, 29 March 1862, 1/317. See also DSB Minute
Book, 14 Sept. 1858, 11 Jan, 1859, 30 June 1860, 17307(a)

37 See DSB Minute Book, 29 March 1860, 1/307(a);
DSB Miscellaneous Letters Received, Polding to DSB,
23 Nov. 1860, 1/316.
In addition to the internal problems which prevented a united opposition to the development of the National System, the latter had found in William Wilkins an administrator of extraordinary talents. Appointed one of the three Commissioners to investigate conditions in the public schools of the Colony in 1854, Wilkins appears to have dominated Samuel Turton and Thomas Levinge, the representatives of the Anglican and Roman Catholic school systems respectively. Although both public and denominational schools were criticised, the "Final Report" of the School Commissioners singled out the Denominational System for the most adverse criticism. The acceptance by Turton and Levinge of the criticisms levelled at denominational schools so enraged one teacher that he wrote to the Empire:

I believe also that Mr. Wilkins had the sole management of the Commission: . . . Mr. Turton and Mr. Levinge have not only betrayed their trust, but have been as sandbags to the enemy, behind which he could fire with more coolness, with more steady and deadly aim, at the teacher.

---

38 Sir Charles Nicholson believed that the successful introduction of the National System was "much influenced by the character of Mr. Wilkins", VP/LC/NSW, 1854, II, 2nd Progress Rep. of Sel. Com. on Ed., p. 4.

39 "Final Report of the School Commissioners", VP/LA/NSW, 1856-7, II.

40 Empire, 27 May 1856. See also letters by Alpha on "The School Reports", ibid., 21 July 1855; Zoilus on "Teachers and their Treatment", ibid., 1 Aug. 1855; J. R. Miles on "Education", ibid., 24 Aug. 1855.
The Empire was not in sympathy with the supporters of denominationalism. Henry Parkes, its proprietor, was prepared to concede that denominational teachers were zealous but not that they were "efficient, or even qualified for their office". In his view, the Churches had no part to play in the education of the people.

The denominationalists should confine their denominationalism to religion, . . . The splitting up of inadequate powers into fragments, where the principle of union already exists, is lamentable error. All that concerns elementary, intellectual and moral training is capable of being done on a combined plan, damaging to no party. . . . That which pertains to another world belongs to the parent and pastor, with whom none will interfere.

Parkes' view was that education should be placed under the control of a single administrative unit. It was a view shared by the School Commissioners. In the "Final Report", they recommended "but one system, especially adapted to the wants of the country, and controlled and administered by one managing body". All other reforms, they argued, were of little importance in comparison to this one. As it was, the operation of the Dual System with its competing Boards had had a stultifying effect upon educational progress. As Wilkins pointed out:

41 Ibid., 13 July 1955.
42 Ibid., 30 May 1853.
The colony possesses no system of education at all, in the proper sense of the word. Primary education is divided into two great sections, repugnant, if not hostile, to each other in spirit, and independent of each other in every respect.  

This claim by the School Commissioners of the unsatisfactory nature of colonial education and their recommendation for a restructuring of the administrative machinery alerted the protagonists of the National and Denominational camps to the possibility of the creation of a unitary system under the control of their rival. Neither side felt the need for urgent action. When the "Final Report" was printed in December 1855, the very size of the Denominational System made any thought that it could be taken over and absorbed by the National System appear ludicrous. The denominationalists not only had a better than three to one advantage in both numbers of schools and of children enrolled, but year by year they appeared to be widening the gap between the systems. However, in 1858, the disproportion began to diminish and with it the denominationalists' sense of security. From then on, as a parity of the systems loomed closer, supporters of denominational education had to fight to maintain the supremacy of their system. Table I illustrates the growth of the rival systems between 1848 and 1865 and the speed with which the National System became a real threat to its rival.

45 "Final Report", op. cit., p. 25. See also T. Holt, Speeches on Education in New South Wales, delivered to the Legislative Assembly at Sydney, December 2nd & 10th, 1856.
TABLE I
A Comparison of the Development of the National and Denominational Systems of Education, 1848-1865

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of Schs</th>
<th>No. of Chn Enrolled</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1848</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>33*</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1849</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>60*</td>
<td>1,584</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>53*</td>
<td>2,725</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>2,829</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1852</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>3,740</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1853</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>3,833</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1854</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>4,172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1855</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>4,752</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1856</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>5,503</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>5,976</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1858</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>7,916</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1859</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>9,376</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>264</td>
<td>9,256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>273</td>
<td>11,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>305</td>
<td>13,392</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1863</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>331</td>
<td>15,725</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>347</td>
<td>16,255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>351</td>
<td>18,126</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* indicates that the number refers only to the schools actually inspected during the year.

46 Figures taken from the Annual Reports of the National and Denominational School Boards. It should be noted that the Denominational schools did not decline in absolute support.
The suggestion which was to transform the National System into a threat to denominational leadership in the provision of education came from William Wilkins. On 24 October 1857, he recommended that the Board of National Education adopt the smaller rural denominational and private schools in a "non-vested" capacity as a means of extending the National System. In essence, his suggestion was that, in return for payment of the teacher's salary and a first issue of public school books, the non-vested school, while remaining the property of the owner and not vested in the State, would submit to the regulations governing the conduct of public schools. The suggestion was not without appeal to the Board of National Education. As Wilkins pointed out, "The introduction of non-vested schools would tend to remove the great disparity between the national and denominational systems, as regards facilities for establishing schools".\(^{47}\) That these schools might have religious affiliations was acceptable, provided that the owners agreed to supervision by National Board inspectors and fulfilled their obligations under the regulations during the "hours appropriated in the timetable to the ordinary instruction of the pupils".\(^{48}\)


\(^{48}\) BNE Miscellaneous Letters Received, Wilkins to Wills, 58/246, 1/401, p. 336. The Board used the body of this letter as a circular. See draft dated 19 Oct. 1858, ibid., p. 380. See also BNE Fair Minute Book, 14 Dec. 1857, 1/333, pp. 508-10; W. Wilkins, National Education, (1857), p. 25.
To indicate that the proposal was not new but was part of the Irish National System on which the colonial system was modelled, Wilkins informed the Board that such a scheme was already in operation under the Irish Commissioners and had been copied by the neighbouring colony of Victoria where it had been introduced with "satisfactory results". This, he declared, encouraged the "belief that non-vested schools would prove eminently useful in New South Wales".

The National Board accepted Wilkins' recommendation. Having drawn up appropriate regulations, they forwarded these to Colonial Secretary Charles Cowper for insertion in the N.S.W. Government Gazette. Formal promulgation through the Gazette was an essential part of the process whereby the Board's Regulations became effective legally. J. H. Plunkett, the Chairman of the Board, believed that his request for publication was a formality. However, he had reckoned without Cowper. "Slippery Charley" was a dedicated denominationalist and, realising the import of

---

49 BNE Annual Report, 1857, p. 5.
50 Ibid.
52 In 1866, Cowper admitted that "he had consistently supported the Denominational system ever since he became a member of this House", S.M.H. 11 Oct. 1866. See also his questions before the Lowe Committee, VP/LC/NSW, 1844, II. For his parliamentary career, see N.S.W. Parliamentary Record 1824-1956, Vol. I, pp. 18, 67, 333.
of the new regulations, refused to have them published until Parliament had approved the necessary expenditure.\footnote{Letter No. 2, \textit{J. Legislative Council, 1858, III}, pp. 497-98.} When Plunkett accused Cowper of behaving illegally, the latter rejected the criticism on the ground that the Board had no power to make such rules.\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}, p. 499.} Completely frustrated, Plunkett had all the correspondence published in the press. Cowper now had an excuse to dismiss him and, with evident satisfaction, informed Plunkett that "It is the duty of the Government, under the circumstances, to dispense with your further services as a Commissioner of the Board of National Education".\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}, pp. 500-01. See also \textit{S.M.H.} 24 Feb. 1858.}

Cowper misjudged both the man and the support he had. Plunkett refused to comment on the "arbitrary and despotic character" of Cowper's refusal to publish the Board's new regulations and questioned the legality of his dismissal.\footnote{\textit{J. Legislative Council, 1858, III}, p. 501.} Claiming that "the reign of terror has commenced", he resigned from all the offices he held at the "pleasure of the Government".\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}, p. 502.} A storm of protest ensued. Petitions supporting his reinstatement were sent to both Houses\footnote{For petitions, see \textit{ibid.}, and \textit{VP/LA/NSW, 1858, II}. See also \textit{BNE The Removal from Office of the Chairman of the National Board (J. H. Plunkett, 1858, (Special Bundle)), 4/7176.1.}. \footnote{\textit{Letter No. 2, J. Legislative Council, 1858, III}, pp. 497-98.}
and Roger Therry, speaking as a spokesman for the Roman Catholic body of which Plunkett was a member, reiterated Plunkett's sentiments that the Church of England had declared war not only on the National Board but on the other religions as well. While Plunkett had presided at the National Board, said Therry, Roman Catholics had taken comfort that their "interests and fair claims to consideration would not be disregarded". The Sydney Morning Herald fanned the flames of the controversy by describing Cowper's actions as those of a jaundiced sectarian determined to frustrate the progress of a rival system: "The case stands thus: Mr. Cowper . . . travelled out of his sphere to check a measure which was offensive to him as a partisan of another system".

The dispute achieved major significance when Plunkett had to formally resign his "rights" to the "Catholic" seat and thus remove "whatever obstacles may have hitherto stood in the way of obtaining the services of other Roman Catholic gentlemen at the National Board". Although offered reinstatement by Colonial Secretary Forster in

---

59 J. Legislative Council, 1858, III, p. 523. He also pointed out that the non-vested school was a legitimate part of the Irish system. Ibid.

60 S.M.H. 8 Feb. 1858.

61 For the correspondence on the case, see VP/LA/NSW, 1859-60, IV, p. 57.
1859, Plunkett preferred to throw all his energies and administrative talents into assisting the organisation and expansion of the Roman Catholic school system.

The loss of the services of such an able administrator to public education was offset by the success of the policy for which he had sacrificed himself. The Legislative Assembly recorded its opinion that the Commissioners for National Education had authority, "under their Act of Incorporation, to make such rules and regulations as those transmitted in their letter of December 18, 1857, to the Colonial Secretary". By the end of May 1858, thirty-seven applications for non-vested school status had been received. With the tide of public opinion securely in its favour, the Board applied for a supplementary vote of £5,000 to enable it to "meet the cost of the non-vested

---

62 Ibid. The attempt to ensure adequate representation of all the major religions on the various boards of the National System was extended to the very least of them, the Local Boards. See BNE Fair Minute Book, 24 Dec. 1864, p. 52; BNE Miscellaneous Letters Received, Fallon to BNE, 16 Jan. 1864, Waring to BNE, 28 Jan. 1864, 1/425; ibid., Baylis to BNE, 31 May 1866, 1/441.

63 See "John Hubert Plunkett", A.D.B., V, pp. 339-40. See also S.M.H. 11 Nov. 1867, for Plunkett's leading role in organising Roman Catholic opposition to the Public Schools Act of 1866; and J. A. Burke, The Contribution of John Hubert Plunkett to Education in the State of New South Wales, 1832-1869.

64 Quoted T. Richards, An Epitome of the Official History of N.S.W., 1788-1883, p. 288. The "Act to Incorporate the Board of Commissioners for National Education, 1848", did, indeed, grant this power. See The Public General Statutes of N.S.W., (1861), pp. 1792-93.
schools without detracting from other resources". 65 The Board saw itself "rapidly acquiring the dimension of a public Department". 66

It is significant that it was after this boastful assertion of the Board of National Education that denominationalists made the first of their attempts to settle the education question by advocating the amalgamation of the two Boards. The numerical strengths of the two systems still favoured the denominational schools. At the end of 1858, the number of schools controlled by the National Board was 104, with a total of 7,916 children on the rolls. The Denominational School Board had 232 schools, which catered for the educational requirements of 17,006 children. 67 Although the difference was great, those who supported denominational schools were aware that their dominant position was now threatened by the possible addition of large numbers of non-vested schools to the National System.

In 1859 and again in 1862 and 1863, Charles Cowper 68

65 BNE Annual Report, 1858, VP/LA/NSW, 1859-60, IV, p. 16. See also BNE Miscellaneous Letters Received, BNE to Col. Sec., 3 June 1858, 1/401, p. 226, and ibid., 8 Sept. 1858, p. 223, for rejection of the plea for more funds.


68 Bills for amalgamation were also introduced by Forster (1859 & 1863), and Sadleir (1864).
introduced Bills into the New South Wales Parliament which were designed to place effective control of public education in the hands of Protestant denominationalists. When Cowper introduced his first Bill, the Sydney Morning Herald threw its weight in favour of the status quo:

We have the strongest doubts whether there is any necessity for a Bill at all, except for the mere purpose of regulating the terms upon which pecuniary assistance shall be given to the different boards. . . . What appears to us to be unjustifiable on both sides, is the attempt to crush either - to sweep away one system or the other, and to introduce an impossible unity - to ignore those great divisions of opinion which exist in this colony, and must exist for ages; to make education a perpetual battle-field recurring every session.69

The Roman Catholic hierarchy also opposed the Bill. To ensure that the laity was aware that the Church had adopted an official position on the matter, a message was read in Roman Catholic churches urging those who were asked to sign petitions to ignore those not bearing "undoubted marks of Catholic authority".70

In Victoria, George Higinbotham was seeking to break "the connection of the Church and State in educational matters", arguing that the "school must no longer be a mere adjunct of the Church".71 The public debate in New South Wales on the need for educational reform followed a

---

69 S.M.H., 11 Oct. 1859.
70 S.M.H., 18 Oct. 1859.
similar direction. It led to many fiery meetings. The *Sydney Morning Herald* reported the loud cheers which interrupted the speeches of some speakers and "the groans, hisses, stamping, and hooting" which drove others from the rostrum.\(^{72}\) The *Herald* maintained its support for the public school system:

> Is it wise - is it just - to attempt to destroy National schools, which are really representative of the state of facts, - schools which practically supply education to two or even three of the four denominations themselves where they are too few to support a school?\(^{73}\)

The recognition of the *Herald* that there was a side other than the denominationalist to the education question was a departure from its earlier policy when Anglican Charles Kemp had been the editor. The policy of the paper had changed when Kemp had sold his interest to his partner on 30 September, 1853.\(^{74}\) John Fairfax, a senior deacon of the Pitt Street Congregational Church, was deeply religious but, unlike Kemp, was "well known for his tolerance at a time when sectarian feeling ran high."\(^{75}\) This tolerance and a realistic assessment of the intentions of the supporters of denominational schools caused him to write:

> The friends of the National Schools will not - cannot trust a Board composed of Mr. Cowper and others holding similar prejudices. It would be madness to do so. Men who have declared themselves utterly hostile to the National Board, and who have done their best to demolish it, ought not to have charge of its machinery unless

---

\(^{72}\) S.M.H., "Public Meeting - Education", 11 Nov. 1859.

\(^{73}\) Ibid., (ed.).

\(^{74}\) "Charles Kemp", *A.D.B.*, II, p. 41.

\(^{75}\) "John Fairfax", *A.D.B.*, IV, p. 148.
it be intended that its work should be undone. 76

When he wrote this, Fairfax had temporarily laid aside his fears. The Cowper Ministry had fallen and the Bill had lapsed. 77 Again in office in 1862, 78 Cowper reintroduced his Bill for amalgamation. The Herald was again opposed. Cowper was attacked for his purchase of a parliamentary majority which, said the Herald, had been obtained by large-scale patronage: "Our Government has found not only enough to gratify its friends, but, with an aptitude never exceeded, it has known how to pick off its enemies". 79 As for Cowper's qualities of leadership and originality, he was dismissed as an imitator: "Like the 'busy bee', Mr. Cowper gathers honey from every opening flower, and industriously fills his pigeon-holes by spoils gathered from all around". 80 When this Bill too, lapsed with the prorogation of Parliament, the Herald sarcastically reported that "Mr. Cowper has given proof of . . . devotion to his country; and has resigned, in a devout spirit, his . . . Education Bills and many others". 81

76 S.M.H., 11 Nov. 1859.
78 His Third Ministry, 10 Jan. 1861 to 15 Oct. 1863, ibid.
79 S.M.H., 20 Dec. 1862.
80 S.M.H., 19 Nov. 1882.
81 S.M.H., 20 Dec. 1862.
In 1863, Cowper made his third and final attempt to obtain a unified Board of Education. On this occasion, he came very close to success. The Bill had passed the vital Second Reading and was in the Committee Stage when the Cowper Ministry fell. Supporters of denominational schools never again found conditions so favourable to their cause. The fortunes of the Denominational School Board were on the decline. By 1864, the number of scholars enrolled in National schools was only a little more than a thousand below that of the Denominational school system, and the gap continued to close.

Much of the credit for the increased public accept­ance of the National System must go to William Wilkins. In his reforms lay the key to the success of the public school. In addition to the curriculum reforms he had introduced in his early years as Master of the Fort Street

---

82 There was a belief abroad in 1865 that Cowper was about to introduce another Education Bill in his Fourth and last Ministry. (3 Feb. 1865 to 21 Jan. 1866). The S.M.H. 22 Nov. 1865, said the Bill was "laid up somewhere in lav­ender". In a letter to Inspector Harris dated 8 Nov. 1865, Wilkins indicated that the new Bill would be the same as the others with "slight alterations"; "These changes are probably due to the influence of the bishops and are there­fore not likely to be what we should regard as improvements". BNE Semi-Official Letters sent by the Secretary, 1/355, p.501. The Bill did not eventuate.

83 See VP/LA/NSW, 1863-4, Vol. IV.

84 See Table I, p. 104.
Model School, and the non-vested school system, Wilkins had initiated many other changes. These had included the introduction of the pupil-teacher system; the inspectorial system; the classification and examination of teachers; and the Table of Minimum Attainments, the first syllabus for public schools. Not merely content to make his teachers more competent and to raise the standard of education in the public schools, Wilkins set about publicising the efficiency of the National System and refuting criticisms of it.

Sir Charles Nicholson reported that, by 1854, Wilkins' reforms had already "done a great deal to raise the character of primary education", Sel. Com. on Ed., Minutes of Evidence, 10 Oct. 1854, VP/LC/NSW, 1854, II, p. 4.

This was an apprenticeship system for teachers introduced in 1851. See BNE Annual Report, 1851, App. I, pp. 3-4. For an account of its origin and its development in N.S.W., see K. Mathews, A History of the Pupil-Teacher System in N.S.W., or I. C. Smith, History of Teacher Training in N.S.W. to 1904.

BNE, Miscellaneous Letters Received, Wilkins to Wills, 27 March 1853, I/389. See also "Final Report", op. cit., p. 27.


"The Table of the Minimum Amount of Attainments required from each class in National Schools", ibid., 1856, Annex II, p. 3. See also Circular to Teachers, No. 21, 1 Dec. 1856, VP/LA/NSW, 1857, I, p. 12.

See W. Wilkins, National Education: A Series of Letters in Defence of the National System, 1857; National Education: Statement explanatory of the System of Education administered by the National Board of New South Wales, 1861; National Education: An Exposition of the National System of New South Wales, 1865.
By 1862, Wilkins' reforms and the willingness of the Board of National Education to assist Local Committees to establish schools had placed the National System in a favourable position. In the period 1860-1862, the number of its schools rose by 40% and that of its scholars by 44%. By comparison, in the same period, the denominational schools only showed a 15% increase in school numbers and 20% in enrolments.\(^{91}\) When viewed from the point of view of actual numbers of schools and children enrolled, the denominational school system was still superior to its rival but the growing popularity of the public school system was a cause for concern to supporters of denominational education. So too, was the direction that recent educational reform had taken in the neighbouring colonies of Queensland and Victoria. The Queensland Primary Education Act of 1860\(^ {92}\) and the Victorian Common Schools Act of 1862\(^ {93}\) had been triumphs for secularist supporters of public schools. In the Queensland debate, Dr. Fullerton had spoken for all Australian secularists when he had said:

Our system shall be a general system; we shall not cast the apple of discord among the youth of this happy land by introducing the demon of sectarianism

\(^{91}\) See Table I, p. 104.

\(^{92}\) Act 24 Vict. No. 6, 1860.

\(^{93}\) The Common Schools Act No. CXLIX An Act for the Better Maintenance and Establishment of Common Schools in Victoria, (18 June 1862).
If denominational school supporters in New South Wales were to retrieve their popularity and prevent the introduction of legislation similar to the Education Acts of Queensland and Victoria, action could not be delayed.

---

94 Dr. Fullerton, in the Legislative Council debate on the Queensland Primary Education Bill, 14 July 1860, quoted R. Goodman, Secondary Education in Queensland, 1860-1960, p. 29.
The realisation that the anti-Catholic, anti-denominational nature of the education acts of Queensland and Victoria could be repeated in New South Wales seems to have dawned on Archbishop Polding only slowly. Not even attempts by Charles Cowper to obtain favoured treatment for Anglican schools seems to have caused the Archbishop great concern. Although the Roman Catholic church opposed Cowper's measures, Polding clung to the view that "the times were when our religious liberties in a matter so supremely important as is the education of our Catholic children, could be imperilled by the interference of the State".\(^1\) It required discussion with the Roman Catholic Bishops at the Provincial Council held in Melbourne in October 1862 to open his eyes to the dangers to Roman Catholic education of the educational legislation passed in other colonies.\(^2\) He became determined to resist any reform in New South Wales which could be seen as "full of fatal defects".\(^3\)

\(^1\) Archbishop Polding, Circular to Clergy, 1863, Archives, St. Mary's Cathedral.


\(^3\) Archbishop Polding, Circular to Clergy, 1863.
The meeting of the Australian Roman Catholic Bishops was timely. State aid for religious purposes was under attack. The Grants for Public Worship Prohibition Bill had been introduced into the New South Wales Parliament on 27 June 1862 for the express purpose of revoking Bourke's Church Act. For more than twenty-five years, the clergy of the major denominations had been given additions to their stipends through this Act. Although the parish clergy had received from £100 to £200 a year under Schedule C, the more eminent clergymen received much more. Bishop Barker received £2,000; Archbishop Polding £800. Supporters of the system took the view that the money provided by the Church Act was a form of insurance against civil disturbances. They endeavoured to show that in England, where the clergy also received state aid, "there was now no open resistance to authority, no riding-down of the people by horseguards - because the people instead of rebelling, suffered in patience, trusting to a future reward". This was an argument that the supporters of the Bill challenged. William Forster asserted that if the clergy were to be supported for the sake of law and order

---

4 S.M.H., 28 June 1862.
5 For the list of ministers receiving stipends from the Government, see VP/LA/NSW, 1863-4, IV, pp. 1278-80.
6 Ibid., p. 1278. This included £500 for Bishop Thorpe.
7 Ibid., p. 1279.
8 Campbell in Legislative Assembly, S.M.H., 31 Oct. 1862. See also S.M.H., 6, 13, 21 Nov. & 4 Dec. 1862.
it would be better to make them policemen.\footnote{S.M.H., 17 July 1862.}

Despite numerous petitions,\footnote{See, for example, S.M.H., 3, 4, 10 & 12 July 1862.} public meetings,\footnote{See, for example, S.M.H., 8 & 9 July 1862.} letters to the press\footnote{See, for example, S.M.H., 3, 15 & 24 July 1862.} and a fiery Second Reading debate which was adjourned three times,\footnote{See S.M.H., 17, 18, 24 & 25 July 1862.} the Bill passed its Third Reading on 20 December 1862 and received the Royal Assent on 21 July 1863. In 1864, efforts were made by some Roman Catholics to have the Grants for Public Worship Prohibition Act\footnote{An Act to prohibit further grants of Public Money in aid of Public Worship, 26 Vict., No. 19, 1862. For the details of the Act, see Public Statutes of N.S.W., 1862-1874.} revoked but these were unsuccessful.\footnote{See S.M.H., 18, 21, 24 Nov. & 6, 7, 16 Dec. 1864.}

The \textit{Sydney Morning Herald} applauded the Government's determination to resist Roman Catholic demands, arguing that "The essential principle of the (Church) Act is in contradiction to the spirit of the age. The tide is against it and it must go down".\footnote{S.M.H., 19 March 1866.}

The Roman Catholic Church was badly placed to withstand the sudden withdrawal of aid. On the whole, the Catholic
body was the poorest section of the community. J. H. Plunkett, a prominent Roman Catholic layman and member of the New South Wales Parliament realised what a loss the cessation of state aid would be to a people with few alternative sources of revenue. Despite opposition to the Bill by such eminent Anglicans as Charles Kemp and Edward Deas Thomson, both of whom signed a petition of dissent, Plunkett knew that the loss of aid would less seriously handicap the activities of the Church of England than it would those of his own Church. By retaining its valuable Glebe lands, the Church of England appeared to be in a dominant financial position. A judicious exploitation of these lands would enable Bishop Barker to continue his church-building activities and to support his school system while the Catholic Church would stagnate from lack of funds.

Plunkett's fear of a resurgent Church of England,

17 This was true for most if not all of the nineteenth century. See John O'Sullivan's letter to Archbishop Murray, 1830, in P. F. Moran, op. cit., p. 128, and Pastoral Letter of the Archbishops and Bishops of Australasia, 1886, p. 18.

18 Not only had Plunkett been the Catholic representative on the Board of National Education and its Chairman but he had served in both the Houses of the N.S.W. Parliament. At various times, he was President of the Legislative Council, Vice-President of the Executive Council and, from 25 Aug. 1865 to 21 Jan. 1866, Attorney-General in Cowper's fourth and last Ministry. See N.S.W. Parl. Record, 1824-1956, Vol. I, p. 16, 67, 186, 335, for his parliamentary career, 1843-1869.

19 S.M.H., 7 Nov. 1862.

20 Ibid.
plentifully supplied with money, was not to be realised. The Church of England was to be as desperate for funds as the Roman Catholic Church. The first half of the 'sixties was an abnormally dry period and the resulting lack of business confidence, apparent in the Colony by 1862, caused many subscribers to Anglican church funds to cut or terminate their contributions. The Anglican Bishop of the Goulburn Diocese, Mesac Thomas, in a letter to the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge soliciting additional financial aid, declared that the drought, "this visitation of the judgment of God," had undermined the power of the colonial church to ward off the attacks of competing churches:

We have to fear the stealthy march of the Church of Rome, which is always vigilant to take advantage of our weakness; and the ceaseless efforts of the Wesleyans, who are striving throughout the whole Colony to interrupt the work of the Church. . . . Circumstances brook no delay.

Despite Thomas's fears, the Church of England seemed to have all the advantages; it still possessed its valuable Glebe lands; and, in Charles Cowper, it had a powerful political friend who was determined to protect its interests. It was against Cowper and his 1863 Education Bill

21 S.M.H., 18 March 1862.
22 B. Thorn, Letters from Goulburn, Thomas to Evans, 19 Oct. 1865, p. 21. Thomas later reported the ruin of many wealthy families, ibid., p. 22. For the bankruptcy of the Desailly family, see Pastoral Times, 26 June 1869.
23 Thomas to Evans, op. cit., p. 21.
24 Ibid.
that Archbishop Polding and the Catholic clergy of New South Wales tried out the organisation devised in Melbourne to frustrate unwelcome changes. Cowper had refused to recognise the basic demand of the Catholic Bishops that Catholic education must be left under their control\textsuperscript{25} and a spirited campaign was begun to defeat the Bill. As was usual, petitions were a principal vehicle by which dissent was expressed. In that signed by Archbishop Polding and his leading clergy, the Legislative Assembly was advised that the Bill was unacceptable to them and to the Roman Catholic community because it:

\begin{quote}
would entirely debar Catholics from availing themselves of their share of public aid in promotion of elementary education . . .; That . . . they cannot surrender control of such schools in matters of religious teaching and training: That any compulsion, direct or indirect, tending to throw Catholic children into schools not taught by Catholics, would be a most injurious assault upon their religious liberty.\textsuperscript{26}
\end{quote}

On this occasion, Roman Catholics were joined in their opposition to the Bill by the man they would come to regard as their arch-enemy. Henry Parkes had his own reasons for wishing to see the Bill defeated. He was no friend of Roman Catholicism. A Nonconformist and erstwhile Chartist,

\textsuperscript{25} Archbishop Polding, Circular to the Clergy, 1863, Archives, St. Mary's Cathedral.

\textsuperscript{26} VP/LA/NSW, 1863-4, IV, p. 1181. For other petitions, see ibid., pp. 1177-1215.
Parkes was a champion of secular education. He took the view that in educating the people, "society is educating itself, preventing its own stagnation, providing for its own development and happiness". However, in 1863, he posed as the guardian of religious liberty. The preservation of the Dual System, he said, was essential for the protection of the rights of the various religions. If it was permitted to continue, there could be "no ground for sectarian jealousy". The Bill never came to a final vote. A change of Ministry saw it discarded.

A Bill for amalgamation was also seen by public school supporters as the key to control of education. National Board Inspectors Johnson and Harris agreed that:

> It is much to be desired, for the sake of education itself, that the two existing systems should be amalgamated, particularly when the adoption of the non-vested principle by the National Board would seem to have removed the most formidable obstacle to such a union. It appears to me that the simple application of that principle to other schools than National would solve the educational difficulty.

This was in line with Wilkins' thinking. He had been a supporter of a unitary system since his days as a School 27 As a child, Parkes had been a member of the Lombard Street Baptist Chapel, Birmingham. At seventeen, he was a member of the Political Union and, in due course, embraced Chartist principles. See A. W. Martin, "Henry Parkes: Man and Politician", Melbourne Studies in Education, 1860-61, pp. 3-24. For Chartist and Nonconformist interest in working class education, see Asa Briggs, (ed.), Chartist Studies, pp. 38-401, passim, or G. H. D. Cole, Chartist Portraits. English Chartism was heavily committed to the secularist movement in education. See B. Simon, op. cit., pp. 243-44.

28 Empire, 30 May 1853.

29 S.M.H., 12 Aug. 1863.
Commissioner in 1854-55. Naturally, the form of unity he wished to see introduced was that which gave control of public education to the state. In this, he was no different from his opponents who saw in a partisan Education Bill their hopes for the future. Neither side was willing to surrender anything. Although large numbers of people were urging the establishment of one uniform and comprehensive system, there could be no real agreement. The Dual System represented a division of feeling in the community but, as a Sydney Morning Herald editorial put it, its maintenance at least enabled each party to please itself and hindered "the gratification of tyrannising over its opponents".  

1865 ended without a political solution to the education question. In a discussion on the amount of money appropriated to each of the four religious denominations, Cowper went so far as to suggest the merging of the two Boards and, in passing, accused the Wesleyans of attempting to have the best of both worlds;  

32 S.M.H., 22 Nov. 1865.  
33 Some Wesleyan schools had accepted non-vested status. In their defence, Mr. Caldwell explained that this merely showed "that they were not prejudiced, but willing to avail themselves of any system by which the education of the children of the Colony could be promoted", ibid., Legislative Assembly Report.
but he did not attempt to bring in a Bill. He had missed his last chance. On 21 January 1866, the Cowper Ministry fell and was replaced by the Martin-Parkes coalition.

While the politicians were duelling in the Legislature over the control of public education, the battle in the schools was for increased enrolments. In 1865, Wilkins, in his *National Education: An Exposition of the National System of New South Wales*, claimed that parents who were satisfied with the education provided by the public school system were being bribed or blackmailed into removing their children and re-enrolling them at a denominational school. He offered two examples as proof of his assertions. The first concerned an unnamed widow who withdrew her son from a public school "contrary to her own wishes and judgment" and, she was alleged to have said, "at the request of the minister and other members of a neighbouring church, from whom she derived most of her income. She expressed strong regret at the necessity of adopting this course". Wilkins claimed that he was present at the interview at which the statements were made and saw "tears flow from the woman's eyes". His second example also remarked on the use of

34 Governor Young made no mention of an Education Bill in his speech at the opening of Parliament in October (S.M.H., 25 Oct. 1865) although the *S.M.H.* (22 Nov. 1865) hinted that one could be introduced.

35 W. Wilkins, *National Education*, p. 56. The pamphlet was the substance of two lectures which Wilkins delivered in the non-vested school in Pitt Street in defence of National Education.

36 Ibid.
economic threats or bribery to enforce the removal of a child from a public school. Once again, he used an unnamed widow as his example: "A poor widow had two children at the National school, free. The clergyman and his lady induced her to remove them to a Church School, under the promise of receiving so many loaves weekly from the Benevolent Society".  

The cases Wilkins described were designed to attract the greatest sympathy for the individuals and, by extension, for the public school system. He did not rely upon his own knowledge of cases unfavourable to the Denominational System but availed himself of the experiences of his inspectors and teachers. From Inspector Dwyer, for example, Wilkins sought information favourable to the public system and wrote: "Can you assist me by furnishing hints, facts, or arguments in its favour or defence?" Teachers did not wait to be invited to supply information on the activities of the clergy but did so when these appeared detrimental to the interests of their school. Naturally enough, the teachers were proud of the public school system. They were somewhat scornful of their denominational school colleagues whom they regarded as little

37 Ibid.

38 BNE Semi-Official Letters sent by the Secretary, Wilkins to Dwyer, 25 July 1865, 1/355, p. 453.
better than the flunkeys of the clergy.\textsuperscript{39} The converse was also true: denominational school teachers and the clergy regarded public schools as centres of state propaganda. Clerical complaints were viewed by public school supporters as "appeals to bigotry, prejudice, and ignorance".\textsuperscript{40} When appeals failed, some of the clergy were said to resort to threats. In \textit{National Education}, Wilkins wrote:

One teacher informs me that a Protestant clergyman in his locality has expressed his determination to refuse the rites of baptism and burial to persons who send their children to his school, while the Roman Catholic clergyman threatens more terrible penalties still.\textsuperscript{41}

When Rev. John Stiles of Bombala allegedly condemned the Commissioners of National Education as "the emissaries of Satan" and their teachers as "Satinic (sic) agents sent about to pull down the kingdom of our Saviour upon earth and establish that of Satan in its stead", teacher James Poulton promptly reported the incident to Wilkins.\textsuperscript{42}

Some of the clergy tried to contain the expansion of the public school system through an accelerated building
programme. They adopted the stratagem of rushing up a structure in areas in which their opponent appeared to be showing an interest. At times, in the haste to forestall the erection of a public school, inadequate inquiries were made as to the number of scholars available and the speedy collapse of the new school followed. Neither this nor complaints from the Board of National Education prevented them from doing the same thing again. Anglican Rev. J. Maitland Ware was the most aggressive user of this strategy in southern New South Wales. When he learnt for example, that a local committee had been set up at Bungowannah for the purpose of establishing a non-vested school under the Board of National Education, he promptly pre-empted the site by hastily erecting "a building principally of saplings and bark". Where there was an established public school, he sometimes endeavoured to have it replaced by one of his own:

43 For example, Father Twomey's Howlong school. See BNE Miscellaneous Letters Received, Mackenzie to Wills, 9 Oct. 1858, 1/401; ibid., Dwyer to Wills, 15 Feb. 1860, 1/406, p. 449. See also DSB Annual Rep., 1858, VP/LA/NSW, 1859-60, IV, p. 37.

44 See, for example, BNE Miscellaneous Letters Received, Neale to Wilkins, 28 Aug. 1866, 1/439, p. 74; ibid., McCredie to Wilkins, 27 Feb. 1866, p. 419; ibid., Ware to Wilkins, 25 May 1865, p. 445. See also BNE Secretary's Letter Book, 10 July 1865, 1/344.

45 BNE Miscellaneous Letters Received, Inspector McCredie to Wilkins, 10 Oct. 1866, 1/443, p. 78.
I believe that I am in a position to establish a School at Howlong on a better basis, or I should not make this proposal to you - but did your Board know the neighbourhood as I do - the low State of morality - the fearful 'ignorance of God' that prevails through these Border Districts so far from thinking me antagonistic they would recognise in me an earnest coadjutor in promoting the public weal.46

The Board of National Education was not deceived. It knew that Ware looked upon the public school system as:

the curse of the Colony - partly the result and partly the cause of the low state of religion in the Colony - that our Scripture Lessons are merely moral maxims culled from Scripture from which the scheme of salvation is excluded - in fact, he says, that he looks upon our Scripture Lessons 'as one of the great Satanic devices of the present age'.47

Wilkins suspected that the building activity of Ware and other Anglican clergymen in areas about to be occupied by public schools was not an accident. He believed that Charles Cowper was providing the Church of England with advanced notice of the building programme of the Board of National Education. Colonial Secretary in 1865, Cowper had responded to Wilkins' request that a list of schools be placed on the Estimates for 1866 by intimating that the Denominational School Board would satisfy the requirements of the districts named. Wilkins asked his inspectors to check on what denominational schools had been established after his communication with Cowper.48

46 Ibid., Ware to Wilkins, 20 Aug. 1866, 1/442, p. 149.
48 BNE Semi-Official Letters sent by the Secretary, Wilkins to McCredie, 28 Oct. 1865, 1/355, p. 496.
Despite the interest in the school building programme by many of his clergy, by Cowper and by other influential laymen, Bishop Barker recognised that the National System was attracting the support of many Anglicans. To win them back, he attacked the secularity of the public school system:

Our objection to the National Board Schools remains unchanged. . . . They are, in effect, secular schools. There is no recognition of the need of divine teaching by offering up prayer; the Bible is not taught in the school by the Teacher; and this dishonour put upon the Word of God is productive of serious practical evils.50

Just what these evils were, he went on to describe. He based his case on the subordination of Religious Instruction to the demands of the secular curriculum:

The child feels that the knowledge of secular things is more important than any other. The Bible does not occupy its proper place, or indeed any place in the system of school instruction. With the letter of it, with the use of it, with the view of its doctrines which the Church holds, he can never become familiar; he is unable to refer to it; and that which he is taught may not be proved by means of it.51

In an effort to gain an increased proportion of the public funds expended on education, Barker and fellow

49 For example, squatter and store-owner T. H. Mate who continued to support Anglican education when even the ministers of his Church had deserted it. See R. T. Wyatt, The History of the Diocese of Goulburn, pp. 79, 84, 134, 203, 327-30. For Bishop Thomas' "most influential clergy" supporting public education, see Thomas to Barker, 6 Jan. 1880, in B. Thorn, (ed.), Letters from Goulburn, p. 60.

50 F. Barker, Charge delivered at the Second Triennial Visitation, p. 15.

51 Ibid.
denominationalists of all religions not only continued to air their grievance that their system had been neglected in favour of the public school but attempted to prove that, "compared with the national or mixed system", the denominational school systems "exhibited a substantial superiority on the side of economy". There was a further claim that not only were denominational schools cheaper on a per capita basis but that the Government could look to additional savings if it supported denominational education since the churches had proved that they were capable of "eliciting the largest amount of local contributions".

Wilkins took the lead in rebutting the assertions of his opponents that their schools were cheaper than those of the National System. He began with an examination of the statistics upon which the claim was made:

The statistics . . . must be rejected as unreliable and valueless; and the National System must be defended upon the broad principle that any combined system must be cheaper than any separate system. If we had not positive proof that people have attempted to prove that one school costs more than four, such a statement would be received with a smile of incredulity.

To Wilkins' delight, his suspicions of the statistics

---

52 Church of England Chronicle, editorial, 15 Sept. 1860.

53 Petition from the Roman Catholics of Bathurst, VP/LA/NSW, 1866, II, p. 933. See also Cowper's statement on the expense of the National System, S.M.H., 13 March 1857.

54 Petition from the residents of Ryde, VP/LA/NSW, 1866, II, p. 1037.

55 W. Wilkins, National Education, p. 51.
presented by the Denominational School Board were shared by "A Colonist". In a pamphlet, Public Instruction: A Letter to the Hon. Henry Parkes, M.P., the latter denounced "the class interested in inculcating erroneous views". Wilkins suggested to his inspectors that they read the pamphlet and expressed the wish that "some other 'Citizen' would expose a few more of the errors of the Denominational Board's Report, so as to exhibit the utter unreliability of their statistics".

During the financial crisis of 1864-65, the National System did not possess the extravagant amount of funds its opponents seemed to suggest. The most stringent economies were implemented which not only forced the National Board to reject applications for new schools and for building grants, but forced Wilkins to postpone his plans for establishing a system of Industrial Schools and cheap Boarding Schools. Attempts were made to save even small amounts of money despite the risk that these economies could effect the efficiency of the schools. Inspectors lost their forage allowance and were instructed not to

---

56 Page 3. The pamphlet is to be found in Speeches, etc., Dixson Library, 86/215.


59 BNE Annual Report, 1864, J. Legislative Council, 1865, 12, p. 217.
incur travel expense without special permission. The post of Examiner, the position responsible for the examination and classification of teachers was abolished. Even the Local School Boards, the lowest of the offices in the administrative hierarchy, were instructed to avoid unnecessary expense. When the Board of National Education complained to the Treasury that its efficiency had been undermined by a lack of adequate finance, it was bluntly informed that it was no more inconvenience than any other public department. In the Legislative Assembly, one of its supporters, Dr. Wilson, unsuccessfully moved for a supplementary vote to relieve the finance pressures which appeared to be slowly destroying the public school system. Wilkins, who viewed the financial crisis as "the gravest in the history of the System", welcomed Wilson's initiat-

---

60 BNE Minute Book, 23 June 1865, 1/334, p. 329; BNE Secretary's Letter Book, Wilkins to McCredie, 10 July 1865, 1/344.
62 BNE Secretary's Letter Book, Wilkins to Corbett, 11 April 1864, 1/342.
63 BNE Minute Book, 17 July 1865, 1/334, p. 346. See also ibid., 28 July 1865, p. 356, for the Board's efforts to obtain a supplementary vote and BNE Semi-Official Letters sent by the Secretary, Wilkins to Harris, 8 Nov. 1865, 1/355, p. 501, for Wilkins' belief that the BNE might collapse.
64 S.M.H., 30 Nov. 1865.
65 BNE Semi-Official Letters sent by the Secretary, Wilkins to Harris, 8 Nov. 1865, 1/355, p. 501.
ive. He had been considering "a scheme for an Education League"\textsuperscript{66} to save the National Board but Wilson's motion offered more immediate prospects of relief. In an almost identical confidential letter to his inspectors, Wilkins pointed out that:

> It is evident, from what is passing in Parliament, that the time has arrived when persons who wish for National Schools should energetically impress upon their representatives the importance of supporting Dr. Wilson's motion now before the House.\textsuperscript{67}

Through this difficult period, Wilkins had to fend off arguments that there was no need for the State to become enmeshed in the problems of running a system of education when voluntary bodies were prepared to take over the burden: that, in any case, the system established was unacceptable as it ignored the place of God in education. In reply to the argument that State interference in education was unnecessary, Wilkins merely asked that the advocates of such views prove that voluntary effort was sufficient to provide the means of education. He asserted that this situation had not been reached in any civilised country in the world, much less the Colony of New South Wales, and was proof enough that "an agency endowed with higher powers and greater resources, possessing a more

\textsuperscript{66} Ibid., Wilkins to McCredie, 27 Oct. 1865, p. 495.

\textsuperscript{67} Ibid., Wilkins to Harris, 7 Dec. 1865, p. 520.
See also BNE Fair Minute Book, 28 July 1865, 1/334, p. 356, for BNE attempt to get a supplementary vote for 1865.
perfect organisation, and working with more efficient instruments, is required to carry out the work of national education. The only power adequate to the task is . . . the State." 68

Wilkins took particular pains to demolish the argument that the public school was irreligious and anti-Bible, "a Satanic agency partly the cause and partly the result of the religious indifference of the age". 69 By providing numerous examples of the way in which general and special religious instruction was given in a public school, 70 Wilkins showed that if there was religious indifference abroad in the Colony the cause could not be attributed to public school education. He proudly reaffirmed his belief that the general religious instruction by a teacher "imbued with the true spirit of his office . . . may be most effectively used in the spiritual culture of the child, while his practical training in morals and the religion of common life will be assisted by the inculcation of the General Lesson". 71 As for special religious instruction, Wilkins reminded his readers that this was given by clergymen or their approved representatives to the child-

68 Wilkins, National Education, p. 32.
69 Wilkins claimed that such were the words of a clergyman to one of the Board's officers. Ibid., p. 36.
70 Ibid., pp. 36-43.
71 Ibid., pp. 41-42.
ren of their own persuasion. To carry this out, an hour each day had been set aside in the time-table.

I expect to be reminded that this part of the scheme is a failure inasmuch as the clergy cannot, or will not, take advantage of the arrangements for special religious instruction. That is their affair; the Board are not bound to provide for such a contingency as either the inability or the unwillingness of the clergy to perform an obvious duty. If the clergy cannot attend National Schools for the purpose of instructing the lambs of the fold, they can at least procure the services of efficient substitutes; but if they will not, the responsibility for the children's ignorance of truths deemed of vital importance, must rest upon their heads. But they cannot, in common fairness, charge the National System with irreligion when their own conduct leads, in their own view, to that result.  

In Wilkins' opinion, the clergy refrained from cooperation with public schools in providing special religious instruction because they feared that their attendance might be construed as approval of the system. In 1911, Cardinal Moran revealed that this was the case as far as the Roman Catholic Church was concerned. Defending the visits of Roman Catholic priests to public schools in country districts where there were no Roman Catholic schools, Moran reported that the priests merely called to collect the children. They did not make use of the school room but a neighbour's house or a gum-tree. "The principle of not allowing priests to teach religion in

---

72 Ibid., p. 43.

73 Ibid. A refusal by the churches to co-operate in special religious instruction had been apparent from the inception of the National System. See BNE Report for 1850, p. 3.
the State schools was a correct one, inasmuch as it showed the condemnation of the Catholic Church of the entire State system of education, a system she had always condemned, and must always condemn." 74

Such pronouncements, then as in the past, only served to exacerbate the hostility towards Roman Catholicism exhibited by supporters of the public school system. Even Protestant supporters of denominational schools would not tolerate Roman Catholic criticism of a Protestant institution. Bishop Barker, for example, made it clear that his "low opinion of 'liberal' colonial politicians" 75 who made the public school system possible was only exceeded by his "enduring detestation of Irish Catholicism". 76

With State aid for religious purposes wrested from the churches and with all requests for additional funds for education denied on the ground that revenue returns were insufficient to meet "the demands of fresh educational facilities", 77 Barker realised that the time had come for him to indicate that Church and State could co-operate amiably in the provision of public education. Signs were not wanting that change was in the air. The

---

74 Catholic Educational Conference of N.S.W., 17-20 Jan. 1911, p. 31. See also Resolution 14 of the Conference, Ibid., p. 17.
76 Ibid., p. 91.
77 S.M.H., 25 May 1865.
influential Sydney Morning Herald had accepted the view that the non-vested system could solve the education question:

If all the Denominational schools in the colony were turned into non-vested National schools tomorrow, with an adequate proviso against the definite multiplication of schools, the immediate practical requirements of the colony would be met.\(^7^8\)

This was a solution Barker and the other church leaders were determined to resist. It was going to be difficult. The financial crisis had served to convert many to the belief that only some form of amalgamation of the Dual Boards could solve the problems of education. As the \textit{Herald} was to say of the Dual System:

It is admitted by all that it is a wasteful and expensive method and if the competition has kept both Boards somewhat on the alert, it has had the evil of multiplying small schools, and so keeping down the efficiency of the education, and the renumeration of the teachers.\(^7^9\)

Barker was well aware of the arguments of economy and efficiency put forward by those who sought the end of the Dual System. Like most of his fellow-churchmen, however, he considered these secondary to the 'raison d'etre' of church schools. This was the development of a people deeply imbued with religious principles and capable of holding firm to the tenets of their Church. Social and political arguments were advanced to sustain the promotion of denominational education. The child reared in a

\(^7^8\) \textit{S.M.H.}, 17 Oct. 1866.  
\(^7^9\) \textit{S.M.H.}, 10 Sept. 1866.
Christian atmosphere became the Christian man who would bring religious principles to bear on the problems of every day life. Religion and religious education were, therefore, the "basis of civil society and the source of all good and of all comfort". If, to preserve this, cooperation was necessary with the public schools, Barker was ready to comply. Previously, Bishop Barker had encouraged his clerics and leading laymen to display their rejection of the National System by providing educational facilities designed to weaken existing public schools or to forestall the opening of one. By 1863, the political and economic climate demanded caution and concession rather than confrontation. Unrelenting competition could no longer be sustained. Through Dean Cowper, Barker issued instructions that unless it could be shown that thirty children were available and willing to attend an Anglican parochial school and, what was more, were not already enrolled at a public school, a projected denominational school should not be proceeded with.

Barker's decision to reduce the friction which existed between his church and the public school system was not paralleled by the Roman Catholic hierarchy. The Roman

---

81 For the opening of schools at Gundagai and Tumut, see ibid., 1 & 15 Oct. 1857. The harassing tactics of Rev. J. M. Ware have already been mentioned.
82 Ibid., 8 Aug. 1863.
Catholic clergy were not divided on the issue of cooperation with public education as were the Anglican and, furthermore, Archbishop Polding could rely upon a far greater loyalty from the Roman Catholic community than could Bishop Barker from the Anglican. Roman Catholic reluctance to compromise with their enemies, even in a period of great financial distress, was strengthened in the first half of the 'sixties by two developments. The first was the formation of Irish patriotic societies, the Celtic Association in 1859 and the Australian Hibernian Association in 1863, both of which provided a platform for anti-Protestant, anti-English spokesmen. These societies not only served as a rallying point and as a binding force for the predominantly Irish Roman Catholic population of the Colony but, by their presence, indicated that concessions to an English, Protestant, Godless system of education would not be welcome. The second was of still greater import. In 1864, Pope Pius IX published his Syllabus of Errors. In part, it was a series of propositions

---

83 Some Anglican clergymen actively supported National Education, for example, Rev. R. Barker of Christ Church, Deniliquin, (See BNE Miscellaneous Letters Received, Barker to BNE, 30 Sept. 1860, 1/409, p. 467; Adams to BNE, 15 July 1861, 1/413, pp. 244-57) and Archdeacon Pownall of Wagga Wagga. (Pownall claimed that his support for the 1866 Public Schools Act made him appear a "black sheep" to some of his colleagues, Wagga Wagga Advertiser, 31 Dec. 1879).

84 For the activities of the Irish Patriotic Societies and the opposing ones of such ultra-Protestant associations as the Loyal Orange Lodge and the Masonic Lodge, see M. Lyons, Aspects of Sectarianism in N.S.W. circa 1865 to 1880.
condemning non-Catholic education for Roman Catholics and it became a tool in the hands of the Australian Bishops in their struggle against secular influence. Meeting in Provincial Council in Melbourne in 1869, the Bishops not only reprinted several propositions from the Syllabus regarding public schools but added their own condemnation:

Hence we condemn that education of Catholic youth which is separated from Catholic faith, and from the power of the Church and therefore we shall take care to remove Catholic children from those schools which are called mixed schools, since in them . . . the Church can exercise no authority, nor have any power in regulating the studies, selecting the books, or in the choice of teachers.85

Aided by papal pronouncements and by the unity that comes to a people who see themselves as an embattled minority living in the midst of a race which at best was indifferent to the problems of the minority and at worst was actively engaged in compounding those problems, Polding and his clergy were not faced with the apathy with which Barker had to contend. A major argument and one which pressed him towards harmony with the public school system, was the disregard for religion and for Anglican education demonstrated by the bulk of nominal Anglicans in the working classes. Few of them bothered to observe their religious duties and were rarely to be seen in Church: "The fact is patent and undeniable that a very small fraction

---

85 For comments on the Syllabus, see U. Corrigan, op. cit., pp. 86-88; P. F. Moran, op. cit., p. 883; R. Fogarty, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 176. For the Syllabus itself, see The Papal Encyclical and Syllabus (1864), or S.M.H., 22 March 1865 which published the full text.
of those who style themselves members of the Church of England among the operatives are to be found in the stated services of the Church.\textsuperscript{86} This was not a novel situation for the Church nor was it confined to Australia. Scott had complained of a similar indifference in 1827\textsuperscript{87} while Horace Mann, commenting upon the attitudes of the English working classes towards religion in 1854, had written:

The most important fact which this investigation as to attendance brings before us is, unquestionably, the alarming number of non-attendants . . . a sadly formidable portion of the English people are habitual neglecters of the public ordinances of religion. Nor is it difficult to indicate to what particular class of the community this portion in the main belongs . . . the labouring myriads of our country . . . These are never or but seldom seen in our religious congregations.\textsuperscript{88}

Both Secretary of State for the Colonies, Murray, and Mesac Thomas, Anglican Bishop of Goulburn, were inclined to lay the blame for working class indifference to religion on the deficiencies of the clergy and on a dearth of places of worship.\textsuperscript{89} They overlooked the class consciousness of the Church. This did little to encourage attendance

\textsuperscript{86} Church of England Chronicle, 16 Feb. 1857. See also eds. 1 July & 15 Oct. 1857; S.M.H., 7 Feb. 1857, letter from Rev. G. King.

\textsuperscript{87} Enclosure, Scott to Darling, 25 Sept. 1827, in Darling to Huskisson, 27 March 1828, H.R.A., I, xiv, p. 49.


by people who were increasingly looking towards democracy as a system of government. The Church of England Chronicle, the voice of the Anglican hierarchy in New South Wales, went so far as to support an inferior education for the children of the working classes in order to prevent "the amalgamation of all classes into one by the destruction of all intellectual superiority". It continued to affirm that education was to fit children for the station in life to which they were born, a station ordained by God. In "All things Bright and Beautiful", that most popular of children's hymns written by Mrs. C. F. Alexander and first published in Hymns for Little Children in 1848, children were encouraged to accept their lot in life through the singing of the third verse, a verse now rarely seen in modern editions of collections of hymns:

The rich man in his castle,
The poor man at his gate,
God made them, high or lowly,
And order'd their estate.91

Men who tried to change what the Church of England believed to be God's plan for order and leadership in mankind were denounced as "the enemies, not the friends of him, whose cause they professedly advocate".92

90 Church of England Chronicle, ed., 1 Ap. 1859. See also ibid., 1 March 1858.


Deteriorating economic conditions and a growing expectation that the public schools offered a superior education to that provided by the Church of England encouraged desertions from Anglican denominational schools as Anglican enthusiasm for their own system of education flagged. By 1866, the trend towards public school education was unmistakable. Not only were the Anglicans in disarray and the Nonconformists openly advocating a unitary system of educational administration under the control of the State but Protestant reaction to the anti-liberal, anti-Protestant contents of the Syllabus of Errors had produced a sectarian backlash. In England, this caused Lord John Russell, one of the foremost liberals of his day, to denounce "the late aggression of the Pope upon our Protestantism as insolent and insidious". It set the stage for W. E. Forster's Education Act of 1870. In the Colony of New South Wales, Protestants found similar cause to unite against a Roman Catholicism it considered devoted to the overthrow of Protestant supremacy. An obvious avenue of attack on Roman Catholicism was through-

---

93 In 1866, Congregationalists petitioned in favour of the National System, see P.P. (NSW), 1866, 24 Oct. 1866, p. 885.

94 Quoted E. Halevy, Victorian Years, p. 369.

the education system. It was well known from the statements of Roman Catholic spokesmen on education that this was a preserve they were determined to keep free from the pollution of Protestant contamination and interference.

With a majority of Protestants prepared to accept or even to demand action that would militate against effective control by Catholics of their own education system, all that was required was a Government prepared to introduce the necessary legislation. Such a Government came into office in 1866 following the resignation of the Cowper Ministry after a vote of censure on 9 January. The Martin-Parkes coalition was aware that public opinion favoured educational reform and the establishment of a unitary system of administration of education. As the editor of the *Sydney Morning Herald* remarked:

> Parliamentary business has consisted principally in picking up the most popular ideas floating about, putting them into bills, and passing as much of them through Parliament as a majority will readily consent to.

The most popular idea on education floating about in 1866 was the reorganisation of education under the control of a state Board of Education. Henry Parkes was prepared to bring down a bill to achieve this.

---


97 *S.M.H.*, 19 Feb. 1866.
CHAPTER V

THE CHURCHES AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS ACT

On 5 September 1866, Parkes was given leave to introduce an Education Bill. The opportunity had arrived to put into practice the educational creed he had supported for some sixteen years:

In education, we shall be for that system, or unity of systems which, by being most fitted to the circumstances of the colony, shall be most diffusive in its blessings, whatever its name, and by whomssoever it be originated, because we cannot conceive it justifiable for differences of doctrinal points amongst the well-informed to interfere between the light of knowledge and the utterly uninstructed.  

The timing of the Bill was impeccable. The chief opponents of this latest attempt to bring public education under state control were expected to be the Roman Catholic clergy. And Archbishop Polding, the essential co-ordinating agent for any concerted action, was in Rome. In addition, Irish Catholics in the Colony were regarded with suspicion. The early 'sixties had seen a revival of Irish nationalism through the Fenian movement and outbreaks of terrorism were

---

1 It received the First Reading the following day, S.M.H., 6 & 7 Sept. 1866.
2 Empire, 28 Dec. 1850.
3 When Polding received news of the Bill his reaction was one of foreboding: "God help the future generations if this bill passes", letter to Fr. McEncroe, quoted Freeman's, J., 29 June 1867, p. 2. See also P. F. Moran, op. cit., p. 480; T. L. Suttor, op. cit., pp. 203, 266-7, 276.
feared in New South Wales. The diatribes in the *Freeman's Journal* which ascribed all of Ireland's ills to English oppression and demanded independence for Ireland only served to exacerbate sectarian animosities in the Colony. The *Sydney Morning Herald* warned the editor of the *Freeman's Journal* and the Roman Catholic community in general of the destructive nature of the inflammatory articles. It was pointed out that English Protestant colonists would not suffer having "the country to which they belong represented not only as having a history fraught with oppression, but marked out for humiliation".

Just before the introduction of the Education Bill, violence erupted in the Colony. However, it was a mild affair, with Irish National Leaguers coming to blows with supporters of Rev. John McGibbon, an Orangeman who described the Roman Catholic Church as the anti-Christ. The *Empire* condemned McGibbon for provoking "angry passions

---

4 For a comment on the danger of the Irish revolutionaries to Britain and the Empire, see S.M.H., 4 Sept. 1864. See also S.M.H., 2 & 3 Feb. 1866 for a warning that the abortive Fenian invasion of Canada could be repeated in Australia; S.M.H., 22 Nov. 1866, "The Anticipated attack on Canada".

5 See *Freeman's J.*, 21 April 1866. See also *ibid.*, 19 Feb. & 9 March 1867. Almost every issue in 1866-67 contained pro-Fenian, anti-English material

6 S.M.H., 13 March 1867.

7 See *Empire*, 24 & 27 Aug. 1866; *Freeman's J.*, 25 Aug. 1866. The continuance of violence at public meetings eventually forced the Government to instruct the police to take action. See *Empire*, 10 Sept. 1866. See also letters from James Kirk and John Davis, S.M.H., 8 Sept. 1866.
and slumbering feelings of antagonism"; but it was just the backdrop for his Bill that Parkes required. Speaking at the Second Reading of the "Bill to make better provision for Public Education", Parkes made political capital out of the large numbers of children who had been left without education because "ministers of religion are cavilling over the division of the spoils". Later, he was forced to admit that he had been in error in informing the House that there were some 100,000 children of school age denied an education but he had left the impression that the clergy were the "most powerful enemies that popular education has to fear". His arguments were taken up and broadcast by his supporters. In condemning the "old jealousies between rival systems and inharmonious creeds", the Deniliquin Chronicle repeated Parkes' assertion that the clergy "have too often stood in the way of the realisation of any system which can satisfy popular wishes or be advantageously adopted to supply

---

8 Empire, 25 Aug. 1866.

9 S.M.H., 13 Sept. 1866.

10 S.M.H., 4 Oct. 1866. See also S.M.H., 3 Oct. & 1 Nov. 1866.

popular needs".\textsuperscript{12}

Parkes was able to take advantage of the abuse hurled at him by clerical opponents in the Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches. Immediate and aggressive reactions to the Bill forced people to take sides. Parkes played the role of martyr. Later, he was to write:

The introduction of the Bill was the signal for an ecclesiastical storm. I was made the central object of attack, and no limit was set by my reverend and very reverend assailants to their inventive skill in personal abuse.\textsuperscript{13}

Anglican Bishop Barker opened his attack on the Bill by calling a campaign meeting of thirty of his leading clerics and laymen in the diocese of Sydney. He stressed the spirit of compromise with which he had met the news of the Bill. He informed the meeting that he had attempted to negotiate a better deal for denominational schools with Parkes and had even offered "his services in any way in which they could be available".\textsuperscript{14} The manner in which Parkes had spurned his offer of assistance had convinced him, said Barker, that Parkes had but one reason for

\textsuperscript{12} Editorial, Deniliquin Chronicle, 22 Sept. 1866. The Chronicle published Parkes' Second Reading speech as a booklet; "no friend of colonial education should omit its perusal". Ibid., 29 Sept. 1866.

\textsuperscript{13} H. Parkes, op. cit., I, p. 7. See also Empire, 13 Sept. 1866. For Protestant lay opposition, see Macarthur Papers, Vol. 30, A2926, pp. 405-09.

\textsuperscript{14} S.M.H., 25 Sept. 1866. See also Church of England Chronicle, 9 Oct. 1866.
introducing the Bill; the destruction of the Anglican school. As for the title of the Bill, Barker suggested that it ought to have been called "A Bill to extinguish Denominational Schools".\textsuperscript{15}

Modern opinion on just how much support Barker was able to mobilise against the Bill is divided. A. G. Austin and K. J. Cable argue that it was meagre\textsuperscript{16} but P. D. Davis takes the opposite view and endeavours to prove that it was at least as great as that which Roman Catholics gave to their leaders.\textsuperscript{17} If the numbers of those signing petitions can be taken as positive proof of support, it would appear that Anglicans did not respond to calls of their Church to demonstrate their opposition to the Bill as strongly as did Roman Catholics to similar appeals.\textsuperscript{18} Far exceeding the Roman Catholic minority as a percentage of the population,\textsuperscript{19} the Anglicans were able to obtain less than half the signatures Roman Catholic petitions attracted.\textsuperscript{20} This in itself is indicative of the

\textsuperscript{15} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{16} A. G. Austin, Australian Education, 1788-1900, p. 120; K. J. Cable, The Church of England in New South Wales and its Policy towards Education Prior to 1880, Ch. VII. (The pages of this M.A. thesis are unpaginated).

\textsuperscript{17} P. D. Davis, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 173-75.

\textsuperscript{18} For an abstract of petitions against the Bill presented to the Legislative Council, see \textit{J. Legis. Council}, 1866, I, pp. 180-84.

