An evangelical school in an evangelical diocese: an examination of Trinity Grammar School, Sydney, 1913 to 1976

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An Examination of Trinity Grammar School, Sydney 1913 to 1976

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It is no easy matter to pay appropriate tribute to the scores of people who are behind the accomplishment of a work such as the present thesis. To mention any is to give offence to those who through sins of omission are not duly acknowledged. Yet, risks notwithstanding, I feel it necessary to express my most profound gratitude to those who have made a contribution to the present work.

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An Evangelical School in an Evangelical Diocese.
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Abstract.

The following thesis attempts to describe the history of Trinity Grammar School, Sydney, Australia, from 1913 to 1976. It examines the foundation of the school, its demographic setting, and its continuity of religious expression from its establishment by the Rev. G.A. Chambers in 1913 to the appointment of its most recent headmaster, Roderick I. West, in 1975/76. In examining the history of Trinity Grammar School, this thesis postulates three themes which are consistent features of its narrative. First, Trinity was founded and sustained as an attempt to establish an evangelical school in an evangelical diocese, one in which the religious foundation of the school is consistent with the diocese within which it exists. Second, Trinity has been dominated, in the main, by particular individuals whose influence has been of the utmost importance to its progress. Chiefly headmasters and councillors, the most significant individual in the foundation of the school in 1913 was the rector of Holy Trinity, Dulwich Hill, Sydney, G.A. Chambers, whose influence was the dominant element of the school's governance for nearly thirty years. Finally, this thesis asserts that a proper understanding of Trinity Grammar School is impossible without due recognition of the demographic setting of the school. This school was set down in the inner western suburbs of Sydney, an area which neither valued nor desired the kind of education undertaken by Trinity. The fact that Trinity survived in spite of rather than because of its setting, has made an indelible impression on the history of this school. This thesis has implications for the wider study of the history of independent education, for the role of individuals within the governance of these schools, and for the history of the Anglican diocese of Sydney.
Introdueion.

Preamble.

School histories, like many other institutional histories, are traditionally characterised by hagiography and uncritical narrative. This is due, no doubt, to the desire of those historians commissioned to write institutional histories to provide a study which portrays their subject in a sympathetic light. Hence, the history of specific institutions or, in this case schools, rarely appeals as a subject of academic or scholarly preoccupation. Yet, in a sense, there is a place for such a genre of history in that it documents the life and influence of an important social unit the existence of which mirrors broader social movements. By broader social movements it is implied that schools are as much the victims as the result of the historical context in which they are set down. Independent Schools are established, in the main, by individual members of wider institutions, notably churches, whose ambition it is to establish a place of learning as a component of their strategy for the advancement of their movement. The present study examines the history of an Anglican diocesan school, namely Trinity Grammar School, located in Summer Hill and Strathfield in the inner-western suburbs of Sydney. The history of Trinity Grammar School is considered from three viewpoints: the foundation and conduct of an evangelical school in an evangelical diocese; the role and influence of individuals, notably its founder, G.A. Chambers, its councillors and its headmasters; and the demographic setting of an Independent school in the inner western suburbs of Sydney, an area which, it might be argued, was inimical for a time to such an institution.

There have been comparatively few scholarly studies on the history of specific Independent schools in New South Wales. In 1974, Braga wrote a thesis entitled The History of Barker College, 1891-1957 in which he traced the historical development of that school and its place in secondary education in New South Wales. In a similar vein, in 1980 Peter Yeend submitted a thesis on Aspects of the History of The King's School,

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Parramatta", in which he examined the progress of the nation's oldest Independent school. Both historians were in the employ of the institutions under scrutiny and Yeend had been, for some years, the full time archivist of The King's School, Parramatta. More recently, Braga has written a Master of Educational Administration thesis entitled "A Century of Governance in Anglican Secondary Schools in The Diocese of Sydney, 1831-1931" which combines some original research on Diocesan policies regarding education with a synthesis of published Anglican school histories. The result is useful in that it makes generalisations concerning the lack of Diocesan initiatives in education apart from the foundation of schools which mirrored the great English Public Schools which provided the educational model transplanted to the Sydney scene. However, the reliance of this thesis on published school histories, some of which dwell almost exclusively on narrative, undermined the scholarly merit of the work.

Published school histories greatly outnumber academic treatises. As more institutions pass important chronological landmarks, the number of publications obviously increases. Indeed, an attractively presented, generously illustrated volume is, it would seem, scarcely less important in the marketing strategy of a school than a prospectus. In the past five years, schools such as Newington College, the Sydney Church of England Grammar School (Shore), Presbyterian Ladies' College, Kambala, Sydney Grammar School, Sydney Boys' High School and Camberwell Grammar School *inter alia* have prepared histories for publication. In addition, there has been a history of the Headmasters' Conference of Australia published in 1986, a study of the preoccupations of the annual conference of Australian Independent headmasters from 1932 to 1985. Those texts prepared more recently are characterised by a more scholarly approach to sources than was hitherto evident in school histories published before the midseventies. It would seem, however, that the genre labours under two methodological difficulties: the audience for which such a work was intended, and the constraints set in place by considerations of propriety, defamation and reputation. Hence, there is a place for a serious, academic attempt to portray an institution unimpeded

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3 Braga, in his abstract, acknowledges his reliance upon "printed sources" as "access to confidential papers was not available". See S. Braga, "A Century of Governance .." p. 2


5 In this regard, the histories of Trinity Grammar School (1974), Cranbrook (1969) and Abbotsleigh (1968) may be cited as examples of uncritical narrative which pose few academic problems or issues. None of these possesses a bibliography or cites sources for evidence. There are, of course, a plethora of printed works of minor importance such as "Woodlawn's First Fifty Years" (June 1981) which takes the form of a voluminous school magazine with retrospectives and photographs. It would be a pompous mistake to dismiss such collections of photographs and memorabilia as worthless.
by such considerations. Trinity Grammar School has educated more than twelve thousand pupils in its seventy five year history from 1913 to 1988. From this detail alone it is clear that the influence of a school on the community in which it is set down can be most profound.

Definitions and Observations.

The three preoccupations of this thesis are, in short, that Trinity Grammar was founded and has been conducted as an evangelical school in an evangelical diocese, that its history is a study of the influence of individuals on an institution, and that to understand the history of Trinity it is necessary to understand that it was set down in the western suburbs of Sydney, an area which has not traditionally been sympathetic to Independent schools. Three terms require clarification: evangelical school/diocese; individuals; and western suburbs of Sydney.

The term "evangelical" can be taken to embrace both a theological and liturgical position within the wider Anglican Church. Historically, the evangelical position was best exemplified in the Eclectic Society, a group which began in London in 1783 "for mutual religious intercourse and improvement, and for the investigation of religious truth." Members of this group emphasised simplicity in liturgy, biblical inerrancy, dynamic participation in the life of the church and the centrality of the message of the gospel of salvation through the shed blood of Christ. Hence, the Evangelicals sought to sustain the emphasis that the Reformers and Puritans placed on the propagation of the Christian gospel and personal holiness, distancing themselves from what they considered to be the stultifying effects of ritualistic religion. In their recent book, Sydney Anglicans, Stephen Judd and Kenneth Cable argue that the earliest clergy to come to the colony of New South Wales were in the Evangelical tradition, "a part of the religious renewal which flourished in Britain in the eighteenth century". The other strand of the eighteenth century revivlist movement in Britain was the Methodist movement. The colonial Evangelical clerics, such as Richard Johnson, remained firmly within the Established church and, as has been observed in a recent thesis on Australian Literature, clergy had to negotiate a delicate balance between playing the dual roles of moral policemen who dispensed the spiritual "rites of passage" to the reprobate convicts, with

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the role of revealing the Christian gospel of forgiveness. The episcopal tradition of
Sydney Anglicanism has meant that historically, the proclivities of the Archbishop and
senior clergy has been the chief dynamic in establishing a diocesan theological position.
The high church/low church dichotomy within Sydney Diocese appeared to reach a
turning point under the incumbency of J.C. Wright, who was, coincidentally, the
Archbishop at the time of the foundation of Trinity Grammar School. Judd and Cable
observed, "Wright quickly made clear to Sydney churchpeople that he was a convinced
Evangelical who believed in the supremacy of the Bible, the right of private judgement,
and the direct access of every believer to God".9 It needs to be observed that shades of
emphasis exist within the tradition of evangelicalism prevalent in the Diocese of Sydney.
For instance, J.C. Wright may be described as a liberal evangelical in the sense that he
embraced a more comprehensive "representation for all schools of thought" in the
diocese.10 However, H.W.K. Mowll, Wright's successor as Archbishop, firmly
established Sydney as a "conservative evangelical diocese" which became increasingly
distinct from the rest of Australia. The history of Trinity Grammar School occurs within
these shifts in diocesan emphasis, and indeed, is influenced by them in a fashion not
evident at most other diocesan schools such as The King's School, Sydney Church of
England Grammar School (Shore) and, to a lesser extent, Barker.

The second concept employed in this thesis which needs explanation is that of the
role of individuals. Independent schools are governed by three tiers of administration:
Councils or Governors, often themselves subject to higher authorities; headmasters/headmistresses, who are appointees of the Councils; and staff who, ideally,
pursue the guidelines of the headteachers. To write a history of a school without due
cognizance of the role of individuals who govern it would be a great misjudgement. In
the case of Trinity Grammar School, the undulations on its historical topography are
those caused, in the main, by its headmasters. There are, inevitably, powerful figures
on the Council who, largely by dint of their financial acumen or influence, are prime
movers behind decisions to build or expand. Yet, in the final analysis, the life of an
institution is determined by those who oversee its daily administration. Trinity has had
nine headmasters in its seventy-five year existence although the present incumbent is only
the second since 1944. Of the nine headmasters, five were evangelicals of the kind to
find comfort within Sydney Diocese and two, or perhaps three, might be regarded as
middle churchmen. The success of the school and its relations with the Diocese are
directly linked to the individuals who guided its progress.

9 S. Judd and K.Cable, op.cit. p. 160.
10 Ibid.
Finally, this thesis emphasises the demographic setting of Trinity Grammar as a
telling feature of its history. The term "demography", in this study, is taken to embrace
both the location of the school and the condition of the surrounding community.
Whereas other Independent schools, many of which possess a Diocesan foundation, are
set down in areas which are more or less sympathetic to the idea of Independent
education, Trinity Grammar School has been conducted for most of its life in Summer
Hill, a suburb of the Inner West of Sydney. The founder, the Reverend G.A.
Chambers, established the school within his parish, Holy Trinity Dulwich Hill, and from
1913 to 1925, exercised almost complete control over the conduct of its business affairs.
In 1926, he acquired the site of Hurlstone Agricultural College on the perimeter of
Ashfield/ Summer Hill and Hurlstone Park. Simultaneously, he purchased Strathfield
Grammar School, located on The Boulevarde, Strathfield, in the hope that it would be a
feeder school to Trinity at Summer Hill. It was, as it happened, an inspired decision for
although the purchase placed the school in a perilous financial state, it was the Strathfield
link which buoyed the failing enrolments at Summer Hill. Nearby Newington College,
edowed by Old Boys and luxuriating in its monopoly of the Methodist parent market,
did not rely upon the local community as a "catchment" so much as Trinity. The
enrolments of both schools suffered greatly during the Second World War, but for a time
it seemed that Trinity would fail completely. It would not be until the relative prosperity
of the fifties that the threat of closure dissipated and it was not until 1978 that Trinity
enjoyed the comfort of a waiting list. For many years, parents of boys who attended the
Preparatory school at Strathfield would leave for one of the G.P.S. schools in
preference to attending Trinity Senior School at Summer Hill. Hence, the simple
equation of the success of a school as a viable institution being dependent upon the health
of enrolments proves true in a pecuniary sense.

This thesis concludes that Trinity Grammar School has made a significant
contribution to Independent education in Australia. In spite of the fact that it has not
produced innumerable celebrated alumni nor is it particularly famous and, indeed, for
most of its life it has struggled to exist, Trinity has remained an evangelical school in an
evangelical diocese having made a remarkable impact upon the history of Sydney
Anglicanism. This evangelicalism was tempered in the three decades from 1944 to 1974
under the influence of James Wilson Hogg, the man chiefly responsible for an
educational experiment the like of which was not present in any other school in New
South Wales and which involved the creation of a cultural centre at an Independent school
set down in the western suburbs of Sydney. In 1975, with the appointment of Roderick
West, the evangelical heritage of Trinity was reaffirmed and restored. Finally, the thesis suggests that the survival of an Independent school requires an equilibrium between stable enrolments, faithfulness to foundational axioms, and the support of the Diocese of which it is a part.
Chapter 1:

The Establishment of Trinity Grammar School, 1912-1913.

A need clearly recognised becomes a call to action; so in a spirit of faith and Christian enterprise, and with a deep conviction of Divine Guidance, the representatives of the Church in Dulwich Hill decided to found the School. (G.A. Chambers, June 1917).

The foundation of Trinity Grammar School in February 1913 is a study in the ambitions of pre-eminently one man, G.A. Chambers. For fifteen years the history of Trinity was almost indistinguishable from that of its Founder and, with the support of his hesitant but occasionally heroic School Committee and later Council, the School was transformed from a small parochial establishment to a school of the Diocese of Sydney. With little funds but great faith, Chambers gave Trinity Grammar School a start more notable for its courage than its sanity.

Illustrated in the narrative of the foundation of Trinity Grammar School are the pivotal components of this thesis. The idea and execution of a school under the auspices of the parish of Holy Trinity Anglican Church, Dulwich Hill, was solely that of its rector, G.A. Chambers. His educational philosophy was loose and largely unexpounded but he was fond of describing his proposed "grammar school" as a place where the "faith of our fathers" might be inalienably present in the educational process. He believed that the Anglican church in Sydney lacked adequate educational representation in the populous western suburbs (as they were then understood to be) from Parramatta to the city. There was no Anglican boys' school between The King's School and "Shore". Thus, the central argument of this thesis, namely, that Trinity was an institution which was influenced by its environment and its mentors more than might be expected, is well illustrated in its foundation.

To have a more accurate sense of the task of founding a school, it would be useful to consider the growth of secondary education in the wider context of New South Wales. After 1880 the role of the State in education assumed a new importance. In the four years to the middle of the decade of the eighties, the number of primary schools increased by 50% to 1,560.\(^1\) The system comprised two tiers: "The

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Elementary School", roughly equivalent to primary schools; and the "Superior School", which proceeded beyond the idea of basic literacy and prepared students for the possibility of further study. A system of teacher training had been established at the Fort Street Model School and was extended in this period. Moreover, the Headmaster's Residence at Trinity Grammar School at this time was used for such a program:

Accordingly in 1883 a building on the Hurlstone Estate, purchased by the National Board six years earlier, was converted into a new Training College... Arrangements were made for the immediate accommodation in the existing buildings, of the female students, these being placed under the control of Miss Caroline Mallett, who had been brought specially from England to act as Training Mistress. Accommodation the first year could not be found for more than 28 students. Only the best pupil teachers, therefore, were admitted, several successful candidates and a number of outsiders, perforce, being excluded. Later, provision was made for as many as fifty students. The training period was fixed at twelve months, board and lodging taking the place of the usual allowance. Attached to the College was a Practicing School, which consisted of about 70 pupils. It was in charge of a permanent teacher, who was assisted by two or more of the students in rotation.2

There was a belief that the Government should shoulder some of the responsibility for education and the issue became heated when the Roman Catholic Church charged the new system of State Education as a secular plot against morality.3 At the end of the day, however, State funding for elementary education ceased.

Between 1880 and 1914, some of New South Wales' finest and most renowned schools were established: Sydney Boys' High School, Sydney Church of England Grammar School (Shore), Barker College as well as many notable country state schools. The touchstone of success for all these institutions was the Senior Public Examination, established by the University of Sydney in 1867. In addition, the various schools were also kept in check, as it were, by the Bursary Endowment Act; failure to be registered under this Act often

3 Barcan, op.cit., Chs 15 and 16.
meant the closure of smaller schools. Added to this was the renewed vigour in the business market-place towards the turn of the century and a desire to prepare pupils for their place in the commercial world. After Federation, it was seen as essential to establish a curriculum which promoted literacy. This literacy, they hoped, would provide the possibility of further self-education, and enabled the propagation of the beliefs which would protect democratic government. 4

If statistics are to be believed, the period in which Trinity was founded was the evening of one of the most spectacular days in the history of Australian education. The literacy rate in 1871 was 59.1%; by 1901 it had risen to 79.8%; by 1911 it had reached 90.27%. School populations had increased from 432,153 in 1871 to 890,572 in 1901.5 During the Boer War, flags were supplied to schools regarded, as they always have been, as the very stuff of national pride.