\textsuperscript{19} Census of the Colony of N.S.W., 1861, pp. 123-39.

enthusiasm with which the Roman Catholic clergy promoted their opposition to the Bill. The Anglican clergy were split on the issue. Some, such as Archdeacon Pownall, openly supported public education.21 With his Church divided, Bishop Barker was prepared to compromise. The Bill itself was not in question. What Barker wanted were concessions to Anglicanism. Archbishop Polding and his clergy were united in their opposition to the Bill. They sought its rejection, not its amendment. As Father Conway, parish priest of Kiama, observed, the Roman Catholic Church would accept no solution to the education question which did not make the denominational school the basis of the Colony's education system.22 The Church was determined to do everything in its power to oppose the Bill for, as Father Woolfrey said, its intention was "to make infidels" of Roman Catholic children.23

The Nonconformist community generally supported the Bill. Their ministers were strong advocates of the need for reform.24 Their support was motivated by two forces;
a desire to punish the major denominations for retaining more than their fair share of the funds supplied to the Denominational School Board and, secondly, sectarianism. During the passage of the Bill through Parliament, the first was voiced as a major reason for its support.

'A Wesleyan Methodist' stated that his Church had "no great attachment to the existing Denominational school system" because it had been treated unfairly in the distribution of funds.\(^{25}\) Presbyterian John Dunmore Lang concurred. In a bitter anti-Catholic tirade to the Legislative Assembly, Lang informed the House that "the Presbyterians, Wesleyans, Independents, and the Baptists were all in favour of the Bill".\(^{26}\) The reason, he said, was not hard to find: "It was matter of notoriety that the Churches or Denominations that urge a special claim to the management and control of the educational funds of the State were those of England and Rome".\(^{27}\)

The sectarian outbursts which accompanied complaints of unequal treatment came as no surprise to the Roman Catholic hierarchy. "We know the feelings of the Dissenters", wrote a friend of Archdeacon McEncroe.\(^{28}\) Lang made no secret of his contempt for things Roman Catholic. In

\(^{25}\) S.M.H., 9 Oct. 1866.

\(^{26}\) S.M.H., 4 Oct. 1866.

\(^{27}\) Ibid.

\(^{28}\) See letter accompanying Archdeacon McEncroe's letter, S.M.H., 13 Sept. 1866.
the House, he attacked the role of the Roman Catholic Church in education saying that it not only had a history of neglect of education but "seemed to act upon the principle that had sometimes been openly avowed elsewhere, that 'ignorance is the mother of devotion'. ('Hear, hear', from Mr. Parkes')."

'A Wesleyan Methodist' also pursued a sectarian line. His hatred of Roman Catholicism was patently obvious in his attack on "the daily invocation of the Virgin Mary in all Roman Catholic schools" and on the rehearsal of the Angelus which, he said, was "of the nature of idolatry".

In the Legislative Assembly, Lang's disparagement of the Roman Catholic Church was countered by Stephen Augustine Donnelly who not only rejected Lang's criticisms but went on to attack what he saw as anti-Catholic provisions in the Public Schools Bill. As far as he was concerned, equal representation of the four major denominations on the Council of Education was a slight on both the Church of England and his own Church. This, he believed, would

29 S.M.H., 4 Oct. 1866.

30 S.M.H., 9 Oct. 1866. McEncroe had stressed the importance of reciting the Angelus at 12 noon in all Roman Catholic Schools, S.M.H. 13 Sept. 1866. See also "An Eclectic and Inquiring Parent", S.M.H., 14 Sept. 1866; and "Archdeacon McEncroe's Friend", 17 & 21 Sept. 1866.

31 S.M.H., 4 Oct. 1866. The quotations below which are also ascribed to Donnelly come from the same source. Donnelly was the member for Gold-fields West.
not encourage better relations between the various religions. He had little hope that the Council of Education would bring the members of the different denominations closer together through its provision of a common system of education. It had failed in Ireland and would fail in New South Wales:

The great majority of the Irish Catholic prelates and priests had accepted the system in the first instance, but it had so degenerated that they had lost all confidence in it. . . . The priesthood of Ireland then could not be blamed for objecting to the system when these abuses crept in.

Donnelly informed the House that he would vote against the Bill on principle. He was prepared to accept that Parkes' motives in introducing the measure were "liberal and honest" but he had "no doubt that when the Denominational system and this system should clash, the preference would be given to the National system".

Like Donnelly, "Archdeacon McEncroe's Friend" was also concerned about the composition of the Council of Education.32 His complaint that the editor of the Sydney Morning Herald had misrepresented his views gave the latter a further opportunity to demonstrate his sectarian bias:

It is proposed to exclude . . . all but the four denominations; and one Catholic correspondent ranks Baptists and Congregationalists with Free-thinkers, and, in the usual offensive way, proposes to exclude them from all representation. . . . the Protestants in this colony will have much more faith in Dr. Barker than in his rivals; and they will expect to obtain

32 S.M.H., 21 Sept. 1866.
from him at a minimum sacrifice a general Protestant school system. They will rely upon him rather than upon those who multiply difficulties to prevent any general system.33

The warm support shown for the Bill by the Nonconformist community34 and the refusal of many Anglicans and Roman Catholics to accept that public education was unsuited for their children35 were accompanied by evidence that the clauses relating to the education of isolated children had received considerable attention and acclaim in the country districts. As the Deniliquin Chronicle reported:

This part of the Bill will be scanned with considerable interest by the people of the pastoral districts, and if Mr. Parkes has contrived to devise a plan whereby a most important need can be met, he will have earned the thanks of those who have repeatedly looked to the matter, but generally only with the result of finding it associated with numerous and almost insurmountable difficulties.36

33 Ibid.


35 Rev. Thomas Smith: "I would not say that it is a Godless system; I would not say it is atheistical", Church of England Chronicle, 22 Oct. 1866. For a Roman Catholic's defence of public education, see "A Roman Catholic Parent", S.M.H., 11 Oct. 1866.

36 Deniliquin Chronicle, 1 Sept. 1866. On 15 Sept., the Chronicle summarised the 27 Clauses of the Bill, giving only one in full - Clause 12, that dealing with itinerant teachers. See also speech by Rev. Dr. Graham, S.M.H., 2 Oct. 1866, and editorial S.M.H., 26 Oct. 1866.
In a later editorial, the Chronicle indicated that it had been won over by Parkes. In an attack on the clergy and their opposition to the Bill, the editor asked:

How it is possible - if the aim be to give the children of the colony a fair average amount of education - for educated and intelligent clergymen, really desiring a similar object, and examining the adaptability of certain means now proposed, . . . (to) arrive at such extreme contradictory results. . . . in many cases vituperation had become so much the fashion . . . that to describe the system under the Bill as intended to be simply 'Godless', is felt to be somewhat mild; and hence it is now not only to lead the way . . . to atheism . . . but also to be the great abettor of socialism, Fenianism, and treason throughout the colony!37

In making provision for the education of country children, Parkes had responded to a demand which had become clear at the previous general election. A large number of candidates, especially those for the rural districts, had shown themselves in favour of the public school system for country areas.38 The Sydney Morning Herald encouraged the belief that the "two Educational Boards have been standing symbols of the existence of sectarian suspicion and jealousy"39 and that country people would welcome public education:

In a little township where several sects are represented, and where no one of them is strong enough to have an efficient school filled only with its own adherents, it is obviously fairest as preventing

37 Deniliquin Chronicle, 20 Oct. 1866. See also Empire, 23 Oct. 1866.

38 S.M.H., 10 Sept. 1866.

39 Ibid.
propagandism, or the suspicion of it, that the school should be a general one and under no special sectarian bias.\footnote{Ibid.}

Despite support for the Bill and his later assertion that from the first "lay members of the English Church did not warmly sympathise with the heated feelings of their clergy",\footnote{H. Parkes, \textit{op. cit.}, I, P. 199. See also \textit{Empire}, 13 Sept. 1866.} Parkes was fearful of the "crowds of noisy disputants, availing themselves of every avenue by which the public ear can be reached or the legislative chamber influenced".\footnote{Denilguin Chronicle, 13 Oct. 1866.} In a partisan view of the proceedings, the \textit{Empire} described the struggle as one:

between light and darkness . . . between the elected representatives of the people striving to sow the elements of education all over the land and . . . those who want to sow ignorance and superstition . . . the clergy of the Church of England and the Roman Catholic Church, the episcopal churches.\footnote{Empire, 4 Oct. 1866.}

The \textit{Denilguin Chronicle} noted that pressures were being applied to Parkes. The editor acknowledged that he would not have been surprised if the Bill had been withdrawn when its originator had been "somewhat mollified by his more time-serving colleagues".\footnote{Denilguin Chronicle, 13 Oct. 1866.} As it was, Parkes was forced to make a number of concessions to
placate Bishop Barker and his adherents. The most important change in the Bill was the addition of Clause 29 which removed Anglican fears of secular education driving out religious instruction from the public schools: "In the construction of this Act the words 'secular instruction' shall be held to include general religious teaching as distinct from dogmatical or polemical theology".  

The Anglican campaign against secular instruction had been vigorously conducted but it was not until the Committee Stage of the Bill that Parkes finally capitulated and agreed to the addition of the Clause. It effectively destroyed his vision of a secular system of public education. Anglican resistance now became minimal and the passage of the Bill was assured. However, the addition angered some of Parkes' supporters. In the House, William Forster, a strong supporter of secular education, declared that "All the legislation in the world could not make 'secular education' mean 'instruction in religion'. (Hear, hear.)". David Buchanan and John Stewart supported Forster but the Clause was accepted by twenty-eight votes to three. All three were vocal anti-Catholics with

---

45 S.M.H., 26 Oct. 1866.

46 See, for example, the report of Smith's lecture, *Church of England Chronicle*, 22 Oct. 1866, and the letters to the press, for example, that of Hayden, S.M.H., 17 Oct. 1866.

47 S.M.H., 26 Oct. 1866. See also S.M.H. 22 Oct. 1866.

48 S.M.H., 26 Oct. 1866.

49 Ibid.
Buchanan "most open and vehement in denouncing Roman Catholicism as the deadly foe of liberalism everywhere".\(^{50}\)

The stand of Forster, Buchanan and Stewart was supported by the Christian Pleader. While agreeing that the Public Schools Bill did "honour" to the Martin-Parkes coalition, the editor vehemently rejected "the continuance of the Religious Instruction of children by the State".\(^{51}\) Parkes himself felt that the Bill had been emasculated and in a moment of deep depression declared that he "didn't care much what became of it".\(^ {52}\)

In December 1866, the Bill became law. It defined the new relationship between the educational systems. The editor the Sydney Morning Herald summed this up when he said:

The public school, in fact, will be the rule, and the Denominational school the addition. The one will be provided by the State, the other will be accepted by the State, as worthy of support, provided it fulfills certain conditions.\(^ {53}\)

It was the conditions which confirmed Archbishop Polding's greatest fear that: "The Education question is one which cannot fail to be marred and spoiled by infidel unconscienti-
ious hands".  

Under the Public Schools Act, the Council of Education, the successor to the Board of National Education, was to "establish, maintain, or assist," four classes of schools: Public Schools, Provisional Schools, Half-time Schools, and Certified Denominational School. The school systems which had been established by the various churches and which had been funded previously through the Denominational School Board were now to be funded and administered by the Council of Education. Denominational schools which met the requirements for certification were to be known as Certified Denominational Schools and were to be subject to all but one of the Regulations of the Council of Education. The exception was Regulation 62 which set out the course of secular instruction. On 17 July 1867, this regulation was amended. To the original words, "The Course of Secular Instruction for each Class shall be as follows", was added "but in Denominational Schools it shall not be necessary to use the Scripture Lessons published under the sanction of

---

55 See sections 8, 9, 12, 13 and 28.
57 Ibid., Regulations 10 and 11, p. 3.
58 Ibid., Regulation 62, p. 169.
the Board of National Education in Ireland".  

Polding believed that the Act had been deliberately designed to punish the Irish Catholic population of the Colony for its great love of Ireland and for the pro-Fenian, anti-English tirades of the Roman Catholic Freeman's Journal. As for the man who introduced the measure, Polding denounced Parkes as "a determined unscrupulous enemy to Catholics and to Irishmen". In a letter to Abbot Gregory, Polding pointed out that Parkes had taken from him his power to see that Roman Catholic children were brought up in the faith:

By the Education Bill and Regulations under it, which have the force of law, all control over School Teachers, Discipline, Books, is taken out of the hands of the Bishops and vested in what is called the Council of Education, consisting of Parkes, Allen, Smith, Arnold and Martin, who is supposed to represent Catholic

---


61 Parkes did not wish to see a repetition of the Plunkett affair. Clause 7 of the Act specifically granted to the Council the right to regard its Regulations as having the force of law unless negated or amended by Parliament within one month of having been placed before it.
interests. A set of Inspectors, all Protestants, are the immediate Governors of the schools. Watkins (sic) the former Secretary of the National Board, is Secretary of the Council.

Some clerics, such as Anglican J. Maitland Ware of Corowa, resolutely continued their practice of opening or strengthening parochial schools in areas likely to attract the attention of the Council of Education. On 12 January 1867, Ware advertised in the Albury Banner a meeting of those interested in a Church of England school at Moorwatha "for the purpose of electing a Local Board and other business". Inspector McCredie, who saw the notice, at once wrote to Wilkins:

Mr. Ware as indefatigable as ever. Mulwala, Moorwatha and Bungowannah are the places on which he is spending his strength at present. I believe all through the Colony great efforts will be made to establish these peddling Schools; I trust the Council may be judicious and firm. . . . I think, the sooner Inspectors are in the field under the new Act the better. Vigilance will be required to prevent opposition and detect trickery. Depend upon it, many of our clerical friends - especially the Priests - will not be over scrupulous.

On 23 February 1867, he was reporting "a barefaced attempt to forestall a Public School" at Huon by Father Twomey. With some vehemence, McCredie added that if "the Council . . ."
Can grant aid and Certify this proposed School, then is my Confidence in the operation of the act shaken".  

Wilkins was not as worried by the activities of two country priests as was his inspector. For him, the Public Schools Act was a triumph. A dedicated Freemason who became the Master of his Lodge, Wilkins saw the Act as a victory over Roman Catholicism. From the time that the Martin-Parkes coalition had taken office, he had believed that with a little persuasion the Government would provide a better deal for the public schools. To this end, he had urged his Local School Boards to write to their Members of Parliament, soliciting their support for additional funds for public schools. The petition was not forgotten. To provide Local School Board secretaries with a model, Wilkins suggested the wording for the petition and in so doing revealed his own thoughts on the subject:

The Petition of the undersigned Parents and others interested in the National School at _____________

Humbly Sheweth,

That Your Petitioners learn with deep regret that from want of sufficient means the Commissioners of National Education are unable to grant aid to new schools in places where such institutions are urgently required, or even to maintain many of them already established.

That Your Petitioners being well aware of the benefits, social, moral, and religious conferred upon the colony by National Schools, earnestly desire to see such institutions multiplied and sustained in full efficiency.

---

65 Ibid., McCredie to Wilkins, 23 February 1867. Capitalisation as in original.

That Your Petitioners therefore pray that your Honorable House will be pleased to take such steps as in its wisdom may appear calculated to avert the calamity threatened by the closing of some National Schools and by deferring others.

And Your Petitioners will ever pray

(Signatures)

With the passage of Public Schools Act, Wilkins' anxieties disappeared. The threatened calamity had not descended upon the National System or, as it was now called, the Public School System, but upon its rival. The victors enjoyed their triumph. The abolition of the Dual System was celebrated by a demonstration given by public school children and by a banquet for the members of the Board of National Education. A competition for the design of a corporate seal for the new Council of Education also permitted some to express their joy. In submitting his design, "Instructed" enclosing a covering letter:

The design which I have forwarded is as follows:- There stands Mr. Parkes holding in one hand a banner, and on it stamped 'Public Education', and his foot firmly planted on another bearing the inscription 'National and Denominational Board'. Thus signifying his approval of the former and his abhorrence of the latter.

67 BNE, Semi-Official Letters sent by the Secretary, Wilkins to Else, 12 Feb. 1866, 1/355, pp. 554-55. For the need for a model, see semi-illiterate letters by L.S.B. secretaries: C. of Ed., School Files, Tamar, 1877, P. Box 1715; ibid., Jindera, 1879, P. Box 1730; ibid., Wagra, 1879, P. Box 1737.

68 BNE, Semi-Official Letters sent by the Secretary, Wilkins to Harris, 12 Nov. 1866, 1/355, p. 679.

69 C. of Ed., Letters Received by the Secretary, "Instructed" to Wilkins, 8 Jan. 1867, 1/731.
In its editorial announcing that the Education Bill had received the Royal Assent, the *Sydney Morning Herald* offered its congratulations to all who had been connected with the Public Schools Act. It endeavoured to show that all the parties had come out of the struggle with honour and had made gains:

The treatment of this bill is a signal triumph of statesmanship because it is the result of compromise, and the surrender on all sides of points of high value having moral obligation, ... Men cease to be captious and irritable in times when great interests are clearly presented to their minds.70

This was not how the opponents of public education saw it. For the vanquished there was no celebration to mark the end of an era nor was the decision to appoint the Colonial Secretary to the presidency of the Council of Education hailed as "a signal triumph of statesmanship".71

Apart from a few Anglicans, of whom Alexander Gordon, the Chancellor of the Diocese of Sydney, was the most noteworthy,72 immediate resistance to the new Act was almost entirely confined to Roman Catholics. Through the *Freeman's Journal*, a call was made to the Roman Catholic community to take a stand. The Act, said the *Journal*, "has been so arbitrary, so manifestly inimical to Catholic liberty of

---

72 See *S.M.H.*, 29 Sept. 1866; 11, 13 & 18 Nov. 1867. For a brief biography, see A.D.B., III, pp. 111-13. The mention of his name at Roman Catholic meetings was greeted by "Enthusiastic cheering", *S.M.H.* 17 Dec. 1867.
conscience that any hesitation to try strength against it would be the merest pusillanimity".\textsuperscript{73} The stirring slogan, "It requires virtue to be a patriot",\textsuperscript{74} had been designed to strengthen Irish resolve to resist English oppression in Ireland. It was to be equally applicable to what was seen as a new persecution through the Public Schools Act.

In return for state aid, the Roman Catholic bishops were to be denied control of the school system they had laboriously built up in the thirty years since Bourke's Church Act. From the time Robert Lowe had recommended the Irish National System in 1844, the Bishops had taken an increasingly uncompromising line on education and on the right of the Church to set its own standards.\textsuperscript{75} In 1867, the need for finance to preserve the schools built and maintained with the help of state aid made immediate rejection of State control imprudent. This did not make the Act acceptable. It was denounced as "repulsive, abhorrent and . . . anti-Christian"\textsuperscript{76} and its "perpetrators" were condemned as "typical of the enemies of the Church in this day and age; a fraudulent insolvent, a hoary old

\textsuperscript{73} Freeman's J., 29 June 1867.

\textsuperscript{74} Ibid., Ireland is Unconquerable", 17 Aug. 1867.

\textsuperscript{75} Ibid., 3 Dec. 1862. See also S.M.H., 18 Oct. 1859. For Polding's evidence before the Lowe Committee, see VP/LC/NSW, 1844, II, p. 514.

\textsuperscript{76} Fr. Woolfrey, Freeman's J., 3 Nov. 1866. Woolfrey was one of the Church's spokesmen on education. See letter, ibid., 29 June 1867, p. 2, and article, ibid., 13 July 1867, pp. 9-10.
libeller and a drunken brawler".77 As for the outcome of the secular education being foisted upon the people of New South Wales, one correspondent to the Freeman's Journal feared that it would "reproduce the 'Voltaires' and 'Tom Paynes' of generations yet unborn".78

The near hysteria which accompanied the passage of the Act through the Parliament and which caused the Empire to fear that it could lead to bloodshed79 was always near the surface in 1867. The Freeman's Journal, suspicious of Protestant motives, warned the Government that Roman Catholic resistance was "not likely to die out until important concessions to the demands of the Catholics shall have been made by the Parliament".80 The concessions were not made and Roman Catholic frustrations revealed themselves in a refusal to co-operate with Colonial Secretary Henry Parkes and the Council of Education.

The first open breach occurred in May 1867. On 27 May, the Matrons of the Protestant and Roman Catholic Orphan Schools at Parramatta were informed that Inspector Edwin Johnson of the Council of Education would be in their schools on the following day to conduct an inspection

79 Empire, 2 Nov. 1866.
80 Freeman's J., 29 June 1867, p. 1.
on behalf of the Colonial Secretary. Johnson had no difficulties in conducting his inspection of the Protestant Orphan School but his reception at its Roman Catholic counterpart was altogether different. The Matron denied him permission either to inspect the teachers or to examine the children without the sanction of the school's Committee. Rev. Brother Urban Corrigan regarded the attempt at inspection as Government provocation designed to test the determination of the Roman Catholic hierarchy to obstruct the working of the Public Schools Act. This may have been Parkes' objective but whether it was or not the Matron's response precipitated a crisis which could have led to a confrontation between the Roman Catholic Church and the State.

Parkes was in a strong position. In October 1866, he had introduced a bill to make provision for the inspection of hospitals and other institutions aided from the public revenue. It was a move the Sydney Morning Herald supported. In its view:

Public money can only be properly voted for public objects; ... it is proper to stipulate and to see that it really subserves public ends. No sect has a right to complain of supervision, and inspection, and

---

81 Unless otherwise indicated, all the information pertaining to this case is to be found in S.M.H., 8 July 1867, which reprinted all the papers laid before the Parliament.

82 U. Corrigan, op. cit., p. 74.

83 S.M.H., 5 Oct. 1866. For J. H. Plunkett's speech in opposition to the Public Institutions Inspection Bill, see S.M.H., 29 Nov. 1866.
subjection to regulations if it enjoys a national endowment. Any sect that resents the yoke is at liberty to dispense with public aid, and to rely on its own resources.\textsuperscript{84}

The bill received the Royal Assent on 22 December, 1866,\textsuperscript{85} and by it the Colonial Secretary could "exercise any of the powers of visitation inspection and inquiry"\textsuperscript{86} over all institutions aided from the public revenue. Clause 1 of the Act specifically named orphan schools amongst the institutions subject to its authority. Persons found guilty of infringing the Act were liable to a fine of £10.\textsuperscript{87}

The Roman Catholic hierarchy did not wish to press the issue. On 21 July 1867, Parkes was informed that the Roman Catholic Bishops admitted "the definite, unassailable right of the state to intervene in education".\textsuperscript{88} Vicar-General Sheehy instructed the clergy to co-operate with the Council of Education.\textsuperscript{89}

This decision was ratified by the Second Provincial Council of Australia held in Melbourne in 1869. In their

\textsuperscript{84} S.M.H., 10 Sept. 1866.

\textsuperscript{85} As 30 Vic. No. XIX. For a copy of the Act, see Public Statutes of New South Wales, 1862-1874, pp. 3802-3.

\textsuperscript{86} Ibid., Clause 2.

\textsuperscript{87} Ibid., Clause 3.

\textsuperscript{88} Views of the Roman Catholic Bishops of New South Wales on Primary Education as stated in a Paper handed to the Colonial Secretary Mr. Parkes, 21 July, 1867. (M.L.) See also R. Fogarty, op. cit., I, p. 182.

\textsuperscript{89} His letter instructing the clergy to co-operate with the C. of Ed., dated 27 Aug. 1867, was not published until 1869. See S.M.H., 24 Nov. 1869.
Pastoral Letter to the faithful, the Archbishop and his Bishops declared:

If the poor people are told that the Government ought to supervise the expenditure of money which it allots, acknowledge it at once, and say we desire no bar to the inspection of Government in everything that relates to secular education.90

Parkes appears to have been equally averse to creating a situation which would have led to a confrontation between the Government and the Roman Catholic Church. He was not prepared to permit the Government's authority to be disregarded but at the same time he wished to avoid any action which could be construed as a deliberate attempt to injure Roman Catholic susceptibilities:

I am extremely unwilling to adopt any step that would be unpleasant, but the examination must be proceeded with. Mr. Johnson will accordingly attend tomorrow morning, to perform the duty with which he is charged. . . . the Government cannot consent to have this examination conducted by the permission of the committee of gentlemen connected with the school, although as a matter of courtesy, they were informed of the examination lawfully ordered.91

Johnson reported that he had not been able to inspect the female school as the Matron objected to the examination of the teachers on the ground that they were members of a religious order. Parkes instructed him to avoid "any interference with the religious obligations or scruples of the ladies engaged". He was further instructed to explain

90 Pastoral Letter of the Archbishop and Bishops of the Province, Assembled in the Second Provincial Council of Australia . . . 1869.

91 S.M.H., 8 July 1867.
to the Matron that the position taken up by her on behalf of the sisters appeared "incompatible with holding service under the Government".

As Chairman of the school's committee, Vicar-General Sheehy endeavoured to support the stand taken by his Matron in a "very respectful remonstrance". He put forward the view that his committee was an independent body; that for its members to submit to an inspection which required "from them peremptorily the submission of their teachers" was to ignore the character of a committee. Furthermore, he expressed the opinion that inspection was "a strained interpretation of the Act".

Parkes declined to accept such reasoning. In a Minute to the Cabinet, he continued to express the view that since the teachers of the Roman Catholic Orphan School had accepted a salary from the Council of Education, they were public servants and were required to recognise the authority of the responsible minister. As for Sheehy's assertion that his committee possessed independent powers, Parkes claimed that it was an illusion which had been fostered by the weakness of former holders of his office:

The erroneous impression which they have formed of their powers and duties may have arisen from former Governments having tacitly acquiesced in whatever they or their predecessors may have recommended.92

The refusal of the Matron to co-operate and Sheehy's

92 For defence of the Committee, see W. M. Adams, S.M.H., 2 July 1867.
attempt to exploit previous concessions served to harden Parkes' attitude:

The so-called committee are now as much masters of the institution as if it were their own property. They appoint the teachers and servants, direct the course of instruction, decide upon all internal arrangements, expend the money voted by Parliament for improvements, employ their own architect and builder. In the course of this uninterrupted "management", they have filled the offices of matron, sub-matron and female teachers with ladies of a religious order, built a chapel within the premises and in fact, converted the Orphan school into a convent supported from the public revenue.

The editor of the *Freeman's Journal* could see nothing wrong in this. He took the view that the instruction to Johnson to inspect the Roman Catholic Orphan School was part of a cunningly contrived plot to discredit the Roman Catholic Church: "The Parkesian assault on the Catholic Orphan School was astutely planned, it has all the perfection of deliberation about it". It was not only the Roman Catholic Church which was in jeopardy, he continued, "Mr. Parkes evidently wants to destroy every institution in the colony which preserves the least religious aspect".

Although dismissed as a "well-tutored errand boy", Inspector Johnson also came under attack. He represented the unwelcome authority of the Council of Education, the lineal

---

93 The Institute of the Sisters of the Good Samaritan. This was a foundation of Archbishop Polding. See R. Fogarty, *op. cit.*, I, p. 245.


96 By "Celt", *ibid.*, 17 Aug. 1867, p. 4.
descendant of the Board of National Education. As "Celt" reminded his readers: "Hostility to Catholic schools has always been shown by the officers of the National Board and the spirit is not dead in those of the Council of Education". The Freeman's Journal saw resistance as the only possible answer to the tyranny of Parkes and his Inspectors from the Council of Education. Its lead was taken up by some of its correspondents. "Sigma", in an emotional appeal to his fellow-Catholics, asked "Must we the Catholics of New South Wales patiently submit our necks to the yoke, . . . must we in silence submit to see our most cherished rights taken from us?"

Although Archbishop Polding tried to reduce sources of friction by instructing the clergy to see that Roman Catholic Certified Denominational schools did not infringe the Regulations of the Council of Education and thereby invite the withdrawal of certification, further strife was almost inevitable. With Roman Catholic hostility focused upon what was seen as sectarian outrages being perpetrated upon the Roman Catholic school system under the guise of educational reform, other incidents could

97 Ibid.
98 Ibid., 29 June 1867, p. 1.
99 Ibid., 17 Aug. 1867, p. 4.
not be prevented.

In November 1867, Inspector Johnson was again the target of what he chose to call "discourteous and unladylike treatment". On this occasion, it was the sisters of the Good Shepherd who had charge of the Pitt Street South Roman Catholic school who refused to receive him. When he returned to the school on the following day, he was accompanied by Inspector Jones. Sheehy was there to greet them and to defend the actions of the sisters. The situation was aggravated and to protect the sisters from further embarrassment, Sheehy withdrew the school from the Government's service.

The action of the Sisters of the Good Shepherd did not lead to a renewal of Archbishop Polding's earlier call for co-operation with the Council of Education. This had been nullified on 5 November 1867 when he had addressed a large gathering of Roman Catholics at the inaugural meeting of the Association of the Archdiocese of Sydney for the Promotion of Religion and Education. Polding, who presided,

---


3 See "Correspondence Respecting charges made against and alleged misconduct of Public School Inspectors", VP/LA/NSW, 1867-8, IV, pp. 637-44; Parkes' rebuttal in the Assembly, S.M.H., 23 & 25 Nov. 1867; Sheehy, S.M.H., 26 Nov. 1867. See also Sheehy's motion and comments on Inspectors at the inaugural meeting of the Catholic Association, S.M.H., 6 Nov. 1867.

opened the proceedings with a bitter denunciation of the Public Schools Act and the men behind it. Reminding his audience that they provided one third of the cost of public education which no Roman Catholic could make use of "with safe conscience"," he went on to condemn the malignant effects that public education would have if accepted for Roman Catholic children:

   It would be just the same as if we entered into a general contribution to be provided with bread, and this bread were to be poisoned. (Cheers.) . . . They give us education and it is poisoned.

The Council's inspectors were singled out for severe criticism. Because of their inhuman behaviour, the Archbishop believed that the health of the school masters and mistresses who were devoting their lives to the nurture of Catholic youth was in jeopardy. "I have seen their health wear away and decay", he said, "under the terrible tyranny of men" who were, in any case, unfit for their positions. As far as he was concerned, "any Tom, Dick or Harry, taken off the streets, would have been as good inspectors as they are". The Archbishop was either speaking in anger and frustration or he did not know the men whose abilities he was disparaging. Edwin Johnson, the centre of the contro-

5 Unless otherwise indicated, the information in this section on the speeches made at the inaugural meeting comes from S.M.H., 6 Nov. 1867. See also Empire, 6 Nov. 1867, and Freeman's J., 9 Nov. 1867, p. 8, for comment.

6 For Johnson's defence of the Council's inspection system, see S.M.H., 15 Nov. 1867. See also S.M.H., 11, 18, 21 Nov. 1867.
versy, was not "any Tom, Dick or Harry, taken off the streets". Even at this stage of his career, he was recognised by the Council of Education as one of the ablest men serving public education in New South Wales. In the early 'fifties, he had been selected in England together with a number of other outstanding teachers to provide a nucleus of trained personnel for the Board of National Education.\(^7\) As a teacher in New South Wales, his examination record and teaching ability were such that, in 1861, he was awarded a special first-class certificate: "the highest in the power of the Board to bestow".\(^8\) He was appointed an inspector for the Board in 1862\(^9\) and ultimately went on to become the Under-Secretary for Public Instruction on the retirement of William Wilkins.\(^10\)

Polding's main concern was not with Johnson but with the Public Schools Act, which he regarded as illegal:

> Whenever the law infringes upon the liberty of the individual, and takes from him any one thing he, as an individual, has a right to possess, from that

\(^7\) See "List of certificated Teachers Seventeen (17) in number despatched to the Colony of N.S.W. at the request of the B.N.E.", BNE Miscellaneous Letters Received, undated, 1/412, p. 368.

\(^8\) VP/LA/NSW, 1862, IV, p. 184.

\(^9\) Ibid., 1863-4, IV, p. 1070. See also, BNE Applications, Johnson to Wills, 5 Dec. 1861, 1/373, p. 96. Corrigan (op.cit., p. 73) incorrectly asserts that Johnson was Chief Inspector in 1867. He did not attain this position until 1880.

\(^10\) NSW Educational Gaz., 1 May 1894, III, No. 12, p. 222, provided an outline of Johnson's career in his obituary.
moment it ceases to be a law, and becomes a despotism and a tyranny - (cheers) - and this Public Schools Act has taken from us our liberty - from the parent, from the clergyman, from the poor child.

It was a message echoed by the other speakers at the meeting. These had been so arranged that a layman followed a cleric as if to give the lie to the assertion that Roman Catholic opposition to the Public Schools Act did not involve the laity. All developed the theme that Roman Catholic parents could not, in safe conscience, send their children to a public school.

The honour of moving the first motion was given to J. H. Plunkett:

That the Public schools in which Catholic children would be compelled to receive religious teaching from non-Catholic teachers cannot in safe conscience be frequented by Catholics.

In speaking to the motion, Plunkett declared that if his listeners were determined to preserve the faith of their children, then they had to be equally prepared to make financial sacrifices. To stiffen their resolve, he appealed to their patriotism. He reminded the audience of the Irish people's successful rejection of Protestant inducements to desert the faith of their fathers: "They offered them that poison so well described by the Archbishop, but they spurned it. (Cheers.) . . . Could we expect pure water from a poisoned fountain?". The motion was seconded by Archdeacon McEncroe and, like all the

---

See P. F. Moran, op. cit., p. 480. For the order of the speakers, see S.M.H., 6 Nov. 1867 or Freeman's J., 9 Nov. 1867.
resolutions put to the meeting, was passed unanimously. The resolutions served notice on the Government that it could expect little co-operation from the Roman Catholic clergy and at least a large section of the Roman Catholic laity.

The news that a large number of Roman Catholics had met and was determined to resist the Public Schools Act was greeted by the Christian Advocate and Wesleyan Record with "serious misgivings". It denounced the Association as "an instrument to enable priests and prelates to grasp political power". A vehemently anti-Catholic paper, the Advocate's attitude was predictable as was that of the Freeman's Journal which published articles and letters urging support for the Association. The secular press of the Colony showed little interest in the meeting or in the resolutions which sprang from it. However, for some weeks, correspondence columns contained letters expressing support or rejection of the actions of Roman Catholic community. The bitterest exchanges were made through the Sydney Morning Herald and between two priests.

---

12 These, in order, rejected the Public School system for Catholic children; provided for new schools; denounced the Inspectorial system; established a Catholic Education Association; and protested the injustice of expending public funds on facilities Catholics could not use "without a sacrifice of conscience". Two other machinery motions were also passed.

13 Christian Advocate and Wesleyan Record, 19 Dec. 1867, p. 121.

14 Ibid.

15 See, for example, Freeman's J., 7, 14, & 28 Dec. 1867.
of the Church of England.

Zachary Barry, an Anglican Irishman whose bitter anti-Catholicism had led him to espouse Orangeism, was opposed to any concessions to the Roman Catholic Church. He refused to accept Parkes' compromise Public Schools Act because it continued to provide state aid to Roman Catholic schools. Roman Catholic demands for further concessions infuriated him. His opponent was Alexander Gordon, the Diocesan Chancellor of the Church of England diocese of Sydney. He had been a member of the Denominational School Board and remained antagonistic to public education. He had little time for Protestants who could not see that to accept unjust impositions upon the Roman Catholic population was to prepare the way for their own downfall. A believer in the power of organised protests, Gordon was disappointed at Anglican indifference to Roman Catholic grievances. These centred around inspection and

---

16 See S.M.H., II, 13 & 18 Nov. 1867. For a brief biography, see A.D.B., III, pp. 111-13. For one of his clashes with Roman Catholicism, see Z. Barry and "Icolmkill"; Do Catholic Bishops swear to persecute Protestants?

17 For a brief biography, see A.D.B., IV, p. 269.

18 S.M.H., 11 Nov. 1867.

19 He later took credit for organising the protests which forced Parkes to amend the Public Schools Bill in ways acceptable to the Church of England. See S.M.H., 10 Oct. 1879.

20 S.M.H., 11 Nov. 1867. Gordon believed that public school inspectors were sent to spy on denominational school teachers.
the insistence of the Council of Education that Certified Roman Catholic schools must use the Irish National School books supplied for use in public schools.

Protestants found little fault with the religious views expressed in the books but the Roman Catholic Bishops found them unacceptable. Alexander Gordon dismissed as "a piece of sectarian clap-trap", the assertion that without the protection of Irish National School books, Protestant children attending Roman Catholic schools would have their faith undermined. However, the Roman Catholic clergy believed that Roman Catholic children exposed to the content of the Irish National School books were in danger. They were following the lead given them by the Roman Catholic Bishops in Ireland who had condemned the use of these books in their schools in 1863. When the Council of Education announced through the New South Wales Government Gazette that the use of books prescribed

---

21 See "What the Roman Catholic Bishops 'Require'", Christian Advocate and Wesleyan Record, 18 July 1867, pp. 50-51. See also Pastoral Times, 6 July 1867.


23 R. Fogarty, op. cit., I, p. 177.

24 N.S.W.G.G., 28 May 1867, p. 1292; 14 June 1867, p. 1834. See also "Regulations adopted by the Council of Education 27 Feb. 1867", Regulation 15, p. 3, in VP/LA/NSW, 1867-8, IV, p. 163, which stated that "Such books only as are supplied or sanctioned by the Council are to be used for ordinary instruction".

for the Irish National System was a condition of state aid to Certified Roman Catholic schools, Vicar-General Sheehy, in the absence of Archbishop Polding in Rome, called a meeting of the Archdiocesan clergy to discuss the matter. At the meeting, Dean Rigney proposed a number of motions which received unanimous support:

1. That we the Catholic clergy of the diocese of Sydney cannot and will not accept any series of books for our primary schools which shall not have the sanction of our Archbishop.

2. That the series of school books published by the Christian Brothers and also the series at present used in the Roman Catholic schools in England under the Privy Council system of education, having been sanctioned by his Grace the Archbishop, either of these series will be accepted for use in our schools.

3. That the Council of Education be respectfully requested to supply our schools with books mentioned in the foregoing resolutions.25

Parkes refused to modify the Regulations despite the plea of the Roman Catholic deputation which waited on him.26 To the joy of the Protestant sectarian press,27 Parkes took the view that the books recommended by the deputation for use in Certified Roman Catholic schools

---


26 See Pastoral Times, 6 July 1867; Freeman's J., 29 June 1867, p. 2; Christian Advocate and Wesleyan Record, 18 July 1867, pp. 50-1.

27 See, for example, Christian Advocate and Wesleyan Record, 18 July 1867, p. 50.
contained doctrinal material and were therefore unsuitable for use in schools in receipt of state aid. When Archbishop Polding returned to the Colony, he too failed to convince Parkes that Roman Catholic schools ought to be permitted to replace the Irish National books. Polding sent to Parkes the two series of books which Roman Catholics were prepared to accept in an effort to prove to the Colonial Secretary that they were of equal literary merit to the Irish National books. The action was unavailing:

And this answer was given in face of my declaration that we knew that the National school books were expected and intended to proselytise - to pervert the faith of Catholic children. Honest Catholic books, such as were of right to be used . . . were refused to us.30

Polding's comment that the National books were designed to win Roman Catholic children for Protestantism had sprung from disclosures made by Jane Whately in her biography of her father, Anglican Archbishop Richard Whately of Dublin.31 Even if the Irish bishops had not condemned the Irish National School books, the revelations contained in the Life and Correspondence of Richard Whately would have.

---

28 Empire, 24 July 1867.
29 S.M.H., 6 Nov. 1867.
30 Ibid. See also "Correspondence on Return Respecting School Books authorised by Council of Education", VP/LA/NSW, 1867-8, IV, pp. 601-8.
Archbishop Whately, with the support of the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. Murray, "who gave him credit for sincerity and liberality, and the best possible intentions to do good", prepared the books of lessons. Murray was said to have had "the especial superintendence" of the Readers, while Whately wrote the Scripture Lessons. It was the latter which Whately was to see as the "great instrument of conversion".

In her biography, Jane included part of the correspondence which had passed between her father and Professor Senior of Dublin. Senior had sought the reason for the large number of conversions to Protestantism by Irish Roman Catholics and in reply Whately had written:

The great instrument of conversion . . . is the diffusion of Scriptural knowledge. For twenty years large extracts from the New Testament have been read in the majority of the National Schools . . . these extracts contain so much that is inconsistent with the whole spirit of Romanism that it is difficult to suppose that a person well acquainted with them can be a thoroughgoing Roman Catholic. The principle upon which that Church is constructed, the duty of uninquiring submission to its authority, renders any doubt fatal.

The Freeman's Journal seized upon this example of

33 S.M.H., 27 Sept. 1867.
34 "Lecture on Education", S.M.H., 17 Dec. 1867.
35 Ibid.
36 Ibid.
37 Freeman's J., 13 July 1867, p. 12.
Protestant duplicity as did the spokesmen for the Church and Whately's assertion that mixed education was "the only hope of weaning the Irish from the abuse of Popery" was used to dissuade colonial Roman Catholics from sending their children to Public Schools.

The Sydney Morning Herald attempted to answer "the calumny propagated at the expense of the late Protestant Archbishop of Dublin" by Dr. Quinn, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Bathurst. The editor suggested that Jane Whately's version of what passed between her father and Senior was perhaps not "the true account":

It was the opinion of Dr. Murray that the diffusion of this kind of knowledge would make Irishmen wiser, and that being wiser and giving more earnest heed to the instructions of the Church in which they had been mostly brought up, would be better Roman Catholics, and become better Christians. . . . The pretence that the co-operation of these two Archbishops was in any sense a mutual deception, or especially that it was one practised by Archbishop Whately (one of the most upright and ingenuous of men) is a cruel slander upon his memory. . . . To describe Dr. Whately as a deceitful, treacherous man leading a weak and confiding one . . . is a perversion of historic truth.

This apologia may have convinced the Protestants of the Colony that Roman Catholic distrust of the Public schools and of the National books was misplaced but it did little to allay the fears of the Freeman's Journal.

---

38 For example, Bishop Quinn, S.M.H., 27 Sept. 1867; the Very Rev. Dr. Forrest, Rector of St. John's College, S.M.H., 17 Dec. 1867.
40 S.M.H., 27 Sept. 1867.
Speaking for the Roman Catholic clergy, the Journal rejected the Herald's view that the critics of Whately were guilty of calumniaition and misrepresentation. As far as it was concerned, toleration was shown only by Roman Catholics. In response to their preparedness "not to interfere in any manner whatever with other denominations", they were forced to "violate their conscientious scruples". The Herald did not agree. It believed that "All these moral controversies appear to us to be trifling and vain" and argued that the public school system was designed to meet the wants of the entire population. Only through such a system, said the editor, could be ended "that fierce and almost savage bigotry which still rages in the Emerald Isle". He refused to accept the argument that Roman Catholic children had to be educated as a race apart:

The demands of Dr. QUINN are that no Protestant shall have any part in the education of Roman Catholic children; that no books shall be used but such as have been prepared by the authority of the priesthood of his Church; that no arrangement shall be made in order to meet the wants of the people which can in any way sanction the idea that there can be the slightest scintillation of truth anywhere but within the precincts of one denomination.

Orangeman John McGibbon added to the controversy when he said that the Roman Catholic uproar over the secular lesson books arose only because the priests wanted to use

---

42 S.M.H., 27 Sept. 1867.
43 Ibid.
Roman Catholic books as a "means of biassing children"\textsuperscript{44} in favour of their Church. Not even the alphabet-book was safe from them since it could be used as a training instrument:

A is an archbishop who has a mission from God to command children to do what he pleases. B is a Bible, the book of heresies. C is the Catholic Church, the only Church which exists in the world. D is the devil, who is the god of Protestants. I is Isabel, the good Queen of Spain, the patron of May, and the pattern of virtue. M is Mary, the refuge of sinners, and the mother of God. P is a priest, the most wonderful being on earth, who can make his Maker and forgive sin.\textsuperscript{45}

The arithmetic and grammar books were seen as a means of illustrating the Rosary, the Hail Mary and the Angelus Domini, said McGibbon. As for the history books, these, he said, would be used to put false and garbled histories into the hands of children so that Pope Alexander became a model saint.\textsuperscript{46}

The disclosures of Jane Whately could not, however, be so easily brushed aside. The Council of Education recognised that to insist upon the use of Irish National Scripture books would offend many moderate Protestants who already had before them Alexander Gordon's championship of Roman Catholic claims to fair treatment. In what could be seen as a compromise, Wilkins informed Sheehy that while the Irish National School Readers would

\textsuperscript{44} Christian Pleader, 27 Nov. 1867, p. 99.

\textsuperscript{45} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{46} Ibid.
still be required reading in all schools receiving state aid, the Irish National Scripture Books need not be used in Certified Denominational schools. This did not satisfy the Roman Catholic hierarchy. At a public meeting held in December 1867, Very Rev. Dr. Forrest, Rector of St. John's College, declared that while the "Scripture Extracts" had been withdrawn from denominational schools following Roman Catholic protests, "with magnificent consistence" the Council of Education had retained them for use by Roman Catholic children attending public schools:

That is the real injustice which Catholics could not submit to - if they were Catholics. (Cheers.) ... That was the first reason why Catholic bishops could not abjure the trust they had sworn to God to keep, namely, to hand down the faith as they had received it from their fathers. (Cheers.)

The withdrawal of the Scripture Extracts from Certified Denominational Schools was the only success achieved. When Polding sought legal advice on the power of the Council of Education to prescribe the school books to be used in Certified Roman Catholic Denominational schools, he was informed that if his schools were to receive state aid, they would have to comply with the Regulations of the Council of Education.

---

47 Wilkins to Sheehy, 7 Aug. 1867, VP/LA/NSW, 1867-8, IV, p. 804. See also ibid., p. 179, for the amendment of Regulation 62, 17 July 1867.

48 Polding to Lanigan, 28 Aug. 1867, Polding to Lanigan (folder), archives, St. Mary's Cathedral.
law by the Public Schools Act.\footnote{Public Schools Act, 30 Vict. No. 22, Clause 7.}

Polding's concern over the use of the Irish National Readers, the Books of Lessons, in Roman Catholic schools sprang from the religious content of many of the stories in the seven volumes. The Council of Education, as had the Board of National Education before it, denied that these contained doctrinal material inimical to either Roman Catholics or Protestants. They had been compiled:

under the joint superintendence of Protestant and Roman Catholic Prelates, and distinguished Ministers of other Christian Denominations. The introduction of those controversial questions, on which good men may honestly differ, has been, therefore, avoided. . . . They are thus adapted to prepare the minds of the Children for fuller religious instruction.\footnote{Circular No. 4, VP/LC/NSW, 1850, I, p. 622.}

Wilkins attempted to close the question of Roman Catholic schools being supplied with books "of purely Roman Catholic character"\footnote{Christian Advocate and Wesleyan Record, 19 Dec. 1867, p. 121.} when he informed Sheehy that the Council of Education had decided to make no further concessions on the books to be used in Certified Roman Catholic Denominational schools.\footnote{Wilkins to Sheehy, 6 Sept. 1867, VP/LA/NSW, 1867-8, IV, p. 804.} This was unacceptable. Fr. Patrick O'Farrell spearheaded a new campaign against the enforced use of the Irish National books in Roman Catholic schools. In the course of a vigorous battle with Zachary Barry through the correspondence
columns of the Sydney Morning Herald, O'Farrell explained the Roman Catholic position. Barry had taken the view that if the Irish Bishops had found the books satisfactory then there was no reason why those of New South Wales should object. O'Farrell would not accept this. As far as he was concerned, there was "a difference between tolerating a thing and being satisfied with it".

To prove the justice of the Roman Catholic refusal to accept the Irish National books, O'Farrell said that there were a number of objections, some of which concerned the difficult area of "tone". For example, he said, the books used Protestant Scripture names, Protestant texts, allusions to the Bible "which we always call the Holy Bible". When they were all put together, the effect was to present a tone which "is decidedly against us". Again, the books taught "a natural religion", the view that if a man was honourable as far as society was concerned, it became "a matter of indifference what particular creed he professes". To O'Farrell, this was a most insidious idea since it could be "insensibly acquired . . . and of all ideas those which are insensibly acquired are the most difficult to eradicate from the human mind". As for the Roman Catholic objection to the Scripture books, he felt it was sufficient for his

53 See, for example, S.M.H., 18, 21 & 26 Nov., 7 Dec. 1867.
54 S.M.H., 26 Nov. 1867. Unless otherwise indicated, the information and quotations below come from this source.
readers to be reminded that these presented "the Protestant, or, as it is called, the authorised, version of the Scriptures".

Not certain that his Protestant readers could accept such arguments, O'Farrell presented what he believed was concrete proof of the anti-Catholic content of the books. To begin, he offered a couplet which, he said, should offend Barry as much as it had himself:

We're the sons of sires that baffled
Crown'd and Mitred tyranny.

Extracts of stories which appeared in the Readers and which O'Farrell claimed proved their anti-Catholic bias then followed. The lesson "The Knight, the Hermit, and the Man" was held to condemn the "contemplative life so much esteemed by our Church" but it was "The Humiliation of Henry the Fourth" which O'Farrell felt was most damaging to the faith of a Roman Catholic child. The story itself was said to be "artfully written and well calculated to make an impression on the mind of childhood", an impression, said O'Farrell, which left the child with the idea that Pope Gregory was a monster. The final illustration of anti-Catholic bias was taken from the story on the "Battle of Hastings". O'Farrell declared that it was a "sneering and mocking passage, totally unfit for any Catholic child to peruse":

The Pope sent to Normandy a consecrated banner, and a ring containing a hair which he warranted to have grown on the head of St. Peter. He blessed the enterprise and cursed Harold, and requested that the Normans would pay 'Peter's Pence,' or a tax to himself of a penny a
year on every home - a little more regularly in future if they could make it convenient.

There were, of course, some lessons to which O'Farrell did not take exception. Lessons such as "Who made all things?", "Who made you?", and short stories on "Adam and Eve", "Cain and Abel", "The Flood" and "The Tower of Babel" explained Christian concepts in simple and unsectarian language. However, acceptance of these as suitable reading for Roman Catholic children did not make the anti-Catholic passages any less offensive.

Having exposed the scurrilous content of the reading books placed in the hands of Roman Catholic children, O'Farrell went on to investigate the content of books used in the training of teachers. In a further letter to the Sydney Morning Herald which was reprinted in the Freeman's Journal, O'Farrell complained of the books which had to be studied by Roman Catholic teachers and pupil-teachers. He used Morrison's School Management and Hughes' Manual of Geography to illustrate the type of material being forced upon Roman Catholics in the teaching profession. Morrison's chapter on History was severely criticised. The claim that the work had a sectarian bias was clearly upheld by the use of an extract on Queen Mary and John Knox:

The one a vain deceitful woman, who cared for little but the indulgence of her passions and the establishment of Popery; the other a true patriot who loved his country.55

55 Freeman's J., 14 Dec. 1867, p. 10. Unless otherwise indicated, the information and quotations on this topic come from this source.
Mary was also compared with Victoria and again the comparison was undisguisedly anti-Catholic:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mary</th>
<th>Victoria</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Despotic, cruel, bigoted, and intolerant.</td>
<td>1. Liberal and benevolent, pious and tolerant.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. A friend of ignorance and superstition.</td>
<td>3. A promoter of education and religion.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Lived in an age of darkness and ignorance.</td>
<td>4. Lives in an age of knowledge and progress.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. An age of thumbscrews, racks, and torture.</td>
<td>5. An age of science, steam-engines and happiness.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Slighting references to Roman Catholic Irishmen and to Roman Catholic countries were also evident in Hughes' Manual of Geography. O'Farrell called it "an iniquitous book". To insist that a Roman Catholic youth should study such a book was, said O'Farrell:

a heinous injustice, an unparalleled cruelty, a mockery of our boasted religious equality, and a proceeding that entitles us at the very least to demand the reconstruction of that Board which has treated us with such open indignity and undisguised scorn.

A real and more pressing problem than the content of the Irish National School books or teachers' manuals was the emphasis which teachers could place on certain passages if they wished to present a sectarian point of view. O'Farrell had not overlooked this:

It is evident that if the teacher be trained with a particular bias that in his intercourse with the children these ideas must naturally find a vent and be communicated either by word, by gesture, or by look.
The bias O'Farrell feared was not one-sided. Teachers of the different religious persuasions revealed their own sectarian prejudices when teaching the children and at times their indiscretions were exposed. When the teacher at Eden attacked Roman Catholic doctrines including those of Papal infallibility and the efficacy of praying for the dead, the local parish priest heard of it and reported him to the Council of Education. When the complaint was investigated, the charges were not completely proved but there was sufficient evidence for the Council to censure the teacher. The Freeman's Journal saw the verdict as an example of sectarian bias and declared that the dismissal of the teacher would have been a just punishment. 56

Roman Catholic teachers were not free from complaints that they brought their religion into the school room. Inspector Hicks reported the teacher of the Half-time schools at Killenamella and Grabben Guilen on the evidence of the children's copy or writing books. Among the headlines which the children had to copy for writing practice were nine which were held to be unduly distinctive of Roman Catholicism. Among them were "Holy Mary, ever virgin, pray for me!"; "Virgin mother, make me your child!"; "O, Mary, my mother, intercede for me!"; and "Queen of Martyrs, pray for us!". 57 Father Dunne, the local parish priest,


57 S.M.H., 19 June 1874.
dismissed the conduct of the teacher as a "mild irregularity" and expressed surprise at the inspector's "frivolous complaints". 58

A teacher's religious bias was not always a handicap to his position in the school and in the community. Where the bulk of the local population was of one persuasion, it was not unusual for an inspector to recommend an appointment on religious grounds. 59 At times, it was felt that the appointment of a teacher who represented a minority religion in a district would likewise attract greater support for a school. The selection of W. F. Nolan for the Wagga Wagga Public school was made because Inspector Flannery felt that "some person of a different persuasion" ought to be introduced to break the Presbyterian monopoly of the school. 60 Nolan's presence was later said to have given increased confidence in the management of the school to the Roman Catholic portion of the community. 61

58 Ibid. Dunne was also involved in a controversy over the use of "Roman Catholic instruction books" at the Mutbilly Provisional School. See Illawarra Mercury, 29 May 1874.

59 See, for example, C. of Ed., Miscellaneous Letters Received, Flannery to Wilkins, 29 Dec. 1874, 1/1012; ibid., 20 April 1872, 1/912, p. 256.

60 Ibid., 18 May 1872, 1/922, p. 383a; ibid., 3 July 1872, p. 385; ibid., Nolan to Flannery, 18 July 1772, p. 386.

61 Ibid., Flannery to Wilkins, 8 May 1873, 1/954. Mr. Meenan was appointed to the Albury Model School for the same reason, ibid., Thorold to Wilkins, 31 Jan. 1868, 1/767, p. 162; ibid., Wilkins to McCredie, 4 Feb. 1868, p. 163; Public School Board to C. of Ed., 26 Dec. 1868, p. 192.
Public School Board\textsuperscript{62} was willing to accept a Roman Catholic as an assistant teacher but when Nolan was recommended for appointment as the school's principal there was an outcry.\textsuperscript{63} Wilkins, in a minute to the Council of Education, felt that, "on principle, the original decision ought to be maintained\textsuperscript{64}" but it was Protestant Thomas Bonynge of Tumut who received the appointment.\textsuperscript{65} Wagga Wagga was a large centre with influential people whom the Council felt it was better to appease. The Collendina parents were in a much weaker position and when requesting their teacher they merely asked that "in respect of Selecting A Teacher it would be More agreeable to all Parties to Have any other Religion than A Catholic Teacher".\textsuperscript{66}

Archbishop Polding had no quarrel with the idea that Protestant children should have Protestant teachers although the blatant sectarianism behind the requests for non-appointment of Roman Catholic teachers was another

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{62} For the duties of Public School Boards, see Public Schools Act, Regulations, in VP/LA/NSW, 1867-8, Vol. IV, Regulation 70, p. 175. The sections dealing with a Board's supervisory role over a teacher were unchanged when the Regulations were amended in 1869. See ibid., 1868-9, Vol. III.

\textsuperscript{63} C. of Ed., School Files, Fitzhardinge to Wilkins, 2 Jan. 1877, P box 1715.

\textsuperscript{64} Ibid., Secretary's Minute, 5 Jan. 1877.

\textsuperscript{65} Wagga Wagga Advertiser, 17 Jan. 1877.

\textsuperscript{66} C. of Ed., School Files, Field to Hookins, 25 Aug. 1879, P box 1748. Capitalisation as in original.
matter. The Catholic Association had been formed for a similar purpose, namely, to provide Roman Catholic children with Roman Catholic teachers. The dispersal of the Roman Catholic population throughout the Colony, however, made it impossible for the Church to provide a Roman Catholic education for every Roman Catholic child, even if all their parents were in favour of it. As it was, twelve months after Archbishop Polding had denounced the public school system as unsafe for Roman Catholic children, 455 of the 1900 pupils at the Fort Street Model School were said to be Roman Catholics. 67 This was a larger number than that attending the largest Roman Catholic school in Sydney. 68 Archbishop Polding was determined to protect from the anti-Catholic features of the Public Schools Act all Roman Catholic children including those who, because of the folly of their parents or in the absence of a Roman Catholic school, received their education in a public school.

67 Parkes Correspondence, Parkes to de Salis, 12 Nov. 1868, A 915, p. 100.
68 Ibid., pp. 100-103.
CHAPTER VI


In the Martin-Parkes coalition which took office in 1866, Henry Parkes was the minority leader and, as such, was awarded the office of Colonial Secretary. The coalition was merely a marriage of convenience and its members differed widely on matters of policy but it proved to the people of New South Wales that Parkes could put through an important piece of legislation. Indeed, in the life of the Martin-Parkes Ministry, the Public Schools Act was the only major piece of legislation enacted. It was a triumph for Parkes and was a testimony to the advice that he had given Charles Cowper in 1857, that policies must be:

applicable to the present position of the country so that the wisdom of your measures and the vigour of your administration may convince the public mind that you are 'the man for the hour'. . . . I do not think any reliance can be placed on the abiding temper of public men or of the public itself. To carry their sympathies with you, you must impress them with the decisiveness of your own progressive actions. They must feel that you are the first man or they will never acknowledge you as the first.1

In the Public Schools Act, Parkes presented decisive, progressive policies acceptable to the Protestant majority of the country. Roman Catholics would also have acknowledged the vigour with which he had prosecuted his

---

task but the wisdom of his measures was open to criticism. Archbishop Polding was bitterly disappointed with what he saw as the anti-Catholic clauses of the Act. He believed that they had been devised in response to the Protestant reaction to the importation of two Irish-born Roman Catholic monsignors into the Colony:

Just as I expected and as I forewarned them at Rome, this 'importation of Irish Bishops', as Parkes and the Ministerial party term the coming of Mgri. Quinn and Murray for Bathurst and Maitland, has been the unfortunate cause of, or the pretext for, raising a No Popery cry, and has been used to influence the votes for the passing of that most obnoxious Education Bill.²

During the passage of the Bill through Parliament, the Deniliquin Chronicle urged all champions of denominational education to accept it. The editor argued that the Bill gave the clergy the most important concession that they could wish for, the fullest access to those children whose parents desired assistance in the religious instruction of their children.³ This was a reference to Section 63 of the Council of Education's Regulations which set out the way in which the clergy were to be provided with time to give special religious instruction to members of their faith:

During an hour each day (designated in the Time-table) children whose parents desire that they should receive special religious instruction from the pastors or other approved religious teachers of their respective

² Quoted P. O'Farrell, op. cit., p. 109.
³ Deniliquin Chronicle, 22 Sept. 1866.
communions, are to be allowed to receive such instruction, so far as the school buildings will admit of distinct classes being formed. . . . if the simultaneous teaching of more than one is impracticable, it will be necessary to arrange that classes of the different denominations be formed on distinct days of the week. 4

When the Act received the Royal Assent, continued

Roman Catholic criticism and threats of obstruction were resented by its supporters. The Sydney Morning Herald rejected the Roman Catholic Bishops' declaration that they could not co-operate with the Council of Education. 5 Like the Deniliquin Chronicle, the Herald took the view that the concessions included in the Act to appease clerical susceptibilities constituted "its merit, and for that reason they ought to be supported". "To this compromise", said the editor, "Catholics must submit".

Archbishop Polding's answer was to form the Catholic Association. However, despite all his efforts to involve and arouse the laity, after the first enthusiastic meeting at St. Mary's Cathedral, the work of maintaining the movement and winning support and providing leadership for it was left to the clergy. Roman Catholics who had been unable to attend the inaugural meeting of the Catholic Association were advised of their Archbishop's "sanction and approbation" of the Association and of his determinat-


5 S.M.H., 9 July 1867. See also S.M.H., 10 Nov. 1866.
ion to resist the "insidious, stealthy, and deadly . . . corruption of Catholic children".  

The resolutions approved by the meeting were read in all the churches of the Archdiocese and the clergy were instructed to take steps to put them into practice:

The chief object, to which the Archbishop directs your care and forethought, is the preservation of existing Catholic Schools, and the formation of new ones. . . . It will be your care, by reasoning, and by teaching to show . . . that Public Schools are an engine of Proselytism of the worst kind, a proselytism, not of this or that form of Protestantism, but to the deadliest of all errors, indifferentism. . . . You will be persevering in warning your people against this real though latent character of Public Schools.

Not for one "needless hour", did the Archbishop want a Roman Catholic parent exposed to the "temptation of endangering his children in the so-called Public Schools".

Some Protestants, such as Alexander Gordon, agreed that further concessions should be made to remove Roman Catholic accusations of discrimination against them and to effect a reconciliation with that section of the community. Others tried to win over the local Roman Catholic population by a gesture which indicated acceptance and the need...

---

6 For copies of the circulars on the Resolutions and on the instructions to the clergy for carrying out of the Resolutions, see Archbishop Polding, Pastorals, Archives, St. Mary's Cathedral. See also Freeman's J., 7 Dec. 1869, p. 9.

7 Ibid.

8 Ibid.

9 See S.M.H., 29 Sept. 1866, 11, 12, 13 & 18 Nov. 1867.
for co-operation. For example, the Public School Board of the Albury Model School requested the appointment to the school of a Roman Catholic teacher. The reasoning behind the request was not at first revealed but in a later letter the Board noted that the action was taken to soothe the feelings of the local Roman Catholic community "regarding the Education Bill".

Many Protestants, however, saw any compromise with Roman Catholicism as capitulation to the forces of evil. Archbishop Polding's actions in support of Roman Catholic education were interpreted by Rev. John McGibbon as being "in exact accordance with the prophetic description of the Anti-Christian beast". What the Church of Rome had failed to achieve by deceit and guile, he said, it was determined to acquire by bloodshed and violence: "There is nothing so congenial to an Irish Priest as riot and blood".

Like Zachary Barry, Rev. John McGibbon was a staunch Orangeman and a relentless opponent of Roman Catholicism. He revelled in the opportunity to raise the spectre of

---

10 C. of Ed., Miscellaneous Letters Received, Footnote, Memo to Inspector McCredie, 4 Feb. 1868, 1/767, p. 163.


13 Ibid., p. 100.
terrorism and rebellion in the Colony:

When the priest O'Farrell spoke of riot and blood, the people cheered as if ready then and there to proceed to work, and spread throughout Sydney another Bartholomew; . . . doubtless if these blood-thirsty priests had their will, they would not take the trouble to hold public meetings . . . they would take the method which is consecrated in the memory of their Church – they would set up their Inquisitions, and build their dungeons, and hire their ruffians for riot and blood.\textsuperscript{14}

McGibbon found strong support for his views in the leading Nonconformist newspapers, the \textit{Christian Pleader} and the \textit{Christian Advocate and Wesleyan Record}. From 1865 to 1867, when anti-Catholic feelings were particularly high, the \textit{Christian Pleader} published a vitriolic denunciation of Roman Catholicism from McGibbon in almost every issue. As for his contention that there was Roman Catholic talk of a violent reaction to the Public Schools Act, the record of the inaugural meeting of the Catholic Association as printed in the \textit{Sydney Morning Herald} indicates that Fr. O'Farrell did suggest that it could come to that. In moving the second resolution, Fr. O'Farrell had referred to the Act as a "penal code" and had indicated that stern measures might be required to change it: "The end of it might be discontent - might be riot - (Cheers.) - might be blood! (Loud cheers and expressions of dissent)".\textsuperscript{15}

\textsuperscript{14} Ib\textit{id}. See also \textit{Christian Advocate and Wesleyan Record}, 19 Dec. 1867, "Public Education and the Roman Catholics", pp. 121-22; Z. Barry, \textit{The Danger Controled}, p. 10.

\textsuperscript{15} \textit{S.M.H.}, 6 Nov. 1867.
McGibbon ignored the expressions of dissent. He played upon Protestant fears of Fenianism and terrorist activities. In this he was successful. Militant Protestants reacted to expectations of Roman Catholic violence by enrolling in large numbers in such ultra-Protestant organisations as the Loyal Orange Lodge.\textsuperscript{16}

However, the great majority of both Protestants and Roman Catholics remained untouched by the militancy of their co-religionists. The initial enthusiasm for the Catholic Association was not maintained. Many Roman Catholic parents proved reluctant to withdraw their children from public or non-Catholic denominational schools and to send them to schools under the control of the Association. Their failure to do so and to support the Association through subscriptions and the payment of school fees ultimately led to the collapse of the venture to provide a private system of Roman Catholic schools. By 1872, income met only half the expenses and the Catholic Association went out of existence.\textsuperscript{17}

Alan Barcan\textsuperscript{18} has ascribed the failure of the Catholic

\textsuperscript{16} See M. Lyons, \textit{op. cit.}, Ch. III, "The Growth of Protestant Sectarianism", pp. 177-275. The N.S.W. Protestant Political Association also saw a sudden upsurge in applications for membership. 48 new members enrolled in its No. 7, Redfern Division, Paddington Branch, on one night. See S.M.H., 11 Sept. 1868. For the Association's sectarianism, see letter from "An Englishman", \textit{S.M.H.}, 11 Nov. 1868.

\textsuperscript{17} See \textit{Freeman's J.}, 9 March 1872.

\textsuperscript{18} A. Barcan, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 118.
Association to the lack of a Roman Catholic middle class in the Colony. This fails to account for the success of the private Roman Catholic school system after 1880 when the Roman Catholic middle class could not have been very much larger. Many Roman Catholic parents in the late 'sixties and early 'seventies had yet to be aroused from their lethargy. When, in 1866, Vicar-General Sheehy refuted the claim that "the principal portion of the Catholic laity were in favour of the (Public Schools) Bill", he added that: "even if it was true, those people held a doctrine the Church would not sanction them in holding, and they ceased to be members of the Roman Catholic Church". Even so, there were substantial numbers of Roman Catholic parents who continued to support the public school system as Tables II to IV on pages 207 and 208 indicate.

The number of Roman Catholic parents seeking the establishment of a public school or its small rural counterpart, the provisional and half-time school, becomes even more significant when seen as a percentage of the total number of applications.

It is impossible to determine why Roman Catholic parents selected one of these schools for their children although it is clear that a large number did so. For

19 S.M.H., 24 Oct. 1866.
20 Ibid.
### TABLE II

Religious Affiliation of Children attending Public, Provisional or Half-time Schools, 1868.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religious Affiliation</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C. of E.</td>
<td>10713</td>
<td>1182</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>12143</td>
<td>43.09</td>
<td>43.11</td>
<td>43.14</td>
<td>43.10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R.C.</td>
<td>4397</td>
<td>1015</td>
<td>267</td>
<td>5679</td>
<td>17.69</td>
<td>37.02</td>
<td>46.43</td>
<td>20.16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pres.</td>
<td>3584</td>
<td>289</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>3909</td>
<td>14.42</td>
<td>10.54</td>
<td>6.26</td>
<td>13.87</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wes.</td>
<td>3742</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3956</td>
<td>15.05</td>
<td>7.22</td>
<td>2.78</td>
<td>14.04</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>2423</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2489</td>
<td>9.75</td>
<td>2.11</td>
<td>1.39</td>
<td>8.83</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>24859</td>
<td>2742</td>
<td>575</td>
<td>28176</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE III

The Number and Religious Affiliation of Parents requesting the Establishment of Public, Provisional or Half-time Schools, 1868-70.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religious Denomination</th>
<th>Public 1868</th>
<th>1869</th>
<th>1870</th>
<th>Provisional 1868</th>
<th>1869</th>
<th>1870</th>
<th>Half-time 1868</th>
<th>1869</th>
<th>1870</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Church of England</td>
<td>461</td>
<td>365</td>
<td>247</td>
<td>411</td>
<td>346</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>2401</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman Catholic</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>302</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>1356</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>512</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wesleyan</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>865</td>
<td>626</td>
<td>524</td>
<td>854</td>
<td>699</td>
<td>695</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>4771</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---


22 From statistics supplied in the C. of Ed. Annual Reports for 1868, 1869 and 1870.
TABLE IV

Percentage and religious Affiliation of Parents requesting the Establishment of Public, Provisional or Half-time Schools, 1868-70.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religious Denomination</th>
<th>Public 1868 1869 1870</th>
<th>Provisional 1868 1869 1870</th>
<th>Half-time 1868 1869 1870</th>
<th>Average % over 3 yr. Period</th>
<th>% of Population 1871 Census</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Church of England</td>
<td>53.29 58.31 47.14</td>
<td>48.13 49.50 46.04</td>
<td>61.45 50.93 37.02</td>
<td>50.32</td>
<td>45.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wesleyan</td>
<td>11.56 7.83 7.82</td>
<td>5.74 7.73 8.20</td>
<td>3.61 5.59 2.76</td>
<td>7.76</td>
<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>5.09 3.51 1.72</td>
<td>1.76 2.15 1.29</td>
<td>1.81 1.24 7.18</td>
<td>2.77</td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

23 Ibid. See also N.S.W. Census, 1871, or T. A. Coghlan, A Statistical Account of the Seven Colonies of Australasia, 1901-1902, p. 838.
many, there was no other choice as it was the only school in the locality. For others, a preference for the public school system or ignorance of the attitude of the Church was the basis for their selection of the school. It is reasonable to assume that many parents, particularly those living in the country districts, fell into the latter category. As late as 1906, an eight day mission retreat had as one of its objectives:

To gather into our Catholic schools all our Catholic children. Also to reconcile Catholic parents who may not have been aware that in sending their children to other than Catholic schools they incurred grave censures of the Church, rendering themselves incapable of receiving Absolution or Holy Communion.²⁴

Roman Catholic children also attended non-Catholic Certified Denominational schools. The number was not large but when it is added to that for Roman Catholic children attending the Council's schools it would appear that about forty per cent of the Roman Catholic children attending state-supported schools in 1868, did so at a non-Catholic school.²⁵ Reasons for the difference in the level of support Roman Catholic parents were prepared to give public and non-Catholic Certified Denominational schools include the following: in many country districts, parents had no choice of a school as the non-Catholic school was

²⁴ Circular, Denis F. O'Haran, Administrator, St. Mary's Cathedral, 29 June 1906, Archives, St. Mary's Cathedral.

²⁵ 6,840 out of 17,255. From figures supplied in the Annual Reports for 1868, VP/LA/NSW, 1869, II.
the only school; where there was a choice of a school, this generally occurred in the larger centres of population and in such places the Roman Catholic authorities were able to provide a school of their own. Where a Roman Catholic Certified Denominational school was available to Roman Catholic parents, it received strong support as the following table indicates:

**TABLE V**

Religious Affiliation of Children attending Certified Denominational Schools, 1868.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relig. Affil. of Chn.</th>
<th>Religious Affiliation of Schools</th>
<th>No. of Schs</th>
<th>% Chn not attending own School</th>
<th>No. Chn not attending own School</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C.E.</td>
<td>R.C.</td>
<td>Pres.</td>
<td>Wes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.E.</td>
<td>9960</td>
<td>560</td>
<td>620</td>
<td>365</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R.C.</td>
<td>936</td>
<td>9254</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pres.</td>
<td>867</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>477</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>431</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>13187</td>
<td>9978</td>
<td>1645</td>
<td>1355</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| No. chn other religions | 3287 | 724 | 1168 | 644 | 0 |
| % chn other religions   | 24.93 | 7.26 | 71.00 | 47.53 | 0 |
| % R.C. chn.             | 7.10 | 92.74 | 8.94 | 5.31 | 0 |

---

Statistics such as those set out in Tables II and III were produced annually by the Council of Education and encouraged the belief that there was strong Roman Catholic support for the public school system. Tables III and IV, also devised from figures supplied in the Annual Reports, suggest that even as the Catholic Association was campaigning vigorously for a private Roman Catholic school system in the period 1868-1870, Catholic parents were turning to the Council of Education for schools to educate their children. The figures do not tell the whole story. What, at first sight, might appear as whole-hearted Roman Catholic support for the public school system is an illusion. The applications for schools came from people living in the rural areas of the Colony. In these areas the Churches found it difficult to gather together a sufficient number of children to establish a denominational school which met the requirements of the Public Schools Act or to set up a viable private school. A public, provisional or half-time school under the control of the Council of Education was the only answer to the educational requirements of these areas. That this was unavoidable was recognised by the Roman Catholic clergy. However, every effort was made to place Roman Catholic children in Roman Catholic schools. At the first Plenary Council of

\[\text{27 For the problems of providing education in rural areas, see K. Davies, op. cit., Ch. 4, "Education, Free Selection, and the Provisional School", pp. 160-229.}\]
Australasia it became official policy that "If the pastor and his congregation find themselves for a time unable to build both church and school, they ought by all means to begin with the school". Where the population could not support a Catholic school, Sunday schools and meetings held at other convenient times were to be conducted to set the children:

their tasks and explain the Catechism to them. . . . As neither they nor their parents can be held accountable for their absence from the Catholic schools, we may well hope that God in His mercy will give both parents and children special graces to make up for the disadvantages under which they labour.

Far from causing a decline in the number of Roman Catholic children attending public schools, the activities of the Catholic Association appear to have stimulated an interest in education which was to benefit the public school system. In the period 1868-1870, the number of Roman Catholic children attending public schools rose by over fifteen per cent. In the same period, closure of Roman Catholic schools and removal of children led to a drop in

28 Held in 1885. For comment on its activities, see R. Fogarty, op. cit., II, pp. 274-410, passim.
30 Ibid.
32 See Table IX, Protestant and Roman Catholic Certified Denominational Schools compared, 1867-1882.
the number of Roman Catholic children attending Certified Roman Catholic Denominational schools of over 2%.  

Ronald Fogarty when investigating the failure of the Catholic Association and the large number of Roman Catholics who, "to their shame", preferred public to Roman Catholic schools concluded that it was in the Archdiocese of Sydney that the struggle for an independent Roman Catholic system of schools was lost. Archbishop Polding had expected that there would be "lukewarm" and "simple" Roman Catholics who would be "easily deceived" by the Public Schools Act. They were to prove most numerous in his own Archdiocese. This was contrary to what he had been led to expect. The Address of Welcome with which he had been greeted on his return to the Colony in August 1867 had called the Public Schools Act "the heaviest blow that could have been struck, at the welfare and true liberty of our people". He had

---

33 In 1868, there were 9,254 Roman Catholic and 724 non-Catholic children in Certified Roman Catholic Denominational schools. (VP/LA/NSW, 1869, II, p. 804). By 1870, the figures had dropped to 9,082 and 714 respectively (Ibid., 1870-71, IV, p. 333).

34 Bro. Fogarty provides a thorough survey of the history of Catholic schools in all Australian colonies and states in his Catholic Education in Australia, 1806-1950.

35 R. B. Vaughan Joint Pastoral, 1879, p. 13, in Pastorals and Speeches on Education.


37 See Sheehy's letter to the clergy on behalf of Archbishop Polding, dated 27 Aug. 1867 in S.M.H., 24 Nov. 1869.

38 For the Address of Welcome, see P. F. Moran, op. cit., p. 480.
been informed that the adversaries of the Church "insidiously alleged that our people are not as one with us in our thoughts about primary education and primary schools". The Archbishop, by his very presence, went on the Address, would rally the Catholic people "in a way to extinguish forever, all doubt and cavill; and the country will see that we are certainly and surely united". It was not to be. Many of the laity remained unconvinced, despite declarations that the Public Schools Act was "unworthy of the support of any Catholic".  

The failure of the Catholic Association constituted the second blow to Archbishop Polding's desire to provide Roman Catholic children with the kind of education which prepared them for full participation in the sacraments of the Church. The Public Schools Act had already taken from the Bishops the right to determine what should be taught to Roman Catholic children in Certified Roman Catholic Denominational schools. Just why a Catholic education was deemed essential to the development of Roman Catholic children was made public by Bishop Matthew Quinn in reply to Henry Parkes' charge that the Bishop had forced Roman Catholic parents to remove their children from Frying-pan

---

39 Bishop Matthew Quinn, Bathurst Daily Times, 9 Oct. 1867, p. 3.

Public School:

It is a rule of the Catholic Church that all Catholic children before their admission to the Sacrament of Confirmation must know the compendium of Christian Knowledge as contained in the Catholic Catechism. Now, in Protestant schools Catholic catechisms cannot be expected to be taught, whilst in the Public schools, their teaching – except under circumstances that cannot ordinarily be availed of – is prohibited by law. Where a Catholic school, therefore, is established, it is the only place where this necessary knowledge can be obtained, and it devolves as a sacred duty on a Bishop to use all the means in his power to enforce on parents the obligation of sending their children to such schools. This is one of the many reasons why a Bishop insists, where he has a Catholic school, on making parents send their children there.  

Education was only one of a number of reasons for religious tension. Nor was it confined to New South Wales. In Melbourne, there were "Orange-Irish riots" of some magnitude and the Freeman's Journal warned the people of New South Wales that that Colony could witness similar disturbances if Protestants continued to display inflammatorily Orange emblems in the streets of Sydney. This determination to carry the fight to Protestantism and to demand immediate relief of Roman Catholic grievances was soon to receive a severe check. The actions of a madman were to make any complaint from the Roman Catholic community appear as treason.

---

41 S.M.H., 11 Jan. 1870. For Parkes' Letter, see S.M.H., 6 Jan. 1870. See also correspondence between Parkes and Sheehy, S.M.H., 24 & 26 Nov. 1869.

42 Empire, 29 Nov. 1867; S.M.H., 29 Nov. 1867. See also Report of Sel. Com. on Alleged Conspiracy for Purposes of Treason and Assassination, VP/LA/NSW, 1868-9, I, Letter A7, p. 930.

43 Freeman's J., 7 & 21 Dec. 1867.
Early in 1868, a deranged Irishman, Henry James O'Farrell, made an attempt on the life of the Duke of Edinburgh at Clontarf in Sydney. It was an act which not even the Freeman's Journal could accept as a legitimate part of Ireland's struggle for freedom. Calling the would-be assassin a "monster", the editor of the Journal prayed "that he be not an Irishman". Amongst Protestants, there was a great anger that the son of Queen Victoria could have been murdered on a visit to their country. The Christian Advocate spoke of the "consternation, woe, rage, grief and weeping that followed the fierce and foul deed" and the Freeman's Journal acknowledged that "if the atrocious ruffian be of our race, then Irishmen must bow their heads in sorrow". Orangemen such as Zachary Barry used the event to attack the Roman Catholic Church and to link the assassination attempt with the Church in New South Wales:

It is to our sorrow and shame to read the pretence of those traitors to Ireland as well as to the Queen, to the sacred name of patriot. . . . That the Fenian spirit exists here, some have affected to deny, but no one . . . really doubts. . . . Are the heads of that denomination blameless? Certainly not. I am sure they contemplate with horror the event which has occurred . . . but men may not fling about lighted matches in a magazine, and then wash their hands of responsibility, when men stand aghast at the

---

44 Ibid., 14 March 1868.


46 Freeman's J., 14 March 1868.
explosion. Such a blanket condemnation of the Roman Catholic clergy would not stand investigation. Archbishop Paul Cullen, Archbishop of Dublin, a future Cardinal and the man most responsible for the direction the Roman Catholic Church was to take in New South Wales in the second half of the nineteenth century was a bitter opponent of Fenianism which he believed could only "bring ruin and desolation to our poor country".

The Christian Advocate and Wesleyan Record was convinced that O'Farrell's attempt on the Duke's life was part of a conspiracy and called for the "execution of the Fenian rebel". In Melbourne, Charles Gavan Duffy, an Irish Nationalist and Victorian politician, protested that the Irish Roman Catholic population was being blamed for an event which was the work of a "monomaniac". Despite the execution of O'Farrell and Henry Parkes' desperate attempts to prove that there was a Fenian

47 Z. Barry, op. cit., pp. 7-10.


51 For a short biography of Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, see A.D.B., IV, p. 113.

52 Australasian, 21 March 1868, 370. Almost all the issue was given over to comment on the assassination attempt and on Fenianism in general.
conspiracy involving the Irish Roman Catholic community of New South Wales, Gavan Duffy maintained his friendship with Parkes although there was a brief estrangement.\textsuperscript{53}

Parkes appears to have been convinced that there was a conspiracy.\textsuperscript{54} Evidence was produced before the Select Committee set up by the Legislative Assembly to investigate the Alleged Conspiracy for Purposes of Treason and Assassination that a number of prominent citizens had received threatening letters over their part in the execution of O'Farrell. Parkes claimed to have:

A number - probably twenty altogether - of letters threatening the lives of persons, but I have put them past somewhere, where I cannot lay my hands upon them, but there are two or three here I should like to hand in.\textsuperscript{55}

That he was unable to produce all the letters he claimed to have received or to have been given as Colonial Secretary is suspicious. Almost from the moment he arrived in the Colony, Henry Parkes appears to have preserved and collected everything with which his name was associated, including some items not favourable to his

\textsuperscript{53} See Parkes Correspondence, A921, pp. 34-59.

\textsuperscript{54} Parkes to McLerie, 10 March 1869, ibid., A915, p. 11.

reputation.  That evidence of conspiracy could be mislaid is hard to believe. The letters handed in are suspect. For example, Letter D13 reads like an Orange attempt to blacken the Irish Roman Catholic population of the Colony. Addressed to "H Parkes, Esqre", it reads:

Honorable Sir,

I dare not say more than this on account of my Oath, but it was know in our Society. That a great attemp was to be made on some graned day. I did not hear what, as a few only know where to know it. need I say all is not yet over beware.

one who detest the crime, abhors it,

A MEMBER OF THE ST. JOSEPH AND ST. MARY SOCIETY

I dare not say more, the Priests knows it all.  

Archbishop Polding believed that Henry Parkes was endeavouring to make "great capital out of this miserable affair" and the colonial press remained sceptical of his attempt to prove that a conspiracy existed.  

Parkes' private correspondence reveals that he himself took a more

---

56 See, for example, Letters to Sir Henry Parkes box, M.L., which contains many letters indicating bank refusals to honour his promissory notes. See also Parkes Correspondence, Freidman to Parkes, 6 Aug. 1886, re. £50 cheque dishonoured, A884, p. 252; ibid., Cohen to Parkes, 28 Oct. 28 Oct. 1885, re. dishonoured £250 promissory note, A879, p. 16; or Flood to Parkes, 20 Sept. 1860, releasing Parkes from all debts due to date, A884, pp. 132-33.


59 See S.M.H., 11 Sept., 5, 6, 7, 28 Oct. 1868, 17, 18 Feb. 1869; Empire 17 Feb. 1869; Freeman's J., 20 Feb. 1869.
serious view of his charges:

Before these sad events the animosity of the Irish Catholics had been kindled against me more than against any other man in the country. Since the attempt of O'Farrell and his execution I have become an object of their wild hostility. . . . I have done no wrong to these furious zealots. I have simply stood across their path of aggression and denied that they were entitled to more than their fellow colonists. . . . As to my personal safety, I think nothing of that. I have calmly considered all that part of the business. . . . If the murderer comes, he must come in some open place; and there are not too many O'Farrell's who will commit murder with their own lives in their hands.60

His own evidence before the Select Committee and that of his two chief supporters, Inspector General of Police John McLerie and Secretary of Police Edmund Fosbery, failed to impress the majority of the Committee.61 Parkes later claimed that these were political opponents, "All of whom had declared their personal hostility to me";62 but a perusal of the Minutes of Evidence reveals the slender evidence he had for his belief that the assassination attempt was part of a Fenian conspiracy.63

---

60 Parkes Correspondence, H. Parkes to M. Parkes, 9 July 1868, A 1044.


63 See, for example, the abortive attempt to prove that Fenian agent James Riordan (or Riardon) was an organiser of the conspiracy, Fosbery's evidence, Rep. Sel. Com. Alleged Conspiracy, op. cit., p. 788. See also pp. 811-12 and letters A1-A4, pp. 929-30. Parkes was also unsuccessful in his attempt to smear the Roman Catholic clergy with charges of disaffection and disloyalty. See his replies to Forster's questions, qq. 1160-1171, ibid., pp. 845-46.
Parkes believed that the appointment of a Select Committee to investigate his charges was William Macleay's response to his attack on the Government through a motion of "No confidence". By the time the Committee presented its Report, Parkes again controlled a majority of the House and, "amid tumultuous cheering", the Report was rejected by 32 votes to 22. Parkes was pleased to write that "So ended the 'conspiracy' of bitter sectaries and personal calumniators to destroy me in connection with the unhappy O'Farrell case". The antipathies of many Roman Catholic voters, however, remained and remained for the rest of his life. As late as 1892, he could still say:

Crimination and recrimination arising out of it have not yet lost their effect. In our elections thousands of votes will have been given under the dead-weight of prejudices contracted from the rancorous animosities of the period. Men who were friends before were never friends afterwards.

Late in 1868, Henry Parkes resigned from the Martin Ministry in protest over the dismissal of his old friend,

---

64 H. Parkes, Fifty Years in the Making of Australian History, p. 197. See also S.M.H., 9 Sept. 1868.
65 H. Parkes, Fifty Years in the Making of Australian History, p. 201.
66 Ibid.
W. A. Duncan "from the post of Collector of Customs." Duncan was soon returned to his post but with the withdrawal of Parkes and his followers from the coalition, the Martin Ministry collapsed.

For two years, Parkes sat on the opposition benches. Duncan tried to convince Parkes that his best hope for a return to government was a reconciliation with the Catholic community:

I wish to God you could manage to conciliate the Irish (in some manly way of course) on that cursed Fenian business. They are not difficult to satisfy and they are too numerous for any public man to defy. . . . There are many who to my certain knowledge would be glad of an opportunity of placing themselves on your side if you would only do or say something which would form a basis for reconciliation.

Parkes had long suspected what Duncan declared to be a fact: that the Roman Catholic vote could be organised in such a way as to keep out of office any politician who had

68 Parkes had known Duncan since 1840 when the latter had shown keen interest in Parkes' poetical ability although unable to put him on the staff of the Australasian Chronicle. Parkes Correspondence, Duncan to Parkes, 19 May 1840, A882, p. 314. For other references to Parkes the Poet, see ibid., Harpur to Parkes, 11 Aug. 1843, 21 March 1844, Ah31. For his volumes of verse, see Murmurs of the Stream, (1857); Studies in Rhyme (1870); The Beautiful Terrorist and other poems (1885); Fragmentary Thoughts (1889) and Sonnets and Other Verse (1895).

69 For the sectarian undertones of this episode, see M. Lyons, op. cit., pp. 220-27. See also Parkes Correspondence, Earl of Belmore to Parkes, 1 & 15 Sept. 1868, A925, pp. 514-29; ibid., Martin to Parkes, 17 Sept. 1868, A925, pp. 92-4; ibid., L. F. De Salis, 24 Sept. 1868, A882, pp. 231-34.


71 Parkes Correspondence, Duncan to Parkes, n.d., A921, p. 440.
the temerity to oppose the will of the Roman Catholic Church. In 1843, he attributed his failure to win the seat of Sydney to the presence in the electorate of a large number of Roman Catholics who had been antagonised by his anti-Catholic articles in the Empire and who had "evidently determined to punish me for this offence".\textsuperscript{72} Duncan's proposition was as yet unacceptable. Parkes could not bring himself to collaborate with a people whom he had declared were prepared "to a man to trample on every principle that may seem to impede their progress to religious domination".\textsuperscript{73}

Ronald Fogarty has remarked that Henry Parkes "is not held in high regard among Catholics in New South Wales"\textsuperscript{74} but has also indicated that "he must be held as a benefactor by those who feared a strictly secular education, for he stood as a bulwark against it until it was finally headed off by his Public Instruction Act of 1880".\textsuperscript{75} Fogarty goes on to say, however, that "any genuine admiration is tempered by the fact that in his treatment of them in the late 'seventies he put himself in the class of those who would put expediency before principle, or would not scruple to stir

\textsuperscript{72} Parkes Family Letters, Parkes to S. Parkes, 26 March 1853, A 1044, unpaginated.

\textsuperscript{73} Windeyer Family Papers, Parkes to W. C. Windeyer, 19 Apr. 1862.

\textsuperscript{74} R. Fogarty, \textit{op. cit.}, II, p. 470.

\textsuperscript{75} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 471.
up religious bigotry to save a portfolio". Militant anti-Catholic contemporaries of Parkes would have moved the date forward to the early 'seventies when it was they and not the Roman Catholic community who felt betrayed.

Two years in opposition together with a further year barred from holding public office because of bankruptcy encouraged Parkes to view a compromise with prospective Roman Catholic supporters with increasing favour. Within a few months of filing his bankruptcy petition, Parkes was looking to the day when he would once more be holding the political stage. In his search for allies to join him in "a new and thoroughly progressive Party", Parkes sounded out a variety of people but it was a reconciliation with Gavan Duffy which provided the hope that Edward Butler, the leader of the Catholic party in the House, would join him. In his autobiography, Fifty Years in the Making of Australian History, Parkes made no mention of a compact with Roman Catholicism but he left no doubt as to his need

---

76 Ibid.
77 Parkes Correspondence, Parkes to M. Parkes, 27 Jan. 1871, A1044.
78 Lang Papers, H. Parkes to J. D. Lang, 29 July 1871, A2242, p. 58.
79 Including merchant and financier J. L. Montefiore, one time enemy of Parkes, who promised "to aid the cause with my purse", A.D.B., V, p. 270. See also Parkes Correspondence, Montefiore to Parkes, 18 Oct. 1871, A895, p. 120.
for new allies:

The prospect before me was gloomy enough. I had stripped myself of the conventional importance that attaches to a seat of Parliament. I was penniless; I was deserted by many who had profited by my friendship in former days. But throughout my life my heart has always been the most buoyant and strenuous in the face of difficulty, and it did not fail me then.81

Amongst the former friends whom Parkes could now number among his most bitter enemies was W. B. Dalley.82 William Bede Dalley had first entered Parliament in 1856 after having been nominated for the seat of Sydney by Parkes. Their friendship did not last. Although Dalley was to write of the thousand memories he had of the happy hours he had spent with Parkes,83 he preferred the policies of Charles Cowper and John Robertson. The political rivalry of the two men deepened with Dalley's editorship and part ownership of the Freeman's Journal but came to a head after Dalley unsuccessfully defended the would-be assassin of the Duke of Edinburgh, Henry James O'Farrell. On his arrest, O'Farrell had admitted that he was a Fenian;84 but Parkes was concerned with making the crime a denominational issue and attempted to connect the colony's

81 H. Parkes, Fifty Years in the Making of Australian History, p. 213.
82 For a brief biography of William Bede Dalley, see A.D.B., IV, pp. 6-9. For his parliamentary career, see NSW Parliamentary Record, 1824-1956, Vol. I, p. 120.
83 Parkes Correspondence, Dalley to Parkes, 3 Feb. 1859, A921, pp. 151-53.
84 S.M.H., 31 March 1868. See also S.M.H., 17 March 1868.
Roman Catholic population with it. Four years later, Dalley had reason to believe that his Church had made some sort of compact with its arch-enemy:

And now it is said and I believe it is well known, that my fellow-citizens and co-religionists, the Roman Catholics of this electorate and throughout the country are to give the utmost support to the existing Administration. . . . And now I warn them that this dishonest and scandalous alliance will prove to be prejudicial to the religious liberty of the country.

While it cannot be proved that Parkes and the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church in New South Wales came to an agreement for mutual support, it cannot be doubted that Parkes' attitude to Roman Catholicism had mellowed since W. A. Duncan had tried to convince him that all that the Roman Catholic body of the Colony required of him was some sign that he was fair-minded:

I know you have cause to complain of the atrocious attacks of a few of the clergy, and of the writers who adopt their views, but it would be a grievous injustice to confuse the whole body with a few noisy characters.

By the end of 1870, Henry Parkes had decided to give the sign. Gavan Duffy gave him the opportunity when he wrote to Parkes to express his regret that Parkes' public career had been interrupted: "I cannot suppose it terminated".

---

88 Ibid., Duffy to Parkes, 14 Dec. 1870, p. 34.
Parkes replied:

I fervently pray to God that a way may be found out for your "race" to meet with mine as fellow citizens, apart from that power which hitherto in every political crisis had guided them in one direction right or wrong. . . . So long as obstacles are opposed to our being one Australian people, we shall be a factious & senseless rabble. 89

Duffy hinted that Edward Butler was ready to work with Parkes, 90 a suggestion he eagerly accepted: "Like you 91 I 'prefer men of brains not only as allies but as opponents' whether English or Irish, Protestant or Catholic". 92

In February 1872, Parkes was re-elected to Parliament. On 14 May he formed his first Ministry. 93 In it, as Attorney-General, was Edward Butler. The reaction to Butler's appointment forced Parkes to call a public meeting of his supporters to explain his actions and to deny the allegations of his opponents "as to what constituted the secret of my power". 94 He was:

particularly anxious to be heard by the electors in making these explanations . . . because the most absurd and wildest rumours have reached me to the effect that I was advised by some persons in my proceedings. 95

90 Ibid., Duffy to Parkes, 14 Dec. 1870, A921, pp. 34-5.
91 See ibid., pp. 34-6.
94 S.M.H., 20 May 1872.
95 Ibid.
Parkes who had earlier written of his enemies that they were prepared to sacrifice "political principle . . . to a low desire for office" now found himself accused of the same defect. He defended himself by ridiculing the sectarian opposition to Edward Butler's appointment:

And who do you think they applied to to come forward as a candidate to oppose me? Why, Mr. W. B. Dalley. (Cheers and laughter.) That is rather an instructive illustration of the consistency and zeal of these gentlemen. They objected to me because I thought proper in the performance of my duty to offer an important office to this influential member of the Roman Catholic body, and they sought to oppose and replace me . . . by inviting an equally distinguished member of the Roman Catholic Church as their candidate. (Laughter.)

Despite the cheers and the laughter, the meeting was tense. On several occasions it was interrupted by hecklers and by fighting amongst rival groups. Militant Protestants believed that Henry Parkes had abandoned his determination to withstand Roman Catholic demands for concessions in order to gain office. In their eyes, he had adopted the same policy he imputed to his opponents: "The Catholics of this colony are so powerful that for the sake of their political support their cause is taken up by all sorts of scheming politicians". What he once called "a singular misfortune" and "the disturbing agency of mischief and little else' he now decided to take advantage of: "that

---

96 Lang Papers, Parkes to Lang, 29 July 1871, A2242, p. 59.
97 S.M.H., 20 May 1872.
98 Parkes Correspondence, Parkes to M. Parkes, 9 July 1868, A1044, unpaginated.
this section of the electoral body is always governed by some gust of politics & ecclesiastical passion". 99

The Parkes-Butler alliance was to be short lived. Despite Edward Butler's willingness to put aside sectarianism and to advocate support even for Orangemen if they were also Parkesians in order to see Henry Parkes elected, 1 Parkes himself was unable to give Butler a similar loyalty. When it was heard that Parkes intended to make Butler the Chief Justice of New South Wales there was a sectarian outburst. Parkes found himself unable to resist this, perhaps more particularly since his financial backer, J. L. Montefiore, expressed reservations over the appointment. Montefiore is said to have advised Parkes against the appointment because he was fearful that the "giving to the Roman Catholics the majority on the Bench will raise all churchmen throughout the country". 2

Henry Parkes was able to maintain sufficient parliam-


1 Parkes Correspondence, Butler to Parkes, u.d., A872, pp. 226-8; A919, pp. 602-3, 634-6. At the same time Butler informed Parkes that "our people are being instructed not to raise their sweet voices at the hustings in your favour for fear of giving an R.C. look at the proceedings". Ibid., A872, pp. 224-5.

entary support to survive Butler's defection. He was also able to placate the Roman Catholic Church by his obvious support for their Certified Denominational schools. He did not demonstrate the same degree of tolerance towards non-Catholic schools requesting certification. In June 1872, he declined to meet the request of a deputation from the Synod of the Church of England to overrule the decision of the Council of Education to deny a certificate to the Petersham Church of England school. On this occasion, he insisted that any interference with a decision of the Council necessitated evidence of "an undoubted abuse of authority". A few months later he chose to overrule the Council's decision to refuse the application from the school board of the Grenfell Roman Catholic school for certification. The Council had declined to award a certificate because the school was also used as a church. Parkes took the matter to the Legislative Assembly where it was agreed that "the refusal of the Council of Education to grant a certificate of conformity to the Roman Catholic school at Grenfell ... was inexpedient, and not to be supported by valid reasons".

---

3 Butler resigned from the Ministry in expectation of the appointment. See S.M.H., 10 Nov. 1873. For the sectarianism behind Butler's non-appointment, see M. Lyons, op. cit., pp. 352-54, or M. Rutledge, op. cit.

4 S.M.H., 25 June 1872.

5 S.M.H., 21 Jan. 1873. For all the Reports, Minutes and Correspondence on the controversy, see VP/LA/NSW, 1872-3, II, pp. 47-62.
The vote was unacceptable to the Council of Education and three of its members, Arnold, Martin and Fairfax immediately resigned. The remaining councillors, George Allen and R. A. A. Morehead, did not seek re-election when what little remained of their term of office had expired. Morehead who had long supported public education accused Parkes of "walloping his own nigger".6

The collapse of the Council of Education presented Henry Parkes with the opportunity to create a new one more in keeping with his new image as the defender of denominationalism. A more compliant Council would prevent further public controversies such as had accompanied the old Council's rejection of the applications of the Petersham and Grenfell schools.7 The selection of Professor Smith, W. A. Duncan, Thomas Holt and George Wigram Allen to serve with Parkes, the President of the new Council, drew attacks from every quarter. John Fairfax's Sydney Morning Herald gave a full coverage to a meeting of "the friends of secular education" at which the Chairman, the Hon. J. B. Watson, commented on the "class of men who had been appointed with Mr. Parkes to form the Council".8

6 See R. A. A. Morehead, Primary Education as Administered in New South Wales, pp. 6-8.


8 S.M.H., 15 Jan. 1873.
He pointed out that these men "contrasted strangely with those nominated by (Parkes) originally" and added that "the appointments must prove to the public that a strange change had taken place in the opinions of the present Colonial Secretary. (Cheers.)". In his opinion, the Roman Catholic hierarchy had agreed to the composition of the new Council because it gave them two representatives, Parkes and Duncan. This was not how the *Freeman's Journal* saw it. In alerting its readers to seek out Protestant bigotry everywhere and in education in particular, it reminded its readers that Nonconformists now controlled the Council. This was true but secularists saw them as friends of denominational education and feared that if "the present Council was to exist for long, we should have Denominational schools throughout the length and breadth of the country smothering the Public schools, and preventing the establishment of Public schools".

In the Legislative Assembly, David Buchanan, a

---


10 See *Freeman's J.*, 28 Sept., 4 Oct. & 8 Nov. 1873.

11 Parkes was an Independent (A.D.B., V, p. 399); Smith, a Presbyterian (J. Cameron, *Centenary History of the Presbyterian Church in N.S.W.*, p. 189); Holt, a Congregationalist (A.D.B., IV, p. 414); Allen, a Wesleyan (A.D.B., III, p. 25). Duncan was a liberal Roman Catholic (A.D.B., I, p. 337).

chartist, radical and republican, led the attack on Parkes' support for denominational education. Opening his speech with an appeal to members to think for themselves and not to submit tamely to Parkes' direction, Buchanan went on to accuse Parkes of siding with the one sect which had refused to co-operate with the Council of Education:

With these Denominational schools they had no trouble from any sect except the Papists. The other sects were beginning to see the advantage of Public schools, and wished that all the schools should be fused into the Public schools, but the Papists were different, because they could not get their dogmas taught in these.

As for the censure of the Council of Education which had led to the mass resignation of its members, Buchanan declared it to be "an egregious blunder, a horrible mistake." Buchanan received little support. John MacIntosh reminded the House that the Colonial Secretary had "full powers" over the Council and with this the House agreed. The resolution was rejected without a division.

The formation of the Public School League was the secularist answer to Parkes' support for denominational education. Founded by the Rev. James Greenwood and Rev. Zachary Barry to make "Primary Education secular,

---

14 S.M.H., 21 Jan. 1873.
15 Ibid.
16 Ibid.
compulsory and free" the League was to wage its campaign both within and outside Parliament, offering electoral support to all "who should adopt the principles of the School League". These principles it published in a manifesto in September 1874. For the moment, however, Parkes was safe. The Public School League did not achieve immediate success but rather was faced by an irate portion of the Church of England, which, alarmed by the proposal to abolish state aid to denominational education, formed the Church of England Defence Association. The League's programme was denounced as:

calculated to damage the cause of public education, being regressive and demoralising in its tendencies, unsuited to the requirements of the country, involving a largely increased expenditure and waste of public money, unjust in its incidence of taxation, offensive to the conscience and religious convictions of the majority of the people and calculated to create and intensify sectarian animosities.

A. R. Crane has described Rev. James Greenwood's appeal to bigotry. Greenwood himself adopted the guise of a patriot whose wish it was to stamp out bigotry:

---

17 Freeman's J., 26 Sept. 1874.
18 S.M.H., 4 Dec. 1874.
19 S.M.H., 22 Sept. 1874.
20 S.M.H., 6 Oct. 1874. See also Freeman's J., 3 Oct. 1874, 8, and Rev. J. S. White, Lecture on Education: "National, Secular, Compulsory, and Free".
The cry we raise is the country is in danger - in
danger through the terrible prevalence of ignorance -
in danger from the introduction of sectional prejud-
ices and religious bigotry even into our primary
schools at the expense of the state: and we say
that a common patriotism ought to bind us together
as the heart of one man to stay the ravages of this
national plague.\(^{22}\)

Protracted cheers followed this statement but within Parl-
iament supporters of the League were to find it much more
difficult to convince Henry Parkes that changes to the
Public Schools Act were desirable. The *Freeman's Journal*
had described the Leaguers as this "knot of busybodies"
and had dismissed the inaugural activities of the League
as the inconsequential activities of "Mr. Fairfax found-
ing his Church".\(^{23}\) Rhetoric and the dismissal of Green-
wood and Barry as "poor dissenting ministers whose very
existence centres on that bit of notoriety they get from
the *Herald* plus every stray sheep of the Church of England
who may be prepared to worship the opinions of Mr. Fairfax\(^{24}\)
did not prevent League supporters from attempting to change
the Public Schools Act to the disadvantage of denomina-
tional schools.

William Forster had opened the attack on the 1866 Act
in 1872 when he had moved for the amendment of the Act to
provide for the "extension and stricter enforcement of the
principle of secular instruction, and for the discontinuance

\(^{22}\) *S.M.H.*, 22 Sept. 1874.

\(^{23}\) *Freeman's J.*, 18 July 1874.

\(^{24}\) Ibid.
of assistance from public funds for Denominational schools".  

The debate was acrimonious and suspected Roman Catholic preferment aroused bitter sectarian exchanges.  

Ultimately, it was Parkes' amendment which carried the day:

that any interference at the present time with the operation of that Act, and the valuable system of public instruction established under its provisions, would be impolitic and prejudicial to the best interests of the people.

Secularists made five more attempts to change the Act but Parkes continued to resist. He pointed out:

in some detail the eminent success which had attended the operation of the Act. . . up to that date, and in dwelling upon the advisability and sound policy of avoiding serious conflicts of religious feeling or the aggravation of any sense of injustice, however misconceived we might deem it.

Still concerned with wooing the Roman Catholic vote, he was prepared to recognise the fact:

that a large body of men and women in this country, numbering one third of the whole population are members of the Roman Catholic Church . . . they pay

---


26 S.M.H., 20 Jan. 1873.

27 S.M.H., 11 Dec. 1872. The debate was constantly adjourned and was not completed until late in January 1873. See S.M.H., 22 Jan. 1873.

28 For the other attempts, see VP/LA/NSW, 1873-4, I, p. 149, S.M.H., 19 Nov. 1873, (John Stewart); VP/LA/NSW, 1876, I, pp. 182, 228, 243, 272, 303, (George Dibbs); ibid., 1875-6, I, pp. 136, 140, 145, 186, 204, 221, 235, (John Robertson); ibid., 1876-7, I, p. 273, (David Buchanan); ibid., 1877-8, pp. 89, 115, 187, (James Greenwood). See also S.M.H., 9 Feb. 1876; letter from "Sagitta", 14 March 1876; ed. 23 March 1876.

their share of the same taxes . . . and they are bound by the same obligations as their fellow citizens. . . . while the Roman Catholics support their own schools, they will at the same time be compelled to pay towards the support of schools you set up for the other classes of the population, and to which they refuse to send their children. Call it what you will, this will be felt as little short of oppression. . . . The thing is essentially unjust.30

Parkes, the political opportunist, could as yet see no electoral advantage in embracing the secularist principles of the Public School League. He was prepared to bide his time and in this he was no different from the man who was to become a bitter enemy. On his arrival in the Colony, Bishop Roger Bede Vaughan had been given the task of protecting "the education of the rising generation from the blighting influence of anti-Christian secularism"31 by Archbishop Polding. He speedily made known his intentions:

I firmly believe that what is called secular education, when God is driven out of the school, is an enormous calamity, morally, socially and politically, and that it must eventually lead to fatal results. When the proper time comes I promise you I shall speak out very fully and very truly; and there is no doubt that what I shall have to say will be couched in language of a very clear and unmistakeable character.32

Vaughan joined with Archbishop Polding and his fellow Roman Catholic bishops in instructing the faithful to reject the public school system. The call at times received

30 Ibid., pp. 303-4.
31 S.M.H., 3 Jan. 1874. He was appointed coadjutor bishop to Polding in 1873.
32 Freeman's J., 28 Feb. 1874.
the whole-hearted support of parents to the disappointment of advocates of secular instruction. In 1875, James Greenwood, in a letter to the *Sydney Morning Herald*, revealed that the proposed public school at Nimitybelle was not to be established because of "the exercise of special influences".  

What these influences were he demonstrated by publishing extracts from the report on the school by Edmund Flannery, Assistant-Inspector of the Goulburn District:

> The majority of the persons who signed the annex to the application for the establishment of a Public school at Nimitybelle are Roman Catholics, almost all of whom now refuse to send their children to the proposed school, as the Most Reverend Archbishop Polding and the Roman Catholic clergyman of the district - Rev. Mr. Kavanagh - have, in most emphatic terms, commanded them to give no support to a Public school, under pain of religious censure. . . . Under present circumstances, I do not consider that the establishment of a Public school at Nimitybelle could be successfully carried out.

In Edmund Flannery's opinion, and in view of the support they had received, the clergy expected to reopen the Roman Catholic denominational school in the district which had been closed for about a year.

While highlighting the part the Roman Catholic Church had played in the collapse of the Nimitybelle proposal, Greenwood also pointed to Parkes as the man who accepted the dictates of that Church. He accused him of double-dealing and of forgetting his promise to "deliver this

---

33 *S.M.H.*, 23 June 1875.

country from that very bigotry of which he himself has now become the open and unblushing advocate". Greenwood believed that only a new Education Act which dispossessed the denominational schools of state aid could turn Roman Catholic parents to the public school system. In a later letter, he compared the 1862 Victorian Common Schools Act with the 1866 New South Wales Public Schools Act and showed that, apart from the exception of the "direct Deno­minational legislation which was forced into our Act", the two were virtually the same. The Victorian Act had, however, been condemned and replaced while the New South Wales Act, "a still worse and more illiberal Act", was considered by the legislators of New South Wales "the incarnation of infallible wisdom".  

Newspapers supporting the principles of the Public School League adopted the policy of seeing sectarian bigotry or political intrigue behind resistance to educational change. The Sydney Punch put its view both in cartoon and in humorous verse. Extracts from two of its poems, both of which were accompanied by a cartoon, will illustrate this type of attack on denominationalism:

Wo pious guardians, bold, yet wary,  
And of ourselves we take good care;  
In the "cause" we are not chary,  
Both our interests are there;  
When we meet with helpless women,  
Or feeble men of good not harm,  

---

35 Ibid.  
36 S.M.H., 24 July 1875.
We run 'em in, we run 'em in,  
We're Sectarian bold gens d'armes

With our work cut out before us,  
We'll look our foes full in the face;  
We help each other on in chorus  
'Gainst the "League" we both embrace.

While our friend the Freeman flatters,  
Bids us 'gainst the foe to arm,  
We run 'em in, we run 'em in,  
We're Sectarian bold gens d'armes.  

The second poem, "Bursting His Girths; Or, The Biter Bit", also denigrated the activities of denominationalists against the Public School League. One verse is enough to illustrate its tone:

Sectarian pleaders are now looking grim,  
They're mourning the lustre of power that is dim;  
The dark mind of youth hence enlightened must be,  
By learning - Compulsory, Secular, Free!

Neither personal abuse nor ridicule could move Parkes to amend the 1866 Act. He continued to maintain that not only was change unnecessary but that the fulfilment of the aims of the Public School League would pauperise the people of New South Wales. The constant criticism did, however, have an effect on the population. Greenwood was not only elected to Parliament but when he moved to amend the Public Schools Act in 1878 it was to the cheers of

---

37 Sydney Punch, 30 Oct. 1874. "The Sectarian Gen's D'Armes" was to be sung to the air "We run 'em in". The reference was to the co-operation of the Anglican and Roman Catholic hierarchies against the activities of the Public School League. For another cartoon on this theme, see ibid., 11 Sept. 1874, 11 Dec. 1874.

38 Ibid., 20 Nov. 1874.

many members. The Sydney Morning Herald assisted in moulding public opinion, never failing to point out what it saw as improvements elsewhere in public education. The gravest crisis in the life of the Public Schools Act was the narrow failure of Robertson's Public Schools Act Amendment Bill which reached the Third Reading stage in 1876 before being defeated on a technicality. Parkes began to see that change was inevitable. Until the right moment arrived, however, he continued to protect his Act against despoilers.

Following John Robertson's abortive attempt to change the 1866 Act, successive ministries of Parkes and, again, of Robertson were of too short a duration to push through a controversial education bill. The next Premier, Joseph Farnell, and his Minister for Justice and Public Instruction, Joseph Leary, strongly supported the existing system. Leary made it known that "After the state has its wants satisfied, I would make provision for the various sections of the people". Defending his Act against

40 S.M.H., 13 Feb. 1878.
41 See, for example, editorials on English education, 15 Aug. 1874; Queensland education, 17 Apr. & 18 June 1875; Victorian education, 9 Feb. 1876. N.S.W. education together with the Council of Education was seen as "moribund", 1 Feb. 1876.
42 See S.M.H., 9 Feb. & 23 March 1876.
43 Both lasted but a few months: Parkes', 22 March 1877 - 16 Aug. 1877; Robertson's, 17 Aug. 1877 - 17 Dec. 1877.
44 S.M.H., 13 Feb. 1878.
Greenwood's motion, Parkes acknowledged that he supported Leary's policy but with his eye on the future he suggested a parliamentary commission "to inquire into and report upon the working of the Public Schools Act of 1866 and to collect information as to the character and working of the educational systems of the adjoining colonies and other countries". During this debate, Parkes enhanced his political stature because it appeared that while he still stood by his previous pronouncements on the worth of the 1866 Act he showed himself to be a man who was prepared to change if the facts warranted it. Although Greenwood's motion was defeated, neither Farnell nor Leary gained from the debate. Both were Roman Catholics and, as the *Sydney Morning Herald* noted, this was sufficient to make their decisions on education suspect. The *Echo* was not so kind. In the view of its editor, a Roman Catholic Minister for Public Instruction could not but interfere on behalf of denominational education and he argued for the "safer administration" of the Council of Education. It was, however, only a safeguard against Roman Catholic interests. When Parkes and Robertson formed a coalition to replace the Farnell Administration, the Council of Education was dismissed by the *Sydney Morning Herald* as

---

45 Ibid.
46 *S.M.H.*, 30 June 1878.
47 *Echo*, 28 Aug. 1878.
"out of harmony with the spirit of our time". Parkes, alive as always to a swing in public opinion, now abandoned his support for the Public Schools Act and in June 1879 informed the House that it would be gratified to learn that the evidence of the last year combined with other circumstances had led him to the conclusion that changes in the educational law of the country must take place.

The political aims of the secularists appeared about to be achieved. In the field of curriculum change they were also about to triumph. They had begun by championing the use of the Irish National school books in all schools receiving state aid. In the 'seventies, they enlarged their attack on Roman Catholic resentment of having to use non-Catholic books in their schools by insisting on the inclusion of history in the curriculum for schools in receipt of state aid. It is this campaign we shall now examine.

---

48 S.M.H., 8 March 1879. The Farnell Ministry was in office from 18 Dec. 1877 to 20 Dec. 1878.
49 S.M.H., 20 June 1879.
Sectarianism and the Development of Elementary Education in New South Wales, 1788-1918

Volume II

Kenneth Davies, M.A., M.Ed.

A thesis submitted to The University of Wollongong in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

1976
CHAPTER VII

HISTORY, SECTARIANISM AND EDUCATIONAL REFORM

Before the late 1860's, the idea of history as a tool for the propagation of sectarian views scarcely arose. It was the passage of the Public Schools Act of 1866 which brought the subject to public notice as a source of sectarian conflict. Before the 1866 Act, denominational schools had been free to select their own text-books and to devise their own curricula. The creation of the Council of Education and the acceptance of its regulations by Parliament, removed this freedom to choose. While forced to accept the regulations of the Council of Education in return for state aid, Roman Catholic authorities complained that the content of some of the Irish National and other books prescribed by the Council were unacceptable to them. History had become a bone of contention.

The inclusion of history in a school's curriculum appears to have first occurred in 1814 when Rev. Henry Fulton opened his Classical Academy at Castlereagh for boys "intended for Commercial, Military, or Naval pursuits." 1

---

1 The word "history" is applied to the subject itself. Where a course of study is referred to, the word has been given a capital letter, as in "English History".

2 Christian Advocate and Wesleyan Record, 18 July 1867, pp. 50-51; Freeman's J., 29 June 1867, p. 2.

3 Sydney Gazette, 25 June 1814.
It was taken up by other middle class schools and by 1840 was said to be popular with the boys of J. D. Lang's Australian College and of W. T. Cape's Sydney College. The better educated and more enterprising tutors and governesses also encouraged their charges to read history.

Before 1848, few if any of the state-aided denominational elementary schools of the Colony included history in their curriculum. This is not to say that working class children did not learn any history. Great store was placed on the moral training of the children and included in the school readers were stories from the Bible and from ancient history. Giving evidence before a Select Committee of the Legislative Council on Education in 1844, the Lowe Committee, Archbishop Polding outlined what the course of instruction should be in an elementary school. Speaking of reading, he said: "The course of reading should comprise a proportion of history - sacred and profane, the former being considered of great importance". Unfortunately, many schools lacked a sufficient supply of reading material and most books seemed to consist of spellers and testaments. According to W. A. Duncan:

If you walked into a school, you would see on the forms

---

4 W. W. Burton, The State of Religion and Education in N.S.W., p. 140.

5 See A.A.C.D. Boswell, Early Recollections and Gleanings from an Old Journal, M.L., for an account of one governess's work in history.

6 VP/LC/NSW, 1844, II, p. 514.
or desks (where there were any forms or desks) a few
torn catechisms; one boy would be sitting with a
Vyse's Spelling-book, another with a Universal Spell­ing-book, a third would have Mavor's and a fourth
Dilworth's; perhaps, also, you would see a tattered
Testament or two lying on the floor; but, at any rate,
one thing you never failed to see, and that was the
striking fact, that not one child in six, perhaps, had
any book of any kind whatever.  

Most of the witnesses who gave evidence before the Lowe
Committee agreed with Duncan that elementary education
needed "considerable improvement", although some felt
with Charles Kemp that it was "sufficient for persons in
the lower ranks of life to be supplied with, so far as the
State is concerned".

The creation of a dual system of education in 1848
with the establishment of the Board of National Education
and the Denominational School Board, did little to encour­
ge the teaching of history; but the supply of books
became better. Of the 202 schools inspected by School
Commissioners William Wilkins, Samuel Turton and Thomas
Levinge in 1854-55, 110 were said to be "sufficiently
supplied with books" and 92 "insufficiently supplied with
books". The quality of the books varied with the system.

---

7 Quoted D. Smart, School and Society in N.S.W.,
1788-1848, p. 561.

8 VP/LC/NSW, 1844, II, James Cosgrove, p. 525. See
also ibid., Rev. J. Sanders, p. 555; Rev. J. McKenny, p.
572; George Allen, p. 465; Rev. R. Mansfield, p. 469; W.
A. Duncan, p. 482; J. H. Baillie, p. 533; W. Macarthur,

9 Ibid., p. 578. See also Rev. R. Allwood, p. 492.

10 "Final Report from the School Commissioners",
The Church of England used the publications of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge which were considered by the Commissioners to be the worst series of school-books used in the Colony.\(^{11}\) Roman Catholic schools used two series, the one of the Christian Brothers and the other compiled in the Colony and called the Catholic series. The Christian Brothers series was considered to be the best series in use, "if allowance be made for its purely sectarian character".\(^{12}\) The Presbyterian and Wesleyan schools used a variety of books including those published by the Irish Commissioners and which were used in the National Schools of the Colony.\(^{13}\) For general purposes, the National series was deemed the best but even these books were considered to be defective as they had been written for use in Ireland.\(^{14}\)

If the quality of the books was poor so too was the effectiveness of teachers as teachers of reading. In his "Final Report", Wilkins wrote:

> Reading is professedly taught in all the Schools. The mode of teaching, however, in the majority of cases is bad, and the attainments of the scholars very limited. Attention seems to be chiefly paid to the mechanical part of the art of reading, the sense of the passage

\(^{11}\) Ibid.

\(^{12}\) Ibid.

\(^{13}\) Also used in Presbyterian and Wesleyan schools were the McCulloch series and those of the Religious Tract Society and the Sunday School Union, Ibid.

\(^{14}\) Ibid., pp. 97-8.
being commonly neglected. The consequence is, that . . . the meaning is seldom understood, and the impression is left on their minds that a book is not read for the sake of the information it contains, but merely as an exercise of the organs of speech.\textsuperscript{15}

While children could gain little historical knowledge from reading the stories in the readers, less still could be gained through formal history lessons. Of the 202 schools inspected in 1854-55, only thirteen taught history and, in the opinion of the Commissioners, they taught it badly. So little attention was paid by the schools to the subject that, in a report of over thirty foolscap pages, the Commissioners devoted only three and a half lines to it.\textsuperscript{16} Wesleyan schools omitted to teach the subject. In Roman Catholic schools, where the authorities were soon to complain of the sectarian content of the history books prescribed for the course, there was a general disinterest in the subject. However, by the mid 1850's a small number of students did study it as is shown in Table VI.

The "List of Books" appended to the "Final Report" of the School Commissioners indicated that in Church of England schools, the major providers of courses in history, use was made of three texts on the History of England, Greece and Rome.\textsuperscript{17} The National schools did not use a textbook at all and Roman Catholic schools only the Historical Catech-

\begin{footnotes}
\item[15] Ibid., p. 99.
\item[16] Ibid., p. 101.
\item[17] Ibid., p. 118.
\end{footnotes}
TABLE VI

Total School Population and the Number and Percentage of those Receiving Instruction in History, 1854-55.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Denomination of School</th>
<th>Number of children enrolled</th>
<th>Number taking History</th>
<th>% taking History</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Church of Eng.</td>
<td>6,112</td>
<td>316</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman Catholic</td>
<td>4,760</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
<td>1,073</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wesleyan</td>
<td>871</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National</td>
<td>3,157</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td><strong>15,973</strong></td>
<td><strong>544</strong></td>
<td><strong>3.5</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

...ism prepared by Abbé Fluery. 19 The National and Roman Catholic schools relied upon the readers to provide an incidental introduction to history. In both the Irish National and Christian Brothers readers, the stories concentrated upon Irish themes although in the case of the former series there was an occasional poem or prose piece with an English background.

In the late 'sixties, an attempt was made to revise the Irish National readers and to provide pieces with an Australian flavour. Archibald Gilchrist, a Victorian Inspector of Schools, was commissioned to provide tales and poems about Australia; but the additions did little to...

---

18 Ibid., from information supplied in Tables 5 and 20, pp. 92 and 102.
19 Ibid., p. 118.
Indeed, Henry Lawson reminiscing about his own school days in "The Old Bark School", remembered the readers well and wrote:

And Ireland! - that was known from the coastline to Athlone,
But little of the land that gave us birth;
Save that Captain Cook was killed (and was very likely grilled)
And "our blacks are just the lowest race on earth".21

There is no question that Lawson had been taught better in the late 1870's than had the children inspected by the School Commissioners in 1854-55. This was due to the work of William Wilkins who, after his period as a School Commissioner, systematised and standardised every teaching procedure through the Table of Minimum Attainments.22 The Commissioners of National Education had originally left the drawing up of a school's curriculum to the discretion of the Local Patrons and to the school teacher in the belief that self-help together with a knowledge of what was required locally would produce a better

---


21 Poetical Works of Henry Lawson, 185. Lawson began his education at the Provisional school at Eurunderee (Log Paddock) in 1876. After two and a half years there, he spent another six months at the Roman Catholic school at Mudgee. For further information, see D. Prout, Henry Lawson, the Grey Dreamer, pp. 39-41, and the Australian Encyclopaedia, V, p. 263.

22 For its institution, see Report of the B.N.E. for 1856, p. 3.
education for the children. Wilkins swept this all away by imposing rigid routines upon teachers through his prescriptive syllabus. He was determined to regulate and define instruction in National schools. The Table of Minimum Attainments was his principal instrument. As he said:

It determines the rank and composition of the various classes, the amount of proficiency to be obtained, and the condition on which children may be promoted to the higher grades. Finally, it determines to a large extent the Examiner's estimate of progress, and is the foundation of much that is in his reports... to the public.

Most of all, the "table necessitates systematic teaching, the previous study of lessons, and the observance of correct principles in the classification of scholars".

With the development of the inspectorial system in the eighteen-sixties, Wilkins was able to instruct his inspectors to "test the accuracy of the school work, and the fidelity with which the instruction has been made to accord with the prescribed guides". He expected too much. Many of his teachers were poorly prepared for the task of teaching. Not only was their own education substandard, but their training was limited in many cases to

---

23 NSW Commissioners of National Education, Regulations and Directions, 1849, p. 8.
25 W. Wilkins, National Education: An Exposition of the National System of N.S.W.
as little as four weeks under the guidance of a local teacher. It was little wonder that teachers preferred to rely on rote learning and memorisation as their principal teaching techniques.

In the multi-class schoolrooms, the readers were a boon. As reading books, the Irish National readers are most uninviting by modern standards and, indeed, were considered so at the time. The Newcastle Commission, in its final report in 1861, said they "left much to be desired", were "destitute of picturesqueness" and were "incapable of striking the imagination and awakening the sentiments of a child". Both secular and biblical history in the readers are noteworthy only for their dull recitation of names, dates and events. Despite their shortcomings, the readers provided teachers with an essential tool. Much attention was given to silent and oral reading; the former to permit undivided attention to groups not reading and the latter to test for the proficiency expected by the inspector. Orally, children read in turns around the class, were assisted when difficult words

27 See K. Davies, "The Training of the Riverina Teacher", Ch. 5, Society and Education in Riverina, 1861-1891, pp. 230-94.

28 J. W. Adamson, English Education, 1789-1902, p. 215. Adamson points out that the Irish National readers were also popular in England.

29 See, for example, the story of Jehoshaphat, The Fifth Book of Lessons, (1862 ed.), p. 106, and that of Antiochus II, ibid., p. 151.
proved unpronounceable, and were given the meanings of unknown words and phrases. In this way, paragraph by paragraph, children worked their way through the readers and in so doing picked up a little history. Wilkins was satisfied. He had little time for history as a study for primary school children. In his opinion, history was "for maturer years, after some experience of the world, and when the judgment has been disciplined by severer studies".\(^{30}\)

In rejecting history, Wilkins was moved by a number of motives. Two of these were that his teachers were untrained for the task and that the children were too young or were too short a time at school.\(^{31}\) More basic than these, however, was the problem of teaching history to children of different religions in a Colony racked by sectarian animosities. In a letter to John McCredie, headmaster of the Albury Model School, he wrote:

*I know of no book which could with propriety be used in a mixed school in teaching History. The want of a suitable text book induced me to commence the compilation of one some years ago for the instruction of my pupil-teachers, but it never reached a greater length than the Norman Conquest. ... Until all sects consent to regard persecution in any shape as an evil, it is not likely that even a tolerably unanimous agreement will be arrived at regards even the facts of*

\(^{30}\) W. Wilkins, *The Principles that Underlie the Art of Teaching*, p. 35.