Nevertheless, in spite of such optimism for the progress of education in New South Wales, there was still dissatisfaction. There were complaints about the level of teachers' salaries and about the need to raise the standard of teaching in schools.6 The Sydney Morning Herald deplored the attendance figures in NSW schools for 1911 and 1912. Of 243,000 enrolled only 157,000 attended school each week: "Even allowing for flood, fire and epidemics the figures were bad."7 Indeed, even in the first month of Trinity Grammar School's existence, the Herald wrote once more that attendance rates were not as they should be in NSW schools.8 Finally, the State versus Church education debate had not abated since the momentous days of the 1880s. The Speaker of the NSW Legislative Assembly, Mr Henry Willis, addressed the following remarks to the 1912 Teachers Conference:

The system is Godless. You have a system that God is not in the midst of, and I fear He is not in the midst of us in our secular system of education.9

The reply he received was that the NSW Education system was not Godless, but non-sectarian. The matter remained a bone of contention and, moreover, was one of the

5 Ibid., p. 2.
7 Ibid., p. 17.
8 Sydney Morning Herald, 24 February 1913.
9 Quoted in Nicholls and Latham, op.cit., p.18.
reasons which Chambers later gave for establishing a school.

When Trinity Grammar School was merely a possibility there were already at least nine Independent schools in Sydney (including Sydney Grammar School, Newington College, The King's School, Parramatta, SCEGS [Shore], SCEGGS Darlinghurst, Scots College, Kambala, St. Catherine's, and Barker College). The foundation of Trinity contrasts sharply with other comparable schools, with the possible exception of Barker College, in that it arose from the need perceived by one man with neither financial nor Diocesan backing. The Rev. George A. Chambers had observed that there was no Anglican Church boys' school in the "populous Western Suburbs of Sydney" between King's Parramatta and Shore. That is to say, there was no Anglican school on the south side of the harbour apart from The King School. It may be observed that there are four kinds of reasons for establishing an independent school: to preserve a minority religious/ethnic identity in a larger society; to provide alternatives to allegedly ideologically unsuitable or hostile institutions; to provide leadership for church and society in order to influence that church or society; and, finally, to evangelise society. Chambers almost certainly was motivated partly by a desire to establish an alternative to nearby Newington College in Stanmore and to the burgeoning secular government schools. It is, however, impossible to say whether he was more concerned with evangelism _per se_, or whether he wanted to provide an Anglican bulwark against his Nonconformist neighbour. Nevertheless, he spoke to his parishioners, in the first edition of the school magazine, the Triangle (June 1917), of the "influence" of "the Faith of our fathers" as a "tremendous moulding force" in the minds of pupils, a force which would not only be of benefit to the church but to the entire community. Hence, Chambers was anxious to establish a school in the tradition of the Anglican Church in Sydney and which would provide leadership for and influence over the community, and, in the process, present a spiritual witness to the district in which it was set down and beyond.

It is difficult to describe with any certainty the sociological mix of the Dulwich Hill/Ashfield district where Trinity began in 1913. When the Dulwich Hill Public School was established in 1885, as it happens in the precise area where Trinity would

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10 Listed in _SMH_, Monday 3 February 1913.
11 _Triangle_, June 1917, p.2.
12 _Ibid._
be some years later, the district was very much a working class one "as indicated by the occupations shown on the petition" to the Minister for Public Instruction in December, 1882.13 By the middle of the 1890s the press of the city had impinged upon the open paddocks and market gardens of Dulwich Hill, and, aided by the opening of a tramway along Canterbury Road through Dulwich Hill, land was in demand. If we are to take the enrolments at the Dulwich Hill Public School as an indication of this trend, the entire area was one of rapid and sustained growth: 1890-256 pupils; 1895-500 pupils; 1900 - over 600 pupils; 1910 - over 1000 pupils; December, 1912-1200 pupils; July,1915-1500 pupils and the school was experiencing drastic overcrowding.14 The Sydney Morning Herald described neighbouring Canterbury/Hurlstone Park as a "Progressive Suburb":

The total buildings completed within the twelve months in Canterbury[district]. . . was 689. This is an average of more than two houses per day for the whole year. The class of the buildings erected was chiefly working men's dwellings, for this is largely a working man's district. The total cost of the buildings erected within the year was £243,186 .15

However, the Mayoral Minute of Ashfield Council for 1913, the year in which Trinity was founded, preferred to paint a different picture of the Area's progress and calibre:

The number of new buildings erected during the year has been. . . no less than 458 permits being granted to 31st December 1913, representing an added value of £268,538 worth of property. Ashfield comes second out of forty-two municipalities in the average cost of each building, emphasising the splendid class of residence being erected which is a sterling recommendation for Ashfield as a residential area.16

From this apparent contradiction it can be concluded that the district was a rapidly expanding one with a relatively heterogeneous representation of society. Holy Trinity, Dulwich Hill, bore the marks of this "mix" within her own ranks. Tradesmen and Solicitors worshipped together under the ministrations of George Alexander

14 Ibid.
15 SMH, 3 July 1915.
16 Ashfield Council Mayoral Minute, Year ending 31 December 1913. (Mitchell Library)
Chambers, and no doubt the latter, soon after his arrival in the new parish from Moore Theological College in 1911, began to conceive of an Anglican Grammar School for the "populous western suburbs". There was an apparent need for such an institution; there was no Anglican School within reach of boys in 1913, and according to Chambers, "the sons of many Church parents in the district were attending the schools of other denominations, or those where religion receives but casual recognition." However, there is a great gulf between the perception of a need and the capability of meeting it. There were, in some ways, other parishes in a better position to meet the challenge of establishing a school. The nearby parish of St Andrews, Summer Hill, was both more financially unencumbered and had the greater prestige. It was undoubtedly due to the extraordinary vigour of G.A. Chambers that Holy Trinity was to be the church which perceived the challenge.

Even before George Chambers became Rector of Holy Trinity, he had had some experience in education. He had been a pupil-teacher at Fort Street School, under the scheme referred to in an earlier section, and he later recalled:

> It was an ordeal to stand before forty boys, but a wonderful training-school for the development of character, independence, judgement, initiative and adaptability, for the Australian boy always tends to measure his wits against the man who seeks to teach him.

Chambers taught for six years, including a stint at the Crown Street School. At the end of this period, with a B.A. degree from Sydney University in English, History and Philosophy, he contemplated reading Law. However, he was persuaded by the Reverend John Boardman, the curate of St Paul's, Cleveland Street Sydney, to consider the Church of England Ordained Ministry. "I faced the challenge with deep searchings of heart", he later wrote, "but with willingness to be all out for the Lord of my life".

Accordingly, he entered Moore Theological College in 1901, having already spent one year studying Divinity within St Paul's College in the University of Sydney. By the end of that year, he was made deacon and began his parochial life at St Clement's and St

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17 This church was in the process of building a new church. They were in the enviable position of possessing a clerical post which carried with it a canonry. See J. West in Triangle, 1978.
18 Ibid., op.cit., p.4
19 Ibid.
Luke's, Mosman, at the age of twenty-four. However, within two years of leaving Moore College he returned as Vice-Principal and remained there from 1904 to 1910. He took a Master of Arts degree in 1904 and was, from April 1908 to 1909, the Acting-Principal of Moore College. In 1910 he saw the operations of an Anglican School at first hand when was he appointed to the Council of Sydney Church of England Grammar School. He was also appointed as Chaplain to the Lay Readers. But the major change in direction for Chambers occurred when he was appointed to the parish of Holy Trinity, Dulwich Hill, in the same year. He was originally appointed to assist the curate, the Reverend P.J. Evans, in the absence of the Rector the Rev. A. Colvin. Colvin had been in Dulwich Hill since 1895, but had visited England at least twice between 1898 and 1910. It would not have come as any surprise to the parishioners, therefore, to be informed that on the occasion of the latter visit the Rector had decided to stay in England. Thus, G.A. Chambers was inducted as Rector to Holy Trinity Dulwich Hill on 27 February, 1911:

The Archbishop of Sydney, the Most Reverend J. C. Wright officiated, in the presence of a large congregation and twenty-nine clergy, twenty to thirty students and lay readers. The new rector appointed the Reverend M. G. Hinsby as his curate and a little later the Reverend W. G. Hilliard [later Bishop] as an additional curate.  

Chambers' accomplishments at Dulwich Hill are almost breathtaking. Over the next fifteen years of dynamic activity, Chambers would be responsible for the construction of a new Church building, the acquisition of a church hall and rectory, the foundation of a grammar school and its establishment on three different sites, the enveloping of Strathfield Grammar School under the "Trinity Grammar School umbrella"; he was also amongst the founding members of Bush Church Aid Society, the Deputationist for the Archbishop of Sydney, a crucial figure in the Church Missionary Society, a leading cleric on the Sydney Anglican Synod, and was the Foundational Bishop of the Diocese of Central Tanganyika, forever forging the names of the Australian Church Mission Society and Trinity Grammar School into the history of Australian missionary endeavour. Chambers also had consistent contact with Moore Theological College in Sydney as a member of its Committee and even, at times, its Acting-Principal.

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20 Holy Trinity Dulwich Hill, 1886-1986, an unpublished centenary booklet produced by Holy Trinity.
21 Ibid., p.7
It is impossible to say when the idea for Trinity Grammar first occurred to Chambers. What is certain is that he first raised the matter to his Parish Committee on 23 April 1912 but, "as the time was late he would bring it forward to the next meeting." When he did so, interest was aroused to such an extent that a special meeting was called for 2 July 1912. He argued:

The rapid progress of the district with the increasing population, calls for the establishment of an educational institution in connection with the Church where the highest standards of instruction may be given side by side, and permeated, with the great principles of our Christian faith as held by the Church of England.

It was the link between a sound academic education and a firm grounding in Christianity for the youth of the Parish which was uppermost in the minds of the founder of Trinity:

But the Church Grammar School, with its influence on the character of the boys, and its root principle that religion is the true environment for education, makes a valuable contribution to the life of the community; nor can we regard as completely educative, a system in which those being trained are not brought within the influence of the Faith of our fathers, with its tremendous moulding force and inspiring ideal. Further, we believe that those who teach should have a strong sense of vocation, and should feel themselves as responsible for the moral and spiritual development of their pupils as they are for their bodily and mental training.

A need clearly recognized becomes a call to action; so in a spirit of faith and Christian enterprise, and with a deep conviction of Divine guidance, the representatives of the Church in Dulwich Hill decided to found the School.

Hence, the meeting resolved "... that a Church of England Grammar School for boys be established in the Parish and that a sub-committee . . . be appointed to confer with

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22 Quoted by Sibtain, op.cit., p.11
23 Parish Messenger, November 1912.
24 Triangle, June 1917, p.2
Diocese in 1927. Members of this original committee were the Rev. M. G. Hinsby, J.H. Smith, W.A. Kerrigan (Hon. Sect.) and S.A.Y. Steele (Hon. Treasurer), as well as Chambers himself who acted as Chairman. All were parishioners or in the clerical service of Holy Trinity Dulwich Hill.

Hence, the foundation of Trinity Grammar is a clear illustration of the four reasons postulated earlier in this thesis for founding a school. It was an attempt to preserve a religious identity in the context of a larger society. It sought to provide an alternative to what it perceived to be an ideologically hostile mode of schooling - in this instance, the Department of Education. It aimed to influence both the church and society by providing leaders who would play a role in guiding the future of the community. Finally, it loosely intended to evangelise the western suburbs, even if no more actively than by Trinity's existence.

The plans for the school, in the same way as the original concept, were dominated by Chambers. At the inaugural meeting of the Committee, it was decided to appoint Chambers as the "Warden" of the School, a curious and unspecified position which implied overall executive authority. The two curates, the Rev. M. G. Hinsby and the Rev. W. G. Hilliard, would assist with the teaching, although it would be necessary to appoint two further masters as well as finding a suitable headmaster. The fees were proposed as £2/2/0 per term for day boys under 12 years; £3/3/0 for boys over 12; boarders would be accepted for an additional fee of £10/10/0 per term, and in 1912/3 there was a four term year. It was also necessary to find a site for the school. Given that there was no Rectory when Chambers first proposed the school, his ambitions may have seemed headstrong and more than a little selfless. He had stretched his congregation as much as he had stretched himself. Since his induction there had been a "New Church Fund", for which he had proposed a quarterly target initially of £25, but this later grew to £100; and on Quarterly Sunday, a visiting preacher would swell the congregation and ritually, during the final hymn, the offertory collection was counted. As one parishioner recalls, "Then the Rector would announce the result: 'God has given us, in answer to our prayers, the sum of . . . . Let us rise
and sing the Doxology'. If the amount fell short of the target, he would add, 'I am sure that God will give us the balance before next Sunday', and not once was he disappointed.' A young parishioner who grew up in Dulwich Hill and was brought to confirmation by Chambers in 1914, recalls:

When he was building his church, when we were confirmed and started work he told the confirmees that he expected them to give 10 shillings in the plate every Sunday for the collection to save up for the new church.  

He was, it seems, hard to resist.

Chambers made no formal application to the Diocese of Sydney to found Trinity Grammar School although some writers have suggested that he both received the approval of the Archbishop of Sydney and "constituted an Advisory Council of prominent clergy from throughout the diocese as well as two educationalists, a doctor and a lawyer". There is no reference to this Council in the Minutes of the Church Committee which held its first recorded meeting on 30 January 1913, and therefore the recommendations of the Council cannot be ascertained. Perhaps more in keeping with Chambers' style was to rule from the front, with a combination of charm and rapacity. The "Advisory Council" may have been simply "Window-dressing" until, in 1915, it set down a list of recommendations. Certainly, the tacit approval of the Archbishop, which must have been informally granted, would have been without any financial backing to help the new school on its way. But Chambers would not have been concerned. He pursued his goal of founding a school with inimitable determination, and he turned for support to the prospective parents in his congregation and in neighbouring parishes. As one of the original 29 boys of Trinity, Harold Bragg later recalled:

26 Interview with Mrs Harold Bragg, 26 April 1986.
27 Ibid.
28 There is no mention of Trinity in the Minutes of the Diocesan Standing Committee until Chambers requested that the control of the school be assumed by the Diocese in 1926. It is therefore doubtful that the reference to the Archbishop's approval mentioned in Nicholls and Latham is wholly reliable.
29 S.Braga, A Century of Governance in Anglican Boys' Secondary Schools in the Diocese of Sydney, 1831-1931. Unpublished Master of Educational Administration Thesis, University of New England, 1983. This work observes that Trinity received no financial support from the Diocese, unlike Shore which, during the hardships of the late 1880s and early 1890s, received a substantial sum organised by Bishop Barry.
There was no argument that I should go to Trinity. The Jenkins were the same, as was Charlie Vincer. The parents that knew him had no hope of getting away from him. He at least wanted to get his school started, no matter what happened later. Bev. Kerrigan's father was in the choir at Dulwich Hill, and was on the Parish Council, and was a very faithful churchman. . . . Bev had no option! Bob Anderson's people were very much the same way. . . . The Sippes were related to him; there were so many connections that they could not turn back Chambers, they had to support him. . . . . It was a fantastic story, the foundation of that school.30

What Chambers lacked in the pulpit, he made up for in the living rooms of his parishioners.

If Chambers had located pupils to attend the school and had set the fee structure, there were still three other problems to solve in less than six months in 1912. Where would the Grammar School be located, how would it be paid for, and who would be the headmaster? Existing sources conflict on the nature of Chambers' solution to the first two problems. Nicholls and Latham indicate that Holy Trinity bought "Hazeldene" in the Boulevarde, Dulwich Hill; Sibtain suggests that the premises had been rented as a school and a rectory.31 Given the fact that within one week of the school being opened, negotiations began on the purchase of the Towers nearby, it is doubtful that the Church actually bought "Hazeldene". What is certain is that Chambers used his growing influence in the Diocese of Sydney to procure a mortgage on the Church property for the sum of £2,000 from the Diocesan Educational Committee.32 In locating this residence Chambers, with typical parsimony, had simultaneously solved the absence of a rectory and the need for a school building.

Chambers acted almost entirely alone in the appointment of the first headmaster. The search for a headmaster had to be undertaken rapidly and once more Chambers' method was to rely upon his clerical associates to aid his quest. It is likely that the central figure in locating the first Headmaster of Trinity Grammar

30 Interview with Harold Bragg, 26 April 1986. This man's father was the organist of St Stephen's, Hurlstone Park, a branch church of Holy Trinity until after Chambers left for Africa in 1928. (See Parish Messenger, 5 February 1913.)