\(^{31}\) In 1878, "Calculus" argued that most parents set the limits for schooling at from seven to twelve years. *S.M.H.*, 6 June 1878. Even so, up to 50% of children living within a two mile radius of a school might not attend. See *VP/LA/NSW*, 1877-78, II, p. 478, 577, 580; *ibid.*, 1875, IV, 23-4. For Wilkins' defence of the omission of history, see *S.M.H.*, 14 Oct. 1872.
history.\textsuperscript{32}

By "mixed" Wilkins meant mixed in religious composition and his doubts about parental and clerical acceptance of the teaching of history to such classes were shared by A. B. Orlebar, a senior inspector of the Victorian Board of Education. In reporting upon the proposed introduction of history into the curriculum of the Victorian state school system, Orlebar was prepared to accept Ancient History but he found the sectarian bias to be read into Modern History too great to tolerate in a public school system:

English History is particularly important to our youth. Nevertheless, I have been obliged to report against its introduction into our schools as an infringement of the hours of secular instruction. I have examined many school Histories of England, and I do not know one to which either the Roman Catholic, or the Episcopal, or the Presbyterian parent would not justly object. All modern history is equally objectionable.\textsuperscript{33}

Orlebar suggested that if there was a demand for the teaching of modern history it should be taught before or after the hours of secular instruction and with the responsibility for a child using the prescribed text book devolving upon the parent.

That a sectarian complaint could have been made about the content of a text book was recognised. Such criticisms were in evidence throughout the period the Public Schools Act was in operation. For example, in 1867, the Roman


\textsuperscript{33} "Third Report of the Board of Education for the year 1864", P. P. (Vic.), 1864-65, IV, p. 43.
Catholic authorities took such exception to the books prescribed for use in Roman Catholic Certified Denominational schools by the Council of Education that a demand was made for the right of Roman Catholic schools to use only those books selected by their own authorities. In 1876, the Bible Combination sought to have the Irish National Scripture books removed from the public schools as these were seen to be tainted with Popery. The first major criticism of the system of education conducted by the Council of Education which came from a non-sectarian source was that of Dr. Charles Badham. Badham, Principal of the University of Sydney and Professor of Classics, was a vigorous and uncompromising enthusiast for educational reform. He had been appointed to his University positions following the drowning of his predecessor, Rev. Dr. John Woolley, in the wreck of the steamship London in the Bay of Biscay following a visit to England. Woolley had been a very popular figure in the Colony and his loss was

---

34 *Christian Advocate and Wesleyan Record*, 18 July 1867, pp. 50-51; *Freeman's J.*, 29 June 1867, p. 2.

35 *Protestant Standard*, 1 Ap. 1876. See also *ibid.*, 17 Feb. 1877, for its appeal to patriotism, the Bible and the throne.

36 For his views on education, see *Speeches and Lectures*, p. 159; *A.D.B.*, III, pp. 68-71; *S.M.H.*, ed., 24 Sept. 1872.

deeply regretted. Badham's arrival in the Colony on 23 April 1867 was therefore marred by the sad fate to his predecessor but his activities on behalf of education soon proved him to be a worthy successor to Woolley.

Following the successful introduction of correspondence courses which he conducted himself and other innovations such as the Junior and Senior Public Examinations of the University of Sydney, Badham began to look at the kind of education being provided by the public schools of the Colony. His major criticism centred upon the excessive emphasis on parsing and analysis. As far as he was concerned, such teaching merely made "the English Language a sort of horse on which to hang a whole shopful of technical terms". The whole process, he said, served no useful purpose:

I want my boy to know his own language; to know it, as things only can be known, by a process of thinking. The analysis of sentences, and all these curious pigeon-holes into which all the classes of each part of speech, after being duly labelled, are thrust (like galley slaves with their crimes on their backs are poked into their appropriate cells) . . . will neither teach him to speak nor to write nor to think.

---

38 Parkes was one who spoke highly of Woolley's work for the Colony. See Parkes Correspondence, Mrs. Woolley to Parkes, 13 Ap. 1866, A930, pp. 76-8.


Badham avoided bringing sectarian arguments into his criticisms of the Council of Education but he involuntarily provided the ammunition secularists were seeking to use against the Roman Catholic Church. When giving evidence before the Civil Service Committee in 1872, Badham was asked whether he thought that the education given in the public schools "was likely to train up young men who would be efficient Government clerks". 41 His reply was to lead to a decade of acrimonious debate: "No, not as at present conducted. I think in the first place that the exclusion of history as a subject of instruction in the Public schools is fatal". 42

The Sydney Morning Herald chose to devote a leading article to Badham's denunciation of the public school system and Wilkins felt constrained to reply to this through the correspondence columns of the same newspaper. 43 In his apologia, Wilkins examined one by one the defects Badham alleged existed in the public school system and endeavoured to prove to the public that Badham was incorrect or misinformed. So important did he feel the need to combat the suggestion that history ought to be included in the public school curriculum that he devoted no less than half of his letter of one and a half columns to its refutation. The chief reason he gave against teaching history was a sectarian one:

42 Ibid.
43 S.M.H., 14 Oct. 1872.
The omission to teach History is next represented as a fatal defect in the Public School system. It does not appear whether Ancient or Modern History is meant, or whether reference is made specially to the History of England. If the first mentioned be intended, the objection is not wholly correct, inasmuch as the advanced reading books in use contain a good deal of ancient history. But there are serious difficulties in the way of teaching modern history, and especially the History of England. The Denominational difficulty would arise at once, and could not, I believe, be laid by any means yet devised. A more formidable difficulty still in the colony would also be invoked - the difficulty arising from the presence of persons of different nationalities. If difficulties were felt in harmonizing the opinions of Protestants and Roman Catholics on such Sovereigns as Mary and Elizabeth, for example, quite hopeless would be the task of pronouncing upon the career and character of William III, to a mixed class of Irish Catholics and English and Irish Protestants. The unfortunate teacher would really run some risk in his attempt to give an impartial exposition of that Monarch's proceedings.44

As well as condemning the study of history for its sure arousal of sectarian issues, Wilkins gave strong supporting reasons which, together, dismissed it as "utterly barren of good results, and . . . a futile expenditure of valuable school time".45

The case made by Wilkins was clearly unanswerable. The relevance of British, Greek or Roman history to pre-adolescent children in late nineteenth century New South Wales would be hard to justify, bearing in mind the facts that the teachers were untrained, the text books were of poor quality and the children spent so little time at school. What is significant is that Wilkins' chief

44 Ibid.
45 Ibid.
concern was that to teach history was to inflame sectarianism.

Had the argument ended with Wilkins' reply, it would not have gone beyond the educational issues that were being debated. It is significant that the matter was considered to be so important as to be raised in Parliament. Wilkins' letter to the *Sydney Morning Herald* alerted David Buchanan to a disability he now saw foisted upon the Protestant majority in an attempt to appease popery. In November 1872, he moved in the House:

1. That in the opinion of this House, the exclusion of history from the subjects taught in our Public schools is a serious defect which ought to be removed without delay.

2. That the Government ought to adopt such measures as it deems necessary to introduce into all schools subsidised from the public funds of this country a system of instruction in history, particularly the History of England.

3. That the above resolutions be communicated by address to his Excellency the Governor.46

In the debate which followed, Parkes derided Buchanan's new-found anxieties. While he did not agree with the interjection of Mr. Stewart, M.L.A. for Kiama, that most written histories were romances, "he did not think he should be far wrong if he were to say that the speech they had just heard was one of the greatest romances they were likely to hear in that session".47 Arguing that not

---

46 *S.M.H.*, 8 Nov. 1872.

even historians could agree as to what were the facts of history, Parkes bluntly declared that to pass the resolution was "to destroy the schools and render them unsafe for the purpose for which they were established".48

Although the resolution was put and lost, this was not an end of the matter. In December, an erstwhile supporter of Parkes, William Forster, moved for the amendment of the Public Schools Act in reaction to Parkes' partisan approach to the Grenfell Roman Catholic school controversy. In moving for the extension and stricter enforcement of secular instruction and for the abolition of state aid to denominational schools, he referred to the "remarkable clause" which defined secular education to mean religious teaching and said "a more absurd definition could hardly be met with".49 He was equally scathing of other inconsistencies he saw in the Act and pointed to "an exemplification of one . . . that history was not taught in our Public schools at all".50 The reason for this, he said, was "the difficulty of accommodating historical instruction to any system of sectarian instruction".

Parkes had little trouble in defeating Forster's bid to amend the Public Schools Act. His decision to take the

48 Ibid.
49 S.M.H., 11 Dec. 1872.
50 Ibid.
presidency of the Council of Education in 1873, however, forced the secularists to renew their efforts to undermine Parkes' support for denominationalism. Forster complained that to have a Minister of the Crown on a nominated board such as the Council of Education was "to strike a blow at its independence". Parkes brushed off the objection but Buchanan posed a much more serious challenge. In September 1873, Buchanan moved in the Legislative Assembly:

1. That in the opinion of this House, the non-teaching of history in our Public Schools is a defect well calculated to impair the usefulness and efficiency of our system of public education.

2. That the Government should forthwith adopt means by which instruction in history shall be imparted in all schools subsidised by the State, particularly the History of England.

The motion was a restatement of the one he had introduced into the Legislative Assembly late in 1872; but in speaking to it Buchanan announced that only recently had it come to his attention that there was "a monstrous omission" in the course of instruction given in the public schools of the Colony and that was the non-teaching of history. Such an omission, he declared, had never occurred to him as, for him, instruction in history was the "basis of all knowledge". On discovering this weakness in the public school system he had, he said, taken immediate

51 *Empire*, 26 March 1873.

52 *S.M.H.*, 12 Sept. 1873.
action by withdrawing those children in whom he had an interest and had sent them to schools where the subject was taught. But what of other children? Why had history not been included in the public school curriculum? "He began to understand that here was another instance of the blighting influence of sectarianism".\(^{53}\) Merely to appease sectarian interests, an "incalculable injury" had been inflicted upon the youth of the Colony. For this,

All the grand and glorious events of English history would be kept back from them - great events which were the guide of all young children. . . . They would deprive their children of what was great in literature, in art, in arms, and commerce. Almost all literature was obscured in the mind uninstructed in history. When they reflected that such men as Gibbon, Hume, Smollett, Alison, Froude, Grote, Buckle, and Carlyle, had selected this subject for the exercise of their genius, this should inform members how great the subject was. One could not possibly appreciate the plays of Shakespeare without a good knowledge of English History. And yet they were to allow the children attending the Public schools to grow up in ignorance.

To forestall objections that an acceptable text-book was unavailable, Buchanan suggested that the Council of Education prepare and adopt an abridged History of England written to its own specifications. He also refuted the notion, spread abroad by Wilkins, that history was merely the story of gory battles and sordid human motives. History, he insisted, was not omitted because of its unsuitability as a subject for children but because

\(^{53}\) Ibid. Unless otherwise indicated, all further information on the debate comes from this source. The S.M.H. and the other journals provide the only record of debates until 1879 when the N.S.W. Parliamentary Debates were first published.
some of the Roman Catholics of this country were afraid of certain events being known, and our rulers trembled before that body because of their power in the country, and consented to this monstrous degradation.

He challenged Parkes to deny that this was so and that to appease the susceptibilities of priests even Protestant children were denied the opportunity of learning about their own heritage. The Government, he said,

had done wrong in deference to priestcraft; they had given a sop to this sect, and a sop to that, and the sop to the Roman Catholics was the exclusion of history from our schools, in order that they might not have the opposition of that body at the hustings. . . . Why was it that the Roman Catholics could not listen to the battle of the Boyne? The superstition known as Popery, Romanism, or whatever other name it might be called, became so gross and unendurable, diffusing all around it wrongs and miseries, that the priests rose up in arms against it and proclaimed it a lie. And now our children were to be kept in utter ignorance of the history of the Reformation and of Luther, because a few priests objected to it being taught.

Buchanan took the opportunity to declare his belief that while he had no objection to scriptural history being taught in the public schools, the proper place for religious instruction was the home, the Sunday School and the Church.

Parkes opposed Buchanan by arguing the uselessness of history. This allowed him to avoid the sectarian issue. History, he declared, was nothing more than "a gigantic catalogue of falsehoods". When commenting on the debate in the House, the editor of the Newcastle Chronicle seized upon this point and acknowledged that all historians were "at great pains to magnify or extenuate those acts in accordance with their own particular bias, or the feelings
of the parties to which they respectively belong". As far as Parkes was concerned, "The most eminent historians made contradictory statements and such men as Carlyle, Kingsley and Froude had declared that history consisted, for the most part, of gross misrepresentations".

While he was able to avoid defending history from charges of sectarian content, Parkes was not able to ignore sectarianism in education. Regarding this issue, he argued that as the colonial system of education was based squarely on that of the Irish National System, there was no place for subjects that did not appear in its curriculum. This, he said, was the reason for the absence of history from the New South Wales curriculum. Ireland and New South Wales were not alone in their omission of the subject from their courses of study. As Parkes pointed out, it was not taught on the Continent nor at the University of Sydney, an omission, he declared, which "had always been held to be a crowning mark of its liberality". The insurmountable problem was, he said, the impossibility of drawing up "a veracious and unobjectionable outline". Above all, the public schools were for all the children and this being so they had to be seen to be unsectarian. Over and above these objections, Parkes advised the House that

---

54 Newcastle Chronicle, 16 Sept. 1873.
55 Ibid.
56 Ibid.
Buchanan's motion was unconstitutional. The Government had no administrative power over the system of primary education since Parliament had given the entire direction of it to the Council of Education:

The government could no more interfere to prescribe any alterations in the course of secular instruction than it could interfere in any of their appointments of teachers, or any of their rules for the training of scholars.\footnote{Ibid.}

The House was not with Parkes. Memories were not short enough to erase the knowledge that Parkes himself had manipulated the Council to his own advantage, by stacking it. Admitting that a defect existed, Parkes proposed an amendment which skilfully emasculated Buchanan's motion. In what appeared to be a concession, he prevailed upon the House to agree:

That the Government should bring under the notice of the Council of Education the defect in the system of primary instruction, which is caused by the omission of the teaching of history, and obtain a report from the Council to be laid before Parliament.\footnote{Miscellaneous Council Law, Vol. 9, p. 1.}

In explanation, Parkes declared that such a procedure would permit the experts to advise Parliament why it was incompatible with the system to introduce history.

The House accepted the amendment. All that Buchanan had achieved was to alienate Parkes still further. It was not a happy position for Buchanan to be in. As a contemporary, W. H. Cooper, said in satirical verse, Parkes was a
dangerous political enemy from whom not even his friends were safe:

There was once an ogre called Parkes,
Very fond of political larks,
Who dined off his chums,
Making soup of the crumbs,
And threw their old bones to the sharks.  

When the Council of Education was asked to submit a report on the omission of history from the curriculum of the schools under its control, it turned to Wilkins for information. Despite his professed views on the subject and two additional requests from the Colonial Secretary for the desired information, Wilkins proceeded cautiously and first contacted his inspectors for their opinions. This was not a sign that the sectarian background to the request filled him with concern. He had made it part of his policy to consult his inspectors when important changes to standard practices were under discussion. On this occasion, he sought advice under four heads:

1. The nature of the subject.
2. The circumstances of the Colony.
3. The condition of the pupils.
4. The teachers and textbooks.

---

59 See his letter to the S.M.H., 14 Oct. 1872.
61 For example, his request for information on the proposed introduction of a spring vacation, C. of Ed. Miscellaneous Letters Received, 5 Aug. 1870, 1/862, p. 564; on sample time-tables for teachers of small schools, ibid., 1/853, pp. 471-72; on regulations for Provisional Schools, ibid., p. 539.
Edmund Flannery, Inspector for the Albury District, was on tour in Riverina when Wilkins' memorandum reached him but, like his colleagues, he made haste to support his leader. Flannery wrote twice on the matter. His first letter came from Deniliquin and was written in such terms that he left no doubt of his accord with Wilkins' original stand. The very extent of the subject, the social, political and religious questions arising from it were, he said, very difficult to overcome. Not the least of the problems was the history of the past three centuries which, he declared, if introduced as a subject of instruction in our Public schools would be both injurious and injudicious. In my opinion it would only serve to intensify sectarian feelings; and to weaken the large measure of confidence now reposed in the working of the Public Schools Act.62

Flannery's reference to the history of the past three centuries was no accident. He was prepared to accept a compromise and proposed that Ancient History might satisfy the demand for the subject. Ancient History, he said, was almost free from that party bias and partiality which contaminated Modern History. Indeed, he could see "no valid reason" why Ancient History should not be "laid open for perusal by the advanced classes in our primary schools" and suggested that such a course would meet "with general approval and be productive of very beneficial results".63

62 Ibid., Memo to Secretary, 22 Sept. 1873, 1/969.
63 Ibid.
On the question of the circumstances of the Colony, Flannery noted that the population comprised natives of the three kingdoms, "all more or less prejudiced against each other with regard to points on which the histories of their respective countries have some common ground". What was more, the difficulties to be faced in inducing the various religious denominations to agree as to what were the facts of history could not be overcome.

As far as the condition of the pupils was concerned, he made three points:

1. their school education was terminated at a very early age;
2. the limited time spent at school necessitated emphasis on a restricted course of study; and
3. history could not be taught systematically to children under eleven years of age.

On the final question, his views were once more in full accord with those of Wilkins:

Lastly the want of general culture as well as special training in the subject on the part of so many Teachers and the absence of suitable textbooks constitute difficulties which by themselves are doubtless removable but which serve to intensify the more formidable ones previously specified.64

Moving westwards through Riverina, Flannery reached Menindie in October 1873 and took the opportunity to add a little to his previous memorandum. After repeating most of his arguments against the inclusion of Modern History in the course of instruction for the "Advanced Classes"
in public schools, he again presented Ancient History in a most favourable light. It was, he said, "among the best and most effective means by which literary tastes and habits of thought may be fostered and promoted among the people generally". As for training for citizenship, he saw it as unequalled:

The youthful student whose mind had been judiciously directed to the pages of ancient history, and who had made himself acquainted with the narratives of primitive purity, heroic courage, and self-denying patriotism therein contained would not, after leaving school, be content to remain ignorant as to the history of later times, and he would be the better prepared to profit by its lessons.

With one notable exception, Gerald O'Byrne, the inspectorial staff echoed Flannery's sentiments. The totally inadequate time children remained at school was a point of common agreement as was "the obvious fact that the brief time at school (was) fully occupied with matters of greater primary importance". Inspector Johnson extended the utilitarian argument by suggesting that "physiology, chemistry, and the knowledge of one's self, and the common things around us" were more useful than history to school children. John McCredie, a hard, 

---

65 Ibid., Flannery to Secretary, 24 Oct. 1873.
66 Ibid.
68 Ibid., p. 417.
uncompromising man,69 sweepingly condemned the whole idea of introducing history into the public schools as "out of place". To bolster his opinions, he quoted the "able and experienced Principal of the Dick Bequest School in Edinburgh", S. S. Laurie, who had described the teaching of history as "utterly barren of good results" and "a futile expenditure of valuable time".70

Under pressure, the Council had proposed that Ince and Gilbert's Outlines of English History might be suited to colonial schools and canvassed the opinions of the inspectors on that book. It was generally held that it was not suitable. The fear of arousing sectarian animosities dominated this notion. Maynard was speaking for all except O'Byrne when he declared that "no teacher ought to be trusted (to teach history), and no textbook that shall not offend some section or class in the colony, ever will be compiled so as usefully to teach history".71

Of all the inspectors, O'Byrne alone found reasons for the inclusion of history in the curriculum. Not only did he not consider the religious obstacles insurmountable but he went so far as to assert that if

a suitable text-book could be obtained, one which besides other qualities would be remarkable for its

69 Not even his obituary could ignore McCredie's "rugged peculiarities", N.S.W. Educational Gazette, III, 1 Sept. 1893, p. 70.

70 Report on Address by Buchanan, op. cit., p. 417.

71 Ibid.
impartiality, I believe that English History might be studied in the schools without offending the religious feelings of any class.72

The book was not Ince and Gilbert's Outlines of English History. "Taking the book as a whole", he wrote, "little objection can be urged against it" but he went on to point out that the text was such that it would necessitate "explanation and amplification". It was this which aroused O'Byrne's disapproval. To involve the teacher in this way, he said, "would assuredly in many cases produce the very results, the fear of which has been the chief cause of the exclusion of history for so long a time".73

As O'Byrne saw it, the only solution to the problem of history and its probably arousal of sectarian argument was to treat the subject in the same way as religious instruction. The latter had been an optional subject since the inception of national education in 1848 and parents were used to deciding whether their children should or should not participate in it. O'Byrne felt that if English History was accorded the same status and parents signified their wishes in regard to the subject there would be little objection to its inclusion in the curriculum. Wilkins was not enamoured of the idea. With his mind firmly set against history, he had no wish to encourage any suggestions which could be construed as possible openings for the subject.

72 Ibid.
73 Ibid.
Despite its obvious bias, the Wilkins Report to the Council of Education is of considerable importance, for it presents a clear and comprehensive picture of the amount and type of history being taught in the public schools before 1880. As it was called into being following attacks upon the system of public education, Wilkins opened his report by questioning the accuracy of the charges levelled against the adequacy of the public school curriculum. Detractors, he said, had failed to examine in detail the curriculum they so easily found wanting. Far from being a forgotten subject in the schools, history received considerable attention:

In both the supplement to the 4th and in the 5th Book of Lessons, compiled under the direction of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland, and authorised for use in the primary schools - but necessarily used only in the two highest classes of our own - history is included, and it occupies in the 5th Book, for example, no less than 125 pages. Of these the first 54 are devoted to ancient history, from the Creation to the birth of Christ, the whole referring throughout to, and being compiled in connection with, the Bible narrative. The residue comprises, what is termed there, "modern history", commencing with the Christian era, and ending with the fall of Napoleon. It is less a history of the British Empire than of Europe at large; and is so meagre that the 13th and three succeeding centuries are compressed into three pages and a half. But it nevertheless, in a certain dull and chronological way, gives the outline of some of the more remarkable events affecting the Empire.  

Of more importance was the question of extending the course. Wilkins was careful to base his case on educational grounds, as he had been requested to do by Parkes.
Could more than that already being disseminated "be usefully attempted as systematic teaching in the schools from which nearly all the children are removed as in this colony they generally are, at about twelve years of age?"

He refused to concede that it was possible to provide more than was already being attempted. He maintained that the chief advantage of studying history consisted in what "an intelligent or competently reasoning mind" could make of the narrative upon reflection. Too often, he said, history was merely the rote learning of lists of names, reigns, events and from such information little comparatively would be gained; an instructor is required. The connection of cause and consequence has to be pointed out. How can this be effectively done with mere children, with boys and girls of the average degree of intellect, aged ten or twelve?75

By way of recommendation and conclusion, Wilkins declared that "it would be inexpedient to attempt to teach more history in the schools than is at present taught".76 It was an opinion with which the Council concurred. On 23 February 1874, five and a half months after the Legislative Assembly had first sought information from the Council on the omission of history from its schools, the Council finally adopted a report for transmission to the House. The report was substantially that delivered to them by their secretary, William Wilkins,77 and to him fell the

75 Ibid.
76 Ibid.
task of informing the Under-secretary for the Department Justice and Public Instruction of the Council's decision. This Department was a comparatively new creation. The appointment of the first responsible minister for Public Instruction had taken place only in 1873. The idea for such an appointment was not new. Parkes had originally suggested the office in 1866 but the Assembly had rejected his scheme. Parkes resurrected the plan in 1873 and while the Empire expressed certain reservations about it, the influential Sydney Morning Herald applauded the move. As Premier of the Colony, Parkes had little difficulty in getting the Assembly's approval for the new Department.

It must have been with some pleasure and with a feeling of self-satisfaction that, on 24 February 1874, Wilkins communicated to the Department of Justice and Public Instruction the recommendation of the Council of Education:

In compliance with the desire of the Assembly . . . and in deference to the expressed wish of the House that the omission of such teaching is a defect, the Council has earnestly deliberated on the question how far that omission can be supplied; or, to speak more accurately, how far the teaching of history which is

78 *Empire*, 13 Sept. 1866.


81 *S.M.H.*, 16 & 17 Dec. 1873.
already sanctioned in the schools can be extended - and to recommend the status quo.\textsuperscript{82}

Buchanan had been foiled by the political mastery of Parkes and by the machinations of Wilkins and his supporters; but his championship of the subject was not forgotten. In 1876, when a further campaign was under way to stimulate interest in remedying the "great and fatal defect" of the public school system, the \textit{Newcastle Chronicle} reminded its readers of the work of Buchanan and others to promote the cause of history, which, it declared, fulfils the important need to record the progress of science, of religion, of literature, and of civilisation in general. And it does, therefore, appear strange that a subject which has occupied more than any other the thoughts and abilities of our greatest authors, and which has been ranked by them as among the most important of human studies, should not only be ignored in our Public School system, but looked upon as positively dangerous to the very existence of that system.\textsuperscript{83}

The \textit{Newcastle Chronicle} had not the influence of the \textit{Sydney Morning Herald} and Wilkins chose to ignore its criticisms as one of the minor irritations of office. However, he never forgave the attempt of the politicians to interfere with his system. In his attack on his calumniators after he retired in 1883,\textsuperscript{84} he referred to the problems of an administrator of public education in New

\textsuperscript{82} VP/LA/NSW, 1873-4, V, p. 416.

\textsuperscript{83} \textit{Newcastle Chronicle}, 24 Feb. 1876.

\textsuperscript{84} See \textit{Rep. Min. Pub. Inst.}, 1884, p. 43. For his obituary, see \textit{S.M.H.}, 11 Nov. 1892.
South Wales. All too often, he declared, he had been hamstrung in his efforts to select the content of the curriculum, "not only by the intrinsic difficulties of the question itself, but still more by those created . . . from without". 85 Interference, he found, came from four different and external sources. These were the "reactionaries" who wished to restrict the expansion of the curriculum because of their ignorance of the "educative values residing therein"; 86 the "hobbyists" who exerted pressure to see their pet subject included; 87 the denominationalists whose activities were of such long standing and were so embittered that he declined to say more than that "the subject is too extensive and of too controversial a nature to admit of more than a passing reference"; 88 and finally, the politicians. It was to the last that Wilkins ascribed the inclusion of history in the public school curriculum following the passage of the Public Instruction Act in 1880. Even when faced with a fait accompli, Wilkins declined to moderate his views on the subject and reaffirmed his belief that "There is, perhaps, no other subject which is so little fitted to benefit children". 89

85 The Art of Teaching, p. 33.
86 Ibid.
87 Ibid., p. 34.
88 Ibid., p. 35.
89 Ibid.
Wilkins had a legitimate grievance regarding political interference in education, for it ran the risk of becoming a political football subjected to the whims of politicians and to their sectarianism. Both Henry Parkes and Charles Cowper when Colonial Secretary had interfered with the public school system. It was Cowper who had forced the Chairman of the Board of National Education, J. H. Plunkett, to resign by refusing to publish the regulations for the establishment of non-vested schools. Parkes' championship of denominational education had caused the whole of the Council of Education to give up the struggle.

Political and other interference with the work of education was not confined to New South Wales. Unwanted intrusions into their sphere of responsibility was the lot of all the permanent heads of public education in the colonies. Wilkins commiserated with his Tasmanian counterpart, Stephens, about the activities of the Chairman of the Tasmanian Council of Education:

I fancy he must be also an unmitigated hindrance, I was about to use a harsher word which probably your imagination will promptly supply. These amateur educationalists are everywhere intolerable bores. So long as their exertions are limited to spouting in parliament or other congenial localities, I am inclined to class them with certain insect tribes - not

---


dangerous, but sent under a wise and merciful dispensation to prevent us from being altogether happy in this sublunary sphere. But when they are ambitious for power and find an opportunity of applying their knowledge, or want of it, to some practical purpose, one longs for an extinguisher of some kind to make them suffer total eclipse.92

Not every one agreed that political interference was unwanted or that administrators of education knew what was best for children. Charles Badham strongly supported the idea of having a minister of the Crown responsible for education and he saw an essential part of his task being to interfere. He wanted to see the office filled by a Minister of State who shall govern in person when personal interference is necessary; who will be able to learn more than merely what his satellites choose to tell him; who will not be hindered by jealousy from asking the advice of thinking men and whose every act will be in the eye of the House and of the country.93

When Badham wrote these words, he was still smarting from his failure to convince Wilkins that educational reform was in the best interest of public education and that educationists like himself had a part to play. The appointment of a minister did not lead to the benefits Badham believed would naturally ensue. The critical oversight and willingness to consult with non-Council educationists and other experts did not eventuate. Far from providing a lead to the Council of Education and its force of teachers and administrators, Professor Smith,

93 C. Badham, Speeches and Lectures, p. 90.
the President of the Council and a member of the Legislative Council, believed that the appointment of a minister had been a retrograde step. He suggested that the situation was reminiscent of the days when Cowper had been Colonial Secretary, when undisguised sectarianism had prevented the advancement of public education. As Smith saw the situation in 1876,

the conduct of successive governments has made it appear that the Council is still suffering from the old feeling of hostility. Governments have vied with each other in liberal pronouncements and successive parliaments have voted handsome sums of money; but notwithstanding this, the Council has to struggle against neglect and in some instances against what appears very much like distinct opposition.94

At this time, the Council of Education was at the nadir of its fortunes. Smith was under no illusions that he and his fellow members of the Council could, as part-time administrators, cope adequately with all the complexities of an educational system expanding as rapidly as that in New South Wales.95 The Sydney Morning Herald was likewise of the opinion that the Council had had its day. It considered it "moribund",96 a belief


95 S.M.H., 11 Feb. 1876.

96 S.M.H., 1 Feb. 1876.
Premier John Robertson seemed to share. He was unwise enough to admit that he was waiting for the public to signify its desire for educational change before taking action. Despite its disapproval of the work of the Council and its support for Robertson's Public Schools Amendment Bill, the Herald saw his admission as another example of education being used as a political football, of political expediency out-weighing educational necessity. The manipulation of the educational structure for political advantage was denounced. Education, said the Herald, must not be "the sport of party or the tool of personal ambition". As for the two great manipulators, Robertson and Parkes, the Herald advised its readers that neither was credited with any passion for martyrdom. Either will forward the work of National education if it can be done consistently with the retention of office, but neither will fly in the face of the powerful Denominational vote.

Robertson and Parkes were on the horns of a dilemma for, as the Herald rightly pointed out, while neither man wished to offend the denominational vote neither did they wish "to offend hopelessly the growing power of the League". Again, the position of the denominationalists was seen as a hopeless one:

What the general drift of public opinion, insensibly formed as it is by the spirit of the age, we have no

---

97 S.M.H., 25 Feb. 1876.
98 Ibid.
99 S.M.H., 28 Feb. 1876.
manner of doubt. Denominational attainments, with their accompanying power, may to some extent, retard the inevitable movement, and majority-worshipping politicians may give them their votes in favour of prolonging the life of a dying cause. But the end is as certain as fate. . . . The internecine quarrels of the denominations themselves will suffice to bring it to ruin.¹

During the debate there was considerable confusion. Supporters of one side or the other changed sides and sometimes for reasons of personal antipathy rather than of principle. Edward Butler admitted that he was going to vote for Robertson's Education Bill because Parkes was going to vote against it.² The editor of the Sydney Morning Herald expressed his disgust at the way politicians had made their decisions to vote on the Bill. It was "bad enough to have the question complicated with sectarian jealousies; it is worse to have it still further complicated with the personal ambitions of rival politicians".³

When the vote was taken at the Second Reading, Robertson gained a narrow victory by 32 votes to 28. Parkes immediately asked leave to speak and made a statement which freed him from further obligation to support the existing system:

For ten years I have incurred a large amount of contempt and met with any amount of opposition in maintaining the present settlement of the question

¹ Ibid.
² See S.M.H., 10, 16 & 17 March 1876.
³ S.M.H., 16 March 1876.
of education, but I have now seen gentlemen who came into this House as the avowed friends of Denominational schools - (great cheering) - turn traitor - (continuous cheering) - and strike the first fatal blow at the existing schools. (Cheers.) I now am relieved from any obligation to maintain the cause they have betrayed - (laughter and cheers) - and, so far as I am concerned, I shall hold to myself the right of taking that course which the extraordinary circumstances of tonight's division may seem to direct. (Mr. Buchanan: Bravo.)

Parkes may have been speaking out of pique, for a bill which secures a majority at the Second Reading is almost certain to be passed into law. On this occasion it was not to be so. When the brief debate at the Third Reading was concluded the Speaker announced that the bill had been improperly introduced "inasmuch that no message had preceded its introduction as required by the 54th section of the Constitution Act". The bill therefore lapsed.

Political support for Denominational education was in confusion. The majority support which had seen the secularist efforts of Forster and Buchanan brushed aside was now fragmented. The Council of Education which had been the target of Roman Catholic attacks up to 1872 had proved, under the tutelage of Henry Parkes, to be a bulwark against further secularisation and Anglicisation of the schools. Resentment which was surely born of his failure to be given the Chief Justiceship had caused

4 Ibid.
5 S.M.H., 23 March 1876.
Butler to vote for its demise although he had initially argued for its continued existence in the debate.\textsuperscript{6} Parkes alone gained from the debacle. He was now free to bring in his own Public Schools Amendment Bill. All he required was an opportune moment. In December 1878, it was clear that this moment had almost arrived. Parkes and Robertson, the political enemies now political allies, joined forces to form a strong and stable government with one of its objects educational reform. Archbishop Vaughan decided to meet the challenge head on.

\textsuperscript{6} See S.M.H., 10 & 16 March 1876.
By the late 1870's, opposition to the public school system was largely confined to Roman Catholics. The Church of England had lost the will to fight. In a brief burst of activity in response to the establishment of the Public School League, a Church of England Defence Association had been set up in 1874 but it had failed to attract popular support. Archbishop Vaughan's attempt to strengthen the anti-public school movement by appealing to the "religious sects to unite and work together in defence of education" encouraged more cordial relationships between the hierarchies of the Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches but did little to bring the lower orders of the clergy and laity together. By 1877, it was clear that a majority of Anglicans was ready to abandon denominational education. The Anglican Synod adopted an education platform contrary to that of the Church of England Defence Association of which its Bishop was

1 See S.M.H., 27 Sept. 1874, for the Defence Association's Manifesto.
3 See Sydney Punch, 11 Sept. 1874, for a cartoon depicting Archbishop Vaughan and Bishop Barker working together against the interests of better education for the children of New South Wales.
In May 1879, when laying the foundation stone of the public school at Sutton Forest, Henry Parkes let it be known that the time was close at hand when a reform of the education system would be made. He forecast changes in three main areas:

1. "a closer and more active responsibility to Parliament";

2. "a fuller application of the system to the different classes requiring instruction in the country"; and

3. "a fuller improvement in the nature of the instruction given".5

It was the implications of the last and, in particular, a reference to the introduction of history, which alarmed the Roman Catholic hierarchy and which led to an exchange of letters between Archbishop Vaughan and his Bishops.6 A meeting was held at St. John's College on 27 May7 and here was drafted the Joint Pastoral letter which was to arouse furious Protestant resentment.

Patrick O'Farrell claims that it was the Joint Pastoral which provoked Henry Parkes to introduce the Public

---

4 S.M.H., 3 March 1877. For the failure of Anglican clergymen to support Anglican education, see B. Thorn, (ed.), Letters from Goulburn, pp. 17 & 79.

5 Town and Country J., 17 May 1879, p. 928. See also S.M.H., 14 May 1879.

6 See R. M. Rummery, The Significance of the Joint Pastoral Letter of 1879, for the letters which passed between Vaughan and Bishops Murray and Lanigan on the education question. See also, P. O'Farrell, op. cit., p. 146.

7 R. M. Rummery, op. cit., p. 63.
Instruction Act:

The reaction was prompt. . . . A sectarian convulsion seized New South Wales as the bishops' denunciation of public schools tapped bitter springs of vengeance. Fierce storms of controversy blew from every corner. Riding on the gales of hate and abuse that swept in on Vaughan, that audacious prelate, that intolerant and seditious priest, came Henry Parkes with the Public Instruction Act, abolishing aid to denominational education, establishing secularism.8

This reads well but the most important facts are incorrect. Parkes had announced that an Education Bill would be introduced in the next session of Parliament five weeks before the Joint Pastoral was made public.9 As for establishing secularism, that may well have been Parkes' desire but it was not achieved by the Public Instruction Act.10 What is correct is the reference to a "sectarian convulsion". Vaughan made this inevitable when he not only ordered Roman Catholic parents to forsake the public school but denounced:

This expenditure on godless education, the studding the colony with Schools which the Church knows from experience will, in course of time, fill the country with indifferentists, not to speak of absolute infidels; this use of Catholic funds - of taxes paid out of Catholic pockets - for establishing a system of Education throughout the land, which not merely Catholics cannot safely make use of, but which they firmly believe is calculated to sap the foundations of Christianity - is an act so galling to every feeling of fair-play, that we do not see how any free man, with any spirit in him,

---

8 P. O'Farrell, op. cit., p. 127.

9 S.M.H., 19 June 1879. For the Joint Pastoral, see S.M.H., 25 July 1879 or Freeman's J., 2 Aug. 1879.

10 See App. C, Rep. M.P.I., 1880, pp. 36-7, for details of the Scripture Lessons included in the "Course of School Instruction". See also Sections 7, 17 and 18 of the Public Instruction Act which refer to visits to public schools by "the clergyman or other religious teacher" for the purpose of giving religious instruction, ibid., App. A, pp. 18-19.
can allow it to pass unchallenged.11

In a personal pastoral read in Roman Catholic churches a week later, Archbishop Vaughan remarked on the violent Protestant reaction to "the calm statement of the joint pastoral".12 He had expected "the lower order of Protestants" to attempt to raise a sectarian storm but the fury of so many Protestants surprised him.13 A closer look at his own words in the Joint Pastoral would have prepared him better. No Protestant, not even one tolerant of Roman Catholicism, would accept as a "calm statement", a description of the public schools in which his children received their education as "seed-plots of immorality, infidelity, and lawlessness, being calculated to debase the standard of human excellence, and to corrupt the political, social and individual life of future citizens".14 Vaughan tried to defend his actions by saying that:

The Catholic body had got torpid and indifferent in many ways, and wanted raising up. Hence the pastorals.

11 J. T. Jefferis and Canon Smith, "Pastoral Letter of the Roman Catholic Archbishop and Bishops exercising jurisdiction in New South Wales", The Roman Catholic Church and the Education Question, p. 3. See also Freeman's J., 2 Aug. 1879. For the other pastorals on education which followed, see ibid., 9, 16, 30 Aug., 6 Sept., 4 & 18 Oct. 1879, and R. B. Vaughan, Pastorals and Speeches on Education.

12 Freeman's J., 9 Aug. 1879.

13 Vaughan Papers, Vaughan to Dr. Smith, 15 March 1880, Archives, St. Mary's Cathedral.

14 J. T. Jefferis and Canon Smith, op. cit., p. 6. See also R. B. Vaughan, op. cit.
I am glad to tell you that they produced the best possible effect, and have united the Catholic body as never before.\textsuperscript{15}

They also united the Protestant body. The Sydney Morning Herald offered the mild criticism that liberty of conscience did not give any section of the community the right to expect that its conscience should determine the policy of the State.\textsuperscript{16} Militant Protestants called mass meetings and published their replies to the Joint Pastoral.\textsuperscript{17}

Henry Parkes entered the controversy very quietly. Before issuing a statement on the Joint Pastoral, he asked the Archbishop to supply him with a copy. In complying with the request, and in response to the wave of sectarianism which was sweeping the Colony, Vaughan adopted a conciliatory approach:

All we want is fair-play; to be able to bring up our youth thorough Catholics, and on that account not to be deprived of equal assistance with Protestants for secular education. If you could do this for us, you would, indeed, leave a name to be remembered by all who love justice.\textsuperscript{18}

It was already too late for compromise. In a letter to Bishop Barker in Sydney, Mesac Thomas, Anglican Bishop of Goulburn, remarked upon the way in which Vaughan's criticisms of the public school system had aroused not only anti-Roman Catholic sentiments but had reflected upon all

\textsuperscript{15} Vaughan Papers, Vaughan to Dr. Smith, 15 March 1880.
\textsuperscript{16} S.M.H., 25 July 1879.
\textsuperscript{17} See, for example, J. T. Jefferis and Canon Smith, op. cit.
\textsuperscript{18} Parkes Correspondence, Vaughan to Parkes, 9 Aug. 1879, A929, pp. 159-60.
denominational education.\textsuperscript{19} Rev. F. B. Boyce, an Anglican priest and a strong supporter of the denominational school system, also noted the growing antipathy to calls for support for denominational education:

The more convincing the argument, the louder to drown it, was the 'No Popery' cry commonly raised by the Press generally, and those who desired Public Schools only.\textsuperscript{20}

The Protestant reaction to the Joint Pastoral so noticeable to Mesac Thomas and F. B. Boyce did not escape Henry Parkes. It would have been difficult for it to have done so. Anti-Catholics such as David Buchanan had taken the offensive against Archbishop Vaughan and his supporters and were busy denouncing the Archbishop to over-flow audiences.\textsuperscript{21} Buchanan attacked anyone he believed had "surrendered himself, body and soul, into the hands of a gang of ignorant priests".\textsuperscript{22} Not even Dr. Barker, the Anglican Bishop of Sydney was spared:

It is a matter of small moment to the advocates of secular education what course is taken by Bishop Barker. (Prolonged cheers.) His advocacy of Denominational schools . . . will not affect the views of the Church of England laymen, and if Dr. Vaughan flatters himself to this effect he is trusting to a rotten reed. . . . no Protestant worthy of the name would suffer for a second the slightest interference by bishop or archbishop with the free current of his

\textsuperscript{19} B. Thorn, \textit{op. cit.}, M. Goulburn to Barker, 6 Jan 1880, p. 60.

\textsuperscript{20} F. B. Boyce, \textit{Letters in Defence of Denominational Schools}, Introduction.

\textsuperscript{21} See "Mitre Mountebanks", D. Buchanan, \textit{An Australian Orator}, p. 61, for a description of a meeting at the Temperance Hall, Sydney.

\textsuperscript{22} Ibid., p. 63.
opinion. (Loud cheers.)

Buchanan urged opponents of Roman Catholicism and of denominational education to unite:

Let us have no foolish fears, but with boundless confidence... march on... with a free and enlightened educational policy inscribed on our banners, untrammeled by every phase of superstition and ecclesiastical chicane, and undismayed by the hollow fallacies of prating bigots, or the more dangerous devices of selfish and designing knaves. (Loud applause).

Parkes waited for the most opportune time to introduce the Public Instruction Bill. It was 5 November 1879 before he was ready. Bishop Mesac Thomas reported how well Parkes had judged the climate of public opinion:

The temper of Parliament and the Country is against Archbp Vaughan and therefore against Denominational Schools!! My most influential clergy, (who have no denominational Schools) are in favour of the Bill, e.g. Acocks and Pownall, each of whom has publicly expressed his preference for it - to my great surprise!

With most Protestant denominationalists unwilling to take a stand on the education question in face of the hysterical response to the Joint Pastoral, Archbishop Vaughan realised that he had made a tactical error in the way in which he had appealed to Roman Catholic parents to

---

23 Ibid., p. 83.
24 Ibid., p. 84.
withdraw their children from public schools. It was a blunder he was prepared to admit; but his attempts to turn the tide of public opinion were not furthered by his recourse to impassioned denunciations of the public school system. In a vitriolic speech, he likened public education to the Scavenger's Daughter, a medieval instrument of torture designed to squeeze its victims to death. This, he declared, was the purpose of the public school, "the most effective instrument invented . . . for squeezing very gradually and almost imperceptibly the Catholic faith out of a Catholic people". The savagery of his attacks prevented moderate Protestants from responding to Roman Catholic appeals for support in their campaign against the Public Instruction Bill. As sectarian issues replaced educational reform in the public debate, Parkes grew in political stature. To many people, he became the defender of Protestantism against the tyranny of Rome:

We Queenslanders are greatly indebted to Archbishop Vaughan for the explicit manner in which he stated what are the intentions of his Church in reference to education. . . . And also for the noble way in which the people of New South Wales and your government have taken up the gauntlet so recklessly thrown down. . . .

He is unquestionably, a demagogue of the most dangerous type . . . the very excess of his efforts (has united) all denominations of Protestants to resist the unceasing endeavours of the Roman Catholics to

---

26 Freeman's J., 20 Dec. 1879.
27 Ibid., 15 Nov. 1879.
28 For appeals, see ibid., 23 Aug. and 27 Sept. 1879.
gain their former ascendancy in the State.29

The question remains, why did Archbishop Vaughan instruct Roman Catholic parents to withdraw their children from public schools in such intemperate language that a violent Protestant reaction was inevitable? In the past, apologists for Archbishop Vaughan have endeavoured to absolve him from blame, insisting that it was Parkes who initiated the crisis. Cardinal Moran took the view that the sectarian controversy which racked the Colony in 1879 and 1880 was all of Parkes' doing; that it was all part of a plot to destroy the Roman Catholic Church in the Colony.30 Modern Roman Catholic historians such as Ronald Fogarty and Patrick O'Farrell no longer insist that Parkes deliberately provoked Archbishop Vaughan. Indeed, Fogarty believes that it was Parkes who was provoked and, what is more, that "It is not unreasonable to assume that he was meant to be".31 O'Farrell also agrees that it was the Roman Catholic Bishops who provoked Parkes. He suggests that Archbishop Vaughan and the Roman Catholic hierarchy decided to act while they still had some control over the educational situation.32

While there can be no doubt that the crisis was

29 Parkes Correspondence, Challinor to Parkes, 5 Dec. 1879, A923, pp. 186-87.
initiated by the Roman Catholic hierarchy, it is less
certain that it was for the reasons O'Farrell suggests:

To provoke the crisis was the only way to retain some
control over it, and to escape with honour from a
shrivelling denominational system which was, the bishops
believed, slowly eroding the faith of the people. It
was the only way to avoid complete debilitation, to
retain initiative among the Catholic people, and to
assert leadership on what the bishops regarded as a
matter of profound principle.33

O'Farrell has accepted unquestioningly the words of the
Joint Pastoral which declared that:

existing dangers to Catholic Education are steadily
increasing so as to become absolute perils to religion,
and that . . . we, the Archbishop and Bishops . . .
deemed it our duty to . . . instruct, warn, and direct
you as to your position and your duties with regard to
the education of Catholic children. The erection of
costly public schools in every direction, which is
continually going on; the steady, systematic way in which
our Denominational Schools are being weakened and
extinguished; . . . this lavish expenditure of public
money and on one section of the community, to the
exclusion of others who cannot in conscience avail
themselves of it, is . . . a species of injustice which
cannot be submitted to in silence.34

An analysis of the statistics produced annually by the
Council of Education suggests that Certified Roman Catholic
Denominational Schools were more than holding their own
in competing with public education. This is not to say that
the Denominational system itself was not in decline. That
it was only a shadow of its former self by 1879 is clearly
shown in Tables VII and VIII. Indeed, when defending him­
self from charges that he was a turn-coat, that he had
abandoned his support for denominational education, Henry

33 Ibid.
34 J. T. Jefferis and Canon Smith, op. cit., p. 3.
### TABLE VII

**THE DECLINE OF STATE-AYIDED DENOMINATIONAL EDUCATION, 1867-82.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Schools</th>
<th>% Denom. Schs to Pub.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Public</td>
<td>Prov.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>288</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>318</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>336</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>359</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>378</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>396</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>420</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>461</td>
<td>262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>503</td>
<td>279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>561</td>
<td>266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>620</td>
<td>285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>684</td>
<td>317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>872</td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>1,007</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882</td>
<td>1,208</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

35 Figures taken from Council of Education and Department of Education Annual Reports, 1867-1882. The minor "public" schools, the Provisional and Half-time schools, have not been included in the percentage analysis as they would not have been accorded Certified Denominational school status if conducted by one of the Churches.
Number of Children enrolled in the Various Schools of the Council of Education, 1867-1882.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Schools</th>
<th>$^\text{Denom.}}$</th>
<th>$\text{chn to Others}$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Public</td>
<td>Prov.</td>
<td>Half-Time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>28,434</td>
<td>733</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>34,284</td>
<td>3,113</td>
<td>593</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>37,593</td>
<td>4,788</td>
<td>1,242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>39,731</td>
<td>5,185</td>
<td>1,445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>43,494</td>
<td>5,633</td>
<td>2,267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>46,458</td>
<td>6,673</td>
<td>1,792</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>48,831</td>
<td>7,466</td>
<td>2,209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>53,811</td>
<td>8,002</td>
<td>2,462</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>58,811</td>
<td>8,786</td>
<td>2,350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>64,414</td>
<td>9,196</td>
<td>2,265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>71,794</td>
<td>8,707</td>
<td>2,213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>81,229</td>
<td>9,531</td>
<td>2,337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>88,488</td>
<td>10,046</td>
<td>2,158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>84,045</td>
<td>5,177</td>
<td>1,695</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>98,603</td>
<td>5,712</td>
<td>1,474</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882</td>
<td>110,558</td>
<td>3,909</td>
<td>1,416</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From figures supplied in the Annual Reports of the Council of Education. For the purposes of this analysis, all the children not attending a Certified Denominational school have been classed as "Others" since all followed the same non-sectarian curriculum prescribed for public schools. It should be noted that gross enrolment figures such as those supplied above are deceptive. Table X is provided to indicate the trend away from denominational education. In 1881, the Department of Education checked on multiple enrolments and discovered that approximately 17-1/2% had to be deducted from gross enrolment figures to obtain a reasonable estimate of the number of children attending school. See Annual Report, M.P.I., 1881, p. 5.
Parkes declared that his support had been based on the expectation that denominational schools would gradually disappear as they were replaced by public schools. However, the figures do not tell the whole story. A reduction in the number of schools did not mean a loss of influence by the churches. The conversion of the smaller denominational schools to public or provisional school status in many cases meant a change in name only. The teacher and the local committee remained the same, with the exception that the minister or priest was not permitted to become a member of a public school board. Their influence not only remained but that of the Roman Catholic clergy gave cause for concern to anti-Catholics. In 1874, in the Legislative Assembly, Joseph Wearne declared that most of the provisional schools in the Colony were supported for the benefit of the Roman Catholic Church. The editor of the *Sydney Morning Herald* investigated the charge and concluded that:

"every one of the schools numbered in these returns are [

---

37 S.M.H., 19 Feb. 1880.


40 See S.M.H., 19 June 1874.
Roman Catholic Denominational Schools . . . the schools are managed as Certified Roman Catholic schools rather than as Public Schools. . . . The teacher of the Bungonia school admits, in her letter to the Secretary, that she sometimes 'inadvertently' taught the Roman Catholic children the catechism during school hours, but denied that she has in any way interfered with the religion of the other children.41

Parkes, still the leading defender of denominational education, tried to dismiss the charge; but the Herald thought that he was deluded if he believed that "these sectarian bush seminaries" were "paving the way for the establishment of Public schools".42 The Council of Education was forced to admit that "in some instances it has been found that these schools were regarded by their supporters as virtually Denominational".43 The outcry which followed this announcement and Buchanan's abortive education bill of 1876 which sought to deprive provisional as well as denominational schools of state aid44 forced the Council of Education to tighten its supervision of provisional schools.45

As for the claim that the "shrivelling denominational system" was "slowly eroding the faith of the people", Tables IX and X show that not only did Roman Catholic

---

41 Ibid. See also School Files, Mohonga, 27 June 1877, p box 1713.

42 S.M.H., 19 June 1874. See also S.M.H., 7 July 1874.

43 S.M.H., 11 June 1878.

44 S.M.H., 14 Feb. 1876. See also S.M.H., 16 Jan. 1876.

Protestant and Roman Catholic Certified Denominational Schools compared, 1867-1882.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of Schools*</th>
<th>% of Certified Denom. Schs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The figures include those for schools which were open for part of the year only.

46 Figures and percentages compiled from the statistics presented in the Annual Reports of the Council of Education (1867-1879) and Department of Public Instruction (1880-1882).
### TABLE X

Enrolment at Certified Denominational Schools 1867-1882.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>C.of E.</th>
<th>R. C.</th>
<th>Pres.</th>
<th>Wes.</th>
<th>Hebrew</th>
<th>Roman Catholic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>13,427</td>
<td>10,346</td>
<td>2,184</td>
<td>1,506</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>37.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>12,436</td>
<td>9,827</td>
<td>1,537</td>
<td>1,324</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>38.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>12,405</td>
<td>10,156</td>
<td>1,852</td>
<td>1,397</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>39.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>12,111</td>
<td>9,755</td>
<td>1,860</td>
<td>1,474</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>38.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>11,383</td>
<td>9,447</td>
<td>1,772</td>
<td>1,254</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>39.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>10,946</td>
<td>8,874</td>
<td>1,436</td>
<td>1,074</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>39.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>11,508</td>
<td>9,828</td>
<td>1,403</td>
<td>1,115</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>40.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>11,966</td>
<td>10,187</td>
<td>773</td>
<td>969</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>42.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>11,755</td>
<td>9,839</td>
<td>730</td>
<td>1,051</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>41.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>11,313</td>
<td>10,018</td>
<td>695</td>
<td>1,130</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>43.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>11,067</td>
<td>10,083</td>
<td>724</td>
<td>1,110</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>43.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>10,886</td>
<td>10,723</td>
<td>501</td>
<td>924</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>46.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>10,050</td>
<td>11,341</td>
<td>414</td>
<td>807</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>49.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>9,892</td>
<td>11,664</td>
<td>418</td>
<td>898</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>50.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>10,981</td>
<td>12,200</td>
<td>417</td>
<td>580</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>50.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882</td>
<td>7,875</td>
<td>11,545</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>510</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>57.28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

47 Figures and percentage compiled from the statistics presented in the Annual Reports of the Council of Education (1867-1879) and Department of Public Instruction (1880-1882).
Certified Denominational Schools receive strong support and become the major provider of denominational education before 1879 but that the number of children availing themselves of Roman Catholic education increased by almost 10% between 1867 and 1879.

It appears that the crisis was precipitated not because Certified Roman Catholic Denominational schools were dwindling in number or that the faith of the Roman Catholic people was being slowly eroded but because the Roman Catholic Bishops wanted an issue on which to unite their people before a Bill was introduced into the New South Wales Parliament for a reform of education along the lines of the 1872 Victorian Education Act. As Fogarty has said:

They could, of course, put off making a decision - and be caught unprepared as Goold had been in Victoria (by the suddenness of the 1872 Act) or they could anticipate the seemingly inevitable break and rouse their people before parliament made the next move. The situation was critical and left them on the horns of a dilemma: they could choose which horn they pleased and hang or impale themselves on it as they liked. They chose the second: The Joint Pastoral of 1879 was the result.  

Within a week of the publication of the Joint Pastoral, Roman Catholic parents were already acting upon Vaughan's "practical recommendations" and, in particular, on the fourth:

Let those who are so unhappy as to be sending their children at the present moment to public schools, withdraw them as soon as possible. Let them examine their children's religious instincts and moral condition: and if, as is to be expected, they find faith and morals weakened, . . . let them, with great anxiety, do all

---

they can to redeem the time and to remedy the evil.\(^{49}\) The *Sydney Morning Herald* reported that 228 of the 1,151 Roman Catholic children attending the larger public schools of Sydney had already left.\(^{50}\) The speed with which such a large number of Roman Catholics responded to the instruction of their Archbishop alarmed Parkes and he endeavoured to keep in touch with the number of children being withdrawn.\(^{51}\) He tried to minimise the effects of the Pastorals by encouraging the belief that the majority of Roman Catholic parents was satisfied with the education provided by the State. It was alleged that over 31\% of parents signing petitions in favour of the Public Instruction Bill were Roman Catholics.\(^{52}\) Militant Protestants argued that where Roman Catholic parents had withdrawn their children from the public schools evidence could be found of abuse of priestly power through threats of refusal of the sacraments to parents who refused to comply.\(^{53}\)

Parkes revelled in the situation. The *Presbyterian*

---


50 *S.M.H.*, 29 July 1879.

51 Parkes Correspondence, Miller to Parkes, 20 Nov. 1879, A926, p. 85.

52 *S.M.H.*, 16 Aug. 1879.

53 See Protestant Standard, 13 Nov. 1880; Weekly Advocate, 2 Aug. 1879. For the case of Richard Kenna who was allegedly denied the last rites of the Church because he had declined to remove his children from non-Catholic schools, see Protestant Standard, 28 June, 12 & 19 July 1879; *Freeman's J.*, 26 June 1879.
proclaimed him "a sympathiser with . . . evangelical Protestantism". 54 The Sydney Morning Herald blamed the Roman Catholic hierarchy for precipitating the crisis:

Our public educational policy has pursued, although slowly, a natural course. It has been the gradual transfer of the management of education from the Church to the State . . . . This was quite in accord with the temper of the times and the current philosophy of that generation.

. . . . Events were precipitated by the action of the Catholic hierarchy. Sooner or later the end must have been reached, but they decided that it should be sooner. The course of events could not be turned aside, nor could the public be made to go back on its convictions. 55

This was the line Parkes himself followed. He argued that he had been a firm supporter of the Public Schools Act and of its concessions to denominational education until "some of the denominationalists themselves turned round on it, and one audacious prelate denounced the Public schools as seedplots of infidelity, lawlessness, and crime". 56 He agreed that his intention was to introduce an education bill into Parliament but that:

He had no hesitancy in saying that this bill would not have been exactly as it was, if he had not seen that there was a disposition to establish a clerical dominancy which would have been dangerous to the country. 57

54 Presbyterian, 28 Aug. 1880. For Presbyterian and other Nonconformist support for the bill, see VP/LA/NSW, 1879-80, III, pp. 391-461.

55 S.M.H., 28 Nov. 1879.

56 S.M.H., 19 Feb. 1880. See also NSWPD, 1879-80, II, 18 Feb. 1880, p. 1209.

John McElhone also blamed Archbishop Vaughan for creating the crisis in education. He believed that it would never have occurred if the Archbishop had spoken on the education question in the same moderate language as Anglican Bishop Barker:

The conduct of Archbishop Vaughan had done more than anything else to injure the cause of denominational education. The Archbishop was the cause, and the sole cause, of the denominationalists losing their schools. . . . But was it not harsh to punish a large majority of the people because the Roman Catholic Archbishop had made this outcry against the system?58

Archbishop Vaughan protested that the Roman Catholic Bishops had been forced to take a stand because of the Government's inflexible and harsh interpretation of the Public Schools Act.59 Most Protestants refused to listen. Those that did attempt to support a continuation of state aid for denominational education received a poor hearing. Anglican Rev. Joseph Barrier declared that this "was simply because some were frightened out of their wits by the Roman Catholic pastorals".60

From Parkes' point of view the passage of the Bill through Parliament was a huge success: "If there ever was a Bill passing through Parliament with the consent of the people, this Bill is passing through Parliament with their

60 S.M.H., 17 Feb. 1880.
consent". Popular approval was demonstrated by numerous petitions, public meetings and letters to the press. Parliament responded and, at the end of the important Second Reading, voted for the Bill by forty-two votes to six. To O'Connor, the Premier had succeeded in his threat "to introduce a measure to cripple a section of the community".

With the education question settled for the time being, Archbishop Vaughan was prepared to admit that he had engineered the crisis:

Our schools were not, in fact, in our hands and the children could not be brought under those influences which, more than anything else, go to form the Christian teaching of the young. The Bishops after deliberation determined to bring things to a crisis - to cause the Government to do away with their abominable system, though it should be at the price of our share of state aid.

It was the bringing of Roman Catholic children under the unrestrained influence of their Church which caused most concern to thinking Protestants such as Samuel Charles and F. B. Boyce. Writing to the Australian Churchman under the pen-name ROCK, Boyce deplored the enthusiasm with which the Protestant Standard had greeted the passage of the

---


63 Ibid., 18 Feb. 1880, p. 1211.


65 See his comments NSWPD, 1879-80, II, p. 1212.
Public Instruction Bill through Parliament. He pointed out that what had happened was not a blow to Catholicism but to the Church of England. Nearly all of its schools, he said, would have to be closed. More importantly, the aim of liberating Roman Catholic children from priestly influences would be frustrated:

The Roman Catholic children will be more than ever kept under priestly control, and daily taught the dogmas of their church. . . . There will be no inconvenient interference by the Council with its books and inspectors; and under the Monks and Nuns, the children will breathe the thoroughly Catholic atmosphere advocated by the Pastoral. Dr. Vaughan has not gained 'payment by results', but he will give the children the education he wishes.66

Boyce had a greater sensitivity to the value of martyrdom to Roman Catholicism than many of his fellow Protestants. While they rejoiced at the victory the Public Instruction Act appeared to have won for them, he warned that:

The sense of injustice combined with the necessity will make (Vaughan's) people exert themselves and turn an apparent defeat into a marvellous victory, and which also will materially help to permanently strengthen the papal church throughout this colony.67

Vaughan had no doubt that he could solve the educational problems of the Roman Catholic community and "in a way that


67 F. B. Boyce, op. cit., p. 45.
will astonish them". For the other side, the Public Instruction Act was only the beginning. It had to be translated into a workable system of public education.

CHAPTER IX

1880-1883: PARKES AND THE INADEQUACIES OF THE PUBLIC INSTRUCTION ACT

Parkes had reason to be pleased with the overwhelming support for the Public Instruction Act. He had demonstrated his usual political acumen with complete success. Although Archbishop Vaughan had made it easy for Protestants to come together in support of a bill which had as its main-spring the withdrawal of financial aid to Roman Catholic schools, Parkes still had to satisfy both secularists and Protestant denominationalists who had different expectations of educational reform. In his framing of the bill, he offered concessions to both. Neither was satisfied but each believed that gains had been made. In actual fact, although the House cheered when it received the news that the Governor had given his assent to the Act, Parkes had given little to either side.

The secularists had campaigned for national, secular, compulsory and free education; and for the introduction of history into the primary school curriculum. Only the first was really achieved with the passage of the Act. As the Sydney Morning Herald put it, the Act was "the crowning of an edifice which had been in course of erection for more than thirty years. . . . The State is now committed

---

1 S.M.H., 17 Ap. 1880.
to the task of providing instruction for the whole people". It was not committed to the task of providing only secular education. As he had done in the Public Schools Act, Parkes made provision for the teaching of general religious instruction by the class teachers by holding that secular instruction was "to include general religious teaching as distinguished from dogmatical or polemical theology". One hour of each school day was also to be devoted to special religious instruction by the clergy or their nominees. The hour was to be fixed by mutual agreement between the clergy and the teacher. Any classroom of any public school could be taken for "such religious instruction by like agreement". The only proviso referred to the non-attendance of the clergyman or religious teacher and in such a case the period was to be used for secular instruction. It was this clause of the Act which James Greenwood condemned as "the biggest sham in the Bill. Hypocrisy was written into every line of it". Without it Parkes would have alienated many of his denominationalist supporters. They were motivated primarily by a desire to hurt the Roman Catholic Church.

---

4 Ibid., Sec. 17, p. 19.
5 NSWPD, 1879-80, I, p. 1099.
If this could be accomplished without depriving Protestant children of religious instruction by the clergy during school hours, they were prepared to accept an end to state aid for denominational education.

Compulsory education was an equally thorny problem. Once again Parkes endeavoured to steer a middle course. During the debate, Michael Fitzpatrick called compulsion a "tyranny" and saw it as a threat to the rights of a parent to educate his children as he saw fit. To support his charge, he quoted Robert Lowe's words on the subject in 1844: "Such a measure is hostile to the liberty of the subject, and would infallibly rouse a spirit of determined opposition". Not all the members agreed with him. John Dillon believed that an educated population would provide "the better security of life, liberty and property". Thomas Hungerford preferred to argue on the ground that education would enable the voter to understand political issues rather than be swayed by emotionalism and so be able to "exercise his franchise rightly". It was this argument about the "national good" which prevailed. Even so Parkes wrote escape clauses into the Act

---

6 Ibid., p. 330. See also VP/LC/NSW, 1844, II, p. 453. Fitzpatrick was the member for Yass Plains.

7 NSWPD, 1879-80, I, p. 362. Dillon was the member for Tenterfield.

8 Ibid. Hungerford was the member for Northumberland.

9 Barton, ibid., V, pp. 211-12, 19 July 1881. See also Parkes, ibid., LXV, p. 6717, 4 May 1893.
which prevented too stern an attitude being taken against parents who wanted their children to "help to earn the bread of the household". In particular, the certificate of competency mentioned in Section 35 of the Act was awarded too easily. Up to 1893 there was no compulsory examination and the standard was set "so low that as a literacy test it (was) of no value". In May 1891 a deputation from the Trades and Labour Council urged the more effective administration of the compulsory clauses, particularly with regard to the employment of children under fourteen years of age. The Department of Public Instruction found itself incapable of dealing with the situation and suggested that the compulsory clauses be made more stringent in the following directions:

1. Provision to deal effectively with children found idling about the streets during school hours, who are evading the law.

2. Authority to ascertain conclusively the total number of children in the Colony of statutory age.

---

10 Ibid., XVIII, Stewart, p. 706, 10 Feb. 1886. See also 'A Parent', "The Public Instruction Act and Its Working", Sydney Quarterly Magazine, March 1886, p. 418. For criticisms of the Public Instruction Act and the failure of the compulsory clauses, see K. Davies, Society and Education in Riverina, 1861-1891, Chapter X.

11 Public Instruction Act, op. cit., p. 21.


13 Report M.P.I., 1891, p. 16.

14 The statutory age was six to fourteen years ("unless just cause of exemption can be shown"). Public Instruction Act, op. cit., Sect. 20, p. 19.
3. Placing the onus of proof of age and of the fulfilment of minimum attendance on the parents or guardians.

4. The power to compel teachers of private schools to furnish accurate returns of enrolment and attendance.

5. The inclusion of a clause making it penal to employ children of school age, unless educated up to standard requirements.15

The Government ignored the call to amend the Act and all that the Department could do was to abandon the practice of dealing with all first offence cases by the issue of a caution and to prosecute or caution according to the circumstances of each case.16 Attendance did not rise.

In 1905 the Minister reported that for that year the attendance was "nearly" 73 per cent, which, he said was "a very slight advance on previous years".17 The reason for the poor attendance lay in the fact that the "compulsory clause of our Education Act is only partially operative, and until it is amended, irregularity in attendance and truancy cannot be effectively checked".18 In pandering to the wishes of those parents who preferred to see their children in employment rather than at school, Parkes had created a situation which thirty-five years later posed a

---

15 Report M.P.I., 1891, p. 16.
16 Ibid., p. 17.
17 Ibid., 1905, p. 47.
18 Ibid. For failures to amend the compulsory clauses, see NSW Educ'1 Gazette. xi, 8, 1 Jan. 1902, p. 171; NSWPD, (ii), 22, p. 2; ibid., 33, p. 3.
problem only the amendment of the Public Instruction Act could solve. This was not achieved until 1916 when Act No. 51 was passed: "An Act to amend the Public Instruction Act of 1880; to provide for certificates of efficiency to certain schools; to enforce the attendance of children at schools; and to deal with truancy".  

Free education was also difficult to introduce. During the debate on the Public Instruction Bill, the introduction of free education had been opposed on the ground that it would pauperise the recipients. Parkes had agreed with this view. Despite the clamour of the Public School League and its supporters in the House, Parkes stood by his belief that to provide free education would be seen as charity and would destroy the very basis upon which public education had been founded; to provide "education for all the children of all classes". He also had another and more pragmatic reason. As he explained to the House, by foregoing the fee of three pence a week for each child, to a maximum of one shilling for a family, the state would effectively lose the means of building twenty additional schools each year, schools

---

19 The Statutes of N.S.W., 1916, p. 60.
20 NSWPD, 1879-80, p. 508.
21 Ibid., pp. 153-57.
23 Public Instruction Act, op. cit., Sect. 11, p. 18.
which would accommodate 2,300 children. The financial argument against free education was a very powerful one and one which was raised whenever bills were initiated for the abolition of school fees. To counter it required an even more compelling issue and this was found in 1906 when education became the centre of a sectarian controversy.

Even before 1906, free education was a sectarian question. The emergence of the Labour Party in the 1890's, although distrusted by the Roman Catholic hierarchy for the pronouncements of some of its more doctrinaire socialist leaders, attracted many Roman Catholic supporters. Cardinal Moran was inclined to dismiss the new Party as of little consequence:

A new political party representing the labouring classes has secured the return of several members. I don't think there was ever so many Catholics returned, but in the balance of political parties, they can do little that may improve the condition of our schools. In everything else all that we want is that they will leave us alone.

The doubts of Moran on the benefits to the Church of membership of the Labour Party by Roman Catholics undoubtedly dissuaded some from joining and could account for the

---

24 _NSWPD_, 1879-80, I, p. 1052.

25 For example, S.M.H., 30 May 1901; Evening News, 11 Sept. 1902; _NSWPD_, ii, VII, p. 2877 (Eden) and p. 2882 (Griffith). For attempts to abolish school fees, see ibid., i, V, p. 182 and VIII, p. 224 (Teece); LII, p. xix and LIII, p. 1245, LIX, p. 878 (Melville); LXXIX, p. xvi and p. 853, LXXXIX, p. 3048, XCI, p. 4792, CVII, p. 5100 and p. 5135 (Griffith).

26 See P. Ford, _Cardinal Moran and the A.L.P._

apparent reluctance of E. W. O'Sullivan to join the party. 28

Although Moran refused to recognise the Labour Party as the party of the Roman Catholic community, 29 many members were Roman Catholics. The Labour Party showed by its actions that it was not unsympathetic with Roman Catholic aspirations. When the Cardinal gave a lecture on the Papal Encyclical on labour nearly every member of the New South Wales Parliamentary Party was present. 30 More than this, despite the fact that one of the planks of its platform was "Free, compulsory and technical education as well as elementary, to be extended to all alike", 31 the Labour Party did nothing to force it through Parliament even when it held the balance of power and was demanding concessions for support. It left the question of free education to individuals. 32 In 1905, Cardinal

28 O'Sullivan was to become a Cabinet Minister. As an editor of the Freeman's J., he was very close to the attitudes adopted by his Church. See B. Mansfield, Australian Democrat: The Career of Edward O'Sullivan, 1845-1910.

29 Even in 1902 he was still insisting on political neutrality, P. O'Farrell, op. cit., p. 188.

30 "1891 - An Eventful Year", Illustrated Biographical Sketches from the Catholic Home Annual, 1892, p. 32.

31 Trades and Labour Council, Parliamentary Committee Minutes, 27 Oct. 1890.

32 The principal spokesman was Arthur Hill Griffith, member for Waratah and, from 1904, for Sturt. For his parliamentary career, see NSW Parliamentary Record, I, 1824-1956, pp. 141-42. In 1902, his motion on the abolition of school fees led to a full scale debate at the Second Reading. It was defeated when it was announced that the Minister of Public Instruction intended to bring in a
Moran's policy of preserving neutrality in politics came to an end. Despite his aversion to socialism and the fear that if they had their way some extremists in the Labour Party would destroy the Roman Catholic school system, Cardinal Moran sanctioned Roman Catholic support for the Labour Party.

When the question of free education for primary public school children was raised in 1906, it was seen as a sectarian attempt to punish the Roman Catholic Church for being too successful in attracting children to its schools. The Catholic Press accused the Carruthers Government of suddenly introducing free education in order to stop "the exodus from public schools and offer a demoralizing bait to Catholic parents". The Labour Party escaped censure. The Catholic Press declared that the measure had been inspired by the Orange Lodge which, it said, had many members in the Liberal Cabinet. Orangeman Dill Macky gave credence to the belief that the bill of a similar character in the next session. (Edden, NSWPD, ii, VII, p. 2925). Griffith's response that "That is the yarn we are always told to block this bill" carried no weight. Ibid., p. 2925.

34 P. O'Farrell, op. cit., p. 189.
35 Catholic Press, 2 Aug. 1906.
36 Ibid.
37 Ibid., 27 Sept. 1906.
cabinet was "Orange Lodge ridden" when he was quoted as saying that not only was free education good by reason of the extra opportunities afforded the children of poor parents but that it was "one of the greatest blows the Church of Rome ever got in this country". The fire of the free education debate was insignificant in comparison to that which surrounded the introduction of history into the public school curriculum. Although provision had been made for the teaching of history in the Public Instruction Act, nothing was done to implement the relevant section. Partly responsible for this was Minister for Justice and Public Instruction Sir John Robertson. The Wagga Wagga Advertiser accused him of disinterest in education:

We do not wish to cast any reflection upon the capacity of the present Minister of Public Instruction if he had the will, but we must confess to the belief that . . . Sir John Robertson did not appear to have his heart in the work of the department over which he presides.

The failure to introduce immediately the teaching of history was not entirely Robertson's fault. It was not merely a question of disinterest or a lack of personal drive. To a very large extent, the working of the Public Instruction Act was in the hands of his senior administra-

38 Ibid.
39 Ibid.
40 Public Instruction Act, op. cit., Sec. 7, p. 18.
41 Wagga Wagga Advertiser, 25 Nov. 1880.
tive officers in the Department of Public Instruction and these, led by William Wilkins who was now Permanent Under-Secretary, continued to regard the teaching of history as quite unsuited to the needs of primary school pupils. Such opposition could have been swiftly overcome by a determined Minister if he had wished it; but Robertson was not moved to action on behalf of history. A far more pressing problem for him and for his department was the provision of teachers and of schools for the many children impelled into the education system for the first time by compulsory education.

To provide for ease of transition from Council of Education to Department of Public Instruction and to provide some continuity during the change-over period, most of the Council's Regulations were reaffirmed, including those governing the curriculum. This permitted Wilkins to by-pass Clause 7 of the Public Instruction Act by delaying the revision of the Standards of Proficiency which had governed the amount and content of the various courses taught to public school children since 1867. However, he could only hope to postpone the introduction of history. The supporters of his view within Parliament

42 W. Wilkins, The Art of Teaching, p. 35.

43 For an account of the emergency schemes to train teachers and to provide temporary accommodation which included the use of tents, see K. Davies, op. cit., Chs. 5 and 14.
had neither the numbers to amend Clause 7 and thus secure
the deletion of the reference to history from the clause
nor to defer its introduction when the call came. The
support for the subject was overwhelming. It was
obtained, in Wilkins' opinion, only when the power and
caprice of the pro-history pressure group had sapped the
will of politicians. 44 At the committee stage of the Bill,
Archibald Jacob, M.L.A. for the Lower Hunter, found so
little support for his motion to have the words referring
to history struck from the clause that it was rejected
without a division. The clause was agreed to by thirty-
three votes to six. 45 Professor John Smith was likewise
unsuccessful in the Legislative Council in persuading his
colleagues to oppose the introduction of history into the
public schools. His arguments were that history was quite
unsuited as a study for the young, that it led to contro-
versy between Roman Catholics and Protestants and, further,
that the public schools catered mainly for working class
children who "had to be prepared to go into the world in
order to earn their own living (and that for them) a
knowledge of history was about the least important thing

45 T. Richards, An Epitome of the Official History of
N.S.W., p. 600.
(they) could have". Wilkins supported the view that working class children should be given the best possible education within the restrictions imposed upon him of inadequate finance, limited school supplies, poor accommodation and poorly trained teachers. The addition of history to the curriculum was seen as imposing additional and intolerable strains upon an already overloaded school system. Yet he could not deny the expressed wish of Parliament. He could only procrastinate. In May 1881, his executive officer, Chief Inspector Edwin Johnson, circularised the inspectors of schools requesting information on the alterations to the course of study which they considered essential. In July, Johnson submitted his report to Wilkins; but nothing came of it. It required the prompting of David Buchanan and ministerial direction to produce a history syllabus.

On 30 January 1883, Buchanan reopened the campaign to have history taught in the public schools of New South Wales. He moved:

That in the opinion of this House the Government should carry into effect, without delay, the law in reference

---

46 NSWPD, 17 March 1880, II, p. 1568. See also ibid., 11 March 1880, pp. 1471–72; S.M.H., 18 March 1880. Smith admitted that he was "only echoing the opinions of high class educationists", NSWPD, II, p. 1568.

47 Chief Inspector's Files, 1880–1903, Circular, C.I. Johnson to Inspectors, 19 May 1881, P 3844.

48 Ibid., 2 July 1881.
to public education by introducing into all our public schools the teaching of a system of history, particularly the history of England.49

He recounted the history of his struggle to have the subject included in the public school curriculum and the strong opposition he had met from "some miserable, wretched sectarianism". The "miserable, meagre result" of his victory, he said, was to be found in the seventh clause of the Public Instruction Act of 1880. Even so there was still no such thing as history taught in the public schools.

Warming to his subject he blamed clerical interference for the omission50 and, without naming the Roman Catholic Church, made it clear which church was behind the opposition:

I do not believe that there ever was a more sublime spectacle in this world - since the spectacle of that tragedy on Mount Calvary - than the spectacle of Martin Luther standing before the Diet of Worms, standing solely upon his Bible and defying the whole power of Rome single-handed. . . . It is worth knowing; and it is also worth knowing that John Huss was burnt at the stake, and to reflect that the same power that burnt John Huss dare not now take the most obscure and humble of men and put him to death at the stake for his opinions.51

He left no doubt that his interest in history sprang from his sectarianism. He wanted the story of the Reformation known to every child.52

49 NSWPD, VIII, p. 151. See also S.M.H. 31 Jan. 1883.
50 NSWPD, VIII, p. 151.
51 Ibid., p. 152-53.
52 Ibid., p. 153.
For the Government, A. G. Taylor described the motion as "both frivolous and superfluous" as the House had already decided in favour of teaching history in the public schools. He called the motion "a piece of dictatorial impertinence" and described Buchanan as a "political Vicar of Bray". As far as he was concerned, Buchanan had been put forward "as a mere plastic instrument in the hands of more powerful opponents to embarrass the Government". With the Government concentrating upon settling the land question, it had not had time, said Taylor, to make mature provision for history. Apart from that, he was opposed to the teaching of history in the public schools. He reiterated the arguments of no fit textbooks and of history being a record "of infamy and of the most abominable tyranny" scarcely calculated to enlighten the children of the Colony:

You will find that kings claim to be the emissaries of heaven, but that their conduct proclaims them to be little more than the plenipotentiaries of hell! . . . that the history of some kings is nothing but the history of common adulterers, that royal blood has trickled through harlotry, that queens have been adulteresses, . . . As for the career of Henry VIII, or Bluff King Hal, as it is the fashion to call him, . . . is that intended to convey the lesson that our girls are to be chaste before marriage?

---

53 Ibid., p. 154.
54 Ibid.
55 Ibid.
56 Ibid., p. 155.
57 Ibid.
Since there was "not a history written which is not pregnant with bigotry, with religious intolerance", he moved an amendment to "suspend the adoption of historical instruction in the public schools of the colony until the publication of an impartial and lucidly-written history of England". 58

Neither the motion nor the amendment came to the vote. Minister G. H. Reid informed the House that it was the intention of the Government to carry into effect the provisions of the Act with reference to the teaching of history with the least possible delay. 59 He rejected Buchanan's view of history, saying that if Buchanan had his way the history taught in the public schools would "be like that comprised in Foxe's history of the British martyrs". Buchanan was not intimidated by this reference to his extreme Protestantism. In his speech accepting the Minister's assurance that history would be introduced into the primary school curriculum, he could not resist referring to the Reformation again. He reminded the House that the controversial points of history were the great questions of history:

To think . . . of excluding from the history of the world such a majestic figure as Luther would be about as preposterous as to exclude the Prince of Denmark from the play "Hamlet". All the great reforms, all the spendid advantages to humanity, have been gained

58 Ibid., p. 156.

59 Ibid.
by that one man's effort and sacrifice.  

The retirement of William Wilkins at the end of 1883 because of ill-health removed one of the obstacles to a quick implementation of Reid's promise to find suitable textbooks on which to base courses in English and Australian history. Wilkins left the Department of Public Instruction with the praises of his Minister ringing in his ears and to an allowance awarded by a grateful Legislature. His going made the introduction of history easier. As late as 1886, he continued to insist that there was no other subject so little fitted to benefit children. His successor, Edwin Johnson, was prepared to see the subject made part of the curriculum for public school children. He had been involved in an abortive attempt to produce a history syllabus in 1881-82 when he was Chief Inspector. On this occasion, Minister for Public Instruction F. B. Suttor decided to delay its introduction until a general revision of the Standards of

60 Ibid., p. 157.
61 See Rep. M.P.I., 1884, p. 43. See also obituary, S.M.H., 11 Nov. 1892.
62 NSWPD, VIII, p. 156.
64 Obituary, NSW Educational Gazette, II, No. 7, 1 Dec. 1892. For an account of his career, see ibid., No.8, 1 Jan. 1893, pp. 146-48.
65 W. Wilkins, The Art of Teaching, p. 35.
66 See Chief Inspector's Files, Circular to Inspectors, 19 May 1881, P3848.
Proficiency had been made. 67

In 1884, an acceptable revision of the Standards of Proficiency was finally made 68 and for the first time history was included. The prescribed texts were Nelson's History of England for Junior Classes and The History of Australia by A. and G. Sutherland. Children began their study of history in Third Class. The class system upon which the Standards operated was unlike the system which operates in the twentieth century as a school class could not always be completed in one calendar year. The work set down for some classes in the original Standards of 1867 took four half-years to complete. 69 After the 1884 Revision, the Standards framed for First, Second and Third Class took three half-years. 70 This meant that at about the age of eleven years a child would enter Third Class and begin his study of history. In this class, he was expected to read the first 122 pages of the History of England for Junior Classes and the first three chapters of the History of Australia. In Fourth Class, a further 110 pages of English History was to be read and

67 Ibid., 3 March 1882. See also NSWPD, VIII, Reid, p. 156.

68 For the collapse of the 1883 attempt to introduce a Revised Standard because of the neglect of Scripture in the new Standard, see NSWPD, XI, Abigail, p. 2419; S.M.H., 20 & 28 June 1884; Evening News, 28 June 1884; Chief Inspector's Files, Abigail to Abbott, 5 May 1884, P3848; ibid., Chief Inspector to Under-Secretary, 12 Sept. 1884.

69 VP/LA/NSW, 1867, IV, pp. 193-94.

Chapters 4 to 10 of the textbook on Australian history. This completed the course based on the prescribed texts. In the Fifth and final class, the children were prepared for the Junior and Senior Public Examinations of the University of Sydney. Most children only did a fraction of the course in history. The Standards were so contrived that after completing one year in the Third Class a child could gain an exemption certificate and leave school. In his 1883 Report, the Minister made no attempt to hide this fact but rather publicised it:

As the majority of children do not remain at school long enough to go beyond a third class, the standard has been so drawn that a pupil completing the course prescribed for that class will be able with ease to pass the exit statutory examination.71

Despite his retirement and the efforts of Buchanan and others to see history taught in the public schools, Wilkins had managed to keep its study to a minimum and to as small a number of children as possible. His influence on public education remained strong for the rest of the century, through the ideas and actions of the men he had selected and groomed to be inspectors of schools. The editor of the Sydney Truth noted this in 1901 when pointing to the role of the inspectors as inhibitors of educational reform:

Uncouth in manner, imperious in disposition, pompous in dignity, neglecting their progenitors as beneath them, they strut like chanticleers, exhibiting the pernicious training and blighting influences of Wilkins

71 Ibid., 1883, p. 10.
and Bridges, which still sheds its Plutonian bane over the educational system of the colony.\textsuperscript{72}

The Roman Catholic schools, completely independent since 1 January 1883, were no longer obliged to follow the lead of the public schools or to adopt the revised Standards of Proficiency. The Roman Catholic dioceses in the Colony adopted different attitudes towards history. For example, in the Sydney diocese, Inspector of Roman Catholic schools J. Rogers reported in 1883 that history was well taught "as a memory subject" but he believed that its scope was not wide enough. To remedy this, he suggested the inclusion of additional topics from both Irish and Australian history.\textsuperscript{73} On the other hand, Father Carr, the inspector of schools in the Goulburn diocese, rejected history as a subject suitable for study by children and in this regard was as one with William Wilkins. In a speech reported in the Wagga Wagga Advertiser, Carr declared that history:

\begin{quote}

is not taught in our primary schools, except to classes preparing for University or Civil Service examinations. This is scarcely to be regretted, as the study of history would require more time than most of the pupils who attend our primary schools could give to it; and hence it is questionable whether the time spent at it may not be more profitably employed in studying the more elementary and essential subjects. When a class is well advanced in all the rudimentary business, it is high time then to introduce history; but it would be injudicious to
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{72} Truth, 3 Feb. 1901.

\textsuperscript{73} Report on Catholic Schools, Archdiocese of Sydney, 1883, Archives, St. Mary's Cathedral.
introduce it sooner.\textsuperscript{74}

Carr did not completely reject history but relegated it to the position of a non-essential subject which would be taught only when circumstances warranted. For both public and denominational schools, however, educational considerations were not always of prime concern. There was a need to compete for public esteem and this meant the participation of Fifth Class children, no matter what the school, in the public examinations of the University of Sydney. These examinations had been instituted in 1867:

> with a view to the extension of the advantages of the University to persons other than matriculated members, and in order to supply to students of every class in a community a standard by which their requirements might be tested.\textsuperscript{75}

In 1871, two changes were made in the University regulations governing the public examinations. Although unrelated, both the changes were of considerable importance. For the first time female candidates were admitted to the examinations. This innovation was warmly welcomed in country areas where it was felt that it would be an incentive to intelligent girls. At the same time, it was believed that the change would force a revision of the type of instruction provided by Ladies' Colleges where, prior to this time, it was held that girls received "a

\textsuperscript{74} Wagga Wagga Advertiser, 24 July 1884.

very superficial smattering of very useless knowledge".  

The second change took account of a possible sectarian reaction to the study of history. Following negotiations with the Council of Education, the University Senate gave candidates from the public schools a special dispensation. The "Civil, Military, and Constitutional History of England" was placed in a separate section so that public school candidates would not be required to take it. The Council had based its request for the change on sectarian grounds; that "that branch of study could not be pursued in school, from the want of a text book which would be accepted by all portions of the community".  

To avoid controversy, most public school candidates in the early 'seventies were restricted to English and mathematics but by 1878 some were also being prepared for the examinations in history and geography.  

The passage of the Public Instruction Act did not change this pattern nor the keen interest exhibited by parents and children in the success of their school.  

---

76 Wagga Wagga Advertiser, 18 March 1871.  
77 Rep. Uni. of Sydney. 1871, p. 3.  
78 S.M.H., 3 Jan. 1871.  
79 Register of Public Examinations, 1878, Sydney University Archives.  
80 Newspapers published the examination results of local schools. See, for example, Wagga Wagga Advertiser, 4 & 24 Dec. 1884, 19 Dec. 1891; Border Post (Albury), 10 July 1891. So, too did the school magazines. See, for example, The Armidalian, The Arthurleigh, The Bathurst Convent Annual, The Cooerwull Academy Report for 1888, Echoes for St. Stanislaus' and others deposited in the M.L.
The revised Standards of Proficiency took note of the increasing importance of the public examinations and made due provision for this. In 1885, the Minister for Public Instruction informed Parliament that:

The standard for the fifth class of a Superior Public School is to arranged, that boys who desire to study for the Civil Service or the University Senior or Junior examinations may do so in a class, without the necessity of obtaining special tuition. Under the old standard the University subjects, to a large extent, lay outside the ordinary work of a fifth class. . . . Now however the University Junior programme for English, Geography, History, Arithmetic, Natural Science, Algebra and Euclid is also the standard for fifth classes in Public Schools.81

As schools geared their courses towards the demands of the public examinations and with both the public and the Department of Public Instruction82 seeing success at these examinations as a mark of a school's efficiency, changes in emphasis in the school curriculum were inevitable. The revised Standards, through their system of differentiated marks, attempted to reassert the primacy of reading and arithmetic, but they were not entirely successful. The popularity rating of the various subjects for the Junior examinations indicates that the subjects weighted most heavily in the Standards were not those most often selected.


82 Departmental school successes were reported in the Minister's annual report. See VP/LA/NSW, 1892-3, III, p. 1894; II, p. 557. In making staffing arrangements, inspectors gave preference to schools with classes attempting University examinations. See, for example, School Files, Wagga Wagga, 14 March 1892, P 1924.
for study by candidates. 83 English, which Wilkins had attempted to show could replace the classical languages as a promoter of intellectual development, 84 was allotted 100 marks in the Standards whereas history was awarded only half this number and geography, at forty, less still. As the time allocated to a subject in school was dependent upon the number of marks allotted to it in the Standards, it could be assumed that students would select those subjects with which they were more familiar and on which they had spent more time. This was not the case. Public school candidates avoided the English examination. For example, the fifteen Fort Street candidates who sat for the Junior in 1884 all forsook English for English History or Geography. 85 It is difficult to assign a reason for this apparent unwillingness of public school candidates to sit for the English examination but it is possible that the concentration of the public school English syllabus on parsing and analysis made the University English examination unattractive to them.

Before 1884, the study of history had only been possible in the Superior Public schools of the Colony. There were a number of reasons for this. Unlike most public

84 W. Wilkins, The Art of Teaching. See also his National Education, (1865), p. 27.
85 Register of Junior Public Examinations, 1884. For information on the content of the examinations, see Manual of Public Examinations, 1885, pp. 5-6.
schools which had only one teacher who may or may not have had a pupil teacher to assist him, Superior Public schools had a number of teachers on the staff and frequently one for each class. Again unlike the public schools, the Superior Public schools retained pupils beyond the third class level. The revised Standards of 1884 made the teaching of history mandatory for all schools.\textsuperscript{86} The inspectors were instructed to see that it was taught properly. This of itself was sufficient to ensure pupil and teacher attention to the subject; but the times themselves were stirring an interest in history, more particularly in the history of the British Empire.

Pride in belonging to the British Empire appears to have become acute amongst public school children in the 'eighties. Among its by-products were a resurgence of nationalism, a belief in the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race and a heightened sense of Britain's gifts to the world through technological innovation. The upsurge of nationalism, accompanied though it was in New South Wales and the other Australian colonies by its dialectical opposite, a fiery brand of republicanism which was epitomised by the outpourings of The Bulletin under the editorship of J. F. Archibald and of such minor journals as The Hummer and The Worker,\textsuperscript{87} led to a feeling within Anglo-


Australian Protestants of pride in being part of the British Empire:

For Great Britain was now in full current of proud imperial enthusiasm. The year 1887 saw the first jubilee of Queen Victoria with its tremendous surge of loyal emotion, national pride and a sense of imperial destiny. Men felt that the splendid words of Virgil were to be sounded again for the British people. 'In regere imperio populos, Romane, momento'.

The enactment of the Civil Service Act in 1885 made success at the Junior a requirement for promotion in the public service. Every candidate for the junior class of the professional division had to produce "a certificate of having passed the Junior University Examination". That is why both public and denominational schools concentrated on preparing students for the Civil Service examinations. Public school teachers were instructed to do this "irrespective of any consideration as to whether or not pupils will attend this examination". It was "not necessarily a part of a teacher's duty", said the Minister for Public Instruction, "to ascertain who will attend or if anyone will; he has only to see that all are fit enough to do so".

---

88 R. B. McCallum, "From 1852 to 1895", in E. Halevy, Victorian Years, 1841-1895, p. 471.
90 The Register of Civil Service Examinations 1884-96 indicates that candidates from the public schools dominated examinations for the public service.
92 Ibid.
The place of history in the public school curriculum was assured. What was now required was the development of teaching methods and the provision of suitable textbooks.
CHAPTER X

HISTORY AND THE EDUCATION OF THE IDEAL CITIZEN

The overwhelming Protestant acclamation of the Public Instruction Act and the decision to proceed with the introduction of history as a subject of study in the public school curriculum were victories for the secularists. It remained to extend and consolidate the victory. Legislation had to be translated into action: into textbooks, syllabuses, teaching methods and, above all, to a place for history in the hierarchy of subjects in the Standards of Proficiency. A subject's importance to parents, teachers, inspectors and children alike was governed by the number of marks it was allotted in the Standards.

The Revised Standards of Proficiency, which were approved by the Minister for Public Instruction on 17 September 1884, included history for the first time. Although not introduced until Third Class, its status as an important subject was recognised. Like Scripture, with which it

---

1 Although there were pedagogical reasons for teaching history, William Wilkins and Professor Smith, as spokesmen for the public school system, believed that these were appropriate only to mature students. (See The Art of Teaching, p. 35; J. Primary Ed., Nov. 1872, p. 19; S.M.H., 24 Sept. 1872; and Professor Smith's comments in the Legislative Council, NSWPD, 1879-80, II, 17 March 1880, p. 1568). The subject was introduced into public schools for sectarian reasons. (See David Buchanan's comments, S.M.H., 19 Sept. 1873; D. O'Donnell, "Sectarianism and the Inclusion of History in the Curriculum of N.S.W. Schools", J.R.A.H.S., Vol. 54, Sept. 1968, pp. 283-98).
was linked in the Public Instruction Act,\(^2\) history was rated second only to the basic subjects, arithmetic and grammar, as Table XI indicates.

**TABLE XI**

Numerical Value of Subjects taught in Classes III to V.\(^3\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJECT</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>REMARKS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reading</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writing</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dictation</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arithmetic</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grammar</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>80</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geography</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Object Lessons</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>In Class V called Natural Science</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singing</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>In Class V called Music</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drawing</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scripture Lessons</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Euclid</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>In Class V called Geometry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Algebra</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>70</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By their study of history, it was hoped that public school children would become a well-informed citizenry, imbued with a sense of national pride. It was soon to


acquire even greater importance as a character builder. While arguments for and against the teaching of history were being developed in New South Wales and were generating racial and religious tensions, in England events were taking place which were to make the teaching of English History in the public schools of New South Wales impossible to deny. During the late 1870's, a resurgence of nationalism and imperialism began to sweep England. This quickly spread to the Empire where it reached a peak of enthusiasm with the first jubilee of Queen Victoria in 1887.

Intense interest in the Empire had been initiated by Sir Charles Dilke in 1868 with the publication of his *Greater Britain*. Although more a travelogue than a dissertation on imperialism, being the story of Dilke's wanderings through America, Polynesia, Australia and India, *Greater Britain* brought the Empire to public attention. In passing, he argued that the independence of the Australian colonies was inevitable and that this was "infinitely better than a continuance of the existing one-sided tie".  

He was not alone in his readiness to cast off the colonies. The lack of direction in colonial administration which marred the first two years of Gladstone's Ministry from 1868 to 1870 was not redeemed by a consequent interest in the Empire by the Opposition. In Disraeli's

---


5 See P. Knaplund, *Gladstone and Britain's Imperial Policy*. 
opinion, the colonies were merely "mill-stones round our neck". Disinterest disappeared before the threat of a colony-hungry militaristic Germany and a resurgent France determined to remove the stain of defeat by Prussia in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71. The growing industrial might of the two continental countries served to couple protection of British industry with imperialism and prompted The Times to report, prophetically, that:

With the colonies massed around us we can hold our own in the ranks of the world powers. . . . Without them we must sink to the position of a mere European kingdom - a position which for England entails slow but sure decay.  

Dilke closed his book with the declaration that freedom and progress for the world lay in the leadership provided by England. It was a theme taken up by Sir John Seeley in his The Expansion of England (1883) and by the Imperial Federation League (1884). The idea that the Empire should be permitted to dissolve into a number of self-governing countries bound to England by the most tenuous of ties was swept aside. Now the emphasis was on unity, the ties of blood, sentiment and tradition, and the privileges and responsibilities concomitant with membership of the British Empire. The Imperial Federation League established strong and vocal branches in Australia and these promulgated the message so dear to Anglo-Australian

---

7 Ibid., p. 137.
hearts: loyalty to the throne, love of the mother-land and closer ties through imperial federation with the British Parliament. These views coincided exactly with those being disseminated in the public schools through the study of English History. Anglo-Australian politicians such as Parkes lost no opportunities of consolidating the attachment naturally felt by those of English stock for their old homeland. Following a visit to England in 1881, Parkes returned to impress upon his fellow-colonists that "the crimson thread of kinship runs through us all".

In stark contrast, in the Roman Catholic schools patriotism was more closely aligned with Australian nationalism. The principal spokesman for this view was The Bulletin. Its editor, J. F. Archibald, was a Roman Catholic who made no secret of his pro-Boer, pro-Irish, sympathies. Despite the leanings of The Bulletin towards socialism, which made it suspect to the leaders of the Catholic Church in New South Wales, it was militantly anti-imperialist, pro-republican, pro-nationalist, and pro-Irish and, as a result, had a large Catholic readership. As Herbert M. Moran has said, "nearly all (Catholics) read the Sydney Bulletin. It was the poor man's prop against privilege and vested interest, and it was hatching, amid

---

8 Through numerous publications and the distribution of Imperial Federation, the journal of the Imperial Federation League.

9 P. R. Cole, Great Australians. A Reader for Schools, p. 67.
much noisy clucking, an Australian sentiment".  

The promptings of The Bulletin and other nationalist newspapers ushered in a period of curiosity in nationalism and republicanism which, after 1890, produced a surge of interest in Australian biography and in the exploits of the early explorers. It was also true, as Rev. R. W. Dale came to realise, that "The English race, under the new conditions of life in Australia - social, economic and climatic - (was) rapidly developing new national habits and a new type of national character". The spirit of nationalism was, however, clouded in the earlier years by the activities of the Imperial Federationists and economic conditions which, after 1888, moved steadily towards the Great Strikes and the depression of the 'nineties.

The activities of the more militant trade unionists made suspect both the nationalism and the republicanism with which they were associated and for which they were the most ardent advocates. Some Roman Catholic nationalists like Cardinal Moran who whole-heartedly believed in the motto of The Bulletin, "Australia for the Australians", were forced to pay lip-service to the spirit of Empire and


12 See for example, The Bulletin, 2 July 1887.
to parade their steadfastness. Thus in October 1888, when addressing a gathering at the Dublin City Hall, Cardinal Moran spoke of the proverbial loyalty of colonists to the throne:

Indeed, none but a fool would be disloyal amongst us. The imperial flag is the symbol of our strength and unity - of justice, prosperity, and peace. . . . There is but little room for discord, or dissention, or strife, or for those irreligious follies that so often embitter social relations in the home countries.13

Less than ten years later he was able to come out into the open and, writing of the need for a federated Australia, he advocated "one Country, one People, one Flag".14 He wanted nothing to do with Imperial Federation. In an interview with the Cardinal in 1894, J. Tighe Ryan sought his views on imperialism:

"Your ideas are not Imperialistic", I said. "No", he replied. "I have always opposed what is called Imperial Federation. . . . But I have publicly stated that I consider the question of Australian federation not only a question of urgent political importance, but a question of patriotism".15

In the meantime, the task of training children to be Anglo-Australians or Irish-Australians continued: For Roman Catholic schools, the necessity to provide a religious education and at the same time to compete with the public schools in the secular subjects, in order to win

---

14 Cardinal Moran and the Federal Convention, p. 16.
15 See J. T. Ryan, The Attitude of the Catholic Church, pp. 46-57, for Moran's attitude to Imperial Federation, Australian Federation, Imperialism and Republicanism.
non-Catholic support for the state aid campaign, led to educational compromises as well as political ones. If Roman Catholic schools were to be paid for secular instruction, it was necessary to show that they were at least the equal of the public schools. Imitation was an unavoidable consequence. Not only was the Diocesan Standard of Proficiency developed along lines almost identical with that of the public school system\textsuperscript{16} but the organisation of school inspection was amended to include the appointment of lay inspectors who, like their departmental counterparts, were selected for their knowledge and experience of educational practice.\textsuperscript{17}

While outwardly the rival school systems had much in common, in their different attitudes to many of the political and social problems dividing adult society, the schools promoted schism. Australian nationalism espoused by the Cardinal and by the Catholic body generally as a counter to Anglo-Australian attitudes, did not gain acceptance in the public schools until the Federation controversies encouraged some discussion. Up to then, the public schools continued to look to England for inspiration and

\textsuperscript{16} c.f. Standard of Proficiency for Catholic Primary Schools in the Archdiocese of Sydney (Archives, St. Mary's Cathedral) with the 1898 Standards of Proficiency for public schools (\textit{NSW Educational Gazette}, VIII, No. 3, 1 Aug. 1898, pp. 56-60).

\textsuperscript{17} J. W. Rogers was appointed in 1884 after "long and careful discussion", Cath. Ed. Bd., Minute Book, 11 July 1884, p. 34. See also \textit{Freeman's J.}, "Report on Schools", 11 Oct. 1884.
teachers were guided by the type of textbook available, particularly in history and geography and, of course, the readers. Supporters of closer ties with England and of imperialism had great advantages over their Australian nationalist opponents. Colonial leaders and respectable citizens paraded their loyalty for all to see. Most of the colonial press aided their activities through the numerous articles and news items selected for publication. It was through the stories read in school that the children were greatly influenced. This is understandable. The success of the British in establishing themselves in every part of the globe provided a rich and stirring story which was intended to make these children proud of their heritage. As the Hon. W. Young declaimed in one of the Royal Readers, the title itself having no mean propaganda value:

Loyalty. Love of British Institutions. They are engrafted on our very nature, they are part and parcel of ourselves; and I can no more tear them from my heart (even if I would and lacerate all its fibres) than I could sever a limb from my body.18

Professor Meiklejohn was more restrained in his eulogy of Britain and the Empire, but he still presented a picture any Briton would be proud of:

And Great Britain is not only the hardest working country in the world: her people are the most daring and persevering explorers. The countries we explore we also hold; . . . And, among all our triumphs, the triumphs of the mind over error are the greatest because all can share in them: all can share in the triumphs of our language and our literature; all can be inspired, stimulated, and uplifted by them. No country

18 Royal Reader, No. VI, (1876 ed.), p. 15.
can show greater thinkers, greater writers, greater poets.19

When Wilkins wielded power over public education in New South Wales, the glorification of the imperial destiny of Anglo-Saxon England was still in its infancy. To him, history, the subject most likely to persuade children to see in the flag and the throne the glories of their race, was anathema. He failed to perceive the potentialities of the subject for the development of an Anglo-Australian loyalist because he was blinded by the political chicanery he saw at the bottom of the attempts to have history included in the course of study for public school children.20

Until his retirement in 1883, Wilkins prevented the establishment of courses in history. His concern was to produce the educated man and to do this without arousing sectarian animosities. History, he saw both as "utterly valueless" and as "little more than an exhibition of the worst passions that afflict humanity".21 He believed that its study was certain to provoke division within the community. He knew too well that the Protestant and Roman Catholic clergy viewed themselves as the sole arbiters of the "truth" in history. As Rev. F. A. Haganauer observed in the Melbourne Presbyterian Messenger:


21 S.M.H., 24 Sept. 1872.
There are, as a matter of fact, two histories of the world's doings. One, just plain, unvarnished, true history, and one history as it is written by the Roman Catholic Church.\textsuperscript{22}

With Wilkins out of the way and Roman Catholic influence on political decisions regarding education temporarily of little consequence, Edwin Johnson, the new Undersecretary of Public Instruction, constructed the first courses in English and Australian history for the older children in the public schools. The younger children continued to be merely exposed to the history stories they met casually while engaged in the silent and oral lessons with their readers. Even this limited introduction of history strained the abilities of many teachers. The vast majority of public schools in New South Wales were one-teacher schools and while these did not conduct courses beyond the Third Class they were in the main staffed by teachers with little training or none at all. Except where the teacher was a failed pupil-teacher\textsuperscript{23} or one who had abandoned the pupil-teacher course,\textsuperscript{24} teachers of small

\textsuperscript{22} Quoted P. O'Farrell, "Teaching History, as seen in the Australian Catholic Church: A Survey of Attitudes, 1892-1947", Uni. of Newcastle Historical J., Vol. 3, No. 2, Feb. 1876, p. 3. For Roman Catholic insistence that it provided the only true history, see J. L. Moore, "Catholic History for Catholic Schools", Australasian Catholic Record, Vol. XXIV, No. 1, Jan. 1947, p. 35.

\textsuperscript{23} As in the case of J. Sullivan. See School Files, Urana, 1891, P 1903.

\textsuperscript{24} As did Ada Munster who after six years had still not completed the four year course. She elected to be appointed to a small school, \textit{ibid.}, Mt. McDonald, 1891, P 1895.
schools seldom had more than two to four weeks training before being assigned to a school. If a vacancy had to be filled immediately even this short time could be cut. Edward Skinner was appointed after being sent "to attend the Moama Public School for one week, at his own charge; and learn the method of compiling the Records and Lesson Documents". The standard of training given at the Sydney Training School, according to Henry Havelock Ellis, was no better. He wrote disparagingly about the course of instruction he underwent, dismissing it as "the casual course of my training at Fort Street". He was even more critical of the way in which Inspector Alexander Forbes nonchalantly ate an orange while conducting the final examination. Such an induction into the teaching service could not but produce poor teachers; but it was cheap, filled vacancies in schools which trained teachers would not accept and permitted the Minister for Public Instruction to boast about the number of public schools available to the children of New South Wales. School Inspectors were not so easily pleased. In 1900, Inspector Nolan of the Hay section of the Wagga Wagga District complained of the inadequacies of many of his small school teachers: "Being practically untrained they produce but poor results. In the majority of cases they do their best, but they are seriously

25 Ibid., Wamboota, 1879, P 1737.

26 H. H. Ellis, My Life, pp. 116-17.

27 Ibid.
handicapped by the lack of necessary training, and, in some cases, by inaptitude for the work of teaching".  

Catholic school teachers were just as untrained for the job. When presenting his annual report to Cardinal Moran in November 1896, Francis Timoney found so much amiss with the Roman Catholic school system that only his belief that the public schools were in an even worse plight gave him hope for the future:

Without very 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 hear from public school teachers, the Catholic schools are better taught and disciplined.

None the less, Timoney emphasised the disabilities facing Catholic educators, which would have to be overcome before an efficient system could be achieved: the lack of school requisites, especially reading books; the failure of teachers to offer all subjects; inadequate buildings; and the lack of a central administrative structure and an inspectorial system. Of the last, Timoney said:

At first I was very discouraged at finding that in most of the schools there was no standard of proficiency, no time-tables, no rules as to classification. The answering of the children gave evidence that they had no confidence in themselves. 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. . . . The system of teaching is different in the various religious orders. It is desirable that the same, that is the best system should gradually introduced into all the schools.

---

29 Archives, St. Mary's Cathedral.
30 Ibid. See also the reports of J. P. Moynagh, 1892 & 1895, and those of J. Sheridan, 1894 & 1895.
The institution of the Diocesan Standard of Proficiency did much to remove many of the obstacles to efficient teaching in Roman Catholic schools; but real progress was dependent upon an adequate system of teacher training. The religious teaching orders provided a dedicated, reliable and cheap supply of teachers but, like their public school counterparts, a large proportion lacked a good education themselves and were quite untrained for the job they had to do. Indeed in 1905, when asked to provide the Cardinal with suggestions for improving Catholic education, P. J. Barron of the Christian Brothers Novitiate, Petersham, argued that the keystone of any attempt to produce better teachers lay in more efficient teacher training. This was the same proposal made over twenty years before by Father Carr of the Goulburn Diocese. He had recommended that all future male teachers should be given six months training by "some brothers of St. Patrick, who are just arriving with a high reputation for teaching which they have acquired". The suggestion came to nothing as did his further proposal that all female teachers receive some teacher training in the convent school.

There is no doubt that most teachers, whether in a public or a denominational school, were incapable of doing

31 P. J. Barron to Cardinal Moran, 28 Aug. 1905, Archives, St. Mary's Cathedral.
32 Wagga Wagga Advertiser, 24 July 1884.
33 Ibid.
much more than provide a basic education to their charges. And yet both systems attempted to outdo each other by overloading the curriculum with additional subjects which on paper were supposedly taught to a high level. When history was added, amidst great acclaim in some quarters and to great expectations of rapid improvements in civic and social understanding, it was just another burden teachers had to shoulder. Roman Catholic opinion on the value of history was divided. Father Carr had little good to say about the subject which, he claimed, was looked upon by children as a waste of time. Inspector Rogers admitted that the subject came "under the head of easy lessons" but he believed that this was an advantage as "on that account" it was particularly suitable to the upper classes in the primary school. His complaint was that Roman Catholic schools were not sufficiently ambitious in regard to history. He admitted that the selection of a suitable textbook posed a problem but he did not believe that this was insoluble: "As a sketch of universal history for schools I can recommend no work more strongly than the Christian Bros. Class Book which, however, needs revision".

He was much less satisfied with Nelson's and with Ince and Gilbert's histories of England. Too much, he said, was made of the semi-barbarous Saxon and Norman kings while

---

34 Ibid.
35 Inspector's Report for 1883, Supplement to The Express, 15 March 1884.
"the magnificent line of Pontiffs" who had directed the fortunes of Christendom since its foundation was neglected. Not all English history was suspect. Some parts, he believed, had great value, especially those bearing on the constitutional struggles of the masses for their civil rights. In view of the on-going struggle for Home Rule for Ireland, for state aid for Roman Catholic schools in New South Wales and for an end to religious discrimination in the colonial labour market, he had touched a point here which gave purpose to the teaching of history in Roman Catholic schools. As if to bolster the advantage acquired, he proceeded to advocate the teaching of Irish History and of Australian History:

I have heard, as yet, no good reason why the history of Ireland, which has recently acquired such importance and which is useful to everyone who wishes to understand current events, should be a sealed book as it is throughout the schools of the Empire at large, including our own. Nor is there any sufficient reason why young Australians should be left unacquainted with the salient facts of the past century of their country's history, seeing that they afford the materials for its future history themselves. The best school-book for this purpose yet printed is Sutherland's History of Australia, which, in addition to being written in a pleasing style avoids anything that can offend religious susceptibilities. 36

Despite Carr's reservations about history, the very fact that it had been officially recognised as part of the curriculum for public schools made its inclusion in the course of instruction for Roman Catholic schools inevitable. Rogers, intimately connected with the attempt to present

---

36 Ibid.
the Catholic school as the equal of the public school and less committed to the previous policy of opposition to the teaching of history, recognised this and wished to draw attention to the fact that Roman Catholic schools were not merely carbon copies of public schools but were to the forefront in educational endeavour. This was in line with Cardinal Moran's own ambitions for his schools. One of the principal arguments he and those who wanted a resumption of state aid for Catholic schools continually put before the politicians and people of New South Wales was that schools should be judged on the quality of secular education they provided. They took the view that their claims for financial aid should not be disregarded merely because they provided a religious education in addition to a secular one.

Archbishop Vaughan's death in England in 1883 and his replacement by Archbishop Moran marked a turning point in the history of the Colony. From uncompromising opposition to all things Protestant, Moran conceived the new policy of coexistence generally and co-operation where possible with the Protestant majority. This included education. Vaughan's idea of Catholic education had been to use it to strengthen a child's Catholicity and to preserve the unity of the faithful. He had been much less concerned with the development of a system of education which would compete

37 Archbishop Moran landed in Sydney on 8 Sept. 1884. A few months later he was called to Rome and created a Cardinal. P. Serle, Dictionary of Australian Biography, II, p. 156.
with the public school system. Every Roman Catholic child was seen as a potential fortress of God, serving embattled Catholicism in a heretic and hostile land. This was not Moran's idea of the future of Catholicism or of Catholic education. Giving himself a little time to gauge the educational aims and ambitions of his schools, he announced "his intention to make other arrangements for the schools of the Archdiocese". 38 One of the innovations was the acceptance of history as a legitimate and worthy study for Roman Catholic children. The type and content of the history taught had to be in line with the thinking of the Church.

In both the public and the Catholic school systems most of the children received their first knowledge of history through their readers. The two systems used different readers although both had originated in Ireland. Criticisms of a lack of Australian content in the Irish National readers had led to revision and to the inclusion of some stories on the discovery and early exploration of Australia and New Zealand. Fear of arousing sectarian objections to local content forced the editors to reject any material which could be seen as presenting a one-sided view, no matter how humble the topic; but despite this precaution, in the mid 'eighties, the Freeman's Journal criticised the teaching of history to Roman Catholic children in public schools through their reading lessons. 39

38 Freeman's J., 11 Oct. 1884.
39 Freeman's J., 6 June 1886.
Vaughan controversy but a recent memory and the 1883 debates in the Legislative Assembly fresher still, Minister for Public Instruction Arthur Renwick resolved not to draw upon himself the concentrated wrath of the Catholic community over what he saw as an inconsequential issue and amended the regulations. Roman Catholic children in public schools were granted exemption from reading stories with an historical theme and a confrontation was avoided.  

Today, the criticisms are almost incomprehensible without a realisation of the suspicion and hatred engendered by religious animosity. The taking up or the dropping of an issue was equal cause for hostility:

When we see the education question suddenly dropped and almost the whole body of the Catholic laity ranging themselves as protectionists against the party led by the author of the Public Instruction Act, what possible conclusion can be come to other than that protection is the weapon to be used by the Catholic Church for its ultimate purpose in regard to the education question. Teachers were constant targets for those who saw them as using their position of authority for proselytism. Roman Catholic teachers were carefully watched and complaints that they used their schools for "religions practices" reached the floor of the Legislative Assembly.  

40 School Files, Renwick to Chief Inspector, 6 Aug. 1886, P 2142. See also Dept. of Ed. file, Replies to questions asked and information concerning .... the Legislative Assembly, 1883-95, 10 June 1886, 1/3572, p. 74.

41 Evening News, 4 Feb. 1889.

42 NSWPD. XLI, 29 Aug. 1889, p. 4630, (W. H. Paul). See also Dept. of Ed. File, Replies to questions asked and information concerning .... the Legislative Assembly 1883-95, 21 Nov. 1888, 1/3572, p. 105.
environment, it was all too easy to find cause for accusations of sectarian bias. The rejection of school history stories was a symptom rather than a cause of deep division in the community. In style, in content, the stories in the Irish National readers are noteworthy only for their failure to bring to life what could have been exciting events to children. The dismal recording of dry facts is reminiscent of a ship's log with the simple substitution of the third person for the first as this extract on Captain Cook reveals:

He sailed from England, around Cape Horn to Tahiti, and then in a south-westerly direction across the Pacific, and on the Sixth of October, 1769, saw New Zealand. He sailed westward for further discoveries. On the 19th of April, 1770, he saw land a little to the west of Rams Head, on the eastern coast of Victoria.

That the readers were dull and failed to provide a systematic approach to the teaching of history before Third Class was generally ignored. None the less, there were those who were prepared to condemn the Irish National readers for being insufficiently Australian. One of these was William Wilkins who, in co-operation with the secretary of the Board of Education in Tasmania, prevailed upon Collins and Co. to adapt a special series of their Progressive Readers for use in the schools of the Australian colonies. Not all the colonies approved. Intercolonial rivalry could not be avoided even in the matter of the selection of a school...

---

44 C. of Ed., Letters Received by the Secretary, Stephens to Wilkins, 22 March 1875, 1/732.
textbook. As Stephens of Tasmania recorded, "Victoria will not work cordially with any other Colony . . . I don't believe that any outsider will be allowed to have a voice in anything which affects Victorian interests".\(^45\)

With the introduction of history into all the public schools of New South Wales in 1884 as "one of the ordinary subjects"\(^46\) for the Third and later classes, the selection of "an interesting, well-written text-book of Australian history"\(^47\) was not the only problem. Even after A. and G. Sutherland's book *History of Australia* had been selected for the course, some inconvenience was experienced in many schools as it proved unavailable.\(^48\) Its short supply may have been the reason why it was set as a teacher's text. Unlike English History which was taught primarily by putting the prescribed text, Nelson's *History of England for Junior Classes*,\(^49\) directly into the hands of the children and "thereby trusting too much to book preparation by the pupil",\(^50\) Australian History was taught orally and books were not permitted to the children.\(^51\) 

\(^{45}\) Ibid., 13 July 1875. Wilkins later reported that the *Australian Readers* had been "very beneficial in improving the instruction given in the Council's schools", ibid., 1876, pp. 29-30.


\(^{47}\) Ibid., p. 161.

\(^{48}\) Ibid., p. 124 and p. 216.

\(^{49}\) Ibid., pp. 124-25.

\(^{50}\) Ibid., 1885, Rep. John McCredie, Annex A, p. 150.

\(^{51}\) Ibid.
the teacher instead of upon a book led inspectors to dis-parallel the use of textbooks by children for the study of history. James McCredie, District Inspector at Grafton, investigated the value of history textbooks and concluded that:

History is not well taught. Many teachers confine their instruction in this branch to the reading by the pupils of the text-book in use, and seldom question out and impress the facts and salient points of the passage read, or revise the back lessons.\textsuperscript{52}

His namesake, John McCredie, District Inspector at Sydney, considered the same problem and also supported rejection of a textbook in favour of oral teaching. In his view, the greater proficiency exhibited by children in Australian History came from greater teacher involvement in the lessons.\textsuperscript{53} Such a practice, he said, not only permitted careful revision, a dwelling on salient points and a vigorous questioning of the subject matter during the course of the lesson but it also encouraged the teacher to be more selective of what the children were to hear.

Even as a teacher's text, the Sutherlands' book was not without its critics. It was wordy and there was some striving for effect. Yet there were areas where the authors succeeded in producing colourful passages which must have evoked not only an aura of reality and authenticity but also stimulated the imagination. An example of

\textsuperscript{52} Ibid., p. 197.
\textsuperscript{53} Ibid., p. 150.
their skill in creating atmosphere can be seen in their description of a camp on the gold-fields at sundown:

At sunset a gun is fired from the Commissioner's tent, and all cease work; then against the evening sun, ten thousand fires send up their wreaths of thin blue smoke, and the diggers prepare their evening meals. Everything is hushed for a time, except that a dull murmur rises from the little crowds chatting over their pannikins of tea. But as the darkness draws closer around, the noises begin to assume a merrier tone, and, mingling pleasantly in the evening air, there rise the loud notes of a sailor's song, the merry jingle of a French political chant, or the rich strains of a German chorus.54

Generally speaking, however, the book was not considered suited to the needs of school children and in 1890 it was decided to replace it with a more modern reader.55 To get this, the Minister for Public Instruction decided to organise a competition and he offered monetary prizes not only for the best textbooks, but also special prizes for chapters on such themes as the constitution and citizenship. By the time the Minister's Report for 1890 was printed, no less than ten competitors had submitted their manuscripts for his consideration. Ultimately, H. L. Lusk was awarded the first prize of £450 for his entry and the Rev. J. Milne £150 for second prize.56 And that was as far as it went. In reply to a question in the Legislative Assembly in 1891, Minister for Public Instruction, J. H. Carruthers, informed the House that Lusk's history would

---

54 A. & G. Sutherland, History of Australia, p. 113.
56 Ibid.
be published in "the course of a few weeks" and gave as the reason for the delay the need to verify statistical and other information. \(^{57}\) In October 1894, the same excuse was being made for its non-publication. \(^{58}\) On this occasion, it was not altogether Minister Garrard's fault. When questioned about the non-publication of the book a month earlier he had been forced to admit that he had not come to a decision because the proof copy was still in the hands of his predecessor. \(^{59}\)

The position rested there until 1896 when James Hogue, seeking an issue on which he could attack the Government, raised the question of the lack of modern textbooks in the public schools and condemned the Government for permitting the situation to develop. Of the books then in use in the schools, he could find little good to say. They were, he said, out of date, inaccurate and insufficiently supplied with local content. He demanded that the Government face up to its responsibilities and provide "a larger measure of recognition of Australian history, biography, literature, science, and local subjects generally". \(^{60}\)

As a politician in opposition, Hogue's criticisms

\(^{57}\) Dept. of Ed. File, Replies to questions asked and information concerning . . . the Legislative Assembly, 1883-95, 5 Aug. 1891, 1/3572, p. 132.

\(^{58}\) Ibid., 30 Oct. 1894, p. 186.

\(^{59}\) Ibid., 27 Sept. 1894, p. 184.

\(^{60}\) NSWPD, LXXXIII, 14 July 1896, p. 1483.
were undoubtedly made to embarrass the Government and to take advantage of the growing electoral importance of nationalism. Nothing was done; but during the Supply debate of 1899 Joseph Cook revived Hogue's complaints. With Federation a topical issue, Cook identified himself with progressivism and sought the introduction of educational reforms similar to those gaining favour overseas for, he said, only in that way could New South Wales "keep pace with the older and more civilized portions of the world". During his contribution to the debate, Richard Meagher also raised the question of the low standard of New South Wales' education. In his opinion, Britain's decline as the leading industrial nation of the world and Germany's occupation of that position were the result of the different attitudes those countries adopted towards education. Whereas Britain had been slow to recognise the importance of education, Germany had not spared itself in raising the quality of its public education. Speaking in the Supply debate of the following year, Meagher again pointed to the inadequacies of public education in the Colony:

We are at a standstill educationally in this colony . . . we should keep up with the rest of the world in the constant adoption of means to ends in connection

---

62 Ibid., p. 3399.
63 Ibid., p. 3409. Richard Denis Meagher was a Roman Catholic and a graduate of Fr. M. J. O'Reilly's school, St. Stanislaus', Bathurst. For his parliamentary career see N.S.W. Parliamentary Record or A. W. Martin & P. Wardle, Members of the L.A. of N.S.W., 1856-1901, p. 148.
with the teaching of youngsters in our public schools.\textsuperscript{64}

In the field of history, education in the Colony, if not at a standstill, had progressed very little since its introduction in 1884. The 1884 Standards of Proficiency had been revised in 1891 and the number of textbooks authorised for the teaching of English History had been increased to two for Third Class. Teachers were now permitted to select from the two the one they preferred. Nelson's \textit{History of England for Junior Classes} was now restricted to Fourth Class and in its place teachers could choose from Nelson's \textit{Brief History of England} or Gardiner's \textit{Outlines of English History}.\textsuperscript{65}

Both of these books demonstrated the Protestant bias to be seen in the previous text. Of the two, Nelson's \textit{Brief History of England} was the more sectarian. This is particularly noticeable in the chapters on the Reformation and on the reigns of the Stuart kings. Protestant and Roman Catholic rulers received different treatment. Although Henry VIII and his daughter Mary were both shown as ruthless individuals,\textsuperscript{66} the questions at the end of the section were clearly designed to leave a good impression of the one and to denigrate the other. Henry had to be remembered as Defender of the Faith and Supreme Head of the Church of

\textsuperscript{64} \textit{Ibid.}, 19 Oct. 1900, pp. 4143-45.
\textsuperscript{66} \textit{The Royal School Series, Brief History of England}, pp. 49-52.
England. His defects of character and excesses were excused because his obesity and ulcerated legs were said to have made him more like "a chained lion than a human being". Mary's conduct received no sympathy. The children were required to recall that she had been called "Bloody Mary" for her attempts to undo the Protestant Reformation which she had sworn to uphold. The picture children were left of her was that of a woman hated by all:

We should . . . rather pity the Queen whose religious zeal consumed in her heart the mercy natural to woman; who died hated by her subjects, abandoned by her husband and disappointed of every aim and hope of her life.

The reign of James II was described in more definite sectarian terms. He was denounced as "a strict Romanist . . . (and) no favourite of the people". A description of his efforts to restore Roman Catholicism and to bring soldiers from Ireland to assist him were followed by the loaded question: "What was James's conduct?". The massacre of Monmouth's Protestant supporters by the "brutal murderers" employed by James II is in sharp contrast to

67 Ibid., p. 51, Qq. 4 & 8.
68 Ibid., p. 50.
69 Ibid., p. 53, Qq. 2 & 3.
70 Ibid., pp. 52-3.
71 Ibid., p. 68.
72 Ibid., p. 70, Q. 5.
73 Ibid., p. 68 and p. 70.
the description of the massacre of the Macdonalds of Glen­
coe which was seen as throwing "a shade on William's fair
fame".  

The choice of textbooks for Australian History also
underwent some change in 1891. As a textbook was not placed
directly in the hands of children for this subject, it was
decided to permit teachers to select their own text.
The Sutherlands' book was no longer specifically named in
the Revised Standards of 1891, but neither was an alternat­
ive. However, as it was felt that this was a subject open
to teacher interpretation, its introduction was delayed a
further six months. The time for the completion of the
work set down for Third Class was extended to four half
years and Australian History was once again, as it was in
the 1884 Standards, reserved for the final half year.

The reasons for the emphasis on English History appear
to have been four-fold. First, textbooks were readily
available. This in itself must have appealed to the sylla­
bus-makers of the Department of Public Instruction.
Secondly, English History was safe. It was less controver­
sial than Australian History since it had little relation
to the internal politics of the Colony. Thirdly, the study
of the history of the mother-country and of the Empire was
in keeping with the prevailing political climate, since
socially, economically and psychologically there were strong

74 Ibid., p. 72.
ties with "home". Finally, and most importantly, the study of English History fitted in well with the Protestant background of most of the students.