31 Nicholls and Latham, op.cit., p. 28; also Sibtain, op.cit., p.13.

32 TGS Committee Meeting Number 2, held in the rectory on Saturday 8 February 1913 at 8pm.
School, Kenneth Thorne Henderson, was Dr G.M. Long, MA, who in 1913, was the Bishop of Bathurst. As we shall see, Henderson was an old boy of Trinity Grammar, Kew, in Melbourne, during Dr Long's Headmastership of that school. At the opening ceremony of Trinity Grammar, Dulwich Hill, Dr Long spoke very highly of Henderson and, indeed, it is very difficult to explain the presence of the Bishop of Bathurst at such a function at all unless he was the common link between Chambers and Henderson.

Kenneth T. Henderson seemed to have the qualities which Chambers had been seeking in a foundation headmaster. Born in Hawthorn, Melbourne, the eldest of six children of middle class parents, Henderson attended Trinity Grammar School, Kew, as one of the original class of twenty-three boys. He had been dux of the school in 1907 and 1908. He graduated from Trinity to another Trinity, viz Trinity College within the University of Melbourne, where he graduated in 1911 with First Class Honours in Philosophy, a Diploma of Education with honours and several noteworthy academic prizes. Amongst these prizes was a research scholarship and three medals. The Trinity "trio", as it were, was completed when he came to Sydney to be the foundation Headmaster of the untried namesake of his alma mater. As shall be explained later, Henderson remained in Sydney for less than six months, returning to Melbourne to take up a lecturing position and, later, an eminent career in writing and in religious broadcasting. Although very young when Henderson undertook the task of establishing the academic tone of a new school, he must have seemed highly suitable. He had a gifted intellect and came with the highest references:

We have been fortunate in securing Mr K. T. Henderson, B. A. as the first Headmaster... The Bishop of Bathurst writes of him as being 'exceptionally gifted as a leader of boys' and the Archbishop of Melbourne describes him as 'a man of the highest character and of great intellectual gifts'.

Having a profound spiritual grasp reportedly sympathetic to that of Chambers, as well as possessing a keen and articulate mind, Henderson appeared to fill Chambers with

33 The information on Henderson is from Nicholls and Latham, op.cit, pp.27-28; see also the recently published work by R.W. Trumble, Kenneth Thorne Henderson, Broadcaster of the Word, Spectrum Publications, Richmond, Victoria, 1988. It is sad to see that this work relies upon Nicholls and Latham and therefore breaks little new ground in what was perhaps the most obscure time of Henderson's life.
34 Triangle, May 1930; also December 1980.
35 Parish Messenger, November 1912. (No page number printed).
confidence. Later, the religious opinions of the two men would shift markedly - Henderson would become the liberal, scholarly theologian whilst Chambers would be the eternal optimist whose theology was anything but systematic. Nevertheless, the Parish Messenger of 5 February 1913 welcomed Henderson into the "Parish Team":

Mr Henderson has taken up his residence at the Grammar School as Headmaster, and is busy making preparations for the beginning of school. He is keenly anxious to start work with the boys. Mr. Henderson secured the Diploma of Education from the University of Melbourne in December last.36

Seventy years later, in June 1983, Trinity Grammar School was visited by the wife of the first Headmaster, Mrs Charlotte Henderson, who was 91 years old. The Triangle reported that, "Mrs Henderson recalled that she was engaged to her husband in 1913 and was unable to marry him and reside in the school as Trinity was so new and cramped in those first months".37 Therefore, in addition to establishing a school, Henderson was thus love lorn. There was no hint of the tensions which would later surround the Warden and Headmaster Henderson's credentials were outstanding, and Chambers was certain that the Grammar School had behind it, the "hand of God."38

The appointment of staff, too, was the sole concern of the Warden. The November edition of the Messenger reported that G.O.C. Bartlett, and S.L. Dolph (who later became the Vicar of Lexden in England) had been invited to join the staff of the new School. This was in addition to Hinsby and Hilliard, who had been with Chambers throughout those furious months of deliberation in the latter half of 1912. Further appointed were F. Oakes, W.H. Naylor, Harry Hunt and W.J. Hull, though most of these were part-time. In the minds of original old boys, the memory of Harry Hunt and Leo Dolph remains profound.39

In the space of six months Chambers had almost single-handedly conceived, planned, funded and established a grammar school in a church which could not even boast a rectory. He achieved this with little help from the Diocese, little contact with

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36 Ibid., 5 February 1913, p.6.
37 Triangle, December 1983, p. 103.
38 Parish Messenger, 5 February 1913, p. 6.
39 Interview with Charles Vincer, November 1984. This person, together with Harold Bragg, was one of the original pupils of the school
the neighbouring parishes and absolutely no reference to the Standing Committee of Synod, the governing body of the Sydney Church of England. At its inception it was a parish school, but it would not, in Chambers' ambitions, remain so humble for ever:

... In the Establishment of Trinity Grammar School, we are laying the Foundation of an institution which will bring great and lasting benefit to the Church and the community at large. I have no doubt whatever of the success of the school. God is at the back of it, and the encouragement already received in he [sic.] enquiries and promises made, is an earnest of big things in the future...40

Hence, the history of Trinity Grammar School from its inception is the history of the influence of individuals. In the case of other schools of a similar kind and foundation, there was no other who played a role comparable to that of Chambers. In 1928, when Chambers left Australia to become the foundation Bishop of Tanganyika in Africa, there arose at Trinity Grammar School, a succession of dominant individuals who showed remarkable loyalty to the principles for which Trinity was originally founded - viz, to provide an educational alternative and a spiritual witness to the western suburbs of Sydney.

40 Parish Messenger. 5 February 1913, p.1
Chapter 2:

The Headmastership of K.T. Henderson, 1913.

Maintain the Honour and good name of the School (K.T. Henderson, 1913)

From the germ of an idea in the mind of a seemingly irresistible parish rector, Trinity Grammar established itself as a school which appeared likely to survive. However, the loss of the foundation headmaster within the first six months and the omnipresent need for money could well have crippled the school before it took its first steps. The first six months of the history of Trinity further illustrates the dominant role of G.A. Chambers, the inability of all but the most flexible and tolerant to work with him, and the unshakable conviction of those involved with the school of its spiritual worthiness.

It has been noted that the task of selecting staff was assumed by the Warden. In the same manner, it was not the headmaster or the staff who sought enrolments. One week before the opening of the new school year of 1913, Chambers was engaged in visiting the new parents of his school. "I have been enjoying to-day in visiting and calling upon the parents of intending pupils of the Grammar School". The overwhelming majority of the parents were themselves pillars of Holy Trinity Church and had been involved in the negotiations from the start. A glance at the School Register reveals names who had been prominent in the Parish for a number of years. Stewart Shearman, who was 16 years old when Trinity Grammar School began, lived and worshipped in Dulwich Hill. He received a Sunday School Prize Second Class in February 1913. In fact the Sunday School prize list reads something like the Holy Trinity Grammar School roll. The first twenty-nine boys lived, for the most part, in the Dulwich Hill and Petersham district. A.B. Kerrigan, Ron and Eric Ferris, Percy Wroe, Wilfred and Norman Shirlow, Ken Jenkyn, Harold and Edward Bragg, Rey Jukes, William and Alexander Hogarth, Robert Anderson (later to become a teacher at Trinity, the first Old Trinitarians Union representative on Council and the first full-time Bursar), Arthur Marshall, John McClausland, Charlie Vincer, Victor Robinson, Eric

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1 Parish Messenger, 5 February 1913, p.1.
2 Interview with Harold Bragg, 26 April 1986.
3 Held in TGSA.
4 Stewart Shearman enlisted in 1915.
5 Parish Messenger, February 1913.
Mason all members of the first year at Trinity Grammar School, lived in an arc from Dulwich Hill to Petersham and Summer Hill. The others from 1913 were "boarders". Among them, George Webster came from Normanhurst, Hope Lytton from Pennant Hills, Martin Justelius from Eastwood, Alfred Smith from Dorrigo and the Founder's namesake and nephew, George A. Chambers, came from Katoomba. The boarders would live under the baleful but benign eye of the Warden, initially at "Hazeldene", but before the end of 1913 they moved to the more commodious accommodation at the Towers in the Boulevarde, Dulwich Hill.

The method of government of Trinity was merely an extension of the parish administration. The first Parish Committee Meeting for the Holy Trinity Grammar School took place at 9 pm on Thursday 30 January 1913, in the Rector's home. S.A.Y. Steele was elected Honorary Treasurer and W.A. Kerrigan the Honorary Secretary. Understandably, the Committee was preoccupied with financial arrangements for the new school; the acquisition of furniture, the payment of £20 per annum to Marrickville District Cricket Club whose oval and nets the boys were to use each Wednesday, the opening of an account at the Bank of New South Wales in Dulwich Hill to be operated by the Secretary and the Treasurer. Yet, there was, in fact, no mention of the arrangements for the opening ceremony to be held at the school on Saturday 1 February 1913. Equally, there was no reference to the Headmaster and, even more astonishingly, Henderson was not even present at the meeting. So much of the progress of the school in these years is not documented because it germinated and bore fruit in the mind of Chambers. The arrangements for an opening ceremony would not have been the business of a Committee nor, perhaps in the thinking of Chambers, for a youthful Melboumean Headmaster. His own hand structured these things. It was, however, an implicit snub of Henderson.

The Sydney Diocesan Magazine devoted a lengthy article to the official opening of Trinity Grammar School, Dulwich Hill, in its March edition in 1913. The Daily Telegraph also carried a description of the opening ceremony in the edition printed on Monday 3rd February 1913. The Daily Telegraph reported:

The school is in the parish of Dulwich-hill (sic.), on the heights of Lewisham, and within easy walking distance of the Wardell Road railway station. The house has a frontage to the Boulevarde, and extends

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6 School Register, TGSA.
The Archbishop of Sydney, J.C. Wright, no stranger to Dulwich Hill during Chambers' incumbency,\textsuperscript{8} presided at the opening ceremony. Holy Trinity Church had completed a vibrant year and the opening of the school would be its crowning achievement.

Amongst the dignitaries present at the ceremony was the Bishop of Bathurst, Dr. G.M. Long. There was a profound link between Chambers, Wright and Long.\textsuperscript{9} Dr. Long had, himself, founded a Trinity Grammar School in the parish hall of Holy Trinity Kew, Melbourne, while still a curate. It has been observed that when he was consecrated as the Bishop of Bathurst in 1912, Long spoke to the Archbishop of Sydney about the experience of creating a church school. It is of no surprise to discover that Bishop Long\textsuperscript{10} met Chambers shortly after the former's arrival from Melbourne. He spoke at the Dulwich Hill Men's Service on Sunday afternoon 18 August 1912, when nearly 300 hundred people attended - his subject was "Religious Difficulty" as set forth in the 73rd Psalm.\textsuperscript{11} It is interesting to surmise that the after service conversation between Chambers and Long must have concerned the "two Trinities" and undoubtedly, Kenneth Henderson's name was discussed as the possible inaugural Headmaster of Trinity Grammar, Dulwich Hill. The sum total of Diocesan support for Chambers' plan was represented in this mediation between Chambers and Long.\textsuperscript{12}

\textsuperscript{7} \textit{Daily Telegraph}, Monday 3 February 1913.
\textsuperscript{8} \textit{The Sydney Diocesan Magazine} May 1912 reported that The Most Reverend John Charles Sydney had attended the 26th anniversary of the church at Dulwich Hill in April 1912. "The Church was quite inadequate to accommodate the people. All available space was occupied, and still numbers were unable to get in. The School Hall close by was thrown open, and an overflow service was held, the curate, the Reverend M.G. Hinsby, reading prayers while the Rector officiated in the Church."
\textsuperscript{11} \textit{Sydney Diocesan Magazine} 1 September 1912.
\textsuperscript{12} In mid 1913 the Archbishop toured Canada and England and his mind remained occupied with matters other than education. If Trinity was to survive, it would depend upon the energy of the parish and not the Diocese.
The opening ceremony was held in a marquee erected in the grounds behind "Hazeldene" with a gathering estimated by the Sydney Diocesan Magazine to be nearly as many as three hundred people. Chambers enunciated his educational aims in the establishment of Trinity when he spoke of the fulfillment of a great vision for the "thickly populated western suburbs". The Sydney Diocesan Magazine summarised Chambers' aims for the school: "The making of character and the training of leadership...co-ordinated with the highest standard of intellectual attainment". He rather quaintly announced the appointment of the School Matron to superintend the boarders, Miss Hooker, who had been Deaconess at Hurstville. Chambers also took great encouragement from the large audience who attended the opening ceremony, feeling that the school was assured of their support and loyalty.

The Archbishop declared the school open and observed that:

The way in which the School Council had not only talked, but got to action, was an augury for what the work was to be in the future. What was wanted was that boys should be encouraged to come to the School.... and (he) wished it "God-speed".

It was left to Bishop Long to welcome the new Headmaster. He reflected on the humble beginnings of Trinity, Kew, which began in a parish hall with 23 pupils, growing to 270 in a few years. The new headmaster at Dulwich Hill, the Bishop observed, was one of the original students of Trinity, Kew. He warned against the apparent lack of money as a deterrent to the development of the facilities of the school: Trinity Grammar, Kew, had spent £7,000 in buildings in a short period of time demonstrating the boldness of which Bishop Long had spoken. He referred to Henderson as "a most determined worker, having completed a brilliant course at the Melbourne University". Rather pointedly and as it happened ironically, he added that Henderson was "young, but with his enthusiasm and with the oversight, help, and counsel of the Rector of the parish he would do excellently." Bishop Long believed that the future hope and strength of a nation depended not upon "defence" of national territory:

School power was the great secret of national strength.

13 The existing History indicates (and is verified by the Telegraph) that there were two hundred people present. No doubt the two discrepant figures only mean that there were quite a lot of people at the opening given the modesty of the accommodation and the background of the parish.
14 Sydney Diocesan Magazine 1 March 1913. p.17.
15 Ibid. p. 18
No nation dare fall behind in the development of school power. There were many boys whose parents were anxious that they should be brought up in the Faith of their fathers. It was most important for the church to provide educational establishments where our boys could grow up in English Christianity. 16

The address by the inaugural headmaster gave no reason to believe that the relationship between Henderson and Chambers should have been anything but positive. Scarcely out of University and deeply religious, in some ways the task before him must have appeared gargantuan. He "spoke of the difficulty of his future work and his recognition of his responsibility, which in the deepest sense of the word was a religious one."17 He acknowledged that the aims and policy of the school had already been determined and his brief was to administer these received priorities. A personal aim was to:

develop School Spirit, so that the boys would be prepared to make personal sacrifices and give of their best for the School. Every boy must feel that the honour of the School was in his personal keeping.

He commented on the need for a rounded education with a special emphasis on languages (especially German) and on sports and recreation. He used the phrase "thought and action" to summarise his educational objective. He closed his remarks by saying:

[he] accepted the appointment of Headmaster because he saw a vision of infinite possibilities of development before the School. Anyone anxious to spend money in forwarding the Kingdom of God should consider this institution, which aimed at being a living witness to the Holy Spirit in the lives of its sons and in gathering 'fruit unto eternal life'. 18

In a sense, Henderson had restated the objectives which Chambers had already expounded. He was of the same mind as Chambers in the principle and purpose for which the school was founded. Trinity Grammar School, Dulwich Hill, was to be a place where boys might receive the highest standard of education together with a firm grounding in the Christian life, ready and equipped for leadership in the future. Henderson's mind and spirituality were well suited to the

16 Ibid.
17 Ibid.
18 Ibid.
Kenneth Henderson was Headmaster of Trinity Grammar School from only February to July 1913. Only one other headmaster in the history of the school served a shorter term of office, namely Mr Arthur Alston in 1916. The latter had almost been forgotten a few short months after his departure, yet the inaugural Headmaster has been celebrated in the naming of a House and in the place of honour reserved for his shortlived, though genuine, impact on the school. What did Henderson achieve in six months as the foundation Headmaster, and why did he leave at such an inopportune moment in the halting life of the new school?

Henderson's Headmastership is no longer in any living memory. In part, this is due to the short stay of Henderson and to the youth of the original old boys at the time. Dr Harrie Ashton (1913-1917) cannot recall the foundation Headmaster at all, so swamped is he by the memory of W.G. Hilliard and G.A. Chambers. Harold Bragg retains an impression rather than any specific memory of Henderson:

The only impression I had of Henderson was that he was a very strict Headmaster... He was interested in the boys; from what I can gather (and it was so long ago I cannot remember) I always thought he was a good Headmaster. 21

Limited, therefore, to scant official minutes of meetings and little more than vague impressions, to determine the cause of Henderson's failure it is necessary to examine the kind of school established by Chambers and the place of Henderson within this environment.

The advertising of Trinity as well as discussions over the matter of future school accommodation were matters for Chambers and his committee and were, inexplicably, kept from Henderson. News of the new school was published in the newspapers and the Diocesan Magazine. On Saturday 8 February 1913, the Sydney Morning Herald printed, together with articles on the German naval build-

19 See Triangle. June 1917. p. 3
20 Interview with Dr Harrie Ashton, one of the original boys of Trinity, December 1986.
21 Interview with Harold Bragg, 26 April 1986.
up and figures comparing the size of the German navy with that of Great Britain, the following advertisement for Trinity Grammar School in the Education Notices:

Trinity Grammar School.
The Boulevarde, Dulwich Hill.
Warden: Rev. G. A. Chambers, MA
Headmaster: Mr K. T. Henderson, BA
A Day and Boarding School for Boys.
All Exams. Prospectus on application.

On the back page of the Sydney Diocesan Magazine from January 1913 to March 1914, the following detailed advertisement was produced. Curiously, the details continued to carry Henderson's name as Headmaster for some months after he left Sydney:

Trinity Grammar School
Dulwich Hill.

VISITOR-The Most Rev. The Lord Archbishop of Sydney.
THE SCHOOL will meet the long-felt need of a Church Secondary School in the Western Suburbs.
In addition to a sound Religious training, the boys will receive a thorough grounding in all subjects necessary for the Matriculation and Junior and Senior Public Examinations of the University of Sydney.
Arrangements made with the authorities of the Marrickville Oval will permit of special attention being given to Sports and Physical Development of the boys.
The Head Master will be assisted by a competent staff of Resident and Visiting Masters. All boarders will be under the care of an experienced Matron. A moderate scale of fees will be charged. Special terms for sons of Clergy. For prospectus and all particulars, please apply to the REV. G. A. CHAMBERS, The Rectory, Dulwich Hill.

22 Sydney Morning Herald. 8 February 1913. The following week a lengthy report on the 81st anniversary celebrations of The King's School, Parramatta appeared. Trinity seemed very humble indeed.
23 Sydney Diocesan Magazine January 1913.
This advertisement cost the princely sum of £4 per annum.24 Similar notices appeared in the parish newspapers of Marrickville and Hurstville.

Further evidence of Henderson's remote status in the governance of Trinity is to be found in the handling of the matter of new school accommodation. On the evening of the opening ceremony in February 1913, members of the Church Committee for Trinity Grammar School discussed the acquisition of new premises for the School. Larger than "Hazeldene" and marginally closer to Herbert Street where Holy Trinity Church was located, the Towers seemed an attractive proposition. The fact that the Parish was financially stretched already seemed to matter little to Chambers. By the second committee meeting (8 February 1913) the purchase was reported officially:

The Chairman [Chambers] reported that this property had been secured by the Council as the future School and grounds and that W. E. Shaw Esq25 had opportunely come to the Council's aid by agreeing to loan £600 on a 2nd mortgage at 5% p. a. interest; the first Mortgage being for £2,000 advanced by the Diocesan Educational Committee.

The announcement to the Parish was made in the Parochial Newsletter of 5 March 1913:

By the help of the Diocesan Committee, and a generous friend outside the parish, The Towers, on the Boulevarde, has been secured for the Grammar School, and is now the property of the parish. The Rector, together with Messrs. J. H. Smith and T. J. Hoskins, are trustees for the property. 26

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24 TGS Committee Meeting, 3 March 1913.
25 The Founder will not have neglected a visit to Mr and Mrs W.E.Shaw at this time, though we do not have any record of such. Mr Shaw was a well known benefactor in the district and his unsecured loan in 1913 was not to be his last link with Trinity. The Ashfield Mayoral Minutes of 1916-1917 record another example of his beneficence:
"In May 1915, the above mentioned of "Penlee" Prospect Road Summer Hill, generously gave their home and grounds as a rest home for returned war nurses, and to create a fitting memorial to Nurse Cavell...Up to the date of this minute, no less than 106 nurses, of whom 87 were returned army nurses have benefitted from its existence".
It was Chambers' style to seek out people of generosity and influence and infect them with his vision for a Church School in the Western Suburbs.
26 Parish Newsletter. 5 March 1913, p.3.
At the committee meeting he reported: "The roll numbered 38 and that the School opened with 29." 27

Henderson seldom figured in the Committee Minutes. His pointed omission from the government of the school is accentuated by the fact that two of his staff who were curates at the church were members of the Committee, a fact which would not have escaped his notice. The initiative for the purchase of the Towers belonged to Chambers, even though the arrangements were completed during Henderson's term of office. Moreover, he only attended one meeting throughout this period, viz 31st March 1913, with an ironic note in the Minutes: "The Headmaster being present also." 28 There was nothing discussed at this meeting which necessitated his presence. Even the single achievement ascribed to Henderson by successors, 29 namely the registration of the school under the Bursary Endowment Board, may well have been at the very least in part due to Chambers. The initiative for registration was recorded:

> Mr Steel moved that the Warden take steps to have the School registered under the Bursaries Endowment Act - Seconded by Mr Smith and carried. 30

Chambers reported to the Committee, on 3 March 1913, that an Inspector had visited the School and arrangements were underway for its registration:

> The Warden reported that Chief Inspector Elliott of The Education Department had that day examined the school in connection with registration under the Bursaries Act.

Undoubtedly, Henderson conducted Mr Elliott over the school but it is equally certain that Chambers would have been present. In any case, the formal notification was reported in the meeting on 31 March 1913:

> The Warden reported that registration of Trinity Grammar School was given effect by the Board administering the Bursaries Endowment Act dating from 1 January 1913. 31

27 TGS Committee Minutes. 8 February 1913, TGSA.
28 Ibid. 31 March 1913.
30 TGS Committee 8 February 1913.
31 It is interesting to note that it was the Warden and not the Headmaster who reported this to the meeting.
The registration of the school, nevertheless, gave cause for celebration - in the space of 8 weeks, Trinity became an approved educational establishment and its future, so far as the Education Department was concerned, was secure.\textsuperscript{32} Enrolments went from 29 in February 1913, to 57 by the end of the year. Local boys would travel to Trinity either by tram, which passed along Canterbury Road near the Boulevarde, or would walk.\textsuperscript{33} There were no uniforms worn as such, but the symbol of the Triangle and Bishop's mitre was to be seen on hat bands and on the front of caps:\textsuperscript{34}

The School hat bands with the badge of a mitre inside a triangle, a symbol of the Trinity, have been distributed to the older boys. Additional bands for the smaller boys are being made. \textsuperscript{35}

The use of the triangle symbolised the Christian doctrine of the Trinity, three persons in one Godhead. The bishop's mitre represented the Anglican Church. The school colours were to be those of the liturgical season of trinity.

The daily round of the school, as reported in the parish literature. In March, the Holy Trinity Parish Newsletter reported:

Forty boys have been enrolled at the School.
Six boys are in residence; work is in full swing. The organisation of classes is complete, and masters and boys are entering upon what should be a period of hearty co-operation. The first cricket match played on the Marrickville Oval against the Parramatta Grammar School resulted in a victory for Trinity by two wickets and 81 runs. G. Pickles\textsuperscript{36} made a score of 81 not out.
Gifts of sporting materials have been made to the school by Mr Jenkyn. \textsuperscript{37} Other gifts would be welcome.

\textsuperscript{32} Parish Newsletter, 2 April 1913.
\textsuperscript{33} Interview with Dr Ashton, pupil from 1913 who reported that he "could not afford the penny paying tram ride".
\textsuperscript{34} See the 1913 Trinity Grammar School photograph.
\textsuperscript{35} Parish Newsletter, 2 April 1913, p. 4.
\textsuperscript{36} Garnet Pickles (aged 15 in February 1913) together with his brother Reginald (13 years) travelled to Dulwich Hill each day from Armcliffe. Garnet left school in September 1913 and went to work in a wool store.
\textsuperscript{37} Father of two enrolled at Trinity in 1913, viz. Norman and Ken Jenkyn who came from "Llanberis", Hampden St., Hurlstone Park.
Mrs Bragg's kindness in placing her tennis court at the disposal of the boys is being much availed of. A tennis match has been arranged with Woodcourt College on Wednesday, February 26th. Miss Oakes, B. A., has been appointed teacher of science.

The appointment of an elementary science teacher was requested at the Committee meeting of 8 February 1913, and the manner in which this was conducted provides an interesting insight into the operation of the early Trinity. Chambers reported to the meeting of 3 March 1913, that Miss Oakes had been appointed to teach science for 3 hours per week at the pay rate of 5/- per hour. It is apparent, therefore, that the Headmaster had little to do with the selection of staff. The same extraordinary arrangement occurred in a March appointment. Mr Dolph, a member of the original "lay staff" was to be relieved of his "intermediary tuition" by Mr H. Hunt. Although Henderson attended the Committee meeting on the 31 March 1913, the appointment of Mr Hunt was Chambers' business. It was not surprising that the Warden should adopt such a role given that he often paid bills and, occasionally, even staff salaries from his own pocket until he was reimbursed by the School. Though no specific evidence exists to indicate the reaction of Henderson to his curious position beneath the Warden, it is likely that it would be frustrating, if not humiliating, for a new headmaster.

The matter of accommodation was quickly resolved. The Towers was purchased in February 1913, but was not occupied until late in the same year. The present occupants remained in it until Trinity was ready to move from Hazeldene.

Donations of the smallest amounts for the furnishing of the new school building were feted in both the Parish Newsletter and the Committee Minutes:

A very pleasing gift of two sovereigns was received by the Rector on Easter Sunday from two well-wishers at Hurlstone Park toward the fund for furnishing the Towers.

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38 Parish Messenger, 5 March 1913.
39 Parish Messenger, 2 April 1913, p. 4.
40 See for example the Meeting of 8 February where he was reimbursed £5 for "p.c. payments".
41 TGS Committee, 31 March 1913.
42 Parish Messenger, 2 April 1913. Samuel Hordern, having been approached by Mr Hoskins gave 2 guineas to the same fund. Mr Hordern, a few years later, was to have a great deal more to do with the foundation of another Church School, namely Cranbrook.
A School fete was planned for the latter half of the year, and the proceeds were intended to contribute towards the foundation in the Towers. The Holy Trinity Grammar School was pre-eminently a church-community preoccupation. It was to provide sporting, academic and cultural opportunities. The "Grammar School Notes" of May 1913, reflected:

Footballs have been bought, and we shall soon have vigorous teams at play on the oval.
Examinations occupied the first week of school after the Easter vacation and revealed many surprises in the results.
Five new boys have entered the school since Easter.
Shakespeare Day, April 23rd, was celebrated by the senior boys rendering two scenes from Henry 5th, and the Grave Digger's Scene from Hamlet.  

In the same article, the headmaster of Petersham District High School was thanked for allowing boys from Trinity Grammar to take their "compulsory military training in the day time with the Petersham school squad." In every report of the "Grammar School Notes", the names of parishioners appear prominently. People donated prizes for the end of the year, took boys on outings, gave furniture and printing apparatus, held sewing days for the proposed fete and made the Grammar School their own ministry within the parish. This explosion of energy and enthusiasm for an untried institution contrasts sharply with the style of other schools already in existence. There was no act of parliament (as with King's Parramatta), no collection of business-men (as with Cranbrook), no denominational Convention (as with Newington). The parishioners of Dulwich Hill were, in the main, middle class, of modest means and outlook. But they were fired with the vision that Chambers had given them; a vision for a school, a new Church building, and a missionary zeal of the type which was to later bear fruit in Africa. In establishing Trinity Grammar School, the members of Holy Trinity believed that they were about the Lord's work, and that its success would ensure the propagation of the Kingdom of God. Chambers recalled in his hand written memoir:

I am thankful for the loyal body of men and women who give their time, energy and thought in building up God's
Kingdom in this place and the gratifying thing about it is that the number keeps on increasing. 45

By the middle of 1913, Trinity Grammar School was a viable educational establishment. On 19 June, the Advisory Council, which had been formed in November 1912, called upon the Warden and Headmaster to present a report of the progress of their new School since its foundation on 3 February 1913. A unanimous vote of congratulations was coined in these terms:

That the Advisory Council place on record its appreciation of the progress made by the Trinity Grammar School since its foundation, and congratulate the Warden, the Headmaster and the Staff of the school on the excellence of the results achieved. 46

Within a month of this meeting, Kenneth Henderson had suffered a nervous breakdown and was preparing to leave Trinity.

Concealed within the items of the Trinity Grammar School Committee meeting of Monday 21 July 1913, is the minute recording that the Warden had received the resignation of the inaugural Headmaster:

The Warden announced that the Headmaster Mr Kenneth T. Henderson B.A. had that day placed his written resignation in his hands owing to a nervous breakdown asking to be relieved at 31st Inst. The Warden further stated that after having an interview with the Headmaster consequent thereon he accepted the resignation with regret.

Henderson farewelled the boys of the school the following day. Sadly, no surviving old boy, all of whom were too young, can recall this address, tense though it must have been for the new school. He expressed regret at the step which his health required him to take and he asked "the boys to maintain the honour and good name of the school."47 Ironically, the day after his farewell to Trinity (23 July), an article by K. T. Henderson appeared in the *Sydney Mail* on the "Creation of 'School Tone.'" Presumably he was preparing this article, one of a

45 Chambers' Memoir Notes; Moore College Archives.
46 Minute Book of the Advisory Council, 19 June 1913. TGSA.
47 Parish Messenger. 5 August 1913.
number by Sydney headmasters in celebration of "Education Week" 1913, whilst the "breakdown" was occurring.

There is little or no evidence to shed more light on the question of Henderson's "nervous breakdown". It is undeniable that this has been the explanation for the departure of a seemingly successful headmaster at a most inconvenient time for the new school. Chambers told the parishioners through the Parish Messenger that "owing to a serious breakdown," Henderson had been forced to resign. Henderson's successor, W. G. Hilliard, in a tribute to the foundation Headmaster in May 1930, described the reason for his departure as a "breakdown in health." Chambers' Jubilee Sermon, preached at the fiftieth anniversary of the foundation of Trinity in 1962, failed to even acknowledge the Henderson Headmastership: "By the grace of God the school began and by the grace of God W.G. Hilliard became the first Headmaster." This discrepancy is easily reconciled when the context of Chambers' address is considered, and yet the point remains that Henderson could be omitted in the mind of Chambers for the sake of oratorical expediency.

A footnote in the 1964 Report of the long-serving headmaster, James Wilson Hogg, observed that the recently deceased Henderson was "... compelled by ill-health to give up the work entered upon in such high hopes after so short a time." More recently, both the existing School History and the Triangle articles of December 1980 and December 1983 give the same reason. With such a body of opinion, the question now is not so much whether some breakdown in health occurred but the extent to which this was the sole reason for his departure.

Henderson's life beyond Trinity, with the possible exception of his World War One illness, does not appear to have been plagued by any recurrence of the "nervous" condition he experienced in Dulwich Hill. He returned to Melbourne University where he gained a Master of Arts degree and lectured in Philosophy before being ordained into the Anglican Ministry within the Diocese of Melbourne. He joined the staff of the Melbourne Church of England Grammar School until the war beckoned in March 1916. He enlisted in the A.I.F. Expeditionary Force as an Army Chaplain, his experiences being reflected in his first book Khaki and

49 Chambers' Jubilee Sermon. In M/S. only in the Chambers Papers, MCA, Sydney.
51 The author is indebted to the research on K.T. Henderson by the former Trinity Grammar School archivist, A.G. Bonnell. See Triangle, December 1980. pp.54,55.
Cassock. His preoccupation as a minister of the gospel among the "doomed youth" in Flanders and France was to make Christianity relevant to the men on the front.