With the encouragement to Australian nationalism which the controversies over Federation brought, Australian history began to attract greater attention in the late eighteen-nineties. Inspector Cooper of the Goulburn District was one of those who advocated its earlier introduction, and with the achievement of Federation the calls became more insistent. Senior Inspector H. D. McLelland advocated more and better teaching of Australian History as a protection against the blind fanaticism that ignorance breeds:

Australian children are at a disadvantage in learning English History. They are not surrounded by historic scenes and associations that lend their aid to the teacher and the child. Probably we should do better work by beginning at the other end. It is very noticeable that pupils take more interest in Australian History, and it is natural that they should do so. If the teacher were allowed to take Australia and its institutions as the basis upon which to begin his teaching of history, the child might, with happier results, leave a primary school with clearer notions of the general causes that have gone to mould the race to which he belongs, and to instil into him a finer and less unreasoning kind of patriotism that he sometimes displays on reaching manhood.76

The Commissioners of Primary Education, George Knibbs and J. W. Turner, appointed by John Perry, the Minister for Public Instruction, in 1901 to investigate the need to provide

76 Ibid., 1903, p. 106.
a wider range of educational facilities in the public schools, adopted a position towards history similar to that of the inspectors. In their opinion:

The subject might very well be started earlier and taught by means of simple connected stories. There is good reason for saying that many of our pupils leave school with but a limited knowledge of the history of their own country.78

The role of history as a means of encouraging citizenship and patriotism was not new but by the end of the nineteenth century it was receiving greater attention. Professor Wood, in an article published in the Australian Teacher, the journal of the New South Wales Public School Teachers' Association, put the view that history was the saviour of the nation: "It is impossible to begin too soon to save the boy from growing up a bad copy of his father".79 Miss Whitfield, a teacher at Sydney Girls' High School, was equally convinced that:

We can never be a great nation without patriotism, . . . the pride and love of country, and such feelings, such duties, can best be suggested to children by examples drawn from history.80

The 1891 Standards of Proficiency and the "Instructions to Teachers" which accompanied them, however, were still concerned with the primacy of English History and the ways in which this could assist in the education of

77 NSWPD, ii, III, p. 2932.
78 Rep. Commissioners of Primary Education, 1903.
the children of New South Wales. One of these was the inculcation of middle class values of which "respectability" was the key. Gardiner's book, *Outlines of English History*, was a powerful auxiliary in the propagation of these values and it so nearly paralleled in its content Instruction to Teachers, No. 35, that it is difficult to decide whether the book was selected because it most nearly fulfilled the requirement of the Instruction or whether the Instruction sprang from ideas put forward by Gardiner. What is sure is that book and Instruction complemented each other. Instruction 35 read:

> 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.81

Professor Scott was not convinced that such virtues could be achieved by direct teaching and believed that although it looked very imposing on paper, the Instruction was a dead letter.82 For all the virtues except patriotism, Scott was probably correct that little was achieved by direct teaching. Patriotism was, however, inculcated in many ways. The doctrines of godliness and patriotism so specifically delegated to teachers were spelt out in detail by Gardiner. His book was primarily designed to provide a great deal of

---

81 For a copy of the Instruction and a comment on it, see Prof. Smith, "On 'Citizenship' as a subject for school teaching", *ibid.*, No. 6, Ap. 1894, p. 3.

82 Ibid.
information on political history but it was fortified with a liberal sprinkling of moral injunctions and exhortations to children to love their country. These were conveyed to the children through biographical stories of great men and by a careful selection of their wise and worthy sayings. The interpretation of the subject's life was such that it promoted a "Go thou and do likewise" message, a procedure still to be seen in contemporary Social Studies texts. Of such importance was the subject of moral education that the 1904 Conference of Inspectors, Teachers, Departmental Officers and Prominent Educationists devoted a full session to it under the title "Ethics, Civics and Morals". 83 Rev. R. MacIntyre, a prominent Presbyterian minister who attended the conference, equated such teaching with the inculcation of "a true patriotism" and "a pride in the great Empire to which we have the honor and privilege to belong, that we should be not only imperialists, but true and loyal Australians". To aid the creation of his model citizens, MacIntyre suggested that there should be exhibited in all the schools" a fairly cheap but not inelegant portrait of our King". 84

Moral education was a field in which clerics felt that they excelled and over which their schools had a stranglehold and so it is of little surprise to find MacIntyre's fellow Presbyterian, Professor the Rev. D. Harper, Principal of St.

84 Ibid., pp. 92-3.
Andrews College, also supporting the teaching of morals but at the same time suggesting that the public schools had not up to that time taught the subject:

The fundamental fact is that, if the State is going to undertake education, it must undertake morals, and, consequently, it must undertake the basis of morals as well. . . . If the State cannot do that it should not touch education.85

Rising to the defence of the public school system, Senior Inspector Lobban declaimed somewhat fulsomely on the need to have a moral education and declared that this could only be based upon the Bible.86 It was left to William McIntyre, the Deputy Chief Inspector, to bring the Conference to reality. He pointed out that despite the high ideals expressed no one had put forward a practical solution to the problem of how morals might be taught in the schools. He suggested a committee "to prepare a code of morals for use in the public schools".87 As he reminded his listeners, this was not a new idea. J. H. Carruthers, when Minister for Public Instruction, had seen fit to reintroduce the practice, originally instituted by the Board of National Education,88 of having a moral code hung in every public school. For the moment, the value of history as a means of moral training was subordinated to the need to

85 Ibid., p. 87.
86 Ibid., p. 97.
87 Ibid., p. 105.
88 For the text of the 1848 Moral Code, see N.S.W.G.G., Supplement, 9 May 1848, pp. 606-10.
devise a moral code, but history could not be completely displaced. All of the teachers and most of the educational administrators employed by the Department of Public Instruction had studied F. J. Gladman's *School Method* and he had made it plain that:

Frequent appeals can be made to high principles, and to the nobler instincts of the pupils, so that the history lesson may become a great means of moral training. The right-minded teacher has in this lesson the opportunity of inculcating a righteous indignation at wrong doing, a detestation of meanness, and a love of what is noble in intention and in act.\(^89\)

The influence of Gladman's books cannot be overestimated. *School Method* was practically the teacher's Bible and, since it was the one text on method prescribed for examination for public school teachers, it is little to be wondered at that his ideas were widely known and supported. Nor should it have been otherwise. His advice to teachers was soundly based and made sense. For example, his explanation of how a teacher could appeal to patriotism and noble instincts:

He may show that the truly great man is animated by an earnest purpose, and that he is willing to make any sacrifices, and to endure any amount of suffering for what he honestly believes to be right. He can point out that something more than intention is necessary to a noble career, that action is wanted, 'That no man (and no nation) ever becomes truly great in his sleep'. - Carlyle.\(^90\)

The problem, as Under-secretary Johnson and his inspectors discovered, was to find the textbook which would

---


\(^90\) *Ibid.*
most nearly impress upon children the attitudes and behaviour most acceptable to the community at large. Not only was this difficult as not all the community agreed as to what was most acceptable but a substantial minority, through its own education system, was endeavouring to promote a different brand of citizenship. While the Minister for Public Instruction and his aides were seeking those books best calculated to inculcate loyalty to the Empire, love of country, and, through 'drum and trumpet' history, the glorification of war by which "good" conquered "evil", or, at least, Englishmen took up the burden of saving the unenlightened from themselves, Roman Catholic schools of the various orders were pursuing their own independent courses which did not include support for Imperialism or for Imperial Federation.
CHAPTER XI

ROMAN CATHOLIC EDUCATION AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONALIST AND IRISH HOME RULER.

In reviewing the Roman Catholic case for a restoration of state aid in 1911, P. S. Cleary began by repeating a question asked by the Sydney Morning Herald: "Why do the Roman Catholics separate themselves from the rest of the community on the Education question?" He gave the same reply as had Rev. M. J. O'Reilly: "They did not separate themselves, they were thrown out". ¹ The feeling that the Roman Catholic community had been discriminated against was an important factor in the determination of both the Roman Catholic clergy and the laity to preserve their school system. As from 1 January 1883, the expense of building and maintaining schools, as well as providing presbyteries, churches and residences for the religious, fell entirely upon the congregations. Far from collapsing under the weight of increasing debt,² the Roman Catholic school system prospered and earned for Cardinal Moran the title of "The Builder". During the period of his administration, 1884-1911, the number of schools in the Archdiocese rose from 102


to 306 and the number of pupils from about 11,000 to 24,477.\textsuperscript{3}

The cost of this was enormous. Before Archbishop Vaughan died, Roman Catholics had spent £207,940 on school building in the Colony. By 1909, for the Archdiocese of Sydney alone, Cardinal Moran had brought the figure up to £670,000, not counting expenditure on the secondary schools at Riverview and Rose Bay which together cost nearly £250,000.\textsuperscript{4} In 1911, P. J. Cleary claimed that the total value of the Roman Catholic schools in New South Wales was not less than £3,000,000 while a similar sum had been expended on maintenance. Roman Catholics, he said, had been punished enough for their determination to provide a Catholic education for their children: "It is no argument to reject our appeal (for the restoration of state aid) on the sordid ground of economy. . . . If sacrifice be the price of freedom, we have surely paid the claim in full".\textsuperscript{5}

The rapid expansion of the Roman Catholic school system was made possible by the personal sacrifice of the religious. The major item of expenditure, the payment of teacher's salaries, was greatly reduced by staffing the schools with members of teaching orders. The Church was doubly fortunate in that large numbers of its people were not only prepared to serve God through the education of Catholic

\textsuperscript{3} P. O'Farrell, \textit{The Catholic Church in Australia}, p. 163.

\textsuperscript{4} P. J. Cleary, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 211.

\textsuperscript{5} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 212.
youth but were prepared to do so in apostolic poverty. Requiring little beyond their sustenance, these teachers came in large numbers from Ireland and from other parts of the world to rescue Church education in its hour of need when cut off from state aid. So sure were the Church leaders of ultimate success that the offer of the Department of Public Instruction to purchase Roman Catholic school buildings it presumed would be no longer required was treated with disdain by some Bishops and vehemently rejected by the others. By 1883, two-thirds of the Roman Catholic schools in the Archdiocese of Sydney were entirely staffed by religious and these numbers increased as other orders arrived in the Colony. For example, in September 1891, the Institute of the Blessed Virgin, commonly known as the Loretto Nuns, arrived in Sydney and in January 1892 opened a Ladies' College and Preparatory School for Girls at the Loretto Convent, Randwick. Roman Catholic boys were also catered for and in 1892 the Franciscan Brothers arrived from the United States to take over the Waverley Roman Catholic boys' school. By 1911, the 330 religious who had taught in Sydney in 1884 had increased to 1,594.

---

8 Illustrated Biographical Sketches from the Catholic Home Annual . . . for 1892, p. 34.
9 School Visitations, Report, J. P. Moynagh, June 1892, Archives, St. Mary's Cathedral.
10 P. O'Farrell, op. cit., p. 163.
Once the problem of staffing their schools was minimised by the arrival of large numbers of teachers, the Roman Catholic education authorities were faced with another problem. The standardisation of textbooks presented an issue difficult to overcome as the various teaching orders pursued their own courses and even competed against each other for scholars. On the whole, the different teaching orders used Roman Catholic books, particularly those of the Irish Christian Brothers; but some preferred to use those selected by the Department of Public Instruction. The use of the Christian Brothers books presented the same problems to colonial Roman Catholic schools as did the Irish National books to colonial public schools: the content was designed for the education of Irish children and was, therefore, concerned with Irish themes. Both series required adaptation if they were to be of real benefit to Australian children. The Irish National books were not only amended to include Australian topics but the public schools were also permitted to use a special series of Collins' Progressive Readers specially designed for use in the Australian colonies called The Australian Reading Books.11

Attempts were also made to improve the Australian content of the books used in Roman Catholic schools. When the

---

11 Both series existed side by side from 1876 until 1890 when it was decided to obtain more suitable readers. Rep. M.P.I., 1890, VP/LA/NSW, 1891-2, III, p. 41-2. The I.N. books continued to be included in the list of authorised texts until the revised Standards of Proficiency of 1898.
readers were revised to include the poems of Kendal and other Australian poets in 1898, one clerical reviewer praised the books as both "Catholic and Australian". In one respect, the Christian Brothers books needed no amendment. They were strongly Irish Nationalistic in tone and outlook and presented through their content an anti-English view of life which was not unwelcome to the pro-Irish Home Rule clergy of New South Wales. When a new series of readers was introduced into Roman Catholic schools a decade later, the movement towards the creation of a citizen who was an Australian first had advanced to the point where a reviewer could say of the books: "They aim at cultivating Australian National Sentiment founded on the Faith of our Fathers". The changes initiated by the Approved Readers for the Catholic Schools of Australasia did not eliminate the emphasis on Irish themes seen in the earlier series. Roman Catholic children continued to be taught that Ireland was the fountainhead of all that was good and that

12 Aust. Cath. Record, 4, 1898, p. 442. See also School Visitations, letter, Cardinal Moran, 2 Oct. 1908. Complaints about the quality of the readers from Inspector of Catholic Schools Francis Timoney in Nov. 1896 seem to have led to the letting of a ten-year contract for a new series of readers to Benziger Bros. of New York. It was not renewed when the contract ran out in 1907 as the books were expensive and difficult to get regularly. See Circular, Denis O'Haran, 1908, Archives, St. Mary's Cathedral.


15 See, for example, in the Fifth Reader, "Ireland the School of the West" by Cardinal Moran. (He supplied a number of items for the Readers).
England was Ireland's oppressor. However, the amount of material which could be called "Catholic", though plentiful, was not as abundant as in the previous series and Barbara Bell of the Central Catholic Training College in Melbourne questioned the right of the books to the title Catholic. The Coadjutor Bishop of Maitland, P. Dwyer, also commented on the decline in the number of "Catholic" pieces. He suggested the inclusion of a compendium of Church History such as that in Gilmore's Fifth Reader.

These deficiencies were remedied in 1910 with the publication of the Australian Catholic School Paper. It was issued in three parts: Junior, Intermediate and Senior. The following summary of Volume 1, Number 1, will indicate the type of material provided:

16 See, for example, in the Fourth Reader, "The Exile of Erin" and "The Wearing of the Green"; in the Sixth Reader, "Who fears to Speak of '98"; "Ireland's Claim for Home Rule" and "Catholics and Irishmen". The last was written by Cardinal Moran.

17 Bell to Father McCarthy, 11 Feb. 1908, Archives, St. Mary's Cathedral. See also ibid., 14 Feb. and 1 March 1908.

18 Dwyer to Father McCarthy, April 1908, Archives, St. Mary's Cathedral.

19 The Australian Catholic School Paper was introduced after a complaint by Agatha Le Breton at the Third Australasian Catholic Congress that Roman Catholic children gained "their ideas of the right or wrong about old-world questions and disputes, or about our own Australian affairs" from daily or public school papers. Proceedings of the Third Australasian Catholic Congress held at St. Mary's Cathedral, Sydney, 26 Sept. - 3 Oct. 1909, p. 223. See also suggestions by "A Practical Educationalist", ibid., pp. 224-25.
The Junior Edition
Australia and Ireland
It is good to be honest
A Peep into Fairyland
The Apostle of the Negroes

The Intermediate Edition
The Golden Shoe (A religious legend)
Billy's Adventure
A First Communion
Is the world round?
A Greeting to the Kelts

The Senior Edition
Address by Sir John Young (The story of the destruction of St. Mary's Cathedral, 29 June 1865)
The Church in Ireland during the Nineteenth Century
An Australian Convict
Victory - Story of Nelson's "England Expects: signal

The message presented by the last story was not in praise of England but urged devotion to the Church:

And our "Victory" is one that conquers, not European powers, French or Spanish, but the powers of darkness, the enemy of our souls. . . . Which of you will sail in the "Victory" - not with Lord Nelson or Hardy and all those great men, but with our Lord at the helm, with our Lady and all the saints? They will bring us not to death and earthly glory but to everlasting life and everlasting glory.20

The freedom to accept or reject any textbook or school magazine was one of the benefits of the Parkes-Vaughan confrontation and its sequel, the Public Instruction Act. In 1867, Parkes had refused to accede to the request of the Roman Catholic bishops to include in the Council of Education's list of approved books two series of books which they believed were indispensable to the education of Roman

20 Australian Catholic School Paper, I, 1, (Senior), 1910, pp. 15-16.
Catholic children. On this occasion, Parkes put forward the view that as the books were deeply infused with Roman Catholic doctrine they could not be used in schools receiving state aid and open to children of all religions. After 1882, Roman Catholics were able, for the most part at least, to cast aside those books deemed inimical to Catholic interests. The exceptions were the texts prescribed for the public examinations. These had to be used despite the doubts and uncertainties Roman Catholic authorities held of them. As one Bishop protested in 1888, how were Catholic teachers to cope with the poison so subtly dispensed in the histories of Theophile Gautier and Samuel Rawson Gardiner?

The real danger of history lay in its supposed ability to undermine, in some insidious way, the faith of those who undertook its study. It was not so much what was said but what was left unsaid. Religion, instead of being given pride of place in the story of man, was allotted an incidental place. As a result of this secular history, life and religion were seen as independent of each other.

21 See "Correspondence on Return Respecting School Books authorised by the Council of Education", VP/LA/NSW, 1867-8, IV, pp. 601-8. See also Empire, 24 July 1867; NSWGG. 28 May 1867, p. 1292 & 14 June 1867, p. 1834.


and this, declared Church spokesmen, was anathema. The fear proved groundless. A few periods of history a week, for those studying for the public examinations, failed to weaken the faith of children whose time at school included frequent occasion for religious observance. When looking for the underlying reason for the strong attachment of the Australian Roman Catholic to his faith, Dr. Eris O'Brien concluded that:

The success of the Catholic Church in Australia is not due to sinister influences or domineering tactics. It is due to the fact that the people have been taught their Faith at school.\footnote{24 Quoted U. Corrigan, \textit{op. cit.}, Intro. xiii.}

The fear of contamination through the printed word is best seen in the Index, that list of books originally issued by the Council of Trent in 1564 and afterwards supported by a regular bureau of censorship established by Pope Pius V.\footnote{25 An edition of \textit{The Index of Prohibited Books} was published as recently at 1948,} Books which appeared in it, and historians such as Gibbon and Hallam are to be found in company with philosophers such as Rosseau and Locke, were condemned as damnable and forbidden to Roman Catholics through the Holy Office. In the Code of Canon Law, church history is expressly named as one of the subjects requiring censorship; this was an absolute power which permitted the Australian Bishops to denounce school histories for their potential to subvert Catholic youth. The diocesan
The problem of leaving the selection of textbooks to the individual school or teaching order remained a persistent one. Inspector Timoney considered that this exercise of their independence was detrimental to the efficiency of the Roman Catholic education system. In his Report for the half-year ending 30 June 1895, he suggested that:

so long as the choice of school books is left to the caprice of the teachers there will be a difficulty in establishing any comparison between schools. Nobody will maintain that the use of a certain Arithmetic or Geography has a tendency to undermine the Faith of a Catholic child, and I fail to see why such books as these should not be recommended to the teachers; and if necessary, the use of certain books in all the primary schools should be obligatory. At present it is painful to see the variety of books used in our schools, and most of these books are inferior in every way to those issued in England and Ireland.\(^\text{26}\)

Ten years later the same things were being said. In 1905, Cardinal Moran sought suggestions from his leading educationists on the means of improving Catholic Schools. Stanislaus Bergin, the Provincial of the Patrician Brothers, advocated a uniformity of textbooks\(^\text{27}\) and the

---

\(^{26}\) School Visitations, Archives, St. Mary's Cathedral.

\(^{27}\) Letter dated 31 Aug. 1905, Education Box, Archives, St. Mary's Cathedral.
Marist Brothers supported his suggestion.\textsuperscript{28} P. J. Barron of the Christian Brothers Novitiate at Petersham was more concerned with the use to which the textbooks were put and condemned "the parrotting allowed at the (history) Examination, and indeed encouraged by it".\textsuperscript{29} As for the "Programme of Studies", Barron saw it as:

overloaded with much that is unpractical and devoid of educational value, to the exclusion of really useful subjects. It requires modification, as well in the amount of matter prescribed as in the searching details insisted on by the Examiners.\textsuperscript{30}

One of the courses he felt was too extensive was that in history\textsuperscript{31} and in this regard he was supported by Bergin who believed that this could be remedied by dropping the study of English History in the First Division of Fourth Class and spreading the course of Irish History which had been reserved for the second or senior division, over both divisions.\textsuperscript{32} In the Programme for the Catholic Primary Schools of the Archdiocese of Sydney, Fourth Class Irish History was set down as:

a course of Irish History embracing the following topics - St. Patrick and his labours; Brian Boru; Edward Bruce; The First Earl of Desmond; Art McMorough; The Geraldines; O'Donnell and O'Neill; Cromwell; Jacobite Rebellion; Sarsfield; The Penal Laws; Henry

\textsuperscript{28} "Suggestions for improving the Syllabus for Catholic Schools", \textit{ibid.}

\textsuperscript{29} Letter dated 28 Aug. 1905, \textit{ibid.}

\textsuperscript{30} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{31} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{32} Letter dated 31 Aug. 1905, \textit{op. cit.}
Cardinal Moran favoured the teaching of Irish History and the Irish language and supported Hibernian competitions to promote their study. At the Second Australasian Catholic Congress held in Melbourne in 1904, he championed the introduction of the study of Irish History into the Roman Catholic school systems of Australasia. In his view, Irish History would fill the gap which a lack of local history created in the development of patriotism in a child's character. At the same time, he avowed that the study of Irish History would present Roman Catholic children with the truth about their religion and about Ireland:

Australians had no history of their own, and instinctively looked abroad for the facts of history. But it was difficult to find genuine history, since historians took everything that was degrading, humiliating and depressing, and represented this as the efflorescence of religion in countries in times past. Everything connected with the history of Ireland was presented in the most false and deceitful colours.

He believed that Irish Australians were to be numbered amongst the most ardent lovers of Ireland and that the courses would meet with their approval. For an Irish

---

33 Programme of the Catholic Primary Schools of the Archdiocese of Sydney, Archives, St. Mary's Cathedral.

34 Circular, Cardinal to the Catholic Bishops, 5 Sept. 1906, Archives, St. Mary's Cathedral.

Roman Catholic patriot, this was a natural conclusion. The last two decades of the nineteenth century saw Ireland in political turmoil. Disillusioned ministers of the crown, at the behest of irate Anglo-Irish landlords, had turned to coercion to put down civil disturbances and acts of terrorism.  

Repression failed to suppress the Fenians and merely served to prove to Australian Roman Catholics that the persecution suffered by their co-religionists in Ireland was what they too would have suffered if the Roman Catholic hierarchy in New South Wales had not stood firm against Parkes and his Orange Lodge and Freemason allies.

Militant Protestants saw the Roman Catholic laity as the dupes of their priests who would not "allow the people to think and act for themselves".  

Rev. Dill Macky was so sensitive to what he saw as the brain-washing of ignorant people that he complained to fellow Orangemen in Bathurst in 1890 that Roman Catholics:

were in reality dumb-driven cattle compelled to follow the bidding of the priest, and submitted to the degradation of being driven by the lash of the Church.  

... The question arose, were Roman Catholics really entitled to vote? It was hard to say no to this question, but when it was known that they gave up their consciences to the priest and were content to bow under the whip that drove them they had reason to ask the question. When there was no exercise of individual

---


intelligence and will the vote given was not the vote of the individual but the vote of the Church. Macky was making a mistake common amongst Orangemen and others who opposed Roman Catholicism. He confused Australian Roman Catholic conformity to the dictates of Rome with a surrender of all freedom. That Papal pronouncements met with little resistance in New South Wales has been accepted by Roman Catholic historian J. N. Molony in *The Roman Mould of the Australian Catholic Church*. After presenting the historical background of the Church in Australia and examining in detail the crises it went through in the nineteenth century, Molony concluded that:

There was always a ready acceptance of Roman pronouncements on matters of faith and morals. The Immaculate Conception, the Syllabus and the dogma of Papal Infallibility may indeed have been the crowning glories of Pio Nono's reign, but the manner of their acceptance in the Australian Church indicated the degree of passivity in the face of Rome with which the young Church was inbued, and to which it became accustomed.

This is far from an admission that Roman Catholics were prepared to surrender their voting rights to the Church. On questions of faith and morals, Roman Catholics in the Colony accepted direction but not even the candidature of their Cardinal for a seat on the 1897 Federal Convention could get them to speak with one voice on a political issue. Following Cardinal Moran's defeat at the ballot

---

38 *Free Press*, 15 July 1890. See also *ibid.*, 18 July 1890.

box which not even the support of many moderate Protest­
ants could prevent, the Freeman's Journal reported what
should have been obvious even to the most bigoted of
Protestants; that "the vote for the Cardinal in no way
represented the voting strength of the Catholic people
in this colony". Comments by priests and the creation of political
parties such as the Democratic Party in 1920 by the
Catholic Federation and the Democratic Labour Party in
1956 have contributed to the persistence of the belief
amongst Protestants that the Church could organise the
Roman Catholic vote for its own advantage. Calls by
priests for Roman Catholic unity were sometimes marred by
the overt anti-English sentiments which accompanied them.
In 1897, Father P. Dunne urged his co-religionists to come
together to work for the removal of the disabilities
imposed upon Roman Catholic education by the provisions of
the Public Instruction Act. He could not resist beginn­
ing by belittling the recent Jubilee celebrations which

---

40 For comments on the Cardinal's Protestant support, see S.M.H., 15 Jan. 1897, and 12 Feb. 1897.
41 Quoted P. O'Farrell, op. cit., p. 178. See also, J. Mahon, The Labour Movement in N.S.W. and the Federation of the Australian Colonies, 1891-1900, p. 232.
42 See Circular, P. S. Cleary, President of the Cath­
olic Federation, 3 Feb. 1920, Archives, St. Mary's Cathed­
ral.
43 For clerical influence in the foundation of the
had provided opportunity for numerous expressions of patriotism. His statement that "Now that the wave of insanity re 'the Record Reign' celebrations has passed over" no doubt struck a sympathetic chord in the breast of many Irish-Australians but it could not but harden the attitude of influential Protestants against state aid. It served to prove to writers such as A. M. Topp that:

Wherever the Irish are settled in great numbers, there is an 'Irish party' - a collection of more or less crafty, scheming, priest-ridden, and thoroughly disloyal men, whom, nevertheless, we admit to all the rights and privileges of English citizenship.

Topp saw the great men of Ireland such as Goldsmith and Burke and military men such as Wellington and Wolseley as the Englishry of Ireland. The test of Englishry or Irishness lay not in blood but in religion. The power of Catholicism, said Topp, lay in the power of its leaders to "direct the actions of a vast number of unintelligent, unquestioning Irish voters". As far as Dunne was concerned, it was the power of Protestant leaders to direct the Protestant vote which had been responsible for the disadvantages suffered by Roman Catholics. He pointed to the success of a Nonconformist minister in influencing the decision to bring down the Public Instruction Act of

---

44 Catholic Press, 17 July 1897, p. 17. Unlike the Jubilee celebrations of 1887, these celebrations were not broken up by a "misguided and turbulent mob". See C. W. Morgan, Citizenship, p. 15.


46 Ibid., pp. 11-12.
1880. He believed that if Rev. James Greenwood could organise the Public School League, the Catholic Bishops and their Cardinal could organise a Catholic School League with the help of the Roman Catholic clergy and laity. In the struggle for the restoration of state aid, such an organisation, said Dunne, "would have a very efficacious effect with our would-be legislators".47

J. N. Molony is at pains to deny the traditional view of the Irishness of the nineteenth century Roman Catholic Church in Australia. He declares it to be Roman not Irish "through and through".48 In matters of high policy, this assessment is undoubtedly correct; but at the lower level of the parish priest and the parishioner he is forced to admit that "The factor that marked off Irish Catholicism as different from the Latin or Roman variety was the retention by the people of the basic elements of the Catholic faith".49 The history of the appointments to high office within the Australian Church made this Irishness unavoidable. Of the seventeen episcopal appointments made between 1846 and 1878, two were English, three were Spaniards and twelve were Irish.50 Molony records Polding's failure to convince his Bishops that they should forget

47 Catholic Press, 17 July 1897, p. 17.
49 Ibid., p. 165.
50 Ibid., p. 29.
their Irish backgrounds and to see themselves as Australians. A letter alleged to have been written to A. H. Palmer, the Minister for Public Instruction in Queensland by Rt. Rev. Dr. Quinn, Roman Catholic Bishop of Brisbane, was used by Topp to prove the disloyalty of Irish-Australians and, in particular, the subversive attitudes of their leaders:

Under the present state of Irish feeling — in Ireland itself, in America, and wherever the Irish race is to be found, should a war break out between England and America, it is my opinion that a powerful army of Irish volunteers, not only from Ireland but from the British colonies also, would take their stand under the American flag.

"If this is not the language of disloyalty and treason", said Topp, "I shall be glad to know what is".

With the bulk of the Roman Catholic clergy Irish and the majority of the children in the Roman Catholic schools Irish-born or of Irish descent, the development of a love of Ireland in the children and a concentration on Irish subjects and themes was natural. So too was an interest in Irish problems and in the greatest problem of them all, Home Rule. Irish celebrations became occasions for denunciation of English occupation of Ireland. The centenary of the 1798 Rebellion led to an "Unparalleled Demonstration"

51 Ibid., p. 28. See also H. N. Birt, op. cit., II, pp. 351-52.
53 Ibid., p. 200
in Sydney and to a eulogistic description of it in the Catholic Press.\textsuperscript{54} So well did the Church turn the eyes of the laity to Ireland, to Irish priests and to Irish teachers that, through a well developed nostalgia for things Irish, many Roman Catholics not even born in Ireland could not distinguish between Catholicism and Ireland as objects of emotional fervour. Certainly, non-Catholics could scarcely separate Ireland from Catholicism and, even today, in colloquial Australian, "Mick" and "Catholic" are synonymous. The propagation of the idea of this oneness was assisted by the celebrations associated with St. Patrick's Day. In 1899, the Catholic Press declared St. Patrick's Day to be "a feast that proclaims victory and triumph for Catholicity, and that trumpet-tongued declares to all the world that it has no power that can crush the undying spirit of Irish nationality".\textsuperscript{55} Such was the emotional attachment felt by Irish-Australians for Ireland that Orangeman W. H. Paul declared that they "drank in hatred of England with their mother's milk".\textsuperscript{56}

With such a fervour associated with Ireland, it could be assumed that the introduction of a course in Irish History would meet with instant success. It was not so. Irish History was not generally taught in Roman Catholic

\textsuperscript{55} Ibid., 10 March 1899.  
\textsuperscript{56} Free Press, 15 July 1890.
schools and, despite the encouragement of competitions and complaints in the Catholic Press, those who received such training remained a minority. Part of the problem lay in the rapidity with which the Roman Catholic school system had been expanded. This had resulted in large numbers of children being taught in inadequate accommodation and, in many instances, by untrained teachers. When Inspector of Roman Catholic Schools J. Sheridan visited the school at Waitematta in June 1895, he reported that it was "altogether too bad" to leave the school in charge of "two simple innocent Novices from the Convent of Mercy, St. Patrick's". His main concern was the effect their inability to teach was having on public opinion. Children from some of the most repsected and wealthy Protestant families in the neighbourhood attended the school and Sheridan feared that unless there was an immediate change in the teaching staff "the character of our schools will suffer".

57 See Circular, Cardinal Moran to Priests, 5 Sept. 1906, Archives, St. Mary's Cathedral.
59 Inspectorial reports indicate that the "visitors" were more concerned with class sizes, inadequate accommodation and untrained teachers than anything else. Remarks on instruction were minimal and in general were mainly concerned with whether or not a school met the "Standard". Individual subjects were rarely mentioned. See, for example, Inspector Sheridan's report on the Windsor school, Dec. 1894, Rep. on Cath. Primary Schs. Parramatta District, Archives, St. Mary's Cathedral.
60 Ibid., 30 June 1895.
61 Ibid.
Despite all the problems of introducing additional subjects to an already overcrowded curriculum, patriotic reasons for the inclusion of Irish History and the Irish language in the Programme of Studies for Roman Catholic schools won over leading Roman Catholic educationists. In a circular to his priests, Moran drew attention to the arrangements for Hibernian competitions "to promote the study of Irish History and Language" which had been languishing for some years. He urged them "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". He also encouraged those not directly under his influence in the Archdiocese of Sydney to take up the cause of Irish History by speaking at length on the importance of the subject to the Second Australasian Catholic Congress.

The Cardinal's direct intervention in the question sparked immediate though short-lived interest. Writing from Moss Vale in October 1905, James Whyte was able to inform the Cardinal that:

---

62 See comments on the overloading of the Programme of Studies by P. J. Barron, 28 Aug. 1905, Education Box, Archives, St. Mary's Cathedral.

63 Letter Whyte to Moran, 12 Feb. 1904, Archives, St. Mary's Cathedral.

64 Circular to priests, 5 Sept. 1906, St. Mary's Cathedral.

Your Eminence will be pleased to learn that Irish History is a favourite subject in a number of schools. The children remember it much better than English History and a very healthy spirit is being aroused by it.

I have discussed the Irish Language question with many teachers. The prospect is encouraging. There is a class at St. James' and at Redfern, and I hear rumour that other schools are going to take it up. 66

Six months later, Whyte was again despondent about making Irish History a source of inspiration to Roman Catholic children in New South Wales and he criticised the general lack of interest he found in the subject:

In many of the schools already examined this year, Irish History is not taught. I always point out to the teachers the benefits that children would derive from the study of it.

English History is unsatisfactory when I give an oral exam. but fair when the exam. is written. The amount of matter presented in a vast number of schools is paltry. 67

Despite a general lack of enthusiasm for courses in Irish History, Roman Catholic children were not denied contact with the subject. Much of the teaching of the children in the history, culture and folklore of Ireland was imbibed through the reading lessons. The Australian Catholic Readers contained a preponderance of themes devoted to Ireland as well as others in which some aspect of the country was mentioned. For example, in Book V of the series, fourteen of the thirty-four articles glorified

66 Letter, Whyte to Moran, 10 Oct. 1906, Education Box, Archives, St. Mary's Cathedral.
67 Whyte's Report for 1907, ibid.
Ireland and the Irish race in items devoted to such topics as "Ireland and the Irish" and "A Martyr for Erin". This encouragement of Irish sentiment was enhanced by the work done in other subjects. Poetry, music and dancing all contained significant proportions of Irish works.

The emphasis on and the turning to Ireland by educators in the New South Wales Roman Catholic school system was part of the reaction to two hundred years of racial and religious antagonism. By making Ireland a focal point for love and loyalty, and supported by their common faith, Roman Catholic Irish-Australians were able to obtain a feeling of unity in the face of the antagonistic and heretical English Protestant majority. This feeling of oneness was also assisted by the fact that the vast majority of Roman Catholics were members of the working classes.

Public school children were also exposed to a large amount of information on Ireland until the end of the nineteenth century. Like his Roman Catholic age-mate, the public school child was fed a diet of Irish thought, history and culture through the stories he read in his readers. In this case, however, the stories he read in the Irish National readers favoured the English presence in Ireland. None the less, through their readers, both public and Roman Catholic children were exposed to Irish rather than English influences. In 1898, the public schools at last ceased to use the Irish National readers as alternative readers. The Irish National scripture books continued to
be read for another ten years in public schools. After they were replaced at the end of 1909, Senior Inspector McKenzie mourned the end of "a rich and complete course of moral and religious training". The Roman Catholic schools, too, saw changes in the textbooks used with the children, including a new reader, but the development of the Irish-Australian persisted as the aim of Roman Catholic education.

That the Irish nationalism which featured so clearly and prominently in the readers continued to persist despite changes in the public school system, which usually foreshadowed similar changes in the Roman Catholic system, was in no small part due to the continuing struggle for Home Rule in Ireland. There was strong support for this in New South Wales. Roman Catholic children could not avoid becoming emotionally involved in the question because not only did they find food for thought in their readers, but their teachers were expected to make them conversant with the problem. This duty was set out in the Diocesan Standard of Proficiency for Catholic Schools in the Archdiocese of Sydney which instructed teachers how they were to achieve the aims of the courses. The instructions

68 Public Instruction Gazette, 30 June 1910, p. 199.
69 The Approved Readers for the Catholic Schools of Australasia, 1908.
covering the third and fourth books read:

3rd Book - **Australian Catholic Readers**

... The pupils are to be trained to give the subject matter of the lesson, with the aid of questions by the teacher where necessary. Care should be taken that in every case the answer contain a complete sentence.

4th Book - **Australian Catholic Readers**

The teaching will not be held satisfactory unless the pupils get the substance and a visual image of the scenes described. Explanation of words, phrases and allusions in the lesson.\(^{71}\)

The involvement of the teachers in explanations of allusions in the stories provided opportunities for promoting the cause of Home Rule and for developing religio-nationalist sentiments. Outside the classroom these ideas were given substance through the celebration of special feast days such as those for St. Patrick and Our Lady Help of Christians and through the establishment of youth groups, men's clubs and women's guilds, and benefit societies for regular communicants.\(^{72}\)

The sponsorship of a Catholic press and of the Australian Catholic Truth Society were additional weapons in the struggle to prevent loss of faith and ideals amongst the Roman Catholic population. Fr. P. Dunne believed that it was the reading of secular

---

\(^{71}\) *Education Box*, Archives, St. Mary's Cathedral. For an official comment on the value of the Readers to a child's Catholicity, see *Proceedings of the First Australasian Catholic Congress held at St. Mary's Cathedral, Sydney, 10 Sept. 1900*, pp. 449-57.

\(^{72}\) For the importance the Church believed these societies had in preserving an individual's faith, see *Proceedings of the First Australasian Catholic Congress held at St. Mary's Cathedral, Sydney, 10 Sept. 1900*, "Scope and Purpose of Catholic Young Men's Societies", pp. 351-54.
newspapers and of bad literature which tended to make people more worldly, helping them, in fact, to forget God and to become materialists, socialists and free-thinkers.

To meet this danger, besides our Catholic schools and the practical instruction of the people by the priests on Sundays, a Catholic newspaper and a few good Catholic books in every family would be most useful.  

It was one of the aims of the Australian Catholic Truth Society to provide the good Catholic books Dunne spoke about and to counteract "the cheap, dangerous literature with which the country is deluged":  

The objects of the Society are the diffusion of Catholic truth, and the correction of errors concerning it, by the dissemination of cheap literature broadcast throughout the land, and by the organisation of popular lectures. The primary schools have taught the children to read; but when they leave school, at an immature age, it is vain to suppose that they can, as yet, reason soundly, and there is no adequate supply of wholesome mental food to set before them. The State schools, with their secular atmosphere, have not supplied the necessary moral and religious safe-guards against evil.

Spokesman for the public school system would have denied that their children were not supplied with the necessary moral and religious safe-guards against evil. They believed that their system produced the ideal citizen; one imbued with respectable Protestant middle-class virtues, obedient to authority, self-reliant and hard-working, and responsive to calls to duty and patriotism.

73 Catholic Press, 23 Nov. 1895.


75 Circular letter to Australian Catholics from the Australian Catholic Truth Society, Archives, St. Mary's Cathedral.
They saw the Roman Catholic school's concern over possible loss of faith as excessive but it was the rejection of English imperialism in favour of Home Rule for Ireland which created suspicion. Charges of self-interest and disloyalty were strenuously denied by Cardinal Moran:

I am convinced that the Catholic clergy and the Catholic body do not yield in the matter of patriotism to any other denomination in the country. On the contrary, I am fully assured that in this matter of true patriotism they are to be reckoned among the most unselfish and disinterested friends of progress in our various colonies.76

The "true patriotism" and progress of which Moran spoke involved a dedication to Australia's development which failed to take into account British interests and was therefore not yet wholly acceptable to most Anglo-Australians at this time and certainly not to the supporters of the Imperial Federation League. One spokesman for the League, H. D'E. Taylor, secretary to the League's Victorian branch, asserted that Britain's ideals were Australia's ideals. As far as he was concerned, Anglo-Australian attachment to England was "as deep as national origin, rests upon national existence, grows with national blood".77 He and his fellow members of the Imperial Federation League condemned Roman Catholic agitation for Home Rule for Ireland.78 In an address to members of the

77 H. d'E. Taylor, Australian Arguments, p. 15.
78 "Imperial Federation and Home Rule", Imperial Federation, III, No. 34, 1 Oct. 1888, p. 190-91.
Imperial Federation League, J. D. Wood spelt out why he could not and would not accept Irish Home Rule. Four reasons were put forward: First, that an independent Ireland would endanger the security of Great Britain; secondly, that Home Rule was not necessary as Irish representatives could attend the British Parliament without difficulty and thereby represent their part of the kingdom; thirdly, that the diversity of race, language and circumstances which elsewhere made it impossible for the British Parliament to legislate for other people did not exist for Ireland; and, finally, that no comparison could be made between Ireland and self-governing colonies as they did not cherish the same unfriendly feelings towards England as did so many Irishmen.79

Cardinal Moran was in favour of a federation but it was the federation of the Australian Colonies. In line with his motto, "Pro Deo et Australia",80 he urged Australians to accept "one Country, one People, one Flag"81 but knowing the temper of Anglo-Australians he also let it be known that he did not wish to separate the proposed Commonwealth from the British Empire:

Nothing could be further from my thoughts. I know of no allegiance on civil matters save what I owe to Her

79 J. D. Wood, Irish Home Rule from a Colonial point of view, p. 9.

80 P. E. Fitz-Walter, Benedictinism Encountered in Australian Education, p. 203.

81 P. F. Moran, Cardinal Moran and the Federal Convention, p. 16.
Most Gracious Majesty the Queen and to the Government of New South Wales. I am loyal to the Crown for conscience sake, and I am loyal to it because the interests of Australia for many a long day must render imperative such a union with the Empire. . . . No nation can desire greater freedom than that which we here enjoy. The purpose of Federation is to enhance that freedom, to guard and protect it. 82

With the Cardinal and his Bishops openly supporting Australian Federation and Irish Home Rule and opposing Imperial Federation, 83 the teachers and the children in the Roman Catholic schools did likewise. Visits to the schools by members of the Roman Catholic hierarchy invariably culminated with the singing of Irish patriotic songs such as "Dear Little Shamrock" and "Erin, Dear Erin". 84

From an educational point of view, the nineteenth century ended very quietly. Politically, economically and socially, the Colony had spent the last decade of the century in turmoil but apart from a reduction in funds for educational purposes which further reduced teachers' salaries 85 the educational systems escaped the reformers' eye. There was no recognition that there was a crisis in education. The mild juggling of courses and prescribed

82 Ibid.


84 Bathurst Convent Annual, (St. Mary's College), I, No. 1, Dec. 1896, pp. 4-5.

85 For the salary cuts and retrenchments of 1893 and 1896, see S.M.H., 21 Ap., 5 May, & 2 Aug. 1893; 5, 10 & 12 June 1896.
textbooks which were to be seen in the revisions of the Standards of Proficiency in both the public and Roman Catholic school systems were sufficient to appease most would-be critics. It was not to last. The new century was to produce a powerful agitator for change in the person of Professor Francis Anderson. He left no doubt that the "generally accepted belief that their Public school system was the best in the world" was a myth. The storm he raised was to lead to a new look at education by the administrators of the rival systems. In both cases, Anderson, as an outsider, found his views opposed by the well-entrenched bureaucracies. Ultimately, reform was achieved but from within. Moran turned to his leading educationists for inspiration and advice and the Department of Public Instruction to its inspectors. Neither, however, changed its basic philosophy of education; that it was dedicated to turning out its own idea of the ideal citizen.

---

86 Said by B. R. Wise, Attorney-General of N.S.W., to the derisive laughter of his teacher audience, S.M.H., 26 June 1901.

87 S.M.H., 27 June 1901.
CHAPTER XII

1901 - 1914: EDUCATIONAL REFORM LEAVES THE BASIC AIMS OF THE SCHOOL SYSTEMS UNCHANGED

When the nineteenth century ended, educational administrators in New South Wales could see little wrong with their schools. Partly, this was a response to the claims of politicians who saw the system of public education as one "which would bear little improvement"\(^1\) or as "second to none",\(^2\) "the grandest",\(^3\) or "the best".\(^4\) In the struggle to convince the public that their system of education was in advance of that of the public schools, Roman Catholic educators argued that if their schools lacked anything a resumption of state aid would soon put it right. The leading protagonist of the Roman Catholic view was the Catholic Press. The Freeman's Journal which had carried the fight over educational issues for many years, by the end of the century, had apparently lost interest. Only occasionally did it raise the old spectre of atheism in the public schools\(^5\) or the need to restore state aid.\(^6\)

---

\(^1\) *Evening News*, 27 July 1885.
\(^2\) *S.M.H.*, 12 Oct. 1895.
\(^3\) *S.M.H.*, 29 Aug. 1896.
\(^4\) *S.M.H.*, 19 May 1897.
\(^5\) e.g. *Freeman's J.*, 10 June 1899.
\(^6\) e.g. *Ibid.*, 6 Jan. 1900.
It was for the Catholic Press to demand concessions and to criticize Ministers for Public Instruction for their failure to see the justice of Roman Catholic claims for aid. When Ministers Garrard and Hogue, in succession, remained unresponsive, the Catholic Press resorted to personal abuse and condemned the system by which Catholics were taxed "to pay the salaries of such distinguished educationalists as Messrs. Garrard and Hogue, men who in any other country would find their level in a workshop or in some inferior position in a merchant's office".  

If extravagant praise of public education was less in evidence in the late 'nineties from politicians and from the press, because of the dominating nature of the controversy over Federation, senior officials of the Department of Public Instruction proved equal to the task of providing their own praise. Of all the officials, Frederick Bridges was the most vocal. His comments received good coverage in the press. He presented the public school system as one which "taught children to think and rendered them intelligent".  

At the same time, he left no doubt in the minds of his readers of the general high quality of public education and of its premier school, Fort Street, which was "not surpassed by any school in the world which

---

8 S.M.H., 25 March 1901.
gives an education to all classes and all creeds". As for the future, Bridges' only concern was to keep New South Wales "in the forefront of educational progress". Inspectors and principals of schools shared this view of the high quality of public education and were prepared to believe that they worked in "the most perfect system of education in the world". Because of this, they ignored the educational revolution which was revitalising education overseas and remained, in the words of C. B. Newling, the "proponents of a past pedagogical creed". When Professor Anderson, therefore, chose to reveal the inadequacies of public education in New South Wales in a speech to the New South Wales Public School Teachers' Association in June 1901, the reaction was one of anger and disbelief.

To the forefront of Anderson's critics were the inspectors of public schools. Through the New South Wales Educational Gazette, the Inspectorial Branch issued a statement:

The Professor's condemnation extended to every nook and corner of our organisation - kindergarten, school

9 S.M.H., 6 Sept. 1899.
13 S.M.H. 27 June 1901.
inspection, training of teachers, the pupil-teacher system, the Technical College, and the school curriculum were all vigorously denounced. Now, we have no intention of trying to refute the learned gentleman's statements; indeed, he so gloriously overstates his case that it is somewhat difficult to take him seriously; but we extend to him a cordial invitation to visit our schools, to stay there long enough to really understand what he sees and hears, and not to accept as gospel the statements of persons who happen to be unfriendly to our system of education.14

That the inspectors should react to criticism by decrying the need for sweeping reforms15 was a reaction to what they saw as an attack on their professional competence and to a failure to discern the need for the type of reform advocated. Revision of the Standards of Proficiency followed by limited change was a regular procedure to which they all subscribed. They could not accept the educational revolution suggested by Anderson. Their colleagues in the Roman Catholic system were as committed to the past.

The Sydney Morning Herald tried to minimise the Professor's criticisms by assurances that public education in New South Wales was "one of the best in the world; for all that is known it is the best";16 but within a few days the editor was forced to admit the good sense

15 See inspectorial comments in the report on the Conference of Inspectors and Departmental Officers held 21st Jan. 1902, and Following Days.
16 S.M.H., 25 June 1901.
of Anderson's charges.\textsuperscript{17} He did not capitulate completely but was prepared to argue that if "It is not the best imaginable system, ... it is easily among the best".\textsuperscript{18} He based his arguments on the restricted nature of public education:

Once the rudiments are imparted thoroughly, once a boy or a girl knows how to read, write, and cipher accurately, the State's work is done. Of course, the manner in which this work is done may be improved, and there are certain defects in the pupil teacher system and in other departments which might be remedied, ... But none of these defects are so important as to require the despatch, as suggested, of two or more commissioners to find out what is thought about educational systems in other parts of the world.\textsuperscript{19}

The idea of a Royal Commission had been suggested by opposition spokesman on education, J. H. Carruthers,\textsuperscript{20} but it was not until the Labour Party agreed to support it\textsuperscript{21} that Minister for Public Instruction Perry acknowledged that two commissioners would be appointed.\textsuperscript{22} Commissioners G. H. Knibbs and J. W. Turner left for Europe and America in April 1902 and returned in December 1903. They submitted three comprehensive reports on Primary Education,

\textsuperscript{17} S.M.H., 5 July 1901.
\textsuperscript{18} S.M.H., 4 Nov. 1901.
\textsuperscript{19} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{20} NSWPD, (ii), I, 30 July 1901, p. 134f. See also S.M.H. 5 Nov. 1901; D.T., 5 Nov. 1901.
\textsuperscript{21} See VP/LA/NSW, 1901, I, p. 471, & S.M.H., 21 Nov. 1901.
\textsuperscript{22} See D.T., 8 & 13 Dec. 1901, and Conference of Inspectors and Departmental Officers held 21st Jan. 1902, and Following Days.
Secondary Education, and Technical, Commercial and Agricultural Education. Teachers were impressed only by their size. They were much more interested in the report on European education which had been submitted by Inspector Peter Board. Only twelve pages long, Board's report contained a wealth of advice on ways to improve the public school system. More than this, he upheld the existing system by asserting that it was not new principles in education that were being devised abroad but rather new ways of applying those principles:

The fundamental principles are still those of the "old masters"; progressive teachers are harking back to them, and are trying to find new forms of expressing them and new applications of them to suit developing social requirements. The movement is not in any great degree due to new discoveries; it is a renaissance.

Board's reward was his appointment to the position of Under-secretary of Education and Director of Education. This position became vacant on the death of Frederick Bridges in November 1904. Realising that if the old formula for selecting Bridges' successor was adhered to the chances of real reform in education in New South Wales would be limited, the Sydney Morning Herald had advocated the selection of the right man without reference to seniority. It was a view endorsed by a number of well-

---

23 Board's Report on Primary Education was printed by the Minister for Public Instruction. For its wide acceptance, see A. R. Crane and W. G. Walker, Peter Board, pp. 17-18.

24 Report on Primary Education by P. Board, p. 3.

25 S.M.H., 22 Nov. 1904.
known citizens, including Edgeworth David, who took the opportunity to welcome the Herald's initiative as a sign that the public press was concerned about the public good.\textsuperscript{26} The Herald was in no doubt that the strictest precautions had to be taken to select the man in whose hands would be placed the future of education in New South Wales. It was not enough that he should be anxious to introduce new ideas for, as the editor said, "a reign of faddists would be worse than a reign of fossils".\textsuperscript{27} When the appointment of Peter Board was announced and he proceeded to reallocate his senior officers to the various positions, the Sydney Morning Herald condemned the appointments as "just a shuffle".\textsuperscript{28} This criticism was endorsed by the Freeman's Journal which saw the "old gang" as incapable of escaping the "groove which year by year has grown more ribbed and furrowed".\textsuperscript{29} What the Herald had wanted was the appointment of an overseas expert.\textsuperscript{30}

From his first report as Director of Education, Board indicated that the New Education had come to New South Wales. Education, he said, had not merely nor chiefly

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{26} S.M.H., 21 Dec. 1904.
\item \textsuperscript{27} Ibid. It has also warned against "faddists" in 1901, see S.M.H., 18 Dec. 1901.
\item \textsuperscript{28} S.M.H., 3 Feb. 1905.
\item \textsuperscript{29} Freeman's J., 11 Feb. 1905.
\item \textsuperscript{30} S.M.H., 29 Nov. 1905.
\end{itemize}
been organised for the good of the individual child[^1] or to bring him "into touch with the interesting world outside the school"[^2] but to equip him for "serviceableness":[^3]

It embraces much more than acquisition of knowledge or skill that has a bread and butter value; it recognises that the pupil is to be trained in habits of thought and led to the acquirement of tastes that are essential to his future happiness and usefulness as is the ability to earn a livelihood. It is towards this end that the content of the school studies and methods of teaching play an important part. That in learning to read he may form a taste for the best reading, . . . that he should learn to admire the most worthy in conduct, that he should learn the obligations imposed upon him as a member of society, that he should acquire a sense of duty to his country, that he should form habits that will make his leisure profitable and fit him to be a unit in national stability: These are all included in an education for efficiency.[^4]

Board's views on education and, in particular, those on loyalty to the throne and to the Empire appeased many Protestants who were afraid of what changes a new Under-secretary might introduce. In the months before his appointment religious controversy over education had again become evident. The fall of the Waddell Government in August 1904 had seen the dismissal of J. L. Fegan from the education portfolio.[^5] In his place, J. H. Carruthers, the new premier, appointed B. B. O'Conor. With educational

[^3]: Ibid., p. 27.
[^4]: Ibid., p. 28.
[^5]: Waddell was Premier from 15 June to 29 August 1904. For a comment on Fegan's "pronounced democratic tendency", see D.T., 16 June 1904.
reform in the air, the *Sydney Morning Herald* declared that O'Connor had been given "an opportunity for greatness" but to the more extreme Protestants and especially to the Australian Protestant Defence Association there was the fear that Roman Catholic education would be granted concessions if changes were made. The Australian Protestant Defence Association had been established in 1902 to alert all "true Protestants" to the tyranny of Catholicism which, it said, "politicians and business men are compelled to reckon with for fear of consequences". In July 1904, it appealed to Protestants to check the "arrogant assumptions" of the Roman Catholic hierarchy:

The persistent attacks by both Cardinal Moran and Archbishop Kelly upon our public schools, and the importunate demand for subsidies to Roman Catholic schools render it imperative that candidates for Parliament shall be asked to pledge themselves to support this plank in our platform.

The Australian Protestant Defence Association, together with the Loyal Orange Lodge, countered Roman Catholic assertions that to restrict financial aid to government schools was an unpatriotic act by keeping before the public the Home Rule question and allegations

---

38 *S.M.H.*, 30 July 1904.
39 Ibid.
40 See *Pastoral Letter from the Archbishops and Bishops of Australia in Second Plenary Council assembled, 1895*. 
of Roman Catholic disloyalty. This had been one of the preoccupations of the Defence Association from its inception and in its original manifesto it had condemned the "repeated misrepresentations of Australian sentiment (on the Home Rule question by). . . Cardinal Moran and others".  

This was most likely a reference to a statement made by Cardinal Moran in Dublin in 1888 and repeated by him on other occasions that not only were Australian Roman Catholics loyal to the throne and to the Empire but that "all parties throughout Australia take the deepest interest in the progress and welfare of Ireland". According to Moran, when speaking in Dublin, the leading English and Protestant statesmen in Australia were 'no less earnest than their Irish and Catholic fellow-citizens in giving proof of their cordial union and practical sympathy with the Irish representatives who assert the legislative independence of their country".  

Both the Australian Protestant Defence Association and the Loyal Orange Lodge saw as "aggressive tactics" any mention of a restoration of state aid by spokesmen for the Roman Catholic Church.  

Protestants were encouraged to see in their rejection of state aid for Roman Catholic schools an expression of their loyalty to the throne as well as of their determination to protect

---

42 Quoted P. O'Farrell, op. cit., p. 100.
43 S.M.H., 30 July 1904.
the public school system from:

the declared hostility to, and attack upon, the present system of instruction in New South Wales. Under the plea of 'freedom of education', Archbishop Kelly has publicly declared his intention to fight for endowment of Roman Catholic schools. . . . (I)t means State aid to the most undesirable elements in our community and not the most loyal. This would also involve the disruption of the present admirable system of public instruction. As Archbishop Kelly has declared that he will not be satisfied with anything short of State aid to his schools, there is a serious struggle ahead of us. We must be prepared for it.44

The fears of the Australian Protestant Defence Association and of the Loyal Orange Lodge proved groundless. Although the new Syllabus introduced in 1905 offered a planned and purposeful programme, the expected revolution in education did not occur and state aid was not resumed. In the teaching of history, the aims were as broadly based as those in the earlier Standards of Proficiency. They were designed to provide for responsible citizenship, socially acceptable behaviour and a knowledge of the natural and social environment. If there was less overt Christianity in the courses, patriotism and duty retained their premier position. The finished product of the public school course was expected to be much the same as ever: a self-reliant, hard-working, loyal Protestant Australian, devoted to the ideals of and the maintenance of the British Empire. The educational reformers had altered the face of education in New South Wales in that teaching methods, curriculum, teacher-training, the pupil-teacher system,

and even Departmental organisation had all succumbed to
the demands for change but the basic function of the
school, the preparation of children for their place in
society by the inculcation of acceptable ideas, remained
the same. As S. G. Firth has asserted:

The underlying continuity remained, of respectable
schools giving children "proper" ideas of conduct and
"proper" attitudes to important issues: Australia's
obligation to Britain, the true meaning of patriotism,
the glory of war, Britain's place in history, the
difference between good literature and bad, the hierar-
chy of the races, the causes of progress. About sub-
jects such as these the public schools offered their
pupils something more than mere facts, they offered
them the "truth".45

In particular, the public schools offered children
the "truth" about the Empire. When Peter Board took over
the direction of public education in New South Wales in
1905, the Empire Day Movement which had been initiated by
Lord Meath three years earlier46 had finally achieved one
of its prime aims for New South Wales: the official rec-
oognition of Empire Day.47 The establishment of the Brit-
ish Empire League in New South Wales and the influential

45 S. G. Firth, "Social Values in N.S.W. Primary

46 By circular letter, dated 16 July 1902, British
Empire League, Empire Day, p. 2. Empire Day was first
celebrated in Canada in 1897 and other Dominions and
colonies took it up. Great Britain did not officially
recognise the celebration until 1916, Minnie Lee, "The
Most Wonderful Century", Australian National Review,
Vol. II, No. 9, 1 Sept. 1937, p. 45.

47 By Premier J. H. Carruthers, see S.M.H., 16 Feb.
1905.
support it attracted\textsuperscript{48} made this recognition inevitable. As early as 1902, Sir Frederick Darley, the Lieutenant-Governor of New South Wales and future Patron of the British Empire League, had welcomed the suggestion for an Empire Day and for its celebration on Queen Victoria's birthday:

Surely no day could be more fitly selected than the auspicious day we have so long associated with the birth of our late beloved Queen, under whose beneficent and gentle sway the Empire became what it now is.\textsuperscript{49}

Lord Meath, in an Open Letter, declared that the Empire Day Movement's desire was the introduction "into all schools of a moral form of training, which shall have for its aim the inculcation of the virtues which conduce to the creation of good citizens".\textsuperscript{50} To achieve this, it was suggested that there should be:

the encouragement of a reasonable, imperial, and local patriotism, loyalty to the head of the State, obedience to authority, self-sacrifice in the interests of the community, self-preparation with a view to the proper performance of all duties which the State may be likely to require . . . either in peace or in war. . . . In short, they desire to see the rising generation taught to subordinate the individual to the common interest.\textsuperscript{51}

In New South Wales, the presidency of the British

\textsuperscript{48} Including Sir George Knibbs. For his acknowledgement of his membership, see Rep. Conference of Inspectors, Teachers, Departmental Officers, and Prominent Educationists, Tuesday, 5 April, 1904. p. 109.


\textsuperscript{50} Public Instruction Gazette, 25 Apr. 1907, p. 377.

\textsuperscript{51} Ibid.
Empire League came under the direction of Canon F. B. Boyce and he proved an indefatigable writer of letters on the subject of Empire Day both to Australian and to overseas newspapers. He believed that the day would be a "kind of Empire Christmas". He saw it paralleling the American Fourth of July celebration which he declared had been of immense service in fostering a love of Americans for their history and their country. Since Britons had no such day, he suggested that it was imperative that one should be established. It was to be a "national holiday, encircling the earth like Britain's drum beat". In 1904, in a letter to the Sydney Morning Herald, he proposed that acceptance of an Empire Day would prove very educational:

Among advantages it may be said that it would be an occasion when the unity and brotherhood of the British people would be emphasised, and foreigners would be shown the solidarity. . . . There could be the hearty handshaking metaphorically of blood relations across the seas. . . . It would also be a day when historical memories common to and the glorious heritage of the whole race could be reviewed. In would be a time when patriotism and love of country would be uppermost, and who will say that such unselfish thoughts are not beneficial.

52 Boyce wrote to at least nine overseas newspapers on the subject. For a list, see British Empire League, Empire Day, p. 8.


54 British Empire League, Empire Day, p. 8.

55 Ibid., p. 10. See also D.T., 28 July 1904 for Boyce's address on the promotion of "the spirit of brotherhood and love, which should run between people of one blood". Henry Parkes' expression, "the crimson thread of kinship runs through us all" found its way into P. R. Cole's Great Australians, A Reader for Schools, p. 67.
When the Women's Branch of the League met at Government House in September 1904 to hear Grace Boelke read a paper on Empire Day, it was clear that the Government would not be long in announcing an official Empire Day for New South Wales. In February 1905, J. H. Carruthers, the premier of the State, put the question of inaugurating such a day on the business paper of the Hobart Conference and it was approved.

The first Empire Day saw a great deal of activity from the Empire Day Celebration Committee to make it a success. Special programmes were issued to acquaint the public with the numerous activities associated with the day. Premier Carruthers instructed teachers to take special steps "to impress upon the minds of the pupils such a view of the British Empire as will help to develop a feeling of pride in the achievements of the British race, and strengthen the groundwork of knowledge on which an intelligent patriotism may be based". A special "Saluting of the Flag" ceremony was devised for the first public school celebration of Empire Day, 24 May 1905. A patriotic song, "The Flag of Britain", which had been dedicated to Lord Meath in recognition of his efforts "to cherish patriotism in the

56 For an account of her address, see British Empire League, Empire Day, p. 13.
57 S.M.H., 16 Feb. 1905.
58 British Empire Union in Australia, Preface, Empire Day Programme, 24th May, 1905.
hearts of the children of Great Britain, Ireland, and the Colonies", 59 was suggested "as an accompaniment to the ceremony of 'Saluting the Flag'". 60

Flag of Britain, proudly waving
Over many distant seas,
Flag of Britain, boldly braving
Blinding fog and adverse breeze,
We salute thee, and we pray
God to bless our land today.