Many men believed that God caused the war. Having before their eyes the horror, the deliberate waste, the moral insanity which the war produces, they feel they cannot believe in a God like that. This idea of God, as a universal permeating One, a universal, self-consistent activity working through a plastic world, does seem too common in our popular theology; but there is no trace of it in the Christianity of the New Testament. There we find God as a personality, appealing (through a great creative act of sacrifice) to free individuals, who are free to accept or reject his love. 52

Henderson was personally acquainted with the grief, the moral insanity, the deliberate waste which had generated the empathy expressed in Khaki and Cassock. The book is dedicated to his brothers, Captain Rupert Henderson and Lieutenant Alan Dudley Henderson, both of whom were killed at Gallipoli. On the eve of the landings on 25 April 1915, Alan Henderson wrote rather prophetically in a letter home: "Australia tomorrow founds a tradition, God grant that it may be a great one". The next day he lay dying of wounds received at Lone Pine; Rupert died a fortnight later "while leading a charge against Turkish trenches at Cape Helles." 53

Upon his return from the French front, overwhelmed by the cruelty of warfare and struck by the urgency of expressing Christianity in a manner accessible to all men and women, regardless of their collective experiences, Henderson spent much of his time in his study as Chaplain at St. Peter's College, Adelaide. He wrote Christian Tradition and Australian Outlook (1919), where he recalled the yawning gap between the established Christian churches and the Australian heritage he watched evolve at the front. In 1923 he travelled to Oxford, studying at Hertford College where he pursued his burgeoning interest in what was at the time the somewhat radical study of the sociology of religion. He graduated as a Bachelor of Letters with a thesis on Troeltsch. He returned to Australia and commenced his career in journalism which dominated the rest of his life. He worked on the Melbourne Argus for three years before joining the West

52 K.T. Henderson, Khaki and Cassock. Melville and Mullen, Melbourne, 1919, pp. 149-150.
Australian where he rose to the office of senior leader writer. As well as working in Perth for 13 years, Henderson wrote a number of books; these included Prayers of Citizenship, The City of Mansoul and Thoughts for Today. "The City of Mansoul was a booklet in a series on "The Christian and the War" and discussed the relationship between Christianity and patriotism, and the extra strains which war imposes upon a man's soul [which was in Plato's words] 'the city that is within him'. "54

From the West Australian, K.T. Henderson joined the staff of the Australian Broadcasting Commission in June 1941, taking charge of a series of radio programmes called "Tomorrow's World", examining the possibilities for post-war change and the place of Christianity within this new world. "He soon turned to religious broadcasting and became the ABC's first Federal Supervisor of Religious Broadcasting, a position he occupied until he retired in 1956."55 As a mark of his eminence, Henderson was granted an honorary Doctorate of Theology by the Australian College of Theology in 1955, for his services to Religious Broadcasting in this country.

Henderson had married Charlotte Tickell, the eldest daughter of Rear Admiral F. Tickell two years after he left Trinity Grammar School for Melbourne. After a period of separation caused by the Great War, they began a companionship which lasted until Henderson's death in March 1965.

Henderson's successor at Trinity in 1913, W.G. Hilliard, recalled the first Headmaster in an article in the Triangle of May 1930:

As the writer remembers him in the days of his work at "Trinity", he was a personality of rare charm, a keen idealist with the soul of a poet, an extremely interesting conversationalist, a good raconteur, with a highly-developed sense both of the humorous and of the dramatic, and a splendid comrade in the work of the School. He was our first Headmaster, and it is fitting that one of our Houses should bear his name. That he still takes an interest in this, the first of the enterprises to which he has set his hand, is evident in a recent letter from which the following extract has been taken:- 'The life of the School is, I feel, still a close matter of personal concern, and I trust that every boy and master feels still- as we felt in those days of beginnings- that

54 Ibid. p.55
55 Nicholls. and Latham op.cit. p. 28.
he carries forward in himself the destiny of the School.
May it be a noble one. Please God that Trinity may
play an honoured and distinctive part in the life of
Australia. "56

Wilson Hogg honoured the first Headmaster in his "In Memoriam" in the
Triangle of June 1965. Henderson kept in touch with Trinity throughout his life,
and Mr Hogg had received a letter from his predecessor only a few months before
preparing the Headmaster's Report to Speech Day in 1964. Wilson Hogg wrote
in his obituary to Henderson:

But such was the impact of his personality that after
the few months of his administering the School he
was remembered when he left with fondness and
great respect. Indeed, a House was named after him.
. . . He died respected and lamented by all who
knew him, and knowing him, appreciated his fine
qualities. 57

Thus, the Henderson who departed from Trinity in July 1913 was neither
frail nor of limited administrative mettle. He left Trinity and became a leading
Christian thinker and writer, and virtually established religious broadcasting in this
country, achieving great renown in the process. His career had embraced
education, the Army, journalism and broadcasting and the qualities Hilliard noted
in his 1930 reflection attended him throughout his life. Perhaps Hilliard
unwittingly captured the explanation for Henderson's departure when he described
his predecessor as a "... a keen idealist with the soul of a poet. " The article which
Henderson contributed to the Sydney Mail on 23 July 1913, entitled "The Creation
of School 'Tone'", readily verifies this observation. He was constrained by a vision
for the future of the new school - but, so was Chambers. Even though their
concept of a Church of England Boys' Grammar School in the Western Suburbs
was substantially the same, no ship could have two masters.

Henderson had been overlooked in the decision making of many of the
Trinity Grammar School Committee Meetings; unlike the Warden he did not live in
the School building with the Boarders; he was neither from Dulwich Hill nor from
Sydney; he was also young and inexperienced. Ultimately, however, he was
frustrated by the propensity of Chambers to lead alone, often without the

consultation of even his Headmaster, and if Henderson experienced a breakdown of health it was undoubtedly a result of this frustration. 58

It should also be noted that Chambers' style, although always ebullient to the point of rapacity, would have been tempered, to some extent, over the years which followed the foundation of Trinity. Henderson's task was, therefore, seemingly insurmountable. He had been entrusted with Chambers' greatest single achievement, and it was simply impossible for the latter to step aside to allow another to direct his venture. However, by the Headmastership of Frank Archer (1917-1922) the foundation of the Grammar School had become only one (albeit prized) of a number of G.A. Chambers' great ventures. By that time Holy Trinity, Dulwich Hill, was housed in a new Church and Chambers' interests had extended to the Home Mission Society, the Bush Church Aid Society and involvement in the Church Mission Society. If any headmaster had experienced the Warden at his most irrepressible, it was Henderson. 59

Perhaps the greatest window into the mind of the first Headmaster is to be found in the content of his Sydney Mail article on "Creation of School Tone," published the day after he had farewelled the boys of the School. Although strangely non-religious, no doubt because of the brief given to him, it shows Henderson's approach to founding a new school and generating that most nebulous of entities, School Spirit.

The creation of "School Tone" was a complex problem:

How can a master, more especially a headmaster, whose direct relations with his boys must always be more or less formal and official, bring into being

58 In Braga, S. A Century of Governance in Anglican Boys' Secondary Schools in the Diocese of Sydney 1831-1931, the author goes somewhat further than the present writer is prepared to when he observed: "Given Chambers' propensity to run everything himself, it is not surprising that Henderson stayed only five months, as did one of his successors, A. Alston, in 1916. The only Headmasters who found it possible to work with Chambers as Warden were men who served under him as curate in the parish church. The fact that the Headmaster was not captain of his own ship was not lost even on the boys of the school, and to make the situation still more awkward, the school building served as Rectory from 1913 to 1927, so that Chambers kept a constant eye also upon the life of the boarders. The wonder is that anyone stayed as Headmaster at all." (pp.95-96).

The problem, although very real, is somewhat overstated in this work. To begin with, Mr Frank Archer, who like Henderson was also from Melbourne, and said to have been the most outstanding Headmaster of the period (see Chapter 5), served successfully under Chambers from 1917-1922 and at no time was in direct employ as a curate of Dulwich Hill. The departure of Mr Alston after an almost embarrassingly short tenure can be explained more by his personal circumstances than any clash with Chambers. It should be noted that Chambers was absent for much of this short incumbency. The Rectory ceased to be used as a School Room after 1924.

59 cf. Interview with Harold Bragg, April 1986.
certain standards of conduct, certain ethical notions and healthy conventions which shall be ruling active in determining the conduct and character of each individual boy in his natural state?60

At least Henderson was certain of one thing; the matter was a corporate responsibility and not for any single person or group. The primary task was to establish "The School Spirit", which in Henderson’s opinion consisted of four characteristics.

1. It takes the form of public opinion more or less organised and articulate. 2. Its concerns are with the conduct of the individual boy. 3. Its demands upon the individual are social in character. This applies to its negations as well as to its commands. If school sentiment does not admit of smoking, it is for the sake of the school that smoking is banned- not for the sake of the would-be smoker. . . 4. This body of sentiments is held together and given coherence by an active love and affection for the school.

A vital part of this final point was, in Henderson's view, a healthy rivalry between schools, and the wearing of school colours. His own Headmastership reflected this belief when within a few months of the foundation of Trinity Grammar, the now familiar Triangle and Bishop’s mitre logo was placed on the school caps. 61

Boys can readily be made to feel that while wearing the colours, and if they take a proper pride in them this will be practically always, the reputation of the school is in their keeping. They have something visible and tangible to distinguish them as members of a separate and distinctive body in the school world; they become conscious that as members of a school their behaviour is subject to a criticism which reflects for good or ill on the whole body. . .

Henderson spent the remainder of his article arguing that the only way to weave the complex fabric of a school community into a cohesive whole is by a unified academic staff, and the creation of prefects:

The boys must organise themselves. The 'tone' of the school must consist in their most real and intimate

60 K.T.Henderson in The Sydney Mail, 23 July 1913. All quotations following are taken from this article.
61 Parish Messenger, 2 April 1913. p. 4.
activities; and the boys alone can keep themselves up to the mark.

Once more, Henderson had followed his own advice in his own school. The Parish Messenger noted:

A very interesting function took place on Monday, April 28th [1913], when the first prefects, McCausland, Anderson, Pickles, and Kerrigan received their caps. The Headmaster explained the position and responsibilities of the prefects, and the warden spoke of the need of loyalty on the part of the boys to the prefects. 62

Though the Headmastership of Henderson was brief, it was very telling for the future of Trinity. It had been "his responsibility to form what was merely a group of boys into something quite different, - a school; and in the short space of a term he had gone far towards this end."63 Together with Chambers he launched Trinity "in an unpromising area, working on a shoestring budget, and with insufficient autonomy."64

Hence, in the brief headmstership of Henderson the pattern which was to dominate the foundation of Trinity is readily apparent. The grammar school was the brainchild of G.A. Chambers and he intended to maintain control over its destiny. This is not to imply that the school was, in essence, a monument to an arrogant man. Such a glib generalisation fails to grasp the undeniable fervour which formed the religious backdrop to Chambers' vision. Yet his role in its progress was to be of paramount importance. There is some evidence to suggest that Chambers learned from the mistakes he made with the first headmaster. All subsequent headmasters were members of the governing committee and played an active part in its deliberations. Still, Chambers for some years clung to the task of staff selection with what might have been viewed as irritating tenacity. It was, however, in the nature of the man to lead in such a manner. The curious historical phenomenon is the presence of a dominant figure has been more or less perpetuated across the history of the school. This is explained, as shall be later observed, partly by the nature of the environment which called upon determined leadership for survival's sake, and partly by the nature of the vision of

62 Ibid. 4 June, 1913. p.5.
64 Triangle, December 1983.p. 103. This chapter has attempted to indicate that the central problem in the resignation of Henderson was the frustration of a young headmaster unable to work with the Founder. The departure has less to do with potential theological divisions between a Melbourne man and the Sydney Diocese than might initially be imagined. The liberal evangelical tradition prevalent at the inception of Trinity Grammar was, it seems, quite amenable to Henderson whose academic interests later proved to be in the area of the sociology of religion. (See R.W. Trumble, Op.Cit. Ch. 4.)
education which Trinity espoused - a desire for an evangelical school in an evangelical diocese.
Chapter 3

The First Headmastership of W.G. Hilliard, 1913-1916.

So long, therefore, as this school remains a Church Grammar School, with its noble aspirations and potentialities, so long it will inspire the educational authorities of New South Wales with renewed confidence in the wisdom and integrity of the parishioners of Holy Trinity Dulwich Hill.

*Parish Magazine*, November 1915.

The grand venture of G.A. Chambers had reached the middle of its first year when the foundation Headmaster, Kenneth T. Henderson, departed. Committed to the purchase of The Towers and responsible for the education of some 50 boys, Holy Trinity Grammar School found itself without a headmaster and looked in a parlous state. So it was that Chambers acted without delay to prevent the untimely collapse of his new school for want of a leader. In the process, he appointed the man whom he must have been sorely tempted to have chosen in the first place, his curate, William George Hilliard.

The choice of Hilliard, for the moment at least, irreversibly cast Trinity in the mould of a parish school, governed for the most part by Chambers. If Henderson had found Chambers an awkward superior he had done so because he failed to understand the real nature of the Grammar School of Holy Trinity Parish, Dulwich Hill. As a parochial foundation its first duty was to the sons of the parish and the nearby community. Hilliard had been a curate under the authority of Chambers and their roles were ideally suited to the circumstances. Moreover, as a clergyman, Hilliard could take responsibility for the spiritual life of the school in a fashion not available to Henderson. Indeed, W. G. Hilliard was the first of a long line of clerical headmasters the school would have between 1913 and 1944. Although only marginally more experienced than Henderson, by virtue of his relationship with the Warden, Hilliard was well placed to lead the tiny staff and motley collection of boys. George Chambers had had a long association with W.G. Hilliard even before the latter joined the parish team at Holy Trinity, Dulwich Hill, in 1912. Both men grew up in Redfern, and Chambers had influenced Hilliard during his boyhood when he "joined the Boys' Institute which was led at
the time by a dynamic young schoolteacher by the name of George Chambers".\(^1\) It has been observed that in many ways their lives ran "parallel". Both were pupil-teachers, Sunday School teachers, leaders of Boys' Brigade, educationists and later bishops - and there is little doubt that as George's junior, William often emulated him.\(^2\)

Hilliard had already established himself as a most gifted teacher before he took the decision to enter Holy Orders. At the raw age of 17 he was accepted as a pupil-teacher by the Department of Public Instruction, a position which he held in West Leichhardt Superior School\(^3\) for three years (1904-1906). He took a scholarship to the Teacher Training College in 1907 where he studied the broad range of courses expected of trainee teachers simultaneously reading English, Maths, Latin, Geology, French and German at Sydney University.\(^4\) It was in Modern Languages and in English that Hilliard made his classroom mark across the years. Upon the completion of his course, Hilliard was "snapped up" by the Headmaster of the Fort Street Model School, A.J. Kilgour, where he was appointed Modern Language Master in 1910. He remained in this position for two years until, once more under the guidance of G. A. Chambers, Hilliard was presented before the Archbishop for Ordination into the Church of England ministry.

The decision to enter the ordained ministry had marked a critical change in Hilliard's life. He now sought a 'career' in the church and it is strangely fitting that his first appointment was as curate to G.A. Chambers at Dulwich Hill. Chambers, for his part, had retained his many contacts whilst still Rector at Holy Trinity\(^5\). He had been Vice-Principal of Moore Theological College and Acting Principal before the arrival of D. J. Davies.\(^6\) Chambers had also been a member of the Council of the Sydney Church of England Grammar School and chaplain to ordinands before he went to Holy Trinity, Dulwich Hill, in February 1911. Many of these duties he retained for a time whilst in parish: "He was a ubiquitous speaker at conferences and member of Diocesan Committees and soon became a right hand man to the new Archbishop, John Charles Wright..."\(^7\) Chambers had utilised the

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\(^2\) Ibid.
\(^3\) Now known as Orange Grove School.
\(^4\) West, op.cit. p.17.
\(^5\) J. West, ibid. p.31
\(^6\) Sibtain, op.cit., pp. 6-9.
\(^7\) West, op.cit., pp. 30, 31.
skills of Hilliard as evening Lecturer in English at Moore College, a position which he held until 1914 when his duties as Headmaster at Trinity Grammar School became too onerous. The standard of tuition which Hilliard gave the theologues was often mentioned in "Moore College Notes" in the Diocesan Magazine. He was appointed as curate to Chambers at Holy Trinity, Dulwich Hill, and his salary was paid by both the parish and the Mission Zone Fund. This Mission Zone Fund was the offspring of the Church Society. In a report to that Society concerning the inner western suburbs of Sydney, the Chief Missioner stated:

The rich have moved to the outer suburbs, and left the poor behind...it is the home of intemperance, wretched child-life, poverty, immorality, and crime. There are about 175,000 in this area, or about a fourth of the population of the Diocese.

Such was the adjacent area into which Trinity Grammar would be born. Chambers refused to believe that the area was so wretched and his Grammar School was in part founded as an attempt to present an Anglican witness to the rapidly changing area. In reality, there was a significant difference in the style of residence constructed in Dulwich Hill/Hurlstone Park but it is equally certain that the area was undergoing rapid change as the urbanisation of the inner western suburbs of Sydney gathered momentum. As shall be seen, the changing nature of the area became at once the greatest challenge and the greatest impediment to the young school.