In New South Wales, the suggestion was accepted and public school teachers were advised on how to conduct the ceremony:

At the words 'We salute thee', the hand should be raised in the attitude of salute. At the words 'and we pray', the head should be bowed, still retaining the hand at the salute. It is desirable that a large Standard should be raised during the singing of the song. 61

By 1907, Empire Day had become an established celebration and in Circular No. 5 Peter Board informed teachers that it was "desirable" that the day should be celebrated in all public schools. 62 If the school was to conduct its own ceremony, teachers were authorised to close the school when it was completed. If the locality was planning its own celebrations then the school could be closed for the whole day where it was necessary to do so in order for the school to participate in the community celebration. Board was in

59 Empire Day (Correspondence), p. 5. (M.L.)
60 It was suggested by Lord Meath, ibid., p. 60.
61 Ibid., p. 6. On this page can also be seen all the words of the song.
favour of his schools taking part in local celebrations. He believed that "By securing the co-operation of the members of the School Board, the parents, and other local residents, in all of the proceedings, the day may be made an interesting one for the children. The display of the Union Jack and the Federal Flag will be appropriate for the occasion". 63 A suggested programme for schools was printed in the *Public Instruction Gazette* under the motto "One King, One Flag, One Fleet, One Empire". 64

Canon Boyce also offered a "Suggested Musical Programme" to lessen "the labours of the teachers and scholars of the Public Schools". 65 He too offered much the same motto but in verse:

```
One flag, one fleet,
Sharers of our glorious past,
Brothers, must we part at last?
Shall we not thro' good or ill
Cleave to one another still?
Britain's myriad voices call,
"Sons, be wedded each and all,
Into one imperial whole,
One with Britain, heart and soul!
One life, one flag, one fleet, one throne!
Britons, hold your own". 66
```

The motto also featured in Lord Meath's annual message to the children of the Empire. Under the watchwords "Responsibility, Duty, Sympathy, Self-Sacrifice", he reminded the

---

63 Ibid.
64 Ibid., p. 378.
65 (F. B. Boyce), *Empire Day in Australia by an Old Public School Boy*, p. 4.
66 Ibid.
children that the Empire was bound together by "one King, one Flag, and one Navy":

The Empire itself, looks to you to be ready in time of need, to think, to labour, and to bear hardships in its behalf! May you excel in the practice of Faith, Courage, Duty, Self-Discipline, Fair-dealing, Even Justice, Good Citizenship, Loyalty, Patriotism, and Sympathy, and this by your own individual action, aid in elevating the British character, strengthening the British Empire, and consolidating the British Race!67

Participation in Empire Day became evidence of loyalty to the throne. The British Empire League urged all the leading men in the community from the State premier down to "presidents of trades-halls, editors of the leading daily newspapers, and others" to promote Empire Day.68 It called for the maintenance of "a spirit of patriotism, which must tend to consolidate the Empire, and to honor the flag which symbolises it. . . . - there is every need to foster a spirit of loyalty to the British Empire, and of its units towards one another, as portions of that great body-politic".69

To encourage children's enthusiasm for Empire Day and to involve teachers in the weeks before the celebration, an essay competition was organised by the Education Committee of the Victoria League and the Women's Branch of the British Empire League in Australia. Prizes valued at two pounds

---

69 Ibid.
were offered for essays. Of the three prizes, two, the Victoria Prize and the William Pitt Prize, were offered for essays concerned with the spread of the Empire. The third, the Bourke Memorial Prize, was for an essay on the theme "The Advance of Australia in the Last Century".  

The Department of Public Instruction added to this interest in the Empire by including in the examination paper for the Qualifying Certificate such loaded questions as "How would you answer a boy from a foreign country if he were to ask you why you are proud to belong to the British Empire? Give reasons".  

As part of the indoctrination programme, numerous books on the Empire were published for children. Some, such as that by F. J. Gould were not particularly exciting but others were especially designed to attract the attention and interest of children. These included T. W. Comyns' Empire Day: Imperial Facts and Poems for Sons and Daughters of the Empire and the Annuals which achieved large sales as children's Christmas presents: The Empire Annual for Australian Boys and the The Empire Annual for Australian Girls. In both the Annuals, stories of duty

---

71 Ibid., 29 Feb. 1912, p. 50.  
72 F. J. Gould, Our Empire. Gould was a member of the Moral Education League and this book was only one of many produced by the League to promote loyalty to the Empire.
and self-sacrifice were intermingled with hints for the practical boy or girl, adventure stories and true life stories from all parts of the Empire. Stories of gallantry in the wars that won the Empire were featured in the boys' books but the message that every boy must be a hero for his country was sometimes disguised. In "On Manoeuvres", a story of boy scout work, the reader was not only encouraged to join the movement but to see it as part of a boy's preparation to serve his country. The article illustrated "the way in which the Boy Scout may serve his country should invaders ever reach our shores". 73

The Commonwealth School Paper, the precursor of the present day School Magazine, was much less restrained in the glorification of war and in the promotion of the idea that it was sweet to die for one's country. Numerous stories were included to show that even boys could win glory for their country. Every month children read such stories as: "The French Middy at Aboukir Bay"; 74 "Cousin Franz"; 75 "How the Quarrel was made up"; 76 "A Turkish Debt"; 77 "A True Report of a Worthy Fight"; 78 "The Battle of Abu

73 The Empire Annual for Australian Boys, Vol. 4, (c. 1912), p. 9.
75 Ibid., No. 8, pp. 100-102.
76 Ibid., No. 9, pp. 113-115.
77 Ibid., No. 10, pp. 142-44.
78 Ibid., No. 11, pp. 147-50.
Klea*. 79 The Commonwealth School Paper rarely had an issue that did not contain some stories of courage and self-sacrifice. Empire Day issues were generally given over entirely to stories and poems of British gallantry in war. 80 In all of them, the message was "loyalty, patriotism, respect, obedience, self-sacrifice". 81

Not all the efforts to promote Empire Day amongst public school children met with the approval of the New South Wales Department of Public Instruction. Smith and Son unsuccessfully badgered the Department to put into its school the "Empire Clock". In their letter, suspiciously dated "Empire Day May 24th 1909", Smith and Son indicated that the King had expressed "the hope that the clock would be universally used". 82 Chief Inspector Dawson, who investigated the suggestion to install the clocks, recommended against it. He believed that the cost of the two models available, at three guineas and six guineas, was prohibitive. 83

Initially, the Roman Catholic schools were also caught up in the celebration of Empire Day but many of the clergy

---

79 Ibid., Vol. VIII, No. 1, pp. 189-91.
80 See, for example, Empire Day issue, 1 May 1914, ibid., Vol. X, No. 11.
81 Ibid., editorial, "The Spirit of Patriotism", p. 163.
82 School Books, P Box 3925.
83 Chief Inspector Dawson to Under-Secretary, 10 July 1909, ibid.
and laity, deeply and emotionally involved in the struggle for Home Rule for Ireland and nursing an antipathy to any festival which extolled the virtues of England, voiced their disquiet. One of these was Patrick McMahon Glynn, a leading Roman Catholic member of the Federal Parliament. He believed that there were better ways to inculcate patriotism and a sense of duty in Australian youth than by such an artificial celebration as Empire Day:

What a noble play is Henry V. It is the best incentive to ardour in youth; a tonic to the jaded energies or slackening sinews of middle aged professors of patriotism; in fact, worth more, if well known, than all the flag salutings, Empire Days, and other patent stimulants to loyalty or the Imperial sentiment, of which we hear so much now-a-days.  

Outright rejection of Empire Day by the Roman Catholic hierarchy was not possible in the climate of public opinion which swept New South Wales with patriotic fervour in the years immediately after 1905. Teaching children to "show no quarter to the sentiment that regards England as 'home'", would have been regarded as treason. For the moment, Roman Catholic school authorities preferred to concentrate on building up, as the Catholic Press had been urging, an improved education system for Roman Catholic children. Sister Fitz-Walter has suggested that the need to concentrate on upgrading instruction and "the eulogistic writing

---

about (Roman Catholic) schools and their accomplishments" were part of the effort to win over Protestants to the belief that state aid to Roman Catholic schools should be resumed. Antagonising the Protestant majority over the celebration of Empire Day would have destroyed any chance of having the issue considered.

Sister Fitz-Walter believes that the praise given to Roman Catholic education at the turn of the century was not earned but after 1905, Roman Catholic schools became involved in a revision of their courses. It became the policy of the Church to have the Roman Catholic schools of each state conform as near as possible to the standards laid down for the secular subjects taught in the public schools. As with the public schools, the basic aims of Roman Catholic education remained unaltered. The social condition and the needs of the Roman Catholic population determined these and at this time this meant unity through love of the Church and loyalty to Ireland. "The school", said Cardinal Moran, "should promote the interests of those it educates, and should correspond to the requirements of the social progress in which we live".

---

87 P. E. Fitz-Walter, Benedictinism Encountered in Australian Education, p. 214. See also Ibid., Note 23.

88 Ibid. See also P. O'Farrell, The Catholic Church in Australia, p. 24.


principle was not new. It had determined Roman Catholic attitudes to every issue in the past and was to continue to do so in the future. Children followed the lead of their priests and teachers with enthusiasm. The arrival of envoys from Ireland in 1906 on a fund-raising drive for Irish members of the British Parliament produced emotional scenes in which the children demonstrated their eagerness to support the cause of Home Rule. When the envoys spoke at a crowded meeting at the Christian Brothers school in Sydney, a thousand boys roared out their devotion to Catholic Ireland. 91

To keep abreast of developments in the public school system which the syllabuses of 1904 and 1905 outlined, Cardinal Moran sought the advice of key personnel in his schools. Like their Departmental counterparts, their main complaints centred on the overcrowding of the curriculum but this was to some extent unavoidable as the Cardinal was determined to prove that Roman Catholic schools were the equal of the public schools in the provision of secular education and yet also provided the children with a sound background of Christian knowledge. The Cardinal himself lost no opportunity of informing children and parents of the superiority of a Roman Catholic education.

92 See letters from S. Bergin, 28 Aug. 1905 and P. J. Barron, 31 Aug. 1905, Education Box, Archives, St. Mary's Cathedral.
When presenting the prizes at St. Scholastica's College, Glebe, in 1902, he informed the gathering that, although he had just returned from an overseas pilgrimage during which he had visited many educational institutions, he did not know one which could surpass their own.93

The desire to compete with the public school system in the field of secular education and yet still provide a great deal of instruction in Roman Catholic doctrine imposed strains upon the Roman Catholic schools which became increasingly evident during the first decade of the twentieth century. It was believed that the schools had failed to integrate religious and secular instruction with the result that children were becoming indifferent. In an effort to reform the Roman Catholic school system, an educational conference was called in January 1911.94

The conference was opened with the words of Pope Leo XIII on his expectations for the education of Roman Catholic children:

All schools from the elementary to the university, should be thoroughly Catholic, and one of the main duties of the pastors of the Church is to safeguard the rights of parents and the Church in this matter. It is of the greatest importance that Catholics should have everywhere for their children not mixed schools, but their own schools, and these provided with good and well trained teachers. Let no one delude himself that a sound moral training can be separated from dogmatical religious training. ... Furthermore, it is not for youths to be taught

93 Freeman's J., 27 Dec. 1902.
94 Catholic Educational Conference of New South Wales, 17-20 Jan. 1911.
religion at fixed hours, but all their training must be permeated by religious principles.\textsuperscript{95}

This was followed by an attack on the Public Instruction Act of New South Wales which was declared to have been "devised in the same old spirit of hatred of Catholicism, and for 30 years it has had for one of its aims to undermine and corrupt the Faith of the Catholic children of New South Wales".\textsuperscript{96} The author of the Act, Sir Henry Parkes, was said to have trampled on Catholic conscientious conviction\textsuperscript{97} and yet, it was complained, he denounced complaints of unfair treatment as "mainly due to Irish fanaticism, fanned by Irish priests, . . . 'agents of disaffection' ever in search of an 'Irish grievance'".\textsuperscript{98}

Condemnation of the critics of Roman Catholicism frequently entered the discussions of the conference. Bishop O'Connor made a bitter attack upon the attitude of the \textit{Sydney Morning Herald} to the conference. He asserted that its editor and some others would only see a crisis in education when there was a threat of the loss of half their advertisements:

Certainly we need not expect much sympathy, kindness or consideration from those newspapers which have written so bitterly for so many years against justice being done to Catholics in the matter of education.

\textsuperscript{95} Ibid., pp. 1-2.
\textsuperscript{96} Ibid., p. 3.
\textsuperscript{97} Ibid., p. 7.
\textsuperscript{98} Ibid., p. 4.
... No reason can be assigned for it except blind bigotry.99

Very Reverend Fr. M. J. O'Reilly also saw the secular press as intolerant and bigoted. He too uttered a veiled threat against those newspapers which failed to support Roman Catholic educational aspirations and declared that it was time to resent "as impertinence the attitude of any newspaper to protest against the attitude of the Cardinal ... on a matter of set policy, or anything else that concerned the interests and welfare of those of whom he was the recognised leader".1

Despite the use of the conference as a platform from which they could attack the enemies of the Church, the delegates passed many important resolutions on the reform of Catholic education. It was reaffirmed that Religious Instruction had to be combined with the secular studies. A combination of intellectual, moral and religious education was seen as a safeguard for both the home and the State.2 The question of a reduction in the amount of work a Roman Catholic child had to cover in his school course was a more vexed question. One of the nuns present suggested that the public school standard should be adopted because the higher Roman Catholic standard imposed too much on teachers who were devoting from one hour to one and

99 Ibid., p. 27.
1 Ibid., p. 28.
2 Ibid., pp. 13-14, Resolutions 1, 2 and 4.
a half hours a day to religious instruction. Very Reverend Fr. M. J. O'Reilly could not agree that acceptance of the public school standard would provide the ideal model for Roman Catholic schools. He considered what was being done in the public schools as "a tentative groping after a perfect system" and he was convinced that their achievements were second rate when compared to those of the Catholic system. He failed to see how the two systems could be compared: "Naturally, there could be no comparison between quantities that were incommensurable". Nevertheless, even he was prepared to accept the adoption of the public school standard if the Government would agree to the inspection of Roman Catholic schools by public school inspectors. This inspection was seen as a preliminary to the restoration of state aid. It was believed that if the state's inspectors certified that Roman Catholic schools were up to standard in the secular subjects then state aid could not be refused.

Agreeing to teach the public school standard did not mean acceptance of the public school. The Department of

---

3 Ibid., p. 33.
4 Ibid., p. 31.
5 Ibid.
6 Ibid. The call for government inspection of Roman Catholic schools was not new. See, for example, Cardinal Moran's paper dated 15 Sept. 1909, Education Box, Archives, St. Mary's Cathedral, and Moran and Education: Correspondence, "Pronouncement on the Education grievance by the Bishops of N.S.W.", Point X, u.d. but c. 1910, Archives, St. Mary's Cathedral.
Public Instruction had indicated that priests had made 900 visits to public schools in 1910 to give Roman Catholic children religious instruction and it was carefully pointed out to the delegates at the conference that these visits had taken place in country areas. Cardinal Moran informed the delegates that in the Archdiocese of Sydney such visits were forbidden but in the country, where a Roman Catholic school might not be available, priests sometimes called to collect the children for religious instruction. They did not use the facilities available at the public schools but took the children to a neighbouring house or gathered the children together under a gum tree. The Cardinal defended his support for a continuation of a ban on priests joining in the provision of religious instruction to children attending metropolitan public schools by declaring that they must "make it plain that there was no peace with the (public school) system as far as Catholics were concerned". Moreover, the "principle of not allowing priests to teach religion in the State schools was a correct one, inasmuch as it showed the condemnation of the Catholic Church of the entire State system of education, a system she had always condemned, and must always condemn".

---

7 Ibid., p. 31. See also Resolution 14, ibid., p. 17.
8 Ibid., p. 40.
9 Ibid., p. 31.
In line with the purpose of the conference to consider ways of promoting uniformity in Roman Catholic schools "and thus enhance the prestige of Catholic education".\textsuperscript{10} individual subjects were dealt with at length. On the question of history, it was resolved that only approved textbooks would be used in the schools and "that History and Civics, or the obligation of children as future citizens, should be taught in connection with modern social problems".\textsuperscript{11} Cardinal Moran was particularly concerned that the children should have a full knowledge of the lessons to be learnt from a study of the martyrs of the Church "so that they might have a little of that heroism (and) . . . be fully equipped to meet the indifference which prevailed in the society into which they might be thrown".\textsuperscript{12}

Of all the resolutions passed at the conference, it was the eleventh which was to raise the ire of Protestants:

That, with a view to impress on our children their indebtedness to Ireland's National Apostle, an effort should be made by the teachers to celebrate with be-fitting splendour St. Patrick's Day; and that, as a help to the cultivation of the patriotic spirit, the 24th May should be formally set apart as "Australia Day", under the auspices of Our Lady, Help of Christians.\textsuperscript{13}

\textsuperscript{10} Ibid., p. 23.
\textsuperscript{11} Ibid., p. 17.
\textsuperscript{12} Ibid., p. 45.
\textsuperscript{13} Ibid., p. 16.
The 24th May was Empire Day, the great jingoistic celebration of Empire Loyalists. Cardinal Moran made it clear that he supported the idea of changing the day to Australia Day. He believed that the change would not only make Roman Catholic children proud of Australia but would dissociate them from the imperialism associated with Empire Day. As far as he was concerned "those who were the champions of Imperialism and Empire Day were many of them avowed enemies of the Catholic Church, and were identical with those who advocated Primrose Day in England, and tried to impede the progress of the Catholic Church at home and abroad". 14

Cardinal Moran's assertion that Empire Day was "discredited"15 was upheld by other speakers. Very Reverend Fr. M. J. O'Reilly warmly approved the suggestion that Roman Catholic children should abandon Empire Day and replace it with the more meaningful celebration of Australia Day. He also welcomed the opportunity to make more of St. Patrick's Day. He was prepared to concede that the children in Roman Catholic schools were not Irish but he believed that "everything that was best and noblest in Australia was Irish". 16 Moreover, since it was from Ireland that most of the children had sprung, he could see

14 Ibid., p. 38.
15 Ibid.
16 Ibid.
no reason for the children not looking to its traditions. He warned the delegates that an adverse Protestant reaction to the announcement of Australia Day could be expected and that the Roman Catholic population would be reproached for a lack of patriotism:

In this country patriotism, unfortunately, seemed to be identified with the efforts of the British Empire League. . . . but he thought, patriotism, like charity, began at home, and their children should be taught to love the country of their birth, which was the essential idea of patriotism. The British Empire League endeavoured to turn their love towards England, and to instill in them an admiration of her policy. He did not say an Australian Day should be disassociated from the glories of the Empire, but it must be primarily Australian. . . . It would give a fillip to the patriotism of their youth. Such a celebration would be a magnificent answer to the calumniators who taunted them for want of public spirit, isolation of policy, and want of patriotism.17

The expected reaction from the supporters of Empire Day came swiftly. O'Reilly found himself featured in a leading article in the **Sydney Morning Herald**18 which had given space to each day's proceedings19 and which also reprinted all the resolutions carried by the conference.20

The most bitter attack on the participants in the conference was reserved for Cardinal Moran himself. In a letter to the Editor of the **Sydney Morning Herald**, J. S. Edwards reminded his readers of the Cardinal's "oft repeated boast

---

17 Ibid., pp. 30-31.
18 S.M.H., 20 Jan. 1911. For O'Reilly's replies, see S.M.H., 21 & 24 Jan. 1911.
19 See S.M.H., 18-21 Jan. 1911.
20 S.M.H., 21 Jan. 1911.
... as to his loyalty" and condemned him for sowing seeds of disloyalty in Roman Catholic children. No Protestant would begrudge the celebration of St. Patrick's Day, in any way the Roman Catholic body chose to celebrate it:

but we must draw the line at any body of disloyalists dictating what shall be called "Australia Day". We have our Australia Day, or Anniversary Day, but that is not sufficient for the enemies of everything English. . . . Shall we give State aid to support and foster schools that teach disloyalty to that Empire? . . . The loyal subjects in this country must arouse themselves if they do not want to be dictated to by a foreign Church.21

The first celebration of Australia Day received little attention in the public press. The Sydney Morning Herald gave it only a little space and showed that it was more concerned that the event was celebrated at St. Mary's Cathedral by the flying of the Irish flag and the Australian ensign. That the Union Jack was not flown was not only noted in the text but also received attention in the headlines.22 The singing by 400 children of a new anthem, "Australia", was reported but its significance was not understood. This song was seen by many Roman Catholics as the song which should replace "God save the Queen" as Australia's national anthem. It was widely sung throughout Roman

21 Ibid.

22 S.M.H., 25 May 1911. In this and ensuing issues the Herald gave more space to public school celebrations of Empire Day than to Australia Day.
Catholic schools until the outbreak of World War II\textsuperscript{23} and as late as March 1974 it was offered as Australia's National Anthem.\textsuperscript{24}

\textbf{Australian National Hymn}

God bless our lovely morning-land!  
God keep her with enfolding hand  
Close to His side;  
While booms the distant battle's roar  
From out some rude, barbaric shore,  
In blessed peace for evermore,  
There to abide!

God guard Australia! In vain  
She's circled by th'inviolate main,  
Unless His word,  
The warrant of His Providence,  
Speak louder than the things of sense,  
Proving a mightier defence  
Than lance or sword.\textsuperscript{25}

In \textit{Echoes from St. Stanislaus'}, the school magazine of the leading Roman Catholic school in the Bathurst diocese, we can see in the articles and editorials the feelings being engendered amongst Roman Catholic youth on questions of Imperialism and Australian Nationalism. Criticisms of Australia Day were rejected and attacks on their

\textsuperscript{23} Interview with Father Miles Hyland, Hurstville Presbytery, 28 March 1974. It was still being sung in Queensland's Roman Catholic schools in the 1960's.

\textsuperscript{24} See letter from Fr. Arthur Maher, S.M.H., 16 March 1974. The eventual displacement of "God Save the Queen" as Australia's National Anthem under the Whitlam Government, 1974-75, owed much to persistent criticism of this kind and to the influence of Roman Catholics in the Australian Labour Party.

\textsuperscript{25} Altogether there were eight verses. I am indebted to Fr. Maher for a copy of the words and for his efforts to have the children of the Roman Catholic school at Hurstville sing them to me. The anthem was written by Very Rev. Fr. M. J. O'Reilly.
Cardinal for his interest in the Day were resented:

For all his love of Ireland, the Cardinal was the most sincere and the most far-seeing of Australian patriots. He regarded . . . as enemies of this great land those who would teach her children to regard England, and not Australia, as having the first claim on their affection. Empire Day, on account of its parentage and connections, he scorned. . . . But, here again, we Catholics were denied the liberty of repudiating a jingoistic celebration.26

The Australian flag was made much of in the magazine and was featured in illustrations and in patriotic poems. "Our Flag", a stirring tribute to "the starry flag", began:

Lift up the flag! 'tis yours and mine,
It stands for all we prize on earth.27

The message was that Australians should live and die beneath the Australian flag and not that of England. It was a story also told in prose. The saluting of the Australian flag on Australia Day by the boys of St. Stanislaus' received a prominent place in the magazine:

It was a treat worth going a long way to see when the lads of St. Stanislaus' in military formation saluted . . . the Australian flag. . . . And when the President, surrounded by all the members of the staff, spoke to the lads of their sunny land, and the message borne on the winds by her flag, of their duty to love that flag, and, if necessary, to fight beneath, or even find the last rest beneath its folds, it was plain from eyes that were wet with genuine emotion that there is hope yet for Australia and that jingoism is simply dying a hard death.28

The charge that it was about time supporters of

27 Ibid., No. IX, Dec. 1912.
28 Ibid., No. VIII, p. 43. The President was Very Rev. Fr. M. J. O'Reilly.
imperialism "sloughed away this flunkey skin" and gave up the "limp and flabby sentimentality" of Empire Day only served to demonstrate that there was an ever widening gap on the question of imperialism and Australian nationalism between Anglo-Australians and Irish-Australians. The children educated in the public schools were being nourished on an educational diet which, unlike that presented to their Roman Catholic contemporaries, showed England, imperialism and the Empire in a most favourable light.

\[30\] Ibid.
Support for imperialism, concern for Australia's security and interest in educational reform were all given a boost in 1905. The reasons for this are not hard to find. The balance of power in world politics had been radically changed. By its victory in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905, Japan had destroyed the myth of Russian superiority in the Far East. In Europe, Germany was not only vying with Great Britain for industrial leadership but was challenging her claim to be the world's leading sea power. These events alerted many in Australia to the need for Australians to look to their own defence and to the creation of a loyal and disciplined population. Writing in the *Sydney Mail*, T. T. Roberts suggested that education should be seen as form of national defence. He believed that a well constructed course of training for citizenship was the best means of preparing Australia's youth for the coming struggle. His concern was less for the educational progress and future prospects of the individual child than for the welfare of the state. He endeavoured to show that the rise of Germany and Japan provided "abundant and undeniable testimony" that better education led to economic well-being and this in turn to a state well able to protect its interests. He urged Australians to emulate the successful rise to power of the Germans and the
Japanese by a similar dedication "to the absolute certainty with which the principle operates".¹

Roberts' plea went unheeded. His concern for citizenship training through the inculcation of right attitudes was unnecessary. This work was an integral part of the instruction given in the public schools of New South Wales and was already producing the results he sought. That historical truth and geographical perspective were lost in the process were the inevitable casualties of the struggle to create little patriots in school and loyal adult citizens. The history children read in their readers and in their history books was so rewritten that the facts taught to children as the truth of what had happened were travesties.² Geographical studies were likewise slanted to put the motherland, or, as the bellicose Rev. Dr. Fitchett preferred to call England, the "Fatherland",³ in the most favourable light. Discreditable or unacceptable information, as for history, was carefully filtered out through a patriotic sieve. Map projections were selected to show England in the centre or at least featuring prominently on every map. The vast areas of the Empire and the Dominions were usually coloured a striking


² See J. Tey, A Daughter of Time, for an account of the fiction that is represented as the facts of British history.

³ W. H. Fitchett, Preface, Deeds that Won the Empire.
red and to give viewers the impression that the Empire was of even greater size, of an Empire on which 'the sun never sets', countries like the Sudan, which were not part of the Empire but over which England had some control, were hatched in red. Even this did not satisfy the patriotic map makers. To ensure that the map was dominated by red, Mercator's projection was used. This system magnifies those areas furthest from the equator and since the regions under British control were, generally speaking, away from the equator they were made to appear of a much greater size than they actually were.  

Stereotypes of other cultures were formed early. British bulldog courage, devotion, self-sacrifice, loyalty, were compared with less favourable attributes assigned to other nations. To provide an ethical reason for the subjugation of much of the world's population, the concept of the "white man's burden" was conjured up and the exploits of men like General Gordon and David Livingstone served to remind children that their race was devoted to saving others from themselves. The work of other colonial powers was disparaged. The Spaniards were dismissed as "never good colonists, and Spanish rulers abroad rarely governed  

4 See, for example, H. O. Arnold-Forster, The Citizen Reader, (adapted for Australian children by C. R. Long), Frontispiece; C. Ransome, Our Colonies and India: How we got them and why we keep them, Frontispiece; S. H. Smith, Geography for Fifth Class, Frontispiece.
the native races with tact or kindness". The French, "unlike the British, are not natural colonists" and the Italians and the Germans were seen as equally unsuccessful in establishing themselves. As for the Russians, their only object was the capture of India. Great Britain was quite different. Not only did she deal justly and wisely with her native races but her sole object was the well being of the people, the 'mission civilisatrice':

Most countries attempt to keep the trade of their colonies in their own hands . . . but Great Britain allows as much freedom of trade in her colonies as at home.

Such social and cultural conditioning determined the view of the world held by children educated in the public schools of New South Wales. Their training inhibited unworthy or unpatriotic thoughts. This inculcation of love of England and of belief in the imperial destiny of the Anglo-Saxon race was well done. After 1905, when such beliefs were being taught in the schools as part of the programme, some of the younger inspectors did not realise that such training for citizenship was not new. Donald Fraser took great pleasure in reporting in 1908 that,

5 H. Hayens, The Story of Europe, (Collins' School Series), p. 186. This series carried the slogan "History teaches by examples".
6 Ibid., p. 189.
7 Ibid., p. 190.
8 Ibid., p. 187.
9 Ibid., p. 194.
thanks to his efforts, most of the teachers in the Yass District had

realised that 'a school is not so much a place for making scholars as a place for making souls', and that our Public School is to be a place of moral education, not merely a school of reading, writing, and arithmetic.10

In reality, the task of the teachers in producing loyal citizens was little different from what it had always been. With little variation they proceeded as before. The books they used were brought up-to-date and contained a wider variety of Australian material; but the message remained the same, the kinship of Australia and England and the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race. The sectarian issues which had distinguished the public school child from the Roman Catholic were now thinly disguised by a pro-English royalist fanaticism in contrast to the Roman Catholic child's preoccupation with Ireland.

The high priest of the cult of Anglo-Saxon invincibility was Rev. Dr. W. H. Fitchett, the principal of Melbourne's Methodist Ladies' College. In his numerous stories of the Empire and in a variety of other ways, he preached "that strange quickening of the consciousness of race ties".11 Selecting for himself the pen-name "Vedette", he saw himself as the mounted sentry placed far

in advance in an outpost of Empire, whose duty it was to warn the others of the approach of danger. Through his *Deeds that Won the Empire*, he tried to nourish the patriotism of Australian youth and to prepare them for future conflict. He denied that his sketches were designed to glorify war, although they did, and argued that they were an effort to renew in popular memory the great traditions of the imperial race to which Australians belonged. The neglect of history by the public schools he found particularly galling:

There cannot be an instructed and enduring patriotism which is not built on a knowledge of history. . . . What examples are to be found in the tales here retold, not merely of heroic daring, but of even finer qualities; of heroic fortitude; of loyalty to duty stronger than love of life; of the temper that dreads dishonour more than it fears death; of the patriotism which makes love of the Fatherland a passion. These are the elements of robust citizenship. They represent some, at least, of the qualities by which the Empire, in a sterner time than ours, was won, and by which, in even these ease-loving days, it must be maintained.12

In the first decade of the twentieth century, his message of the ties of blood, of the Anglo-Saxon's imperial destiny and of Australia's share in this glory received a great deal of attention.

Fitchett's *Deeds that Won the Empire* was attractively written and received good reviews from such reputable journals as the London *Times* and the London *Spectator*.13


The New Zealand Schoolmaster thought that "A better book for use as a supplementary reader in an upper class of boys could hardly be found". Fitchett had the happy knack of bringing past glories to life and, at the same time, of making the reader proud to be a descendant of those courageous and dogged Britons whose victories against impossible odds had led to the greatest empire the world had ever seen. His tales were not without comic relief although, as this was usually at the expense of the Irish, the incidents related again produced an air of English superiority. While he did not deny the fighting qualities of the Irish soldier, he left the impression that as a civilised human being the Irishman was inferior to the English. The following extract illustrates the way in which he could amuse the reader and yet, at the same time, malign the Irish race:

I was a field officer of the trenches when a 13 in. shell from the town fell in the midst of us. I called to the men to lie down flat, and they instantly obeyed orders, except one of them, an Irishman and an old marine, but a most worthless drunken dog, who trotted up to the shell, the fuse of which was still burning, and striking it with his spade, knocked the fuse out. Then taking the immense shell in his hands brought it to me, saying, "There she is for you now, yer 'anner. I've knocked the life out of the crater".

Throughout his work, Fitchett took especial care to remind his readers of "the fighting quality of our race"

14 Ibid., p. 181.

15 Ibid., First Series, p. 146. The inconsistent punctuation in the original has been omitted.
and where possible he used the words of the enemy to show that the common British soldier, no matter how badly led or how strong the foe, was invincible. Soult, after his defeat at Albuera, was said to have written:

"There is no beating these troops in spite of their generals!" "I always thought them bad soldiers," he added with a Frenchman's love of paradox; "now I am sure of it. For I turned their right, pierced their centre, they were everywhere broken, the day was mine, and yet they did not know it, and would not run!"\(^\text{16}\)

As Fitchett wrote of another action, "What a head of wood or heart of stone any man of Anglo-Saxon race must have who can read such a tale without a thrill of generous emotion".\(^\text{17}\)

Interspersed amongst the deeds of glory were stirring poems of love of country and devotion to one's comrades in times of war.\(^\text{18}\) The use of poetry to excite the impressionable mind was not restricted to Fitchett.\(^\text{19}\) Other and more widely used texts such as the Royal School Series, *Highroads of History*, provided a plentiful supply of suitable poems, to be learnt by heart and recited on appropriate occasions. Edward Shirley's "Children of the Empire" was

---

\(^{16}\) Ibid., p. 130.

\(^{17}\) Fitchett on the story of Waterloo, *ibid.*, ii, p. 118.

\(^{18}\) See, e.g., *ibid.*, i, Kipling's "The English Flag", p. 35; Massey's "Who would not fight for England?", p. 93.

\(^{19}\) F. J. Gladman, in *School Method*, the most widely read text on teaching method in late nineteenth century N.S.W., had advocated the use of poetry to gain "good effect", p. 26.
an ideal vehicle for expressing patriotic sentiments on

Empire Day:

Children of the Empire, you are brothers all;
Children of the Empire, answer to the call:
Let you voices mingle, lift your heads and sing,
"God save dear old Britain, and God save Britain's King!"

Children of the Empire, your fathers fought and died
That you might stand, a noble band, in honour and in
pride;
That you might do the thing you will, and strike with
arm of might
For justice and for freedom's sake, for country, king,
and right.

Children of the Empire, from little isles they came
To spread abroad in every land the magic of their fame;
They toiled, they strove, they perished, that you and
I might see
The fair, free lands of Britain arise in every sea.

Children of the Empire, clasp hands across the main,
And glory in your brotherhood again and yet again,
Uphold your noble heritage - oh, never let it fall -
And love the land that bore you, but the Empire best
of all!²⁰

It was of this adulation of the Empire and of the in-
doctrination of the children of New South Wales to put it
before all other loyalties that the Roman Catholic Educa-
tional Conference complained in 1911.²¹ It was a futile
gesture. The committal to memory of long patriotic poems
for recitation on ritual days or social occasions was not
confined to children. In a period when families enter-
tained themselves and their friends around the piano in

²⁰ Highroads of History, II, pp. 159-60. Other poems
in the same volume included eulogies to Queen Victoria
(pp. 156-58) and A. H. Clough's "Green Fields of England"
(p. 159).

²¹ See Catholic Educational Conference of N.S.W.,
the drawing room, it was not unusual for adults to play their part in the evening's proceedings by giving a monologue or reciting a poem. Numerous collections of suitable material were available for purchase and it was the practice to place amongst the humorous and light pieces some of more serious vein including eulogies of the Empire.

In Story Recitals in Poem and Prose, we find Alfred Noyes' "The Empire Builders". Noyes asks "Who are the Empire builders?" and then reveals that it is not only those "whose desperate arrogance demands a self-reflecting power to sway a hundred little self-less lands" but also the stay-at-homes who fulfil their duties and are true to the homeland. And true they were. Hal Gye, writing of life in New South Wales at the turn of the century, described his father's love of England and of the Empire.

My father was very proud of being an Englishman. He believed in the English - the salt of the earth. Believed in the might of the British Empire; the Empire could do no wrong. He was behind the throne of England, the Crown, the Royal Family, the Bank of England, and St. Paul's. . . . He was the sort of man who would save the colours in the face of death and be proud to do it.

If the deeds of the heroes of the Empire lent themselves to story, song and verse, so too did the myths and legends of the race. Teachers were told that in the early years of schooling, history was indistinguishable from literature and geography, that the moral rather than

historical fact or truth was the important thing. The Royal School Series of Readers, Highroads of History, was only one of a number of books used in Australian schools which disseminated patriotic propaganda through a mixture of fact and fancy; and, like the others, omitted to inform the reader where the truth began and the fiction ended. Book II begins with the story of "King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table". It relates, in all seriousness, the story of Arthur, who, alone of all men, could draw the magic sword from the anvil of steel and with it defeat Britain's enemies. Other traditional stories such as those of Hereward the Wake and Robin Hood were treated in like manner and again presented a picture of the Englishman as the protector of the weak, the righter of wrongs, and unconquerable.

If, by some mischance, in the excitement of the story, the moral was lost, an explanatory section at the end of the story provided opportunity for discussion:

12 We must not think of Robin Hood as a robber and nothing more. Just as Hereward at his camp at Ely fought the Normans, so did Robin Hood in Sherwood Forest fight those who cruelly used his fellow-countrymen.

13 The Normans could not overcome Robin Hood, nor could they overcome the English people. They beat them and robbed them, and put many of them to death; but the English people would not give in.

26 Ibid., p. 35.
27 Ibid., p. 54.
As the years went by the Normans became English, and were proud to call themselves Englishmen.28

Just how much importance the editors placed on legend in the production of the future patriot can be seen from the fact that, in the same volume, the story of Robin Hood was accorded six pages of text and three illustrations, two of them full page, whereas the story of Napoleon was given only four pages of text and two illustrations.29 Other historical figures of importance fared even worse. This policy drew its critics. In Professor G. Arnold Woods' opinion:

The 'Royal History', . . . (has) nothing to commend it except, perhaps, a rather lively interesting style.30 Its use should be strictly confined to the nursery.

His advice was disregarded. The Royal School Series continued to be widely used.

The Child's Instructor; or Learning made Easy, another popular book of the late nineteenth century, dealt with history in a similar manner but was more selective in its material. Anything which tended towards violence or which indicated an unworthy or unpatriotic attitude to authority

28 Ibid., p. 61.
29 Ibid., pp. 54-61, 123-128.
30 The Australian Teacher, Vol. I, No. 3, 1 Oct. 1893, p. 4. See also Rep. M.P.I., (Vic.), 1886-7, or A. R. Trethewey, The Teaching of History in State-supported Elementary Schools in Victoria, 1852-1954, p. 56. Wood was Professor of History at the University of Sydney, 1891-1928, and believed himself to be the final arbiter on questions of history. See S.M.H., 6, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 15 and 17 Dec. 1892 for his clash with Cardinal Moran. For his obituary, see S.M.H., 17 Oct. 1928, or Union Recorder, 18 Oct. 1928, pp. 253-5.
was treated with restraint and euphemism. The story of the Chartists was dismissed in five lines:

And there were some people in England called Chartists who wished for some changes that were thought dangerous and foolish. These people gave a great deal of trouble, but their meetings were stopped at length, and their leaders were sent over the sea.31

If this seems somewhat cursory, the author excelled himself in dealing with the Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny. These were dismissed in the same sentence: "Then there was a terrible war with Russian, called the Crimean War, and there was a fearful mutiny in India; but all these wars and troubles were got over successfully".32

More concerned with the creation of the loyalist than the education of youth, the author explained that:

I could tell you many long stories about these and other things that have happened in Queen Victoria's reign, but perhaps I should weary you, and I want you to remember the most important things. On the 10th February, 1840, Her Majesty was married to Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha; but, twenty-one years after, on the 14th of December, 1861, he died. This was a great grief to the Queen.33

In its devotion to the Queen and in its determination not to bring to children's notice the bloodshed through which the Empire had been won and was maintained, The Child's Instructor adopted an extreme position. Such information as was transmitted to children was not calculated to develop in them a sense of history. The aim,

31 The Child's Instructor; or Learning made Easy, p. 598.
32 Ibid.
33 Ibid.
through the denigration of the efforts of other races in the progress of mankind, was to promote ethnocentrism, a belief in the destiny of one's own race. In the case of the English, this was seen as the God-given right of Anglo-Saxons to dominate the world. Children were taught through their history stories to admire British steadfastness and courage in the face of adversity, to regard with disgust and hatred the cowardliness of her enemies, and to glory in the righteous wars that Britain was forced to wage to save mankind.

In New South Wales, the Royal School Series and other readers faced strong competition from the series of eight history and geography books published by William Brooks and Company between 1899 and 1901 and written by S. H. Smith, then headmaster of the Superior Public School, Neutral Bay. Smith, who is best known for his co-authorship with G. T. Spaull of one of the first histories of education of New South Wales, was a strong supporter of the British Empire League and his books reflect his views. In 1905-6, he revised the books to meet the demands of the new Syllabus. In time, they became the principal source of information on English History for the children in the public schools of New South Wales. Like the author of Nelson's Highroads of History, Smith used the lives of great individuals to demonstrate to children how they

---

should govern their lives. At the same time, he provided the sort of information calculated to fill children with pride in their race and to prove to them that they lived "under the freest form of government the world has known".  

In his Introduction to the Third Class book, significantly entitled "Why You Learn English History", Smith indicated that it was so Australian children would understand "how the English-speaking races have gradually come to hold such an important position in the world". The children were left in no doubt that they ought to be proud to belong to the "leading nation of the world".  

The Fourth Class book was introduced in a similar fashion. In "On the Value of Historical Study", Smith reminded his readers that their interest in history had developed "because (they) felt curious to know something of the great men of our race. As you read on you felt proud, no doubt, to think of the noble progress that the race made".

Race-consciousness and a belief in the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon over all other peoples in the world were developed alongside the virtues of self-control, tolerance, patriotism and the responsibilities of citizenship. The juxtaposition of topics was such that the children subconsciously came to the conclusion that it was the right of

---

35 English History Series, Intermediate Book (Fourth Class), pp. 5-6. See also Ibid., Third Class, p. 6.
36 Ibid., Third Class, pp. 5-6.
37 Ibid., Fourth Class, pp. 5-6.
Anglo-Saxons to dominate the world and to provide the leadership no other race could. In the Fourth Class book, the low level of culture to be found in Turkey, Britain's ally in the Crimean War, was described in some detail. The Turks themselves were condemned as "the unspeakable Turk . . . a cruel and barbarous race . . . one of the most barbarous and ignorant of the Mohammedan races". In the following lesson, the pupils studied the wonders of Victoria's reign, "the longest and by far the most glorious" in England's history, during which time not only had there been an increase in "wealth, progress and prosperity . . . to an extent unequalled in the history of progress" but the social classes of England had come to live together in "a feeling of brotherliness".

Smith's geography books were equally ethnocentric. The countries of the Empire were coloured bright red on all the maps and gave the children an instant impression of Britain's dominant position in the world. In the Fifth Class book, a fold-out map frontispiece was provided. In broad, wide lines, the British trade routes were shown to spread in every direction from the tiny homeland. In contrast, the rest of the world was depicted in the dullest colour and was shown to be unimportant.

38 Ibid., pp. 75-6.

39 For Smith's emotive prose contrasting Turkish inferiority and British superiority, see Ibid., pp. 75-86.
Half of the book was devoted to the British Empire and the other half to the "Commercial Routes" dominated by the British, "now the greatest trading nation in the world".

The underlying objective of both the history and the geography series was the inculcation of loyalty to the throne, support for the idea of Empire and belief in the superiority of the race. Public School Inspectors, imbued with the same patriotic sentiments as Smith, saw to it that the teachers in their districts did not fail to put before the children the "right" way to think and act. On this question of indoctrination, Inspector Skinner of the Forbes District put the thoughts of most inspectors and teachers when he wrote in 1905:

The instruction in the principles of civic life, and the moral influence exerted by the teachers towards moulding the character and directing the energies of pupils towards the proper channels, must contribute greatly to the development of honest and trustworthy men and women who will appreciate the privileges they enjoy, and be alive to the duties they should discharge as citizens of the State and Empire.40

For readers of the Bulletin, at least a part of the indoctrination they received in school was continued through the pages of the newspaper. The Bulletin, long the radical voice in New South Wales which urged Republicanism, a White Australia, and a host of anti-aristocratic, anti-capitalist notions,41 had always supported the racial


41 See "Australia for the Australians, Bulletin, 2 July 1887. For similar views in another radical newspaper, see The Hummer, 16 Jan. & 13 Feb. 1892.
theories of "British blood, grit and force" although it also argued that only through independence could Australia preserve "unstained and affectionate relations" with England. After the turn of the century, the Bulletin became even more ethnocentric. By 1903, the Australian was said to have been "as much a full-blown, white British subject as the Britisher himself" and in some cases even more so since Britain was diluting its Anglo-Saxon purity by allowing Poles and Jews to settle in the country. The ideas of Imperial Federation, however, remained anathema. The Bulletin saw the imperial connection as implicit slavery for the Australian working classes through the importation of the English social system.

The notion that Imperial Federation meant overlordship by the English aristocracy was an old theme. Henry Lawson had written of this in 1891 in "Freedom on the Wallaby":

> Our parents toiled to make a home,<br>  Hard grubbin' 'twas and clearin',<br> They wasn't troubled much with lords<br>  When they was pioneerin',<br> But now that we have made the land<br>  A garden full of promise,<br> Old Greed must crook 'is dirty hand<br> An' come to take it from us.  

---

42 Bulletin, 11 Jan. 1896. See also 10 Feb. 1900; 23 Nov. 1901; 20 July 1902.

43 Ibid., 10 Jan. 1903. See also 18 Feb. 1893 and 1 Sept. 1888.

44 The Worker, 16 May 1891. Lawson had his work published in a number of journals including The Republican, edited by his mother. See, for example, 15 Oct. 1887.
The Bulletin which had permitted Lawson to express similar sentiments through its Red Page was now more concerned to show that Australians were of British stock, which meant that there could be none better. Praise of the race was expressed through poetry and song as well as through prose. It was held that if outsiders felt that the words and music were trite and trivial it was because they had not been blessed with Anglo-Saxon blood:

The average Anglo-Saxon will, by virtue of his blood, exhibit a general tendency to be touched by poetry or music, but the surroundings of his boyhood will determine what poetry or music is most profoundly to touch him. . . . Hence, to the Australian heart there may be much that is of moving appeal in verses that to others seem only bald and commonplace, or rude and colloquial.

The conversion of the Bulletin was accompanied by that of individuals who had in the recent past indicated what had appeared to be an unchangeable attitude towards Britain and the Empire. Nationalists of the old breed such as W. G. Spence generated a sense of disbelief when they admitted their new-found creed. Spence, whose championship of the bush worker had been instrumental in the creation of the Australian Shearers' Union and the General Labourer's Union and through these had almost plunged Australia into civil war during the Great Strikes of the

45 See, for example, Bulletin, 10 Feb. 1900; 20 July 1902.

46 H. G. Turner and A. Sutherland, The Development of Australian Literature, pp. viii-x.
the 'nineties, now found that he had a common bond with the imperialists who also spoke in terms of blood brotherhood, racial purity and Anglo-Saxon superiority. The 'platform' of the Australian Shearers' Union and the General Labourers' Union, published in The Hummer in 1892, had called for "The complete political independence of the United Australian Commonwealth on a basis of pure democratic Republicanism" and had denounced "Black and yellow labor", "Imported Governors", "Titles of rank, hereditary or otherwise", and "Parasites and monopolies of all brands". In 1909, with the growing electoral success of the Labour Party and with Federation an accomplished fact, Spence could write:

Since the advent of Labor into politics there has been a noticeable change of thought in regard to what may be termed Empire matters. Previously there was a fairly widespread sentiment in favour of republicanism. The Sydney "Bulletin" openly advocated the latter form of government at one time, . . . The practical independence of government granted under the Australian Constitution, with the manifest advantages of being part of a big Empire and under its protection if need  

\[47\] See the burning of the Rodney, a river-boat carrying strike-breaking shearers, Riverina Herald, 22 Aug. 1894; the flying of the Eureka Flag at Barcaldine, Wagga Wagga Advertiser, 5 March 1891. For documents on the armed camps in Queensland and the military manoeuvres of bush workers and others, see R. N. Ebbels, The Australian Labor Movement, 1850-1907. For a short biography of W. G. Spence and his ultimate betrayal of the labour movement, see "William Guthrie Spence", Carol Lansbury, Labour History, No. 13, Nov. 1967, pp. 3-10.


\[49\] Ibid.
arose, together with the growth of the national spirit of a "White Australia" and the broad humanitarianism taught by the Labor Party, have developed a feeling of loyalty to race rather than to governments, but have abolished any talk of either republicanism or of independence.50

This was a far cry from the republicanism which had flourished since the 1850's when the Sydney Dispatch had remarked upon the "republican spirit" which pervaded the Colony.51 It was further still from Tom Collins' view that "there is no such thing as a democratic gentleman; the adjective and noun are hyphenated by a drawn sword".52 The change was the result of a number of forces acting upon public opinion. These included the sense of independence which came with Federation, the glorification of the Empire in public and Protestant private schools and in the non-Catholic press, the insistent propaganda published by the British Empire League,53 the Imperial Federation League54 and the Australian National Defence League55 and the

50 W. G. Spence, Australia's Awakening, p. 148f.

51 Sydney Dispatch, 28 Aug. 1858.

52 T. Collins, (Joseph Furphy), Such is Life, p. 205.

53 The British Empire League was responsible for the promotion of Empire Day in Australia. Under its President, Canon Boyce, it endeavoured to make it as popular a festival as Christmas; "a kind of Empire Christmas Day", Canon Boyce, S.M.H., 15 Aprial 1903.

54 For its objects, see Imperial Federation League of Australia, Addresses, 1909 -, p. 1.

55 The Australian National Defence League came into existence in 1905 with the rise of Japan as a possible threat to Australia's security. It propagated its views through The Call, a magazine devoted to national preparedness, duty, discipline and physical fitness. See L. L. Robson, The First A.I.F., pp. 11-14.
loyalty generated towards the Empire during the Boer war.\textsuperscript{56}

Above all, it was the lack of dynamic and continuing leadership which caused the republican and anti-imperialist, anti-aristocratic ideas of the Australian worker to disintegrate. As Miles Franklin has said:

\begin{quote}
His practice of equality with all men was part of a continent-wide experiment which . . . was to flower in measures of political freedom and protection for the ordinary man which raised the personnel of the Australian working class to an unprecedented level and then left it shoaled for lack of continuing inspired leadership.\textsuperscript{57}
\end{quote}

If radical journals such as the Bulletin and old-time republicans such as W. G. Spence could have a change of heart and respond to calls for solidarity and the blood-brotherhood of the race, it is little to be wondered at the enthusiastic response of the Protestant population of New South Wales. Some Roman Catholics were also caught up in the enthusiasm for and the glorification of the Empire. For example, E. W. O'Sullivan, saw no conflict of interest in support for Home Rule for Ireland and loyalty to the Empire. He not only argued for an Anglo-Celtic confederation to work for Home Rule\textsuperscript{58} but supported Imperial Federation and the creation of a "Supreme Council for the


\textsuperscript{57} Miles Franklin, All that Swagger, p. 99.

\textsuperscript{58} "The Anglo-Celtic Race. Consolidation, not Disintegration", S.M.H., 27 Feb. 1902, reprinted by O'Sullivan in Under the Southern Cross, pp. 8-11. See also ibid., pp. 9, 10 & 35.
Empire". 59 Patrick McMahon Glynn was another who equated Home Rule with dominion status within the Empire. 60 Cardinal Moran was not against the idea that the term Anglo-Saxon should be scrapped and replaced by Anglo-Celt. 61 He was, however, completely opposed to Imperial Federation. 62 Interested in "all matters calculated to promote the interests of Australia", 63 he wished to see his new homeland pursue as independent a course as possible.

On Imperial Federation and on matters affecting the Empire, Protestants had fewer reservations than their Irish Roman Catholic fellow citizens. Their education in the public school system or in the Protestant private schools made them more receptive to pro-English ideas. Indoctrination in support for England and the Empire amongst Protestant school children was further strengthened after the turn of the century with the appearance of the Commonwealth School Paper.

The Commonwealth School Paper first appeared in 1904 and was published monthly until it went out of production.

59 Ibid., pp. 30-32.
62 For Moran's views on Australian Federation and Imperial Federation, see J. Tighe Ryan, op. cit., pp. 46-57.
63 Ibid., p. 19.
in 1915. Like the Australian School Paper which preceded it,\textsuperscript{64} it was published by Brooks and Company and edited by S. H. Smith.\textsuperscript{65} Both served as supplementary readers and were designed to provide additional reading material with which to drill the reading skills and to encourage children to enjoy reading.\textsuperscript{66} The Commonwealth School Paper was widely read.\textsuperscript{67} It was not only cheap at one penny per month but it had been declared a semi-official publication and was prescribed reading for most children in public schools. It was edited by inspectors and teachers and, to ensure that no offensive material was inadvertently included, each copy was censored by the Chief Inspector before publication.\textsuperscript{68} Parents were prepared to accept the cost of the Commonwealth School Paper since it saved them the

\textsuperscript{64} This was a short-lived paper, lasting only a few months. Its demise was ensured when the Chief Inspector issued instructions that the C.S.P. was "the only authorised School Paper to be read in school". See S. H. Smith's one page summary of the History of School Papers, M.L.

\textsuperscript{65} S. H. Smith was offered the editorship of the C.S.P. when it was bought by Brooks & Co. from Angus and Robertson. As he was then a country inspector he was unable to accept the position. J. M. Taylor and Inspector H. D. McClelland were co-editors until Jan. 1908 when Smith took over. He had been appointed a Sydney Inspector. He continued to edit the paper until it went out of existence at the end of 1915, \textit{ibid}.

\textsuperscript{66} \textit{Public Instruction Gazette}, 31 March 1909, p. 60.

\textsuperscript{67} \textit{Ibid.}, 30 April 1908, pp. 280, 295, 300.

expense of a reader which could have been much more expensive. 69

In the first four years of its existence, the Commonwealth School Paper was under the editorial guidance of J. M. Taylor. During this period, its format was very much like that of the English Boys' Own Paper. This is not surprising. The Boys' Own Paper had been in existence for almost thirty years when the Commonwealth School Paper was introduced in 1904 and was an obvious model for a cheap reader which would appeal to young people. Issues of the Boys' Own Paper varied very little in style and format. This could have resulted in an eventual disinterest in the magazine but the editors were able to maintain a keen interest and high sales by running a number of serials in each issue, all of which stopped at an exciting point in the story and ensured a sale the following week. The paper also provided interesting true life adventure stories with titles designed to attract the attention of its young readers. 70 In addition, there were poems, humorous and exciting, chess problems, stories of boys who had become famous, 71 and "do-it-yourself" articles. The latter included Japanese paper folding, how to make photographic slides;

69 Rep. Senior Inspector Lobban, ibid., p. 82.

70 See, for example, Boys' Own Paper, Vol. XIII, 1889, pp. 1-10.

71 e.g., "Stanley the Explorer, His Boyhood and Manhood", ibid., p. 249.
electric lamps; and the sign language of the American Indians. 72 Many of the stories had a patriotic motive. These were designed to make the reader proud of his heritage. They were frequently accompanied by illustrations which portrayed gallant episodes in British history. In November 1889, an "Episode at Waterloo" described the capture of French colours. This was accompanied by "Our Note Book" which gave the background to the illustration:

(The Young Guard) came in front of the Highlanders, and the fight was fierce, and at last came to a hand-to-hand fight. A Highlander, perceiving that there was a gap round the standard-bearer - his comrades had fallen - threw his musket down and rushed for the standard, but the young Guard was not willing to let it go. . . . At last, the Highlander, impatient and angry at the resistance of the little Frenchman, flung him, standard and all, over his broad shoulders, and carried him over on his side; and the Highlanders and Frenchmen roared and applauded in sheer admiration, and then fire and fight redoubled in vigour. 73

The Commonwealth School Paper followed much the same design but, as it was published as an aid to teachers, varied the format to provide a song with words and music. This was invariably on the final page of the magazine and was frequently a patriotic composition. For the younger children, songs praising the race and the country often appeared. One of these was "My Native Land". It began:

Before all lands in east or west,
I love my native land the best,
With God's best gifts 'tis teeming;
Both gold and jewels here are found,
While men of noble souls abound

72 See ibid., pp. 95, 77, 93, 299, 508-9.
73 Ibid., 30 Nov. 1889, p. 138.
And eyes with joy are gleaming,  
And eyes with joy are gleaming.  

The other three verses spoke of love of the native tongue; of love for fellow-countrymen, "A race of noble spirit, a sober mind, a generous heart"; and, again, of love of country, "My native land, I seek her good, her glory".

For the older children, the songs were more nationalistic and imperialistic. The back page of the papers for classes II to VI constantly featured songs like "God Save the King"; "Australia for ever"; "Australia Fair"; "The Sea is England's Glory"; "God Bless the Prince of Wales"; "Fatherland"; and "The Rifles of Britain". "Australia Fair", or to give it its full title "Advance Australia Fair", was particularly popular amongst school children. Officials of the Department of Public Instruction recognised that it was "tuneful, martial, and can be effectively sung by children's choirs, while the sentiment is strongly patriotic and the words possess poetic merit".

---

75 Ibid., for Class III, I, No. 1, July 1904, p. 10.  
76 Ibid., IV, No. 9, 1909, p. 144.  
77 Ibid., for Class IV, IV, No. 2, 1907, p. 32.  
78 Ibid., for Class III, II, No. 5, 1905, p. 64.  
79 Ibid., for Class IV, I, 1905.  
80 Ibid., V, No. 9, 1909, p. 145.  
81 Ibid., IV, No. 1, 1909, p. 16.  
82 School Books, "G. K.", 20 Nov. 1907, P Box 3925.
Its author, P. D. McCormick, for one hundred pounds, surrendered to "His Majesty and His Successors a license to print copy and use" the song in any way they wished. It was on the flag and on duty, however, that the Commonwealth School Paper concentrated. This became even more noticeable after Inspector S. H. Smith took over as sole editor in January 1908. An imperialist, Smith saw to it that the thought content of the magazine reflected his own certainty of the place of the Empire in world affairs and of the duty of the Anglo-Saxon race to provide leadership for lesser races.

Under the editorship of J. M. Taylor, the Commonwealth School Paper had made few concessions to Imperialism or to its great day, Empire Day. Even in 1905, when every means was being used to whip up enthusiasm for the first Empire Day and Taylor had had three months' notice of its inauguration, the only concession he would make was to have the words and music of "Australia Fair" included in the May issue. Smith's appointment as editor in 1908 saw an immediate change of emphasis over Empire Day. In that year and in every succeeding year until the paper ceased

---


84 In Feb. 1905, the Hobart Conference adopted the suggestion to introduce an Empire Day celebration in May 1905. See S.M.H., 16 Feb. 1905.

publication in 1915, every article in the May issue was devoted to some aspect of Empire and every song and poem had a patriotic message.

In every way possible, the Commonwealth School Paper became a vehicle for indoctrinating public school children with pride of race. No where can this be seen more clearly than in the poems and songs of the flag:

'Tis the streamer of England - it floats o'er the brave - 'Tis the fairest unfurled o'er the land or the wave; But though brightest in story and matchless in fight, 'Tis the herald of Mercy as well as of Might, In the cause of the wronged may it ever be first - When tyrants are humbled and fetters are burst; Be "Justice", the war-shout, and dastard is he Who would scruple to die 'neath the Flag of the Free! 86

Nationalist and republican newspapers had long realised the impact that calls to glory and duty could have upon impressionable minds and in particular the mystique which could be created over a piece of coloured rag. Amongst the nationalist papers which sprang up in the early 'nineties with the development of the New Unionism was the Wagga Wagga Hummer, the journal of the Wagga Wagga Branch of the Australian Shearers' Union. In its opinion, the "Flag of the Free", the Union Jack, represented the worst of tyrannies:

Every Australian-born, and every man who had made this land his adopted home because Royalty, aristocracy, and plutocracy have made the old world a tyrannical hell for the poor and friendless, means to work for a better

---

86 "The Flag of the Free", ibid., for Class III, II, No. 10, 1906, p. 145. In the same issue was "A Song of Empire", a poem written by Lady Jersey, the wife of the Governor.
order, a newer and purer life under the Southern Cross. The "flag" the imported loyalist gushes over and glorifies, is bloodstained with the cruelties and wrongs of ages; even now is the symbol of a more widespread tyranny, more pious hypocrisy, going forth with the Bible in one hand, and the rum bottle in the other, than any flag under heaven.87

In Roman Catholic schools, the children were taught to look to Ireland and to Ireland's flag as symbols of patriotism. Of "Erin's Flag", Father A. Ryan wrote:

Unroll Erin's flag, fling its folds to the breeze! Let it float o'er the land, let it flash o'er the seas! Lift it out of the dust - let it wave as of yore, When its chiefs with their clans stood around it and swore That never! no, never! While God gave them life, And they had an arm and a sword for the strife, That never! no never, that banner should yield As long as the heart of a Celt was its shield; While the hand of a Celt had a weapon to wield, And his last drop of blood was unshed on the field. 88

The other six verses spoke of English oppression of the Irish, of tyranny, of "the blood which the Briton has shed", and of the Irish exile who, one day, will sail home to Erin to the music of "Home, Sweet Home".

In A Catholic Miscellany, Father Ryan's poem is accompanied by stories in praise of Ireland and denouncing English oppression including "The Supernatural Destiny of the Irish Race", 89 and "How Ireland lost her parliament: the story of the Union". 90 Also included were stories and

87 The Hummer, editorial, 13 Feb. 1892.
89 Ibid., pp. 177-79.
90 Ibid., pp. 65-9.
poems which eulogised the Irish soldier and his successes over the English:

After one good stand-up fight  
My grandfather fell on Vinegar Hill,  
And fighting was not his trade;  
But his rusty pike's in the cabin still,  
With Hessian blood on the blade.91

Father P. S. Cleary contributed an article on the work done by Father G. E. Quin in the United States, "To save the boy". Cleary, in relating his own experiences in Australia in meeting the "problem of catching the boy young, and making a good citizen and a good Catholic out of him", argued that it was important to provide children with the right activities if the Church was to keep control of them and to gain regular Church attendance.

It was difficult for Cardinal Moran, his clergy and teachers to develop to the full a complete programme which would encourage a pro-Irish, anti-English sentiment in Roman Catholic school children as overt measures were quickly seized upon militant Protestants as proof of the disloyalty of Irish-Australians. Protestant teachers were not so handicapped. Public school children were constantly reminded of their debt to England and of the duty they had to defend the Empire from its enemies. Under S. H. Smith's guidance, they were led to believe that the Union Jack had an almost supernatural power to protect the individual

Briton. In writing on "The Power of the Flag", Smith, through the Commonwealth School Paper, encouraged this belief: "As Rudyard Kipling has said, it is only when you get outside England that you realise how great she is; and ... what power lies behind the bit of striped bunting which we call the Union Jack". To impress this message upon the children, the power of the flag was demonstrated through an exciting story: Havana was torn by bloody riots. Martial law had been declared. In the street a man lay badly wounded, deserted by his friends and left to die. From his hotel window an Englishman saw the man and went down to save him. While treating the man, the Briton was arrested for breaking the curfew and at a drumhead court-martial was sentenced to be shot at daybreak. By some good fortune, he managed to get a message to the British consul:

The shooting-party were drawn out, and the prisoner was there too. The consul walked up to the officer commanding the party, and demanded the life of his countryman. "Very sorry," said the officer, "but I must carry out my orders," and he showed the warrant signed by the governor. "Well", said the consul, "at least you'll allow me to shake hands with him before he dies". "I can't refuse that," was the reply. On which the consul stepped up to the Englishman, put his hand into his breast-coat pocket, drew out a Union Jack, unfolded it, threw it over the man, and then said: "There, now; fire if you dare!"

The lieutenant was staggered; the matter was referred to the governor, and the Englishman was saved.  

93 Ibid.
It was heady stuff which could send a thrill of pride through the public school boy and it made more meaningful the reverence for the flag:

Hats off!
Along the street there comes
A blare of bugles, a ruffle of drums,
A flash of colour beneath the sky!
Hats off!
The flag is passing by!
Blue, and crimson, and white it shines
Over the steel-tipped, ordered lines:
The colours before us fly;
But more than the flag is passing by - 
Hats off!