In his capacity with the Mission Zone Fund, Hilliard spoke within and beyond the parish. For a time he worked with the Rev. Everard Digges La Touche who was for a time almost a heroic figure on the Sydney scene. Hilliard learnt to communicate very readily, on one occasion being advertised in the Parish Messenger... to the men of the inner Western suburbs:

Men's Service.
Sunday, February 16th, (1913).
4pm,
Preacher--Rev. W. G. Hilliard, B. A.,

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8 See for example, September 1913.
9 Co-incidentally, the issue of the Sydney Diocesan Magazine which reported on the ordination of Hilliard also contained a description of the enthronement on the new Bishop of Bathurst, G.M. Long the sometime Founder of Trinity Grammar School, Kew and the probable source of the first Headmaster, K.T. Henderson.
10 See West, op.cit p. 34. "Diggers La Touche was a frequent visitor to Dulwich Hill, speaking at Men's Services and at the infant Trinity Grammar School."
The School was grieved to hear of his death on Gallipoli's shores in 1915.
Mr. Hilliard has had considerable experience in speaking to men and is well worth hearing.

Yet Hilliard's commencement of an energetic career in the parish ministry which began at Dulwich Hill did not mark the end of his career in education. Hilliard had been at Holy Trinity for only a short time when Chambers founded a Parish School along traditional "Public School" lines. Together with his curate counterpart, Montague Hinsby, Hilliard was expected to assist with the tuition in the new school. He was accredited in the staff description at the opening of the school in a lengthy document, presumably written either by the Founder or first Headmaster, K. T. Henderson, which described the operation of Trinity Grammar. This long-forgotten document was located in the archives quite by chance and it sheds a great deal of light upon the administration of a new school:

The Modern Language Master, the Rev. W.G. Hilliard, B.A., is a graduate of Sydney University, where his studies included 3 courses in each of the languages taught - French and German. He was trained under the Department of Public Instruction in this State and holds the Department's IIA Classification together with the "attainment" qualifications for the IB Certificate. He spent three years as a pupil teacher in the West Leichhardt Superior Public School, and 2 years as an Assistant in the Fort St. Boys' High School, where he was associated with Mr. Inspector Lasker in the teaching of Modern Languages. Particulars of his work in this connection may be obtained either from Mr. Inspector Lasker or the headmaster, Mr. A. J. Kilgour B. A., LL. B. The three years which intervened between these two appointments were spent in a course of training in the Teachers' Training College, the 3rd year of which course was devoted to the study of Modern Language teaching under the direction of the Lecturer in that subject, Mr T. T. Roberts, M. A., L. C. P. Mr Hilliard has also held the position of tutor to the evening Matriculation class at Moore Theological College and is at present lecturer in English at that institution. 11

Hilliard was regarded as a "visiting master" and taught 7 periods per week. Five of those lessons he taught Intermediate and Senior Languages and taught the Juniors for two lessons. This compares to a total of 25 periods taught by K.T. Henderson and 28 taught by G.O.C. Bartlett. The remainder of his time was spent in his work as Zone Missioner attached to Dulwich Hill.

As language Master, Hilliard taught German and French throughout the
school using, it would appear, the most progressive methods:

Mr Hilliard, B.A. has been giving the bulk of his time to boys of twelve years and over who are to beginning the language, and has been devoting fifteen minutes each day to drilling the younger boys in the elementary sounds and in short sentences. 12

Hilliard's method involved Drill and instruction "in the phonetic elements of the language" adopting the "look and say" technique. The stated object of the German course was "to train the power of thinking in the foreign language".

From the point of view of commercial utility and literary and scientific value it has been thought advisable to place the study of German in the premier place usually occupied by French. French is taught to several boys who have previous knowledge of the subject. 13

It would appear that Hilliard's involvement at Trinity increased in the middle of 1913, perhaps coinciding with the waning fortunes of K.T. Henderson. The Parish Messenger of 4 June 1913 reported that: "The Rev. W.G. Hilliard, B.A. is entering upon further work in the School from June 1st."14 Clearly this involved an increase in timetabled hours, although it is not possible to determine how many more periods he took from this time. It is not known whether Hilliard's increased status at Trinity had any bearing on Henderson's departure. Even so, he branched into the teaching of English literature and on 16 June15 presented a "Literary Evening" at the School.

Literary Evening: This has been fixed for Monday, June 16th, in the School. There will be rendered scenes from Hamlet and Henry V, and German songs by the boys of the Grammar School. A lecturette will be delivered by Mr K.T. Henderson, B.A. on "Modern Comic Poetry", and the Rev. W.G. Hilliard will give readings from Dickens. Silver coin collection. 16

Hilliard maintained his link with the Mission Zone and with parochial work. In the evenings he prepared for his many public occasions and taught the students of

12 Ibid. p.21.
13 Ibid.
14 Parish Messenger, 4 June 1913, p. 7.
15 The date 16 June is to be contrasted with the date listed in J. West's biography of Hilliard which gives the date of the Parish Messenger in which the Evening was advertised.
16 Parish Messenger, 4 June 1913, p. 3.
Moore College\textsuperscript{17} the rudiments of English grammar and expression. Soon, however, his vitality would be called upon for an even more awesome task than teaching the budding clergy of Sydney diocese. Within weeks of his "Literary Evening" the resignation of the foundation Headmaster was announced.

Trinity Grammar School had reached 55 pupils and all appeared outwardly stable when the resignation of Henderson was made public. Henderson's \textit{Sydney Mail} article on "School Tone" and the appearance of the photograph of the Towers in the \textit{Daily Telegraph} (14 May 1913) shrouded the very real tensions which existed in the new school. Henderson returned to his native Melbourne in late July 1913, and the appointment of William George Hilliard was noted on 11 August 1913: "The Warden reported that he had offered the position to the Rev. William George Hilliard, B.A., who has accepted it at £200 per annum as from 1st August..."\textsuperscript{18} Little was noted concerning the departure of Henderson in Chambers' "Diary notes" for the Warden commented tersely: "August 5; Resignation of Henderson Headmaster arrived for ill-health. W.G. Hilliard appointed Headmaster. 7 new boys enrolled." Thus, with silent efficiency, the potentially damaging changeover was achieved and Hilliard moved across to teaching at Trinity Grammar School in a full-time capacity.

The new headmaster was especially suited to the peculiar mix of circumstances which existed at Dulwich Hill at that time. He had a deep and abiding love for his subject matter and, especially in the teaching of languages and of English literature, he possessed a memorable turn of phrase. He also showed an almost passionate interest in sport, especially cricket. He was well liked without over-familiarity and his students recalled him fondly:

Even in his younger days he had a fluent and persuasive command of the English tongue. . . He had thin, ascetic, handsome features, a commanding presence, a resonant and sympathetic voice and a compelling, never-flagging sense of humour. He was a keen cricketer and a follower of cricket.\textsuperscript{19}

However, what really assisted Hilliard and, indeed, was perhaps lacking in Henderson, was the clarity of his relationship with the Warden. As already

\textsuperscript{17} Fewer than 20 at this time.
\textsuperscript{18} Trinity Grammar School Committee Minutes. Meeting Number 9; 11 August 1913.
\textsuperscript{19} D.Cartledge MSS, Hilliard Papers, Trinity Grammar School Archives. Also quoted in West, \textit{op.cit}, and quoted in Trinity- \textit{A History}, p.32.
observed, Hilliard and Chambers came from a remarkably similar background and shared a similar experience of both education and spirituality. Moreover, Chambers and Hilliard can both be readily associated with "liberal evangelicalism", which was fast becoming the mood of the Diocese under the new Archbishop J.C. Wright and the Principal of Moore College, D.J. Davies. Liberal evangelicalism appealed to both men because it was "scholarly in its outlook, whilst being conservative in its churchmanship." Later, in 1933, Hilliard found it necessary to shift his theological loyalties to suit the more prevalent conservative evangelical mood. In 1913, however, he appeared to luxuriate in the climate of the more moderate liberal evangelical tradition.

Hilliard was also greatly assisted by his presence at Trinity from its inception, and by his clear understanding of its hierarchy. He came from the position of Curate to the Rector to the role of Headmaster to the Warden, and there was some consistency in this progression. Equally, Chambers made a point of involving Hilliard more in the decision making process in the life of the school than he had done with Henderson. Although Hilliard was absent from the Trinity Grammar School Committee meeting where his appointment was announced, he attended all subsequent meetings and gave regular reports as to the School's progress. Hilliard realised better than most that Trinity was George Chambers' grand design and as such, was at pains to assist in the School's leadership rather than rule alone. He was also a genial and "tolerant" personality:

the continuous co-operation between the Warden and Headmaster in those early, difficult days of the school speaks volumes for Hilliard's equable, good-humoured temperament. The ability to get on with people vastly different to himself was a hallmark of Hilliard's character and life work.

Thus the climate which Henderson could not operate in was entirely suited to the new Headmaster, both in terms of the ecclesiastical environment and in the delicate balance of the role of Head, beneath the Warden.

When Hilliard took the reins in August 1913, Trinity Grammar School had progressed in some measure towards stability. It had been registered under the 5223/12/90

20 West, op.cit., p.32.
21 It will be recalled that Henderson attended only one meeting, even although Montague Hinsby, a member of his staff had been on the Trinity Grammar School Committee from the outset.
22 Ibid. p. 36.
Bursaries Endowment Act, given a degree of financial assistance by way of a loan by the Educational Sub-Committee of the Diocese of Sydney, it had acquired the Towers for use as a School building and rectory, and had a vibrant and impressive curriculum in place. 23 However, over the next three years, W.G Hilliard together with Chambers was involved the creation of a sound financial base, the promotion of an effective educational climate and school in a community preoccupied by war and the divisive social issues of the day.

It is impossible to understand the task before the Warden and the Headmaster without an appreciation of the financial problem they faced. Trinity Grammar School was in debt for almost £3000, two-thirds of which had been borrowed from the Diocesan Education Sub-Committee. Staff salaries and running costs of the School amounted to almost one hundred pounds per month which included the comparatively minor, but nevertheless necessary, costs such as providing signs for the new building, advertising and insurance. Apart from school fees, Trinity Grammar School would raise funds by donations from supporters and by "Sales of Work" and fetes which were held annually. Donations varied from a few pence after the stirring words of Chambers on Sundays at Holy Trinity, Dulwich Hill to comparatively more memorable gifts such as: "The Hon. Treasurer reported that Mrs W. E. Hall had donated the sum of £10 towards the funds for the Fete to raise money to furnish the Towers". Support of a kind from the Diocese came from the Education Sub-Committee who in addition to their loan, granted £25. Later they donated £50 and a further £25 in August 1914 for the "encouragement of the school." The Educational and Book Society gave 12/10/- towards furnishing the Towers.24 This support was not perhaps as great as that given SCEGS (Shore) but comparatively greater than that given to Barker College.

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23 J. West, op.cit lists the following as Hilliard’s achievements in his first year as Headmaster. As it happens, many of these were the successes of the foundation Headmaster, K.T.Henderson. "A system of Prefects was established, Economics was added to the curriculum and the School was registered under the Bursaries Endowment Act". (p.36) Henderson had created the system of prefects which Hilliard inherited (see Parish Messenger 4 June 1913: "A very interesting function took place on Monday, 28 April, when the first prefects, McCausland, Anderson, Pickles, and Kerrigan received their caps. The Headmaster explained the position and responsibilities of the prefects, and the Warden spoke of the need for loyalty on the part of the boys to the prefects." (p.5).
Economics had already been established from the foundation of the School, and its course description read "Three periods a week will be devoted to this subject. The course will provide for the needs of boys likely to leave before proceeding to Final Certificate". (See Trinity Grammar School Opening.) Finally, the registration of Trinity Grammar School under the Endowment Act was reported in the Parish Messenger on 2 April 1913.

24 Ibid. Number 20, (25 July 1914 and 29 May 1914).
It would not be the last time Trinity required the assistance of the Diocese, especially during the 1930s.

In addition to the Diocese of Sydney, the Warden sought funds from other notable sources. From the first days of the School, Chambers began to approach the Walter & Eliza Hall Trust for a grant towards the foundation costs. The Walter & Eliza Hall Trust had been established by the widow of the wealthy gold mining magnate, Walter Hall of Potts Point, Sydney, who had developed a philanthropic reputation from the earliest years of the new century. He had donated £5,000 to the South African War Fund and £10,000 to the "Dreadnought Fund" established shortly before his death in 1911. From his estate, Eliza Hall established a Trust of one million pounds to commence operation on 1 January, 1913. Half of any annual expenditure was to be used in New South Wales for "the relief of poverty, the advancement of education, the advancement of religion in accordance with the tenets of the Church of England, and the general benefit of the community... "\(^25\) It was widely known that the Hall Trust was lucrative, and certainly Chambers believed that his venture met the criteria for its support. Interestingly, one of the Trust's original directors (Sir) George Kelso King, was later to be a great benefactor of Trinity Grammar School himself. Chambers began to approach the Walter & Eliza Hall Trust for a grant but by October of this first year he had received word that funds for the following year had already been allocated.\(^26\) It was to be some time before George Chambers found the Trust willing to provide any funds for the new school. After repeated requests\(^27\) support finally came in June 1920 during the Headmastership of F.H. Archer when the Trust donated £100.\(^28\) The reluctance is probably due to Trinity's comparatively low profile.

Financially, Trinity would not have survived without the energy of George Chambers and the parish of Holy Trinity, Dulwich Hill. As if to symbolise the union between Parish and School both Hazeldene and the Towers acted as Rectory and School Building. As Warden of the School, Chambers had the curious responsibility of providing for the Resident Staff and Boarders and, in effect, he would be reimbursed for goods which he purchased on behalf of Trinity from his

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\(^26\) Ibid. Number 11. 20 October 1913.
\(^27\) Trinity Grammar School Committee Meetings, No.21 (22 August 1914); No. 27 (20 February 1915); No.32 (17 July 1915 at the advice of the Advisory Council);
\(^28\) Ibid. No. 95. 25 June 1920.
own pocket.29 For instance, he was paid £50 per annum for "accommodating Mr H. Hunt" as Resident Master from 1913-1914. For months there were financial doubts in the minds of all (it seemed) except Chambers as accounts fell due for payment and the school ran on overdrawn cheques.30 Their plight was not assisted by the late payment of fees. At the end of the School's first year, £100 was still owing in fees and this problem was to persist, to the School's great consternation, throughout the first half of Trinity's history. Yet in any given month the Warden would outlay as much as £8031 and allow the school the use of such funds until the next School Committee Meeting. Even when the Towers was occupied, the Warden purchased furniture at a cost of £50 32: it was later, however, "generously allowed by him to indefinitely stand over". Hence, not only did Chambers give his time and heart to the school but he also kept it financially afloat with his own resources. It is little wonder then, that he maintained such a personal "eye" on the progress of Trinity Grammar School and regarded his Headmaster much as a rector would regard his curate.

The closeness of the relationship between Holy Trinity, Dulwich Hill, and Trinity Grammar School was not only confined to the level of Rector and Warden. The staff of the School were listed as members of the parish team in the Parish Messenger (called Parish Magazine after September 1915). "Grammar School notes" appeared in most editions of the Messenger, and new members of staff were welcomed onto the team of the parish. The parents of the boys of the parish, together with the branch church of St Stephen's, Hurlstone Park, were expected to send their boys to the School and enthusiastically support it both with time and money. The Parish Committee and the School Committee were remarkably similar, and occasionally a School Committee meeting would evolve naturally from a Parish Committee meeting.33 Steele, Hosken (MLA), Jarvie and W.A. Kerrigan all held office on the Church and School committee and, later, even the Honorary Treasurer was shared by both Committees.34 The Ladies of Holy Trinity supported the Grammar School with hours of work which was sold both at the Annual Fete and in special "Sales of Work". The fete held at the end of the first year yielded £150 (nett) and the Sales of Work held in August 1914 and in

29 See for example Trinity Grammar School Committee Meeting Number 8, (21 July 1913)
30 See Trinity Grammar School Committee Meeting Number 27, (20 February 1915)
31 Ibid, Number 11 (20 October 1913).
32 Ibid, Number 13 (8 December 1913).
33 See Trinity Grammar School Committee Meeting Numbers 59 and 60 (27 September and 2 October 1917).
34 Mr Jarvie, who took over from Mr W.B.Bragg in May 1919
October 1915 raised £90 and £120 respectively. An entry in the Parish Magazine well illustrates this commitment:

The Ladies’ Work Party meeting in the small school hall, Herbert Street, every alternate Thursday at 3pm. This month the dates being June 8th and 22nd. All ladies welcome. Everyone should be working. Are you employing your leisure moments for one of the stalls? This is the method of success. Any articles may be sent to the Rectory and can be stored. The boys of the Grammar School propose to have a Live-stock Stall, including poultry, parrots, canaries, etc. etc. 35

The "Grammar School", throughout this period remained a parish school operating under the guidance of the Rector and Warden with the assistance of the entire parish team and community.

Soon after the appointment of William Hilliard as Headmaster, Trinity moved from Hazeldene into the Towers at Dulwich Hill. Classes had ceased in the original building from July 1913 and for a period of three months were held in the hall at Holy Trinity.36 This was not the last time that the parish hall was used as a school-room. Trinity operated for two years in its "pioneer days"37, as one Old Boy put it, from the parish hall before the removal to the Summer Hill site could take effect in 1926. The difficult months in the parish hall in 1913 were eased by the sense of euphoria for the church because the plan of a school and rectory in the Towers was about to be realised and the Church had solved both problems for a capital outlay of £3000. The Towers was to be the home of Trinity Grammar School for the next 12 years and was the setting of the early life of the School. Tragically, the original Towers building in Dulwich Hill no longer exists.

During the three years of his first Headmastership (1913-1916), "Bill" Hilliard was to enact the grand design he had derived from Chambers. Trinity sought to provide an education established in a climate which was at its essence, religious. In the formulation of its motto, in the selection of its staff, in the administration of its daily round, Hilliard attempted to establish a spiritual mission in the school - a mission to the thickly populated western suburbs. In this task he

35 Parish Magazine. 1 June 1916, p. 5
36 Ibid. 5 August, 1913.
was assisted by a young and largely untrained staff and guided by an imperious Warden. A significant staffing problem to Hilliard in these early days was the School's reliance upon curates who were often moved to other parishes and young men who might enlist. The Parish Magazine of June 1, 1916, the final month of Hilliard's incumbency, provided a list of "Grammar School Staff".

Rev. W. G. Hilliard, M. A. , Head Master. (sic.)
Rev. F. H. Hordern, L. Th. Rev. H. Barder, M. A.

From the original staff list of February 1913, only Hilliard and Chambers remained. The Rev. G.O.C Barlett stayed until March 1914 when he was: "stated [to be] off duty owing to nervous breakdown and that the staff were sharing his duties between them during his enforced absence"40. He left Dulwich Hill for the Grafton Diocese at the end of June 1914. The Reverend Monty Hinsby (who taught Latin to the "first 29") left in January, 1914 after an eventful incumbency which involved, amongst other things, taking the boys on a camp to Woy Woy in September 191341. Hinsby returned to Trinity in the 1930s as a member of the school's governing council. The Committee resolved upon his departure: "... that an honorarium of three guineas as an appreciation of the services given by Mr. Hinsby to the School be donated him (Specially as Assistant Master and as Assistant Honorary Treasurer)."42 He was replaced by the Rev. F. H. Hordern who had a longer association with the School. In 1950, years after he parted company with Trinity Grammar School, Monty Hinsby wrote from his home in Burwood in Sydney, to the recently widowed Mrs Ruth Wynn Jones, the wife of Bishop Bill Wynn Jones, an Old Boy from the early twenties and the successor of Bishop Chambers as Bishop of Central Tanganyika.43 In addition to clerical staff, Hilliard was able to rely upon an enthusiastic lay staff who shouldered the responsibility for much of the sporting life of the school.

38 One of the members of Trinity Grammar School who enlisted for active service in the Great War and given leave from the staff to fight.
40 Trinity Grammar School Committee No. 16, 15 March 1914. We should not suppose that life in the new school was so hard that the founding Headmaster and one of his staff both suffered nervous breakdowns for the same reason. It is to be assumed that the term "nervous breakdown" covers a "multitude of sins" and we can deduce little of the reasons for Mr Bartlett's state.
41 Ibid. 3 September 1913, p. 3 and October 1913.
42 Trinity Grammar School Committee No. 15. 15 February 1914.
Trinity had a problem in retaining quality lay staff. Of all the assistant masters who spent a portion of their careers at Trinity Grammar School in this period, none match the memory of Charlie Hunt to surviving Old Boys. It was Hunt who took the boys swimming in the Domain Baths, he took them camping and resided with them both in the Towers and at Austinmer; he coached both the First XI and First XV and was the sole staff member who remained with Trinity in its infancy from 1913 to January 1921. As early as February 1918 in the context of severe shortages of suitable staff, The King's School approached Charlie Hunt with what must have been a tempting offer of £300 per annum. Trinity could never match this offer, but the then Headmaster F. J. Archer expressed concern that "it would be against the best interests of Trinity Grammar School to let Mr Hunt leave..." To compensate, the School increased Hunt's salary by £34 in February and a further £24 in March to a total of £125 per annum. Out of loyalty to Archer and Trinity Grammar School, Hunt stayed until 1921. The Department of Education successfully acquired perhaps one of the finest teachers in this early period of the school's history. Charlie Hunt's brother, Harry, might also have proven a success had he remained at the school. He joined the Expeditionary Force in 1915 and served in France with the A. I. F.

Before the Trinity Grammar School Triangle Magazine was first issued in 1917, the principal source of information about the daily life of the School was the Parish Messenger. In monthly "Notes" between January 1913 and June 1916, the Grammar School was chronicled in close detail. Carefully noted each month were the results of sporting fixtures in which the new school took part. It should be remembered that the Towers site had no playing fields, and even the provision of a single tennis court and a fives court in 1916 was an occasion of great moment for the 80 boys of the School. Of the CAS Schools against whom Trinity now engages in regular competition, only Barker College existed. Opponents for the sportsmen of Trinity were to be found in the local and neighbouring government schools and occasional fixtures against Newington College, Sydney Grammar

44 Interview between Warren Miller (student at Trinity Grammar School, Yr 11, 1987) and Dr George Chambers, nephew of the Founder and an Old Boy from the original 29 enrolled in February 1913. This evidence is also corroborated by the testimony of Charlie Vincer and Harold Bragg who were amongst that original class.
45 See the photograph in the Parish Messenger, October 1913.
46 Trinity Grammar School Committee Meeting No. 64, 28 February 1918.
School, St John's Parramatta Grammar School and even against the ladies of the nearby Linwood College. 47

Before noting some of the early achievements and disappointments of Trinity Grammar School on the playing fields, it is worth considering the place which the School's Founders regarded games should play in the life of a school and the lives of the boys in that school. The notion that the battle of Waterloo was won "on the playing fields of Eton" was very much the prevailing belief as to the value of sport in education. Little defence was made of the emphasis given to sport in the life of Trinity Grammar School. The founding Headmaster, Kenneth T. Henderson, in his article in the Sydney Mail observed that the creation of school "tone", especially in a new school, depends very much upon "wearing the colours":

How in a new school or in any large day school are we to create this public spirit? School rivalry seems the best way to bring to birth a school consciousness. The boys, especially in a small school, will find that they must make important sacrifices of a personal nature, eg., in training and regular practice, if the school is to hold its own in the world of sport, and as the object of their sacrifice, the reputation of the school becomes to them precious. 48

From this reasoning, Henderson praised the start that was possible for the expectant parents and boys of Trinity. In his address at the opening ceremony on Saturday 1 February 1913 he spoke of the urgency of catering for the "whole boy", a call not wholly unfamiliar to the ears of the modern parents of Trinity.

Turning to the matter of sport, we have been very fortunate. As you see, there is the beginning of a concrete pitch49, which is to be enclosed with a net to save the neighbouring windows, and we have also succeeded in obtaining the Marrickville Oval. Also Mrs Bragg50 has put her tennis court at our disposal, and arrangements will be made for swimming as soon as possible. 51

Sport would also engender the "manly qualities" so necessary for young men of the "Empire" and in the spirit of Newbolt's old poem "play up, and play the game".

47 Of the schools here listed both Linwood and Parramatta Grammar School have collapsed.
49 It should be recalled that this ceremony was held at Hazeldene and not at The Towers.
50 Mother of Alex and Harold Bragg of "Amyville" Garrett St., Dulwich Hill, the latter of whom was to have a life long association with the School and who has also been a source for this chapter.
51 Opening Typescript pp.7-8
games would be inalienably linked with courage, team support, dedication and national pride. This attitude would not change under Hilliard or indeed, under any of the other succeeding headmasters.

Trinity began with greater enthusiasm than expertise. Whilst the Towers was a substantial building, it had limitations as a school edifice and Hilliard, with the School Committee, gave consideration to the pressing problem of space both for playing fields and for classrooms. Chambers had designs on the various vacant plots nearby, and solicited the aid of his curate the Rev F. H. Hordern, for the land opposite the school facing New Canterbury Road which was owned by Samuel Hordern. The Towers was extended in early 1915 at a cost of £500, paid for by the Church Committee and a loan from the A. M. P. Society at 5% per annum. The work was performed by F. L. East (Snr.) whose son was Sportsmaster of Trinity Grammar School, and went with Harry Hunt to the War. Remarkably, all these projects occurred at a time when Holy Trinity Dulwich Hill and G. A. Chambers were preoccupied by their ambition to build a new church. By 1916, the Prospectus for the School boasted by way of photograph the new "Open Air Classrooms and Dormitories", which were made weather-proof by canvas blinds lowered into place. Day-boys travelled to School in a tram which terminated at either Hurlstone Park or Dulwich Hill, whilst the Boarders lived in the School buildings. Lessons, generally speaking, were conducted on the ground floor52. There were no uniforms apart from the requirement, not strictly enforced, to wear a coat and tie on which the School crest was sewn. Hilliard acquired (amongst others) the nickname "Boss Willy". He was regarded by the boys as a "strict but not cranky teacher" who was "very fair". But almost as significant as the Headmaster in the lives of the boys, and especially the Boarders, was the Founder and Warden G. A. Chambers. One boy recalls the occasion when he was caught red-handed wearing the bowler hat which Chambers favoured strutting around the Dorm. To add insult to injury, it was the owner of the said hat who caught the offender! On another occasion, Fred Sippe was knocked down the stairs and broke his arm in an "all-in" pillow-fight, the fatal blow ultimately struck by Fred's younger brother Clive. Fred came to rest at the feet of the Warden on his rounds. For some years the showers were with cold water only. One pupil known as "Fatty" renowned for his reluctance to take the icy plunge, was usually "assisted" by a number of well meaning fellow boarders.

52 Ibid.
Hilliard and Chambers were conscious of not only equipping the new school but creating an identity, a 'birthright' which could be passed on to succeeding generations. This required a twofold process - to verify the educational standing and viability of the School through the imprimatur of the Advisory Council and the selection of a Motto which would encapsulate the Trinity ethos. The two processes culminated in 1915 with the final meeting of the Advisory Council and the formal adoption of the now familiar School motto. While Australian soldiers were receiving their "Baptism of Fire" at Gallipoli, a baptism of a different kind was taking place in the relative calm of Trinity Grammar School, Dulwich Hill.

The first procedure in the creation of an identity occurred in the deliberations of the Advisory Council. The Advisory Council met for the third time on 17 July 1915. They had met in 1912, before the School was founded, and again on the 19 June 1913. The names of those on this Council, listed elsewhere, were to appear with the School Prospectus and in the advertisements which were placed in the Diocesan Magazine and other publications, providing, as it were, their approval for the new school. What began as a local parish school had ambitions of being ranked amongst the other more established Church schools in Sydney.

Embedded within the minutes of the Advisory Council was the foundational axiom of the School - that young men from the western suburbs might be presented a witness of the Kingdom of God expressed through an Anglican church school education. In 1915 the Council reviewed the first three years of the School's progress and in the process left a significant assessment of the leadership of Chambers and Hilliard. The Warden recounted how the Towers was acquired and how he desired to see a constitution for the School formulated. He also "expressed his appreciation of the services of the Head Master, Mr Hilliard and the staff. The School now has 77 pupils, and a good moral tone is evident among them". Hilliard then gave a report consisting of a seven point summary of the progress of Trinity. Foremost among his statements were those concerning the spiritual emphasis of the School. Such an emphasis was integral to the new School. Their education included divinity lessons taken by the Warden, a confirmation class, missionary topics, daily chapel service, the use of the prayer and hymn books, and lessons on "evidences". Hilliard then discussed the prefect system which he linked directly to the spiritual foundation of the Grammar School.

53 Minutes of the Advisory Council, 17 July 1915. TGS Archives. It is to be observed that the passing of the first Headmaster went without comment at this meeting.
He observed that the prefect system in operation "...maintains School Tone [terms reminiscent of K.T. Henderson] ... and is showing definite results upon character and discipline through the religious atmosphere of the school". Hence the foundational purpose of the school was perceived to be a spiritual one and the atmosphere of the community was, at least by design, a spiritual one. For its part the Advisory Council made three comparatively mundane recommendations: that a constitution for Trinity be prepared and enacted, that the Walter and Eliza Hall Trust be approached regarding the provision of scholarships for the sons of poor clergy, and that a garden party be held at which church schooling should be discussed. On the latter point, church schooling was in some ways less the centre of acrimonious debate than it had been a decade earlier but the proposal for such a meeting suggests that a public discussion on the merits of this was not considered advisable. With these pieces of business the Council promptly voted itself out of existence. The final minute reminded them, however, of a world beyond Old Canterbury Road and Toothill Street: "The Advisory Council wish God's speed to Dr Robinson who is about to go to the Front".

So far as circumstances allowed, the recommendations of the Council were faithfully attempted. The Walter and Eliza Hall Trust, as we have seen, was harried by Chambers until they acquiesced in 1920. The idea of a Constitution was pursued for a time but expired during the change of Headmasters and Chambers' absence in Queensland and overseas. It was revived again in 1924 when G. A. Chambers considered it necessary to have a constitution in order to secure Diocesan support. The Garden Party proposal was interrupted by the Synod of 1915/1916 and by Chambers' absence. It was, in a sense replaced by the Warden's At Home held on 17 July 1915 attended by about 100 parishioners and friends. The meeting in the Towers held on 17 July seemed to spark a plethora of statements about the merits of church schooling in general and Trinity in particular which culminated in the Speech day address of Mr Meredith Atkinson, Director of Tutorial Classes at the University of Sydney. At the same time the collection of aphorisms entitled "What others think about the School"54 appeared in the Parish Magazine. In November 1915, Chambers took a moment from the arrangements for the opening of the new church building at Holy Trinity to give what was perhaps the most profound statement he made on his ideal for the school.

The testimony of parents and friends of the boys is sufficient evidence of how character building is taking place in the School, and then it is only in the atmosphere of the Church that the best education can be secured. Look at the Great Public Schools in the Old Country, all connected with the Church in some way or other, the Chapel being at the centre of their school life. Such schools are where the leaders of the nation are being trained and this is our aim and ideal for Trinity Grammar School. It is of course, a venture of Faith now, as it will be another ten years before results are seen by the outside world. . . But those who know the boys can see that strong and solid foundations are being laid for effective and vigorous Christian leadership by them in the future, and having the inspiration of other Church Grammar Schools to lead us as we go on, feeling that the School is worth all the effort that is being put into it. . . Trinity Grammar School seeks to prepare its scholars for every department of life according to the capacity and desire of the boys, and it is earnestly to be hoped that some of the present school may have the opportunity later on of showing what the School can do. . .

Frustrated by the tardiness of governments to support six o'clock closing and temperance, Chambers hoped that Trinity might produce statesmen of character who would act according to Christian principles. His school would aspire not only to ecclesiastical leadership but also, through its spiritual foundation, to providing leaders of government and society.

In the same issue of the *Parish Magazine* appeared: "What of the Trinity Grammar School?", by a parishioner (a hand-written marginal note in one copy suggests that this article was written by the S.A.Y. Steele, who had been Treasurer from the day the School began). A rather self-laudatory piece, it expressed great confidence in the future of the school:

. . . the authorities appear to have selected Masters imbued with the spirit that this School has come to stay, and that as the years go on it will make traditions along the line of all the great schools of the Empire, not only in scholarship and athletics, but in patriotism. Already at least two students and two masters are in the firing line helping to keep the "Anzac Fibre" in the Empire Flag.

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55 Ibid. 1 November 1915, p.1.
56 Stewart Shearman (September 1915); Eric Mason (October, 1915). The Masters were H. Hunt and F.L. East, the latter of whom enlisted in September 1915.
Notwithstanding the patriotism and belief in the place of an independent Australia within the heritage of the Empire, this article is evidence of the unabashed pleasure of the parish in their venture. The article concludes:

So long therefore, as this School remains a Church Grammar School, with its noble aspirations and potentialities, so long will it inspire the educational authorities of New South Wales with renewed confidence in the wisdom and integrity of the parishioners of Holy Trinity Dulwich Hill.