Sea-fights and land-fights, grim and great,
Fought to make and save the State:
Weary marches and sinking ships;
Cheers of victory on dying lips;

Days of plenty and years of peace;
March of a strong land's swift increase;
Equal justice, right and law;
Stately, honour and reverend awe;

Sign of a nation, great and strong
To ward her people from foreign wrong;
Pride, and glory, and honour - all
Live in the colours to stand or fall.
Hats off!

Along the street there comes
A blare of bugles, a ruffle of drums;
And loyal hearts are beating high;

The Flag is passing by! 94

There were, of course, occasions which were more appropriate than others for the singing of patriotic songs and the reading of prose and poetry devoted to love of country and the heroic exploits of fellow-countrymen. The greatest occasion was Empire Day and it was then that the public schools resounded to the words of "A Song to the Flag", "Our Flag", "The Flag of Britain", "Australia for

94 Ibid., VI, No. 10, 1910.
ever" and "The Star-Crossed Flag of Australia". The Roman Catholic community was not unaffected by the constant stream of propaganda in praise of the Empire which poured off the presses and out of the mouths of men in public life in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. Despite the efforts of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in New South Wales to bring to the notice of the Roman Catholic community that they were a despised minority, discriminated against by the Protestant majority, and despite the training in Roman Catholic schools which taught children to regard Protestant England as the enemy of Roman Catholic Ireland, Roman Catholics became divided on issues which affected the security and prestige of the Empire. In times of crisis, it was only the most determined of anti-imperialists who could stand against emotional calls to patriotism. For the rest, the defence of the Empire or the irresistible call to arms and to glory proved too strong.

It was William Bede Dalley, an Irish Roman Catholic and acting-premier of New South Wales, who despatched a contingent to the Soudan in 1885 to assist England's determination to punish the Mahdi for the death of Gordon. For most, the campaign was seen as a holy war, but Patrick McMahon Glynn took the unpopular view and described

95 These songs appeared in the Commonwealth School Paper every year, usually in the April and May issues in preparation for Empire Day.
it as "a most blood-thirsty & tyrannical war on the part of England, utterly purposeless." He believed that wrong-headed imperialism had driven England to attempt to maintain "a barren supremacy through blood and ruin". The anti-English Bulletin adopted the same view. It saw the jingoism aroused by the fall of Khartoum as "the shriek of wounded vanity, not the voice of calm reason". The war was denounced as "the repression of a patriotic resistance to foreign conquest", "a shameful and immoral mission", "this wanton war", and "the mad escapade fostered by Mr. Dalley". As for Dalley's promise that New South Wales would send its "last man and last shilling" to aid the British cause, Livingstone Hopkins, "Hop", not only ridiculed the statement in his cartoon, "Johnny's Valentine", but parodied Dalley's rhetoric by adding the following verse:

I'd give my last shilling
I'd give my last man
To aid thee, J. Bull
In the war at Soudan
Ever fondly, N.S.W.

---

96 Diary, 28 March 1885, Glynn Papers, Series 3, MS 4653, N.L.A.
99 Ibid., 21 March 1885, p. 4.
1 Ibid., 28 March 1885, p. 5.
2 Ibid., 18 Ap. 1885, p. 5.
4 Ibid., 21 Feb. 1885, p. 5.
Parkes, in opposition, had described Dalley's action in sending the New South Wales contingent as "neither necessary, lawful, nor wise", and the Bulletin extended this idea to read "emotional in conception, illegal in execution, and inglorious in termination". Dalley did not deny the unconstitutionality of his action but argued that Australia owed a debt to England: "We had the prestige and protection of the Empire without a share of its burdens". Although he was an imperialist, Dalley was also an Irishman and a Roman Catholic and his haste in sending troops to assist the British campaign in the Soudan was occasioned by a need to prove his loyalty. In a letter to the editor of the Daily Telegraph, Dalley reminded the public of New South Wales that he had been subjected to constant attacks in the press:

for my unwisdom, my want of patriotism, my foreign sympathies, my apparent inability to forecast the inevitable future of these Australian colonies and for a variety of other offences in connection with a profound disbelief which I entertain, that in the decree of Providence the whole vast territories in these seas were to be, by some species of divine dispensation, consecrated exclusively to the possession and use of the Anglo-Saxon race.

---

5 Quoted by P. R. Cole, Great Australians, p. 67.
8 Ibid. For condemnation of Dalley as a war mongering Imperialist anxious for glory, see T. Walker, Open Letter to the Attorney-General the Hon. W. B. Dalley, p. 4. For the accusation that he had "surrendered himself into the hands of a gang of ignorant priests", see D. Buchanan, op. cit., p. 63.
The Bulletin remained unconvinced that Dalley had done the right thing. His unconstitutional behaviour had set a precedent:

In the event of an Orangeman of the old school becoming Premier or Acting-Premier of the Colony, and a state of affairs arising in Ireland similar to that of 1848 or 1798, this man could, without consulting Parliament, enlist and despatch a contingent from New South Wales to go over and subjugate the rebels. . . . The precedent is now laid down.9

The editor believed that the Colony was being manipulated by Orangemen: "the meanest and most servile set of men that ever owned hearts wherewith to hate".10 It was not enough to condemn their order as "afflicted with the mange of public contempt".11 In a leading article on "Who are the Patriots?", he pointed out that patriotism, national honour, prestige, valour, glory, had been appropriated by the jingoists and that those who adopted a "more deliberate and judicial" attitude were denounced as unpatriotic if not actually treasonable.12

In 1885, the Soudan contingent could be dismissed as "the Soudan goat and donkey contingent".13 By 1900, such disparagement of a force sent to preserve the dignity of the Empire was not possible. Even P. M. Glynn was now an Empire stalwart. When the South African War

10 "Parkes and the Yellow Pup", ibid., 17 July 1886, p.4.
11 Ibid.
12 Ibid., 7 March 1885, p. 1.
broke out he questioned whether British troubles with the Boers was "an occasion justifying the gathering of the forces of Empire". Five days later, he acknowledged his sympathy with the Imperial Government and announced that Australian troops were "inspired by a sense of Empire". He took up the kinship theme and not only spoke of "the splendid relations of filial devotion and parental pride that subsisted between the colonies and the mother country" but declared that "a common blood invigorated the citizens of the great Empire on which the sun never sets". Aware that jingoism replaced calm reason in times of crisis, he confided to his diary that:

The temperature of the War fever is high at present, and the Welkin rings with Kipling-esque boastings of the might and morality of our Soldiers & Rulers, and the lack of moral and physical grit of the Boers.

The men had obviously learned their lessons well in school and it pained Glynn to see such blind devotion:

The War is, doubtless, a now necessary episode in the conservation, if not the march of Empire, but with the best of us Patriotism is sorely lacking in imagination and sympathy.

The apparent devotion of Australians to the Empire was seized upon by supporters of Imperial Federation as a

---

14 5 Oct. 1899, Glynn Papers, "Newspaper Cuttings", MS 4653, Series 5.
15 10 Oct. 1899, Ibid.
16 Ibid.
17 Diary, 21 Jan. 1900, Ibid., Series 3.
18 Ibid.
sign that closer union with England would be welcomed. E. C. Buley tried to explain to Englishmen the significance of the Australian contribution to the Boer War:

It is not easy for the home-keeping Englishman to grasp the real meaning of the wave of patriotism that swept over Greater Britain during the progress of that struggle. . . . It was the first real Colonial war in which the Empire had been engaged, and the notion of the Empire suddenly gained an attractive reality in the eyes of Australians.20

All Australians were not, however, pro-British. The Bulletin provided a platform for the anti-war, pro-Boer faction in the Colony of New South Wales.21 Once again, the Bulletin denounced British intrusion into the affairs of another country as "a wanton deed of blood and rapine".22

Men like Buley were only interested in pro-British actions and attitudes and the Colony did provide a multitude of these. The newspapers were filled with descriptions of battles and military comment on the conduct of the campaigns. Patriotic sermons were reprinted in detail23 and to win over perhaps luke-warm Irish Catholics the valour of Irish troops and protestations of Irish loyalty were featured. According to one despatch from London which

20 Ibid., p. 198.
21 See, for example, Bulletin, 10 Feb. 1900, for pro-Boer poems and articles.
22 M. Mahood, The Loaded Line, Australian Political Caricature, 1788-1901, p. 252. See also ibid., p. 254.
23 See, for example, S.M.H., 5 Feb. 1900.
was reprinted in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, only "the 'Dublin Shebeen' gang" was against the war. The writer assured his readers that the bulk of the Irish population put the interests of the Empire before such domestic issues as Home Rule. This, the writer explained, was perfectly natural as "the Irish have always stood well with us in times of real peril".  

How many Irish-Australians supported the Boer cause cannot be ascertained although a natural inclination to support any people who resisted British domination probably influenced some Irish-Australians. H. B. Higgins, a Protestant Irishman but a supporter of Home Rule for Ireland, made no secret of his support for the Boers and because of this lost his seat in Parliament. Other Irishmen, like Glynn, saw Higgins' stand as reflecting upon the loyalty of Irish Catholics since it was they who were seen by the public as wanting Home Rule. Fellow Roman Catholic Irishman and politician E. W. O'Sullivan also put the Empire first. He believed that a British defeat by the Boers would lead to a coalition of Anglophobic European powers and that it was only the loyalty and racial

---

24 *S.M.H.*, 3 Feb. 1900.


patriotism demonstrated by the colonies which had dissuaded
the intending coalitionists from joining the Boers. 27
Speaking at the unveiling of a monument to the South
African War dead in 1903, he repeated his claim that the
support for Great Britain manifested by the colonies had
been instrumental in preventing the establishment of an
anti-British combine:

That war was a crisis in human history, for if Great
Britain had been defeated in South Africa her hold
upon India would have been rendered insecure, and
perhaps that upon Australia might have been also.
. . . The wonderful upheaval of British sentiment in
Australia, New Zealand, and Canada had electrified
the world, and taught the hostile great Powers that
there was a Greater Britain to consider as well as
Great Britain. . . . If the necessity arose there
were 300,000 more such men ready to defend Australia
and the Empire. 28

If there were doubts about the loyalty of some Irish-
Australians, the New South Wales Department of Public
Instruction made sure that there were none about the
loyalty of its staff and the children in its schools. The
children were used to give demonstrations and displays at
patriotic gatherings 29 and the public schools signified
their oneness with England and the Empire by a simultan-
eous raising of the Union Jack. 30 Both the children and

27 S.M.H., 27 Feb. 1902. See also E. W. O'Sullivan,

28 "In Memory of Fallen Soldiers", ibid., p. 16.

29 See, for example, demonstration by school cadets,
S.M.H., 1 Feb. 1900.

30 To celebrate the visit of the Duke and Duchess of
their teachers contributed to patriotic funds. The *Evening News*, which had expressed some reservations about public school children being used for political purposes through patriotic demonstrations,\(^{31}\) protested against the exploitation of children through the Public School Children's Patriotic Fund. The editor did not blame the Minister for Public Instruction for this but asserted that Perry had "simply allowed his underlings to use the departmental influence for the purpose of extracting large sums of money" for the "Boer Suppression Fund".\(^ {32}\) The raising of money through patriotic funds was also opposed by the *Bulletin*\(^ {33}\) but in general they were well supported. The Public School Teachers' Patriotic Fund was initiated at a large meeting of teachers. There was some pressure for them to demonstrate their loyalty as one of their number had been accused of spreading unpatriotic views.\(^ {34}\) Although the anonymous charge had been dismissed as unfounded by a departmental enquiry, it was necessary to demonstrate to the public that its teachers were behind the war effort. There was some quiet coercion of teachers to contribute. Minister Perry chaired the inaugural

---


\(^{32}\) Ibid., 14 July 1900.

\(^{33}\) *Bulletin*, 10 Feb. 1900.

\(^{34}\) For a comment on the enquiry into the charge, see Perry, *S.M.H.*, 5 Feb. 1900.
meeting and the permanent head of the Department, Under-secretary Bridges, supervised the collection and distribution of the contributions.

With the Boer War won, A. H. Adams investigated the reasons for the enthusiastic support Australia had shown towards England. He concluded that the frenzied loyalty demonstrated during this period was not to England but to the Empire. In his opinion, an Australian had a patriotic priority system: "loyalty to his own colony, loyalty to the Empire, and lastly loyalty to England".

What was more, he believed that unless the English were prepared to admit "a greater measure of equality to the colonial, to grant him a more responsible share, a more honourable position in the government of the Empire", the Empire was "liable to destruction at the first moment of stress".

In the Roman Catholic school system, putting Australia first and denigrating the connection with England was part of the instruction. The "esteem for the mother country" and the respect for the imperial flag which had been seen in the late nineteenth century as "the symbol of

35 Ibid.
36 S.M.H., 17 Aug. 1900.
38 Ibid., p. 526.
our strength and unity"^40 by Cardinal Moran had disappeared in the Roman Catholic reaction to English refusal to concede Home Rule. The extravagant emphasis on love of England encouraged by the Empire Day movement further alienated Roman Catholics. Cardinal Moran had long argued for "one Country, one People, one Flag"^41 and urged Roman Catholics to show their Protestant fellow-Australians the lead:

Whatever they might do for Empire Day, he thought all patriotic Australian hearts must go out to 'Australia Day', and as they showed their patriotism and religious feeling by linking their enthusiasm with St. Patrick's Day, they would show the same enthusiasm in associating Australia Day with the feast of Our Lady Help of Christians, the Chief Patroness of the Australian Church.^42

Spokesmen for the public school system also believed that it was their schools which would provide the country with the right leadership. Peter Board regarded the public schools as "the nurseries of the nation's morality" and the "training grounds for national defence".^43Saluting the flag ceremonies, Empire Day, the jingoism imbibed through the Commonwealth School Paper

---

^40 "Ireland and Australia", Address delivered at City Hall, Dublin, 4 Oct. 1888, by Cardinal Moran, quoted P. O'Farrell, Documents in Australian Catholic History, p. 16.


^42 Catholic Educational Conference, N.S.W., 17-20 Jan. 1911, p. 38.

and the history books selected for public school children, all assisted in the moulding process. Above all, there was the School Cadet Corps which not only provided martial training but, through its indoctrination of youth in patriotism, created a citizenry which regarded military service in defence of the Empire as an inescapable duty. The right of their race to rule vast areas of the world was unquestioned. It was seen as a God-given gift. The outbreak of World War I gave men nurtured on duty, a chance to give practical expression of their training. Bill Gammage who has examined the letters and diaries of men who volunteered for the Australian Imperial Force discovered that "men usually expressed their commitment in terms of Imperialism and the sanctity of the Empire's martial prestige". The following extracts from his book indicate that for many men the Imperial vision did dictate their thinking:

Surely every one must realize that the Empire is going thro a Crisis it has never gone thro' before and that every one is expected to do his duty now.

God grant that men will realize the greatness of this project and whatever the sacrifice, make it, in order that our Grand Old Flag may still wave over a United Empire.

\[44\] See, for example, P. R. Cole's discussion of Australia's contribution to the Boer War in Concentric Histories of England, Pt. II, Junior Book, p. 115.

\[45\] Bill Gammage, The Broken Years, p. 42.

\[46\] Quoted Gammage, ibid., p. 9.

\[47\] Ibid., p. 66.
Sometimes I weary so of it all and long for peace; it is only the fact that the safety of our loved ones, the integrity of our Empire is at stake that lifts ones spirits up again, to face the roughing and the grim horrors of the battlefield.  

Other men had other reasons for volunteering. For some, it was to defend Christendom from the German jackboot, or to be with their friends, or for love of adventure and a chance of glory. Still others were swept up in the initial enthusiasm for the war and had no clear idea why they had volunteered. C. E. W. Bean, the official war historian for World War I, believed that a threat to the security of the "old country" was a sufficient inducement for Australians to wish to demonstrate their loyalty to the King-Emperor. The public schools had done their work well. Constant reiteration of themes on duty, loyalty, patriotism, on deeds of courage and enterprise in defence of the Empire, had produced a population quick to respond when the call came. Compulsory military training for all Australian boys over twelve years of age when added to lessons on "Why we are Proud of our Country", "The True Patriot", "A Soldier's Training and What it does", and

---

48 Ibid., p. 80.
50 See Commonwealth of Australia Defence Act of 1909. For press comment, see S.M.H., 8 Sept. 1909, D.T., 27 Ap. 1910. For the action taken by the N.S.W. Department of Public Instruction, see School Files, "Cadet Training", P Box 4056. For a Roman Catholic reaction, see ibid., O'Reilly to Board, 13 Oct. 1909. Children were given a description of what was required of them in the introduction to the Citizen Reader.
"The Flag" made meaningful the "great lesson" of the Citizen Reader and of the other books placed in the hands of children: "England Expects every man will do his duty". 51

As Australian nationalism had become compatible with the membership of the British Empire in the years immediately following the Boer War, a form of imperialism had become part of that nationalism. 52 This enabled Roman Catholics whose education had provided them with a different view of what freedom, democracy, justice and faith meant to accept the concept of Empire without this necessarily implying loyalty to England. Open Roman Catholic opposition to the war did not come until 1916 when the British Government began executing Irishmen for their part in the Easter Rebellion. 53 Surprisingly, the constant sectarian strife in Australia and the troubles in Ireland did not lead to a decrease in the number of Roman Catholics who volunteered. 54 None the less, there was sufficient antipathy amongst Irish Roman Catholics to any enterprise which might assist the English to keep the


53 See Ch. 5, "Opposition to the Conscription Proposals in 1916", L. L. Robson, The First A.I.F., pp. 82-103.

54 Ibid., p. 148.
proportion volunteering below their percentage of the population.\footnote{55}

TABLE XII

Comparison of Religion of Australian Imperial Force volunteers with that of Australian and New South Wales males 15 years and over at Census of 3 April 1911.\footnote{56}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>% Aust.</th>
<th>% NSW</th>
<th>% AIF embarked</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ch. of England</td>
<td>37.79</td>
<td>43.66</td>
<td>49.22*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman Catholic</td>
<td>21.38</td>
<td>23.82</td>
<td>19.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
<td>12.75</td>
<td>11.50</td>
<td>15.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist</td>
<td>10.89</td>
<td>8.27</td>
<td>10.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Christian</td>
<td>10.48</td>
<td>7.41</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Christian</td>
<td>1.58</td>
<td>1.53</td>
<td>6.33**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indefinite</td>
<td>1.05</td>
<td>0.86</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unspecified</td>
<td>4.08</td>
<td>3.13</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* This includes some who gave "Protestant" or "no Religion" and who are included in "Other Christian" or "Indefinite" in the other columns.

** Because of the small number of Non-Christians, a few extra volunteers in proportion to their numbers magnifies the recruitment percentage.

The Easter Rebellion in Ireland and an apparent reluctance of Irish Australians to volunteer for the Australian Imperial Force revived the sectarianism which had been such a feature of life in New South Wales in the nineteenth century. Roman Catholic priests followed Archbishop Mannix's lead and opposed conscription, seeing it

\footnote{55}{See Table XII.}

as a direct threat to their Church. Archbishop Kelly argued that Roman Catholics could not support conscription and attacked the government as "the enemies of freedom of conscience, of civic liberty, as long as they kept Catholic schools at a disadvantage. Like Cardinal Moran, who had endeavoured to use the compulsory military training of boys in Roman Catholic schools to get state aid on the same level as that for public schools, Archbishop Kelly endeavoured to turn the conscription issue into a demand for equal educational opportunity for Roman Catholic schools in New South Wales. The Sydney Morning Herald responded angrily as it always did when the state aid issue was raised but on this occasion it asked its readers to discriminate between Roman Catholics and treasonable, blackmailing Irish Roman Catholics. He was confident, said the editor, that:

English, Scots, French and Italian Roman Catholics in Australia would repudiate such a doctrine. Imagine a French Roman Catholic, for instance, placing an amendment of the Public School system of his country before the call of France, bleeding and staggering under the weight of German blows. Imagine a Belgian Roman Catholic whose Churches have been desecrated, whose womenfolk have been misused, whose old women and children have been enslaved and whose priests have been massacred by a ruthless foe!

---

58 Quoted ibid., p. 225.
59 Moran and Education: Correspondence, Paper dated 15 Sept. 1909, Archives, St. Mary's Cathedral.
60 S.M.H., 7 May 1918.
The restoration of state aid, said the editor, would come only when "those who demand it deserve well of the community as a whole. A minority of the people have no more powerful weapon".61

The Easter Rebellion and the Protestant reaction in New South Wales changed a growing climate of Protestant indifference to Roman Catholic schools to antipathy and fear, which was exploited by militant anti-Catholics. The Protestant voter was again subjected to propaganda which urged him to beware of Roman Catholic subversion of Australian political and social life. Education in Roman Catholic schools was denounced as teaching children "hatred of England, lies in History, Down with Protestant Parliaments; Loyalty to the Church Only".62 Sectarianism in New South Wales was as bitter as it had been in 1836 and in 1879-1880.

---

61 Ibid.

62 New South Wales Protestant Federation electoral leaflet issued during the 1922 N.S.W. election campaign. For a copy, see P. O'Farrell, op. cit., p. 215.
CONCLUSION

The events of 1916-1918 injected new life into sectarianism in New South Wales. On the one side, many Roman Catholics were charged with disloyalty if not treason. On the other, many Protestants were charged with attempting to send conscripted Australians to die in England's war. The clock had been turned back to 1836 when Anglican Bishop Broughton had urged Protestants to refuse to cooperate with Roman Catholics in a general system of education. The Irish National System had to be rejected, said Broughton, as co-operation would pave the way for the "ultimate establishment of popery". In 1836, Governor Bourke had recognised that the interests of the sects were irreconcilable and, through the Church Act, had agreed to subsidise their separate church and school building programmes. In so doing, he helped to establish the future pattern of sectarianism in education; a separate and competing Protestant public school system and a Roman Catholic private school system.

Although sectarians endeavoured to arouse the passions of members of their sect over every issue which they saw as injurious to their aims and objectives, only occasionally did the racial and religious divisions in the Colony

intrude into the consciousness of the majority of the population. Bourke's attempt to introduce the Irish National System was one of these occasions. So too were the attempted assassination of the Duke of Edinburgh, the Parkes-Vaughan controversy, the visit of the Redmond brothers in 1883 to win support for the Irish Home Rule party,\(^2\) and the Easter Rebellion of 1916. In every case, the underlying reason for the confrontation was whether English or Irish aspirations were to be achieved. All served to remind Protestant Anglo-Australians that they had in their midst a large minority of racially and religiously different people whose loyalty to Englishness was suspect. Roman Catholic Irish-Australians also learnt from the conflicts. They discovered that, regardless of where their own sympathies lay, they would be associated with the activities of their more militant co-religionists. In addition, the experience taught them that they belonged to a minority, "encircled by enemies . . . in a somewhat alien culture".\(^3\)

In the thirty years following Bourke's Church Act, education progressed with few acts of a sectarian nature to disturb the general population. As the National or

---

\(^2\) See G. M. Tobin, *The Sea divided Gael - The Irish Home Rule Movement in Victoria and New South Wales, 1880-1910*, Ch. II.

\(^3\) This was spoken of Roman Catholics who had grown to manhood in the period 1900-1930 but applied equally to the years before 1900. See "Is there a New Catholic Left?", *Observer*, 16 Ap. 1960.
Public system of education built up its strength and increased the number and efficiency of its schools under the administration of William Wilkins, the Churches, their administrators and their political allies discovered that it was the public school system, not those of their denominational rivals, which was the principal threat to their existence. They had wasted their strength in competing with each other to prevent the possible conversion of members of their faith. Schools had been built in places already well supplied with educational facilities to the detriment of areas clamouring for a school. This evidence of intolerant sectarianism hastened the process of secularisation of the mass of the population and made possible the rapid expansion of the public school system. When he constructed his two education acts, Henry Parkes was reflecting majority public opinion. The first, the Public Schools Act of 1866, curtailed denominational activity in education and made denominational school systems subservient to the public school system. Not only did they have to conform to the Regulations for public schools, including the Course of Secular Instruction, in order to qualify for state aid but this could be withdrawn if a Certified Denominational School infringed any one of a number of

---

conditions. The second, the Public Instruction Act of 1880, again responded to the clamour of Protestant public opinion and stripped the Churches of state aid for education. On this occasion, so violent was the anti-Catholic sectarianism, that some supporters of Protestant denominational schools were prepared to see their own schools suffer and even disappear if at the same time the Roman Catholic school system was demolished. Few influential Protestants protested against the decision to abandon state aid for denominational education and fewer still realised that the decision would ultimately strengthen the Roman Catholic school system as it would free it from the restraints imposed by inspection by Public School Inspectors and the necessity to adhere to prescribed books, subjects and methods of instruction. One Protestant who did realise the full implications of the Public Instruction Act was Rev. F. B. Boyce. He protested that:

Under the Monks and Nuns, the children will breathe the thoroughly Catholic atmosphere advocated by the Pastoral. Dr. Vaughan has not gained 'payment by results' but he will give the children the education he wishes.  

Deprived of state aid from 31 December 1882, the Roman Catholic hierarchy, led initially by Archbishop Vaughan and then by his successor Cardinal Moran, was determined

---

both to preserve its school system and to regain the lost financial aid. Protestant sectarians were equally determined to see that there was no resumption of state aid in any shape or form. It was 1963 before the opposition to state aid was reduced to the point where politicians felt that they could safely reintroduce it.

Cardinal Moran was better placed than Archbishop Vaughan to win over a sufficient number of the more moderate Protestants to the view that the Public Instruction Act should be amended. The death of Vaughan in England in August 1883 permitted the Roman Catholic Church to replace him with a man free from association with the notorious Pastorals of 1879. In addition, the Vatican was now taking a different view of a Roman Catholic's position in a world which was becoming increasingly liberal and secular. Vaughan had reflected the uncompromising stand of Pope Pius IX against liberalism. On his election in 1878, this stand was abandoned by Pope Leo XIII. Leo selected men who could work with and gain concessions from those who owed no allegiance to the Roman Catholic Church. In New South Wales, Cardinal Moran set to work to diminish the antipathies heightened by Archbishop Vaughan's denunciation of the public school system and by his emphasis on the Irishness of the Roman Catholic population. The Cardinal could not change where a man or his forebears had been born but he could give the man a different public image. This he attempted to do by encouraging the Roman
Catholic community to see themselves as Australian first. It was a long-term project and one not entirely successful in his lifetime. The arrival of new settlers from Ireland and the importation of Irish priests and teachers kept pride of race alive. Late in his life, to combat the influence of Empire Day and the other Anglo-Australian devices to divert patriotism to love of England and of the Empire, Cardinal Moran attempted to turn Roman Catholic eyes towards Ireland through the encouragement of Hibernian competitions and the study of Irish History and Language in the Roman Catholic schools.  

Acceptance of the public schools as fit and proper places for Protestant children was an easier matter. The root and branch condemnation of the public schools which had characterised the diatribes of Archbishop Vaughan and his clerical and lay supporters was abandoned. Cardinal Moran preferred to stress the quality of Roman Catholic education rather than the malignancy of the public school system. This is not to say that he sanctioned the attendance of Roman Catholic children at public schools. These were still held to be "incomplete in Moral Training" and therefore unsuitable for Roman Catholic children. Roman Catholic parents who were thinking of sending their children to a non-Catholic school were urged to think again:

7 Circular to Priests, 5 Sept. 1906, Archives, St. Mary's Cathedral.
8 Freeman's J., 30 Nov. 1911.
Are these prominent edifices shrines of complete and sound culture? Does their curriculum embrace instruction and training in all knowledge proper to children, and in all practices of religion as well as secular life? . . . We say that the efficiency of our secular schools is but partial, and that in this limitation lies a danger of decadence to future generations; moreover we claim that measuring this proficiency in their specialised scope, with the tested attainments . . . of any Catholic school we find at least no shortcoming in the latter.9

Moran's aim to win concessions through avoiding sectarian conflict did not achieve the results expected. One visitor to the Colony, J. A. Froude, saw the defensive attitude of the Roman Catholic Church as proof that state aid itself had been the cause of friction between Protestants and Roman Catholics. He suggested that with the public schools offering free, non-denominational and compulsory education sectarian differences would disappear.10 He underestimated the strength of feeling about Roman Catholic education. Militant Protestants felt that they could not rest while Roman Catholic children were exposed to ideas to which they objected. The Roman Catholic clergy was equally determined not only to continue to educate children in the way they felt best but also to continue to campaign for a restoration of state aid.11

Despite Protestant fears that a few words from a pulpit were sufficient to organise the Roman Catholic vote,

10 J. A. Froude, Oceana, or England and her Colonies, p. 167.
perhaps the greatest weakness of the Roman Catholic position was the independence of the Roman Catholic voter. Neither the state aid issue nor Cardinal Moran's candidature for a seat on the Federal Convention of 1897 could overcome their party preferences. Father Dunne's appeal to the Cardinal to copy the successful organisation of the Protestant vote by the Public School League and in this way obtain educational justice merely served to exacerbate sectarian animosities. So too did Moran's attempt to enter politics. His failure not only highlighted the fact that Roman Catholic voters determined how to cast their votes on grounds other than loyalty to their Church and to its leader in the Colony but also confirmed in the minds of many Protestants the belief that the Vatican was behind the move. The Protestant press made much of this and accused Moran of being "the sworn soldier and servant of a foreign power". Some Roman Catholics were equally opposed to the Cardinal's attempt to enter politics. For example, P. M. Glynn, in a letter to his sister, rejoiced that he had been rejected by the electorate: "Cardinal Moran stood in N.S.Wales but was defeated, & I am not sorry as he created a regular sectarian strife by

12 Catholic Press, 17 July 1897.
interfering". 15

Moran had overestimated his own popularity and underestimated the sectarian reaction his candidature would arouse. However, militant Protestants were not only concerned with the actions of the most eminent of their enemies; they exhibited a paranoid fear of the Roman Catholic teacher in a public school classroom. This not only led to complaints that there were "too many Roman Catholic teachers" employed by the Department of Public Instruction 16 but that these teachers were actively engaged in subverting the faith of Protestant children. This was an old grievance but one which in the past had aroused intense sectarian activity. The revelation by the Sydney Morning Herald that sectarian "headlines" were being used in the copy books of children at the Grabben Gullen and Killenamella Half-time schools had been instrumental in the establishment of the Public School League. 17 The Roman Catholic Church was to pay dearly for a young woman's use of "Holy Mary, ever virgin, pray for me" and "Virgin mother, make me your child" to teach children the art of writing. 18

In 1889, the activities of misguided or artless Roman Catholic teachers were brought to the attention of the Department of Public Instruction. The Sydney Morning Herald reported that "sectarian headlines" were being used in the copy books of children at the Grabben Gullen and Killenamella Half-time schools. This revelation was instrumental in the establishment of the Public School League. The Roman Catholic Church was to pay dearly for a young woman's use of such phrases to teach children the art of writing.

15 Glynn Papers, Series 2, General Correspondence, letter to Agnes, 9 March 1897, M.S. 4653.
16 Abigail during the 1889 Supply Debate, NSWPD, XCI, p. 4618.
17 See S.M.H., 19 & 24 June, 9 July 1874.
18 In all, nine such headlines were used, S.M.H. 19 June 1874.
Catholic teachers in the employment of the Department of Public Instruction again raised the cry that "a great deal of popery (was) getting into our public schools". Minister for Public Instruction Carruthers dismissed the allegation as unfounded; but some Roman Catholic parents and teachers continued to give cause for suspicion. At Gocup, Roman Catholic parents who were forced to send their children to the local public school in the absence of a Roman Catholic one used every means to secure the dismissal of the Protestant teacher and to have him replaced by a Roman Catholic. Public School teacher and Roman Catholic M. M. Ryan, in his application for transfer to an Irish Catholic district in Sydney, also gave cause for suspicion that he went beyond his duty as a teacher in the classroom. To support his application, he boasted that he had been instrumental in persuading Roman Catholic parents to send their children to his school at Mundawaddera when they "might otherwise have objections to sending their children to a school in charge of a person of another denomination". Unconscious of the effect his letter would have upon Departmental officials, he went on to promise that, if transferred, he would be "just to all classes or

19 NSWPD, XCI, p. 4619.
20 School Files, Gocup, Moore to Hookins, 28 Feb. 1880, P box 1766.
21 Ibid., Mundawaddera, Ryan to Maynard, 5 Jan. 1892, P box 1817.
sects under my charge and escape wounding in any way the feelings of the Roman Catholic Children who may attend the school". Inspector O'Byrne, himself a Roman Catholic, dismissed the letter as silly and highly improper. If Ryan wanted an appointment of a denominational nature, said O'Byrne, he should seek it outside the Department of Public Instruction.

Not all the sectarian incidents involved Roman Catholic teachers nor were they all quietly disposed of within the Department of Public Instruction. Roman Catholic Members of Parliament pointed to the different treatment meted out to Roman Catholic teachers to that to Protestant teachers when both were accused of similar offences. When the Roman Catholic teacher at Marrickville "made certain denunciatory remarks concerning Luther and reformers generally" and spoke about the infallibility of the Pope, he was found guilty of a serious indiscretion and was cautioned. When the Protestant teacher at Uralla was alleged to have "marched about 150 children, of different religious denominations, to a Wesleyan school feast, where they spent the day drinking weak tea and eating

---

22 Ibid. Underscoring in original - probably by Maynard or O'Byrne.
23 Ibid., O'Byrne to District Inspector, 11 Jan. 1892.
24 Dept. of Pub. Inst., Replies to questions asked and information concerning . . . the Legislative Assembly . . . 1883-95, 21 Nov. 1888, 1/3572, p. 105.
stale buns, and were afterwards addressed by some psalm singing local preacher", the Department dismissed the charge. 25 Mr. McElhone, Member of the Legislative Assembly for the Upper Hunter, declared that a Roman Catholic teacher could not expect justice because he "was guilty of the dreadful offence of being a Roman Catholic". 26 McElhone denounced the bigots of all religions and called them:

a curse to the country. There would soon be no living in the country on account of this infernal, damnable bigotry, of men who, with the word of God in their mouths and the devil in their hearts, stirred up discord and quarrels among the people. 27

Bigotry was everywhere. It was not only found in the pronouncements of the great but in the comments of the insignificant. Such was the anti-Catholic prejudice amongst the Protestant community that T. A. Fitzgerald found that "even the street-arabs look on Catholicism as low and contemptible". 28 In the schools, both public and Roman Catholic, religious and racial antagonisms were more frequently felt than stated. They were to be found in the atmosphere of the schoolroom, the look of a teacher, the

26 Ibid.
27 Ibid.
tone in the voice, the emphasis placed on religious or associated themes in the text books selected for study, the rites and ceremonies conducted with the children and the manner in which such traits as citizenship, patriotism, loyalty and duty were taught.

Outside the classroom, the children were exposed to the prejudices of their elders in the various organisations sponsored by the churches. The Protestant churches had their Sunday Schools, youth groups and societies and guilds for men and women. For the more militant, there were the Loyal Orange Lodges, the Masonic Lodge and the various leagues associated with winning devotion to the Empire. The Roman Catholic Church was no less aware of the power of association for common ends than were the Protestant churches. It too encouraged the work of societies and guilds as a means of holding its people together. In a Pastoral Letter published in the Catholic Press on 18 January 1896, Cardinal Moran advised his people that it was important for them to join the societies: "We must bring the weight of numbers into line with our projects". To anti-Catholics, his request was ominous. It was bad enough for Roman Catholics to organise to spread their


religion but Cardinal Moran wanted them to influence "social and temporal welfare".\textsuperscript{31}

One of the senior Roman Catholic societies, the Hibernian-Australian Catholic Benefit Society, was a Roman Catholic counterpart to the Loyal Orange Lodge and the Masonic Lodge. It had an initiation rite, an insignia, and was open only to those "practical" members of the Church who had a proven record of loyalty. Its emblem signified "the undying love entertained by the Society for the 'Island of Saints'". Incorporated in the emblem was the Cross, the Australian Coat of Arms and a number of symbols emblematic of the celtic heritage of the members: the Harp of Erin, the Shamrock wreath, and a round tower, an oak tree and a wolf dog.\textsuperscript{32}

The political activities of the Roman Catholic societies were subjected to a great deal of Protestant criticism after 1900 and in 1910 Archbishop Kelly came to their defence, declaring that:

Social peace may be preserved only by prudent adjustment of claims and equitable compromise of details. The majority will give the law; the minority will be protected from injustice, and from all avoidable injury. Submitting loyally to civic duty, the minority will strive to win confidence and approval and concession.\textsuperscript{33}

There was to be no confidence, little approval and

\textsuperscript{31} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{32} Hibernian-Australian Catholic Benefit Society, History of the . . . Society, pp. 3-5.

\textsuperscript{33} D.T., 25 Aug. 1910.
few concessions from the Protestant majority. By this time, the successful indoctrination of Protestant children in love of the Empire and support for imperialism was already evident. Loyalty to the Empire had become as if a religion to the greater part of the Protestant population and sectarianism spread to cover the Roman Catholic's assumed love of Ireland and his desire to break up the Empire by Home Rule for Ireland. Australian nationalism, as championed by Cardinal Moran, seemed a sinister attempt to undermine the stability of the Empire. When Protestants began to extol the virtues of their own country, it was to instil in children a dual love of country and the Empire. The editor of Echoes from St. Stanislaus welcomed the interest in Australia being shown by the public schools but could not refrain from boasting that this had come about because of Roman Catholic leadership and the growing popularity of Australia Day. He rejoiced that Empire Day had lost much of its objectionable character, that Empire orators were now speaking of love of Australia, and that "imported patriotism, made in London", was suffering a heavy slump. None of this made Roman Catholicism or its school system more acceptable to anti-Catholics and all attempts to win concessions for Roman Catholic education raised a storm of sectarian objections.

---

Only one minor concession was granted to Roman Catholic education in the thirty years before 1914. This was that bursaries could be taken up at certified private schools as well as at public schools. In introducing the proposal, Mr. Beeby, the Minister for Public Instruction, made the mistake of openly admitting that "some State Aid in the form of scholarships must be thrown open" to Roman Catholic schools. Protestant sectarians immediately assailed him and an emotional anti-state aid campaign was developed in the Protestant press. The Sydney Morning Herald gave coverage to every event likely to inflame Protestant opinion. Varney Parkes, the son of the author of the 1866 and 1880 education acts, was portrayed as the great defender of the Protestant system of education:

"Are you tired of your great Public schools?" asked Mr. Parkes.
"No!", came the answer in a roar.
"Are you prepared to hand over public funds and resources to those declared enemies who have threatened to destroy your schools?"
"No!" came again the voice of the audience as one.
"We want none of the old-world troubles here so let the cry go through the land, 'Hands off our Public School system of education'."

Despite the clamour, the concession was granted. Cardinal Moran's decision to abandon the attempt to win

---

36 Freeman's J., 4 May 1911.
37 S.M.H., 30 March 1912. See also ibid., 14 March 1912, for the declaration of the Methodist Conference that the concession was "subversive of the national character of our Public Instruction system".
concessions by appeasing the Protestant majority appeared to have won its first victory. The Cardinal had initiated open Roman Catholic opposition to Protestantism when he sanctioned the attack on the most sacred of all Protestant institutions, Empire Day. Roman Catholic schools were instructed to celebrate Australia Day. Following his death in 1911, Cardinal Moran was succeeded by Archbishop Kelly who was equally convinced that it was futile to attempt to appease the enemies of the Church. He renewed the attack on the public school system and denounced "thirty years of State education". Like Archbishop Vaughan who had seen the public schools as "seed-plots of future immorality, infidelity, and lawlessness", Kelly listed all the ills of society which he believed were directly traceable to public education: divorce, perjury, lack of respect for parents, heathenism, illegitimacy and infanticide. To ward off arguments that his own people were not free from criticism, he went on:

I will be told that Catholics have their due proportion amongst the prisoners in the gaols. I admit that, but I say that these prisoners either did not go to Catholic schools or they did not do what they were taught in those schools.

The decision of Cardinal Moran and of Archbishop Kelly to abandon the defensive attitude Roman Catholics had.

adopted towards their schools and to the resumption of state aid since 1884 appears to have been dictated both by the realisation that appeasement had achieved nothing and by a growing militancy amongst Roman Catholics at home and overseas over the question of Home Rule for Ireland. The hopes which had been raised so high with the election of the English Liberal Party in 1905 had been dashed. Even the Irish Council Bill of 1907, which would have provided Ireland with "semi-Home Rule by instalments", had proved too radical for the Imperial Parliament despite Winston Churchill's advice that:

If you want to make the British Empire strong . . . work for a national settlement with Ireland on the basis of some generous reconciliation which shall secure them the national rights which they do most deeply deserve . . . Home Rule.

With the Imperial Parliament unwilling to make concessions and with the conciliatory policies of the Irish Party in the Parliament, led by John Redmond, proving fruitless, it was clear that only force would gain what Ireland wanted. In New South Wales, force was out

---


of the question; refusal to co-operate with the Protestant majority in the celebration of Empire Day and refusal to accept a second class status for Roman Catholic school children were possible. The Bursary Endowment Act was hailed as proving "the value of doggedly persistent protests against the injustice inflicted upon us by the existing legislation in the matter of Primary Education". After thirty years, the existence of Roman Catholic schools had been recognised by the State. Roman Catholics who refused to participate in the campaign to win further concessions from a reluctant Protestantism were deemed spineless:

The spoils of battle are to the victors, and of politics, to the agitators. The justice of a cause is of little value, apart from the organised voting strength behind it. And it is high time that our political foes should know our position. We shall never be silent until the last vestige of discriminating penal legislation has been removed from the Statute book.46

Protestants could not admit that agitation and non-co-operation had been rewarded. In an article on "Educational Policy and Development", Professor Francis Anderson denied that the awarding of bursaries to Roman Catholic children and to Roman Catholic schools could be seen as a right:

It is only in the absence of a fully organised public secondary school system that certain concessions have

---

46 Ibid.
been made. . . . The demand for the State support of the Catholic schools on the grounds of equity appears . . . more specious than real. . . . No body of individuals within the State can justly demand simply on the ground of conscientious refusal to avail themselves of the common system, to be subsidised from the common purse for services which they undertake in religion, education, or any other sphere of public effort. It is only the size of the Roman Catholic minority which differentiates its claims in this respect from a similar claim on the part of any other section of the community which might make conscientious scruples a plea for public support. 47

It was not only the size of the Roman Catholic minority which caused Protestants to fear it and to make minor concessions to it when they would have preferred not to. From the first days of settlement, Roman Catholics had been made to feel separate and inferior. Throughout the nineteenth century, to be Irish and Roman Catholic was a disadvantage to an individual in New South Wales. In social status, education and job opportunities, the Roman Catholic was discriminated against. Social disadvantage made unity with the Church important to Roman Catholics; and the Church did not hesitate to tell its people that only by sticking together and heeding the advice of their priests would their conditions improve. In the schools, Roman Catholic children were taught that they were different and better than those who did not have their racial and religious background. No effort was spared to show them that they were part of a minority whose past was

scarred by persecution. From their readers, the children learnt of the martyrs who had suffered and died for their faith and for Ireland. From the study of their history and civics text books, they were prepared for the discrimination which they would have to face once they left the sanctuary of the school.

The principal difference between the public and the Roman Catholic school was not religious but social. The Roman Catholic hierarchy and its educators were preparing children not only to resist criticisms of their faith but to provide them with the information which would enable them to present a coherent argument on the Roman Catholic position on modern social problems. The most pressing of these were the questions of Home Rule for Ireland and an Australian nationalism which did not take account of English interests. Home Rule for Ireland was an emotional issue to which Roman Catholic school children responded eagerly. At St. Stanislaus' College at Bathurst, 5 June 1912 was hailed as "a green-letter day" when supporters of Home Rule addressed the boys. The boys gave the delegates from Ireland who pleaded the Irish case such an enthusiastic hearing that the editor of Echoes from St. Stanislaus' declared that "Every boy in the House was a warm Home Ruler before the delegates left".  

---

48 See Catholic Educational Conference of N.S.W. 17-20 Jan. 1911, Sec. III, No. 6, p. 17.

A hundred years of separate and distinct education left their mark on the Protestant and Roman Catholic population of New South Wales. The racial and religious divisions which had plagued the state from its foundation reached their most fevered pitch during the conscription debates of 1916 and 1917. The apparent reluctance of many Roman Catholics to volunteer for the Australian Imperial Force and their willingness to campaign against conscription at a time when a German victory seemed possible revived accusations that the Roman Catholic community was a disloyal and treacherous cancer in Australian society. So widespread was this belief that Roman Catholic education authorities had to assure their children that this was not true:

Catholic children may well be proud of the part Catholic Australia took. People talk a great deal of loyalty these days. But actions speak louder than words. Our Catholic men did their share; our women bore the cross bravely; our Bishops and priests supported their flock.50

In the struggle to preserve the unity of the Roman Catholic community in New South Wales and to fend off Protestant criticism, education remained a main-stay of the Church in the twentieth century just as it had been in the nineteenth. Roman Catholic educators were conscious of the part they had to play:

We wish to give our children noble ideas, to widen their views of people and things, to make them capable of judging justly the causes and results of actions which

in themselves seem of no great importance, we aim at forming their character and making them loyal and devoted children of the Church.51

These were and are worthy aims. From 1788 to 1918, they were fulfilled at the cost of continuous sectarian warfare.

---

BIBLIOGRAPHY

This bibliography has been arranged according to the following classification:

A. MANUSCRIPT MATERIAL

i. Official and Semi-official Documents
ii. Educational Documents and Records
iii. Roman Catholic Papers
iv. General

B. PRINTED MATERIAL

i. Official and Semi-official Government publications
ii. Official and Semi-official Roman Catholic publications
iii. Contemporary Books and Pamphlets
iv. Post 1918 Books and Pamphlets
v. Articles in Journals or Magazines
vi. School Books
vii. Newspapers and Periodicals

C. UNPUBLISHED THESSES, PAPERS, ETC.
A. MANUSCRIPT MATERIAL

i. Official and Semi-official Documents

Bigge, J. T., Appendix to Report, Bonwick Transcript.

Colonial Secretary's Clerical Correspondence, Vol. 1, (M.L. 29/59).

Colonial Secretary's In-letters, Box 2/1717.


Governor's Despatches, (Vol. 5), A1194.

ii. Educational Documents and Records

B.N.E., Applications, (1/373).

B.N.E., Fair Minute Books, 1848-58; 1863-6.

B.N.E., Letters Received from the Colonial Secretary.

B.N.E., Miscellaneous Letters Received.


B.N.E., The Removal from Office of the Chairman of the National Board (J. H. Plunkett), 1858, (Special Bundle), 4/7176.1.


B.N.E., Semi-official Letters sent by the Secretary, (1/355).

C. of Ed., Letters Received by the Secretary, 1867; 1874; 1879, (1/731-33).


C. of Ed., Miscellaneous Letters Received, 1867-1875.

C. of Ed., School Files, (P boxes).


D.S.B., Miscellaneous Letters Received.


Dept. of Pub. Inst., Chief Inspector's Files, (P box 3848).


Dept. of Pub. Inst., Replies to questions asked and information concerning . . . the Legislative Assembly, 1883-95, (1/3572).


iii. Roman Catholic Papers — to be found in the Archives of St. Mary's Cathedral.

Benedictine Letters.

Catholic Education Board, Minute Book.

Circulars to Clergy, 1836-86.

Diocesan Correspondence, 1837-56.

Education Boxes, I-III.

The First Annual Report of the Catholic Primary Schools in the Archdiocese of Sydney for the Year 1896.

Miscellaneous Correspondence to and from Cardinal Moran.

P. F. Moran, Moran & Education: Correspondence.

Archbishop Polding to Bishop Lanigan, (folder).
The Programme for the Catholic Primary Schools in the Archdiocese of Sydney, (c.1898).

Reports on Catholic Schools, Archdiocese of Sydney.

School Visitations.

Standards of Proficiency for Catholic Primary Schools in the Archdiocese of Sydney, (c.1898).

Vaughan Papers.

iv. General

Arthur Papers.

Autograph Letters of Notable Australians.

Bishop Broughton Papers.

Bonwick Biography, Vol. III.

Bonwick Transcripts. a. Missionary Papers, Box 49. b. Bigge Appendix, Box 8, 27.

Bourke Papers.

Glynn Papers, (N.L.A.).

Hassall Correspondence.

R. Johnson Correspondence.

Kemp, C., Diary.

Lang Papers.

Macarthur Papers.

Marsden Papers.

Parkes, H., The Beauteous Terrorist.


Parkes Correspondence.

Parkes, Sir H., Letters to Sir Henry Parkes.

Parkes Family Letters.

Papers on Education, 1804-1868.
Public Men of Australia.

Scott Correspondence to Sir George Arthur, 1824-38.


S.P.G. "C" MSS.

S.P.G. "F" MSS.

Rev. H. T. Stiles' Papers.

Therry Papers.

University of Sydney, Register of Civil Service Examinations, 1884-96.

University of Sydney, Register of Junior Public Examinations, 1884.

University of Sydney, Register of Public Examinations, 1878.

Windeyer Family Papers.

B. PRINTED MATERIAL

i. Official and Semi-official Documents

Authentic Documents illustrative of the resources actually possessed by the late Church and School Corporation for the Promotion of Education in this Colony. Sydney: Kemp & Fairfax, 1844.

Bigge, J.T., Report of the Commissioner of Inquiry on the State of Agriculture and Trade in the Colony of N.S.W. Ldn: Govt. Pr., 1823.

Board, P., Primary Education: report by P. Board . . . upon observations and inquiries made with regard to primary education in other countries. Sydney: Govt. Pr., 1903.

B.N.E., Reports of the Board of National Education upon the condition of the National Schools.

Census of the Colony of N.S.W. - under the Act, 24 Vic. No. 5., 1861. Sydney: Govt. Pr., 1862.

Census of the Colony of N.S.W., 1871. Sydney: Govt. Pr., 1873.

Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates.

C. of Ed., Annual Reports upon Certified Denominational Schools.

C. of Ed., Reports of the Council of Education upon the condition of the Public Schools.

C. of Ed., Instructions to Inspectors, 1874.

Dept. of Pub. Inst., Conference of Inspectors and Departmental Officers, held 21st Jan. 1902, and following days. Sydney: Govt. Pr., 1902.


Dept. of Education, Course of Instruction for Primary Schools. Sydney: Govt. Pr., 1916.


Empire Day (Correspondence). (M.L.).


Historical Records of New South Wales. Sydney: Govt. Pr., 1893-1901.

Journal of the Legislative Council.


M.P.I., Reports of the Minister for Public Instruction, upon the condition of Public Schools.


Molesworth, W., Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on transportation, 1838.

Molesworth's Summary of the Report of the 1837 Select Committee on Transportation.

N.S.W. Commissioners of National Education, Regulations and Directions to be attended to in making application to the Commissioners of National Education for aid towards the Building of School Houses or for the Support of Schools. Sydney: J. Moore, 1849.


N.S.W. Education Gazette.

N.S.W. Educational Gazette.

N.S.W. Government Gazette.

N.S.W. Parliamentary Debates, Series i and ii.


N.S.W. Public Instruction Gazette.


P. P. (N.S.W.).

P. P. (Vic.).


The Public General Statutes of New South Wales. Sydney: Govt. Pr., 1861.

Public Statutes of N.S.W., 1824-1874. Sydney: Govt. Pr., 1874.

Public Schools Act, 30 Vic. No. 22. Sydney: Govt. Pr., 1867.

Statutes at Large, (Vo. IX, M.L. Q377).

Statutes of N.S.W., 1916.

Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly of New South Wales.

Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Council of New South Wales.

ii. Official and Semi-official Roman Catholic publications


Australasian Catholic Directory.

Australian Catholic Truth Society, Circular Letter to Australian Catholics from the Australian Catholic Truth Society. Archives, St. Mary’s Cathedral.


"Catholic Education: A Pastoral Letter of the Archbishop and Bishops . . . in N.S.W., Sydney, 1879", in Synodus Diocesana Maitlandensis, M.L. 282.91 Pa 1.


Catholic Federation, Circular from P. S. Cleary, President of the Catholic Federation, 3 Feb. 1920. Archives, St. Mary's Cathedral.


Illustrated Biographical Sketches from the Catholic Home Annual . . . for 1892.

Irish-Australian Almanac and Directory, (1870-1887).


Lanigan, Bishop W., Pastoral Letter, 1879, in Record, 15 April 1879, 180.

Lanigan, Bishop W., Pastoral Letter, 13 August 1879, in Record, 1 September 1879, 404.


Moran, Cardinal P. F., Pastoral Letter of the Archbishop of Sydney to the Clergy & Laity of the Archdiocese, for the month of May, 1885. Sydney: F. Cunningham, 1885.


Pastoral Letter of John Bede... Archbishop of Sydney and Metropolitan of Australia... on the Threatened Amalgamation of the Catholic and Protestant Orphan Schools, May, 1873. Sydney: F. Cunningham, 1873.


Ullathorne, Bishop W. B., From Cabin-boy to Archbishop. Great Britain: Burns & Oates, 1941.

Ullathorne, Bishop W. B., The Horrors of Transportation briefly unfolded to the people. Dublin: Richard Ccynne, 1838.

Views of the Roman Catholic Bishops of New South Wales on Primary Education as stated in a paper handed to the Colonial Secretary, Mr. H. Parkes, 21 1867. (M.L.).

iii. Contemporary Books and Pamphlets

Abbott, Jacob, The TEACHER or MORAL INFLUENCES employed in the INSTRUCTION AND GOVERNMENT OF THE YOUNG. London: Allman, 1836.


Badham, C., *Speeches and Lectures.* Sydney: Dymock, 1890.


Barry, Z., and "Icolmkill", *Do Catholic Bishops swear to persecute Protestants?* Sydney: E. F. Planagan, 1867, in Pamphlets, 042/P496.


Boswell, A. A. C. D., *Early Recollections and Gleanings from an Old Journal.* M.L.


Boyce, Rev. F.B., *Empire Day in Pamphlets,* M.L. 208 B.


Bridges, F., *Education in N.S.W.* Sydney: Dept. of Public Instruction, c.1897.

Broughton, Bishop W. G., A Speech delivered at the General Committee of Protestants on Wednesday, August 3, 1836. Sydney: Stephens & Stokes, 1836.


Browne, F. H., A Discourse on Education. Windsor: B. Isaacs, 1869.


Cameron, J., Centenary History of the Presbyterian Church in N.S.W. Sydney: A. & R., 1905.


Disraeli, B., Sybil or the Two Nations. Ldn: C.U.P., 1926.


The Empire Annual for Australian Boys. Ldn: u.d. but c. 1909.


Furphy, J., (Tom Collins), Such is Life; Being Certain Extracts from the Diary of Tom Collins. Sydney: A. & R., 1956, (first published in 1903 by the Bulletin).

General Education: resolutions at a meeting of Protestants, representing the Episcopalian, the Presbyterian, the Independent, the Baptist and the Wesleyan denominations of Christians in New South Wales, held at the Pulteney Hotel, Sydney, on Friday, June 24, 1836. Sydney: H. Bull, 1836.


Gould, F. J., Our Empire. Ldn: Longmans, Green, 1912.


Lang, J. D., The Question of Questions: or is the Colony to be transformed into a Province of Popedom. Sydney: J. Tegg, 1841.


Lang, J. D., Statements of facts and circumstances illustrative of the origin and history of the Presbyterian Church, ... including an account of the monstrous proceedings of the Synod of Australia in 1842. Sydney: The Empire General Steam Printing Office, 1857.


"A Layman", An Answer to the Letter addressed to the Lord Bishop of Australia in Defence of the Most Rev. Dr. Polding's Usurpation of the Title and Dignity of Archbishop of Sydney and Metropolitan of New Holland. Sydney: W. J. Morris, 1843.


Montmorency, J. E. G. de, State Intervention in English Education. C. U. P., 1902.


Morehead, R. A. A., Primary Education as Administered in N.S.W., a letter to the Hon. John Robertson, Esq., M.P. Sydney: Bone, 1876.


Presbyterian Synod of Australia, Minutes of the Synod of Australia in connexion with the Established Church of Scotland, A.D. 1842. Sydney: Kemp & Fairfax, 1842.


Richards, T., An Epitome of the Official History of N.S.W., . . . . Sydney: Govt. Pr., 1883.

Rusden, G. W., National Education. Melb: Argus Office, 1853.


Stephen, Sir A., Public School System; Address . . . . At the Opening of the West Maitland Public School on Tuesday, the 19th May, 1874. Sydney: J. Cook & Co., 1874.

Sutherland, Rev. G., Moral Training in our Public Schools. A Letter to the Minister of Public Instruction in New South Wales, with Special Reference to Cardinal Moran's Alleged Radical Defect in These Schools. Sydney: Epworth Pr., 1893.


Therry, R., Explanation of the Plan of the Irish National Schools, shewing its peculiar adaptation to New South Wales, and the complete provision made by it for the religious instruction of each child in the faith of his parents, . . . . Sydney: A. Cohen, 1836.

Therry, R., Reminiscences of Thirty Years' Residence in N.S.W. and Victoria. Ldn: Sampson Low, 1863.


University of Sydney, Manual of Public Examinations, (Various Years).

University of Sydney, Reports, (Various Years).


Walker, T., Pamphlets. (M.L. 042 P47).


Wilkins, W., National Education: A Series of Letters in Defence of the National System, Against the Attacks of an Anonymous Writer in the "Sydney Morning Herald" by the Teachers of the National Schools of Sydney. Sydney: Empire General Steam Printing Office, 1857.

Wilkins, W., National Education: Statement explanatory of the System of Education administered by the National Board of New South Wales. Sydney: Henry Bancroft, 1861.


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


iv. Post 1918 Books and Pamphlets


Church of England, Hymns Ancient and Modern. (Standard Ed.), 1940.


Cruickshanks, M., Church and State in English Education, 1870 to the present day. Ldn: MacMillan, 1963.


Ellis, H. H., My Life. Ldn: Heinemann, 1940.


Evans, L., & Pledger, P. J., Contemporary Sources and Opinions in Modern British History. (2 Vols.), Melb: Cheshire, 1966.


Reardon, B. M. G., From Coleridge to Gore. Ldn: Longmans, 1971.


v. Articles in Journals or Magazines


vi. School Books


Australian Catholic Readers.

Australian Catholic School Paper.

The Australian Reading Books. (Collins' School Series). Sydney: Collins Bros., u.d.

Bremer, Lady, A Mother's Offering to Her Children by a Lady long resident in N.S.W. Sydney: Gazette Office, 1841.


Commissioners for National Education in Ireland, Sequel No. 1 to the Second Book of Lessons for the Use of Schools. Glasgow: Wm. Collins, u.d.
Commissioners for National Education in Ireland,  
Third Book of Lessons for the Use of Schools.

Commissioners for National Education in Ireland,  
Fourth Book of Lessons for the Use of Schools.  
Sydney: John Ferguson, u.d.

Commissioners for National Education in Ireland,  
Supplement to the Fourth Book of Lessons.  Sydney:  
John Ferguson, u.d.

Commissioners for National Education in Ireland,  
Fifth Book of Lessons for the Use of Schools.  

Commonwealth School Paper.

Corner, Miss, The History of England.  Ldn:  Dean &  
Sons, u.d. but c. 1864.


Creighton, M., The Age of Elizabeth.  Ldn: Long-  
mans, Green & Co., 1897.

Crowley, J., History of Australia and New Zealand  

Gardiner, S. R., The First Two Stuarts and the  
Puritan Revolution, 1603-1660.  Ldn: Longmans,  
Green & Co., 1897.

Geikie, A., Elementary Lessons in Physical Geography.  

Gillies, W., Historical Reader for Standard V.  
"The Story of the British Empire." Christchurch:  
Whitcombe & Tombs, u.d.

Gillies, W., Simple Stories in British History.  
Melb: Whitcombe & Tombs, u.d.

Le Breton, A., (ed. Rev. J. Meany), The Story of  
Australia for Catholic Schools.  Sydney: E. J. Dwyer,  
1921.

Long, C. R., The Aim and Method in History and  

Mangnall, R., (adapted for the use of schools by  
Rev. G. N. Wright), Historical and Miscellaneous  


Ransome, C., Our Colonies and India: How we got them and why we keep them. Ldn: Cassell & Co., 1895.


Sullivan, R., The Literary Class Book; or Readings in English Literature. Dublin: Wm. Curry, 1851.


Wilkins, W., The Geography of N.S.W. Sydney: J. J. Moore, 1863.


vii. Newspapers and Periodicals

Albury Banner.
Argus.
The Armidalian.
Atlas.
Austral Light.
Australasian (Melbourne).
Australasian Catholic Record.
Australasian Chronicle.
Australasian Schoolmaster.
Australian.
Australian Christian World.
Australian Churchman.
Australian Journal.
Australian Protestant Banner.
Australian Teacher and Journal of the Teachers' Assn. of N.S.W.
Bathurst Convent Annual.
Bathurst Daily Times.
Boomerang.
Border Post.
Boy's Own Annual.
Boy's Own Paper.
Bulletin.
Catholic Press.
Christian Advocate and Wesleyan Record.
Christian Pleader.
Church of England Chronicle.
The Crow, Magazine of the Rural School, Wagga.
Daily Telegraph.
Deniliquin Chronicle and Riverine Gazette.
Echoes from St. Stanislaus'.
Empire.
Evening News.
Express.
Free Press, (Bathurst).
Freedom, (Journal of the Aust. Secularists Assn.).
Freeman's Journal.
Historical Studies of Australia and New Zealand.
The Hummer.
Illawarra Mercury and Southern Coast Districts Advertiser.
Illustrated Sydney News.
Imperial Federation.
Journal of the Institute of Inspectors of Schools.
Journal of Religious History.
Methodist, (formerly Weekly Advocate).

Monitor.

The National School Expositor conducted by the Institute of National Teachers of N.S.W. Sydney: J. Moore, 1859.

N.S.W. Educational Gazette.

N.S.W. Presbyterian.

Newcastle Chronicle.

Newspaper Cuttings, (M.L. Q352.091/N).

Pastoral Times and Echuca and Moama Chronicle, (Deniliquin).

Port Philip Patriot and Melbourne Advertiser.

Presbyterian Record.

Protestant Standard.

Public Instruction Gazette.

Record, (Bathurst).

Riverine Herald, (Echuca).


Schooling.

Sydney Dispatch.

Sydney Gazette.

Sydney Herald.

Sydney Mail.

Sydney Morning Herald, (formerly Sydney Herald).

Sydney Punch.

Sydney Quarterly Magazine.

Tjurunga.

Town and Country Journal.
Truth.

The Union Recorder, (Sydney University).

Wagga Wagga Advertiser and Riverine Reporter.

Wagga Wagga Express and Murrumbidgee Advertiser.

Weekly Advocate.

Weekly Register of Politics, Facts and General Literature.

Worker, (Brisbane).

C. UNPUBLISHED THESES, PAPERS, ETC.