The final statement in this process was in the formation of a school motto. At the end of November 1915 the School Committee minuted: "The motto of Dulwich College England (established 1619) *Detur Gloria Soli Deo* (Let the Glory be Given to God Alone) was adopted on the motion of Mr Smith, seconded by Mr Hoskins". There is little reason to believe that the link with Dulwich College was any more profound than the shared name with the suburb. Be that as it may, the motto encapsulates the two emphases of the early founders of the School. They sought to forge a heritage in the same vein as the Great English Public Schools, traditional in both curriculum and in outlook. Secondly, the motto evokes the motive for all the exertion involved in a school such as Trinity: that the glory may be given to God alone! Its adoption, however, was curiously low key which suggests that the motto was, in itself, of little particular importance to the founder. Chambers made no reference to it in the Parish Messenger in the succeeding month, partly due to the fact that the issue was packed with the planned celebrations for the opening of the new church and the Annual Speech Day.

The burst of enthusiasm for Trinity Grammar School which came in 1915 concluded with the aphorisms "What others think about the School", and the Speech Day address of Meredith Atkinson. One of the members of the Advisory Council, Dr. F. W. Robinson a lecturer in Modern Languages at R. M. C. Duntroon, linked the foundation of Trinity to the "pioneering endeavour in Australia":

This land of ours which is still pre-eminently the land of 'beginnings', and as such Trinity has proved itself to my knowledge most worthily, short though its history has been. There is evidence enough that the School tradition is built on strong foundations. Not alone in educational subjects, in sport and general attainments, etc., is a high standard aimed at; the endeavour to form strong character based on

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57 TGS Committee Meeting Number 36. 20 November 1915.
wholesome religion seems rather to be its chief mark and I was surprised indeed to see how far this aim has been realised, even in the first beginnings of the School. 58

Two weeks later, in a Speech Day address Meredith Atkinson pointed out that the greatest danger of the nation was "its very prosperity". The country was drifting "into a kind of materialism" and this materialism engendered self-satisfaction. The only solution to this cycle of worldliness was "the religion of Christ and a concentration in building the Kingdom of God upon earth". Therefore, Church Schools were not only important but essential for national survival:

This is not merely to increase in moral or mechanical efficiency, not merely to become better students nor better professional men but to make the supreme sacrifice of our life for our religion, to go on from strength to strength, always holding up the ideals of the Gospels, the devotion of every faculty and every power to one great aim, the building up of a Kingdom of God upon earth that shall be looked upon as an end to a means, the Kingdom of God in Heaven.

Hence, the School was part of a process of spiritual resuscitation of the young Australia, which visionaries such as Atkinson regarded as essential to the future of the nation. There is some evidence to suggest that G.A. Chambers in part linked his new school with this kind of lofty ambition.

The resignation of W.G. Hilliard as Headmaster came, somewhat unexpectedly, in mid 1916. Having witnessed the birth of an ideal for the School, Hilliard appeared likely to carry the work through its infancy. The year began as others had before with a broad distribution of advertisements for enrolments in the newspapers of country districts and in Sydney Anglican parish newsletters. They appeared to bear some fruit, as G. A. Chambers put it:

Trinity seems to be appealing more and more to the community, for requests for the prospectuses have come from such varied places as Walcha, Warren, Williamtown, Smithtown, Crookwell, Bangalow, Moss Vale, even as far as Rockhampton in Queensland, to say nothing of those from Sydney and the suburbs. I was cheered to hear one young man in the parish tell me that he prayed every day for the

58 Parish Messenger, 1 December 1915, p.21.
School enrolment to rise to 100. One can dare to hope that
this number will soon be realised. . . 59

Only a few days before Kenneth Henderson, who had already lost a brother at
Gallipoli, spoke to the boys of the School on the eve of his departure as an A. I. F.
Chaplain.

Chambers was nearing total exhaustion following five years of frenetic
activity at Dulwich Hill and had hoped to rest during the latter half of 1916. It was
in April 1916, to the surprise of all, that the nominators from the prestigious parish
of St John's Ashfield approached the Headmaster with the invitation to take charge
of that church. Hilliard's decision to leave Trinity was made in the interest of
resuming his ecclesiastical career. Hilliard opted for what he anticipated to be the
comparatively less tumultuous life of the rectory and resigned his position as
Headmaster to take effect at the end of June 191660. A series of farewell
ceremonies took place and the superlatives flowed with abandon! At the formal
School farewell to Hilliard held on 20 June, Chambers extolled:

You have the satisfaction of knowing that Trinity with its
Masters61 and 100 boys is a Church Secondary School of high
rank and good tone, likely to grow still further from the impetus
you have given it to one of the Great Public Schools in the
State. 62

As the biographer of Hilliard put it:

The years of apprenticeship were now over. In G. A.
Chambers, Hilliard had served a hard but generous
taskmaster. . . . He had utilised to the full the valuable
educational training he had received in the State system to set
Trinity Grammar School on its feet. In the three short years of
his leadership, enrolments had trebled and the school had
advanced academically, spiritually and on the sporting
field. It was time for a rest and a new challenge. 63

It was not, however, the end of the association Hilliard was to have with Trinity
Grammar School. Not only did he continue to assist in the instruction of
languages in a greatly diminished capacity, but he still sought the advice of his

59 Rector's Notes, Parish Magazine, 1 February 1916.p. 2
60 See West, op.cit pp.39-40.
61 Now numbering eight.
62 Parish Magazine, 1 July 1916.p.9
63 West, op.cit p. 40.
erstwhile mentor during the most arduous times of his Parish Ministry which followed. He finally returned as headmaster of the school during the Depression. His first incumbency demonstrated Hilliard's tremendous potential as an educator and his vigorous devotion to the cause of church schooling.

The departure of Hilliard left Chambers responsible for the acquisition of another Headmaster, the third in four years. Although some effort had been made to secure good applicants for the post, the Founder laboured under the difficulty of the effect of the war upon the quality of the educational workforce. Moreover, the frenetic activity of the previous four years had left him frail and exhausted, badly in need of rest. With some haste, the School Committee ratified the appointment of Arthur Alston, M.A. on 17 June 1916 "for at least twelve months". As it happened, Alston's Headmastership was the shortest in the history of the School.

It is not possible to speak with any certainty about the early life or career of Arthur Alston. There are few references to him either at his former school, Ballarat Grammar School in Victoria, where he had taught during the war years or at Trinity.64 A surviving Old Boy of the war years from Ballarat can recall other masters, but not Alston65. He was apparently the Headmaster of Colac Grammar School which, like several small Church of England Schools in that district, flourished for a short time and was heard no more. Colac Grammar, a school designed for junior boys, closed in 1908 for want of enrolments after a brief life of six years. Few records of the operations of that school exist within the Ballarat Diocese. Alston came to Trinity in July 1916, apparently under the shadow of bereavement. It is likely that his decision to move to Sydney was a failed attempt to commence a new life after the loss of a spouse.

Almost nothing is known of Alston's headmastership. His term of office had lasted a mere four months when he tendered his resignation to the School Committee on 16 November 1916. His tenure coincided with the furlough of G. A. Chambers and an apprehensive Committee appeared to avoid new business during

64 The author is indebted to the assistance of Timothy Allender in researching the link between Arthur Alston and Ballarat Grammar.
65 Interview between Timothy Allender and Mr Geoff Richards, Old Boy of Ballarat Grammar 1911-1914. Mr Richards surmises that Alston could not have been a very successful master at Ballarat given his low profile in what was still a very small school.
the Rector's absence. In addition, the departure of W. G. Hilliard meant that the "Grammar School" notes section of the Parish Magazine ceased. It was not until the introduction of the Triangle by F. H. Archer in 1917 that further information about the operations of the School are recorded. Consequently, we know little more of the performance of Alston at Trinity than of his time at Ballarat. One Old Boy vaguely recalls rumours of his purported wealth\(^66\), one of the few recollections made about the man. His sole recorded comment in the Committee Minutes from July to November 1916 concerned his belief that the teaching rooms in the Towers were "rather cramped".\(^67\) He resigned for reasons of ill-health, to take effect at the close of the academic year in 1916.

The selection of Hilliard, Chambers' favoured curate, as headmaster kept the grammar school of Holy Trinity parish firmly in the rector's control from 1913 to 1916. Through the formative years, Trinity was shaped, at least in its rhetoric, by a firm conviction that the experiment in education being undertaken in the western suburbs' parish was uniquely and vigorously spiritual. It regarded its future as a matter of vital importance to the survival of the Anglican Church in the inner west. For all of his ebullient, brash and domineering traits, it was the infectious and unquenchable optimism of George Chambers for his experiment which held the young school together when three headmasters rose and fell with alarming rapidity. This school, as with perhaps few others, was the offspring and infant of one man who was sustained by a belief in the efficacy of creating a school for the sons of the church in his district.

\(^66\) Interview between Warren Miller and Dr George Chambers, nephew of the Founder.  
\(^67\) Committee, August 1916.
Chapter 4


How infinitely more honourable it is to be the ancestor than the descendant W.G. Hilliard. 1 September 1917.

With the resignation of Arthur Alston in late 1916, Trinity Grammar School found itself in the now too accustomed role of seeking a headmaster at relatively short notice. Having lost three headmasters since the school was founded a mere four years before, Trinity ostensibly was a graveyard for Headmasters. Alston's departure came as a double blow for Chambers who had only recently returned from leave in Queensland. His own health had been uncertain, and the loss of Hilliard, himself now embroiled in his own problems at his new parish\(^1\), had exacerbated matters. What Trinity required was a headmaster who was prepared to remain with the school and one who was anxious to transform Christian platitudes into a dynamic reality. Ironically, Chambers turned to another Victorian, Francis Henry Joseph Archer, to fulfil this role and take charge of his Grammar School. Both Henderson and Alston had apparently failed to do justice to Chambers' school. It was in Frank Archer that Trinity had its first professional educationalist, an evangelical layman for an evangelical school.

Frank Archer came to Trinity from Caulfield Grammar School where he had been Modern Language Master and Sportsmaster since 1907. He had been a talented sportsman himself, on one occasion playing cricket for the Ballarat XI against the touring South African team. He also played Australian Football for St Kilda, although he was reputedly too portly to be highly successful in this code. He possessed a fine intellect and was profoundly spiritual; for many years he was undecided whether to enter the Church or pursue a teaching career. He was a keen water-colourist and painter, receiving praise from the art critic of the Argus\(^2\) for some of his paintings. Like Hilliard, Archer had a literary flair, especially for the writing of flamboyant poetry. He wrote a School Song for Caulfield Grammar called "Blue and White", and also edited the school magazine. All this Archer achieved without the benefits of a "wealthy" family and, in a sense, he embodied

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\(^1\) West, J. op.cit. Ch 4.

the optimism of a new nation where patronage and birth counted for less than intellect and talent. When the Great War broke out, Archer shared the dilemma of so many young schoolmasters at the time as to whether they should enlist or remain in the relative comfort of the classroom. Ultimately, it was the Headmaster of Caulfield Grammar, W.M. Buntine, who persuaded Archer that men may serve their Nation and Empire as well in the classroom as in the trenches. Unwittingly, Buntine's advice was Trinity's gain.

In order to find a headmaster, Chambers once more turned to his ever expanding clerical contacts. It was Bishop Long from Trinity Grammar, Kew, who had suggested K.T. Henderson as the first Headmaster at Trinity, Dulwich Hill. There is some evidence to suggest that Rev. P.W. Stephenson, a sometime Caulfield Grammarian who was serving at the Peshawar Mission in what is now Pakistan and who was later Headmaster of Trinity Grammar School, had raised F.H. Archer's name with Chambers whilst on furlough. Chambers must have been, to some extent, apprehensive about another Victorian after his experiences with the hapless Kenneth Henderson and Arthur Alston. Another short headmastership would seriously discredit him and his school. In a sense, Archer and Henderson were similar in type though the former, having been appointed at the age of 31, had had far greater experience than his predecessor. Archer took the appointment as the call of God to do His work. As the writer of the Caulfield Grammar history put it:

His motive would have been an altruistic response to the call of the Master, expressed in the appeal of his old friend Stephenson to establish an evangelical school in an evangelical diocese...

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3 Ibid, p. 99. The Caulfield Grammar Centenary history provides an interesting analysis of Trinity Grammar School before Archer arrived. Whilst it may be recognised that the point of this section is to represent Archer as the saviour of a struggling little Sydney School, in the process it misrepresents the true nature of Trinity in the previous years.

"The school (Trinity Grammar School) had struggled to maintain its existence and to develop, but without making much progress, and the difficulties, brought about by the wartime conditions made its survival dubious" (p.99)

It should be acknowledged that the School did indeed struggle financially in the first four years of its history, but at no time was the notion of a dubious existence even remotely considered by the early founders. On the contrary, as we have seen, Trinity was remarkably buoyant and optimistic in this period, especially during the zenith of Church School interest which surrounded it in the final months of 1915, a mere twelve months before the appointment of Archer. Enrolments had topped one hundred only three years after the School began; it had taken Caulfield Grammar fifteen years to achieve this number, and whilst direct comparisons are not historically valid, it does serve to illustrate that great caution is necessary when making historical judgements on the basis of a desire to show one's subject in the most favourable light.
Archer was married in January 1916 and, with his infant son, the family moved into a semi-detached cottage opposite the Towers in Dulwich Hill in time for the opening of the new term in 1917.

The method of appointment of Frank Archer highlights the dominance which Chambers still held over the affairs of Trinity. To begin with, the announcement of the resignation of Alston came in November 1916. Without recorded reference to his School Committee, Chambers set out for Victoria after the Speech Day of 1916, and in the next meeting, he reported:

The Warden reported his visit to Victoria and the appointment of Mr F.H.J. Archer, Modern Languages Master and for ten years on the staff of Caulfield Grammar School, Melbourne at a commencing salary of £400 per annum increasing by £50 per annum for two years conditionally that the roll increased at least ten boys each of those two years...  

For a parochial committee the Trinity Grammar School Committee was extremely competent boasting, as it did, professional men and a member of state parliament. Yet Chambers would often initiate action without any consultation with this Committee. In the case of the appointment of Archer, Chambers would have acted with haste to secure a replacement headmaster for Alston before the start of the new school year. Nevertheless, there tacitly existed the acceptance that Chambers still had the full control of the affairs of the school and it would take a judicious headmaster to work effectively with him.

To make matters potentially harder for a new headmaster, Chambers appeared to show an almost endless preoccupation with enrolments and the future prosperity of Trinity. With an almost Henrician impatience, he pressed ahead into new ventures, always with an irrepressible faith that he was about the work of the Lord. Before the school was one month old, he had committed it to the purchase of the Towers at a cost of over £3,000. With the ink scarcely dry on the resignation of the first headmaster, he made the decision to construct a new church building and to extend the Towers. Even the departure of Hilliard and Alston in rapid succession could not dampen his enthusiasm; in the same meeting in which the appointment of Archer was noted, Chambers expressed the intention to purchase the adjacent block to the Towers from the father of his curate (Mr Hordern) and

4 TGS Committee Meeting Number 49. 18 January 1917.
5 The son of Mr Hordern made contact with Trinity Grammar School in 1988 to note that his father recalled that the first lesson at Trinity, incidentally on Geography, was held "around the kitchen table". The adjacent land was eventually purchased at a cost of £662 (Meeting Number 51).
build further classrooms. A scheme to redeem the disused brick-pits in Marrickville had been expounded many times and Chambers doggedly pursued the plan even when the owners indicated their intention of retaining the site for what would now seem the unlikely activity of cow pasturage! He wrote to W.E. Shaw of Summer Hill, with a request for assistance in his land purchases and received a further £400 to add to the £600 loaned in 1913 by that benefactor. All these transactions took place when the School boasted the princely sum of £100 in the bank, and the Warden himself was owed £120 for his sundry purchases and board.6

To provide an incentive for Archer to build numbers, he initially linked his salary scale with the enrolments. Although the curious provision for the salary of Frank Archer to be dependent upon enrolments was later quietly rescinded, Chambers thereby demonstrated his consuming passion, almost amounting to an obsession, for the numerical viability of Trinity. Less than a decade later, Chambers' almost foolhardy decision to purchase both the Hurlstone Agricultural College site in Summer Hill and Strathfield Grammar within a year of each other, decisions of incalculable importance to the destiny of the school, would place a financial burden almost too great for Trinity Grammar School to bear.

Having seen, then, that Archer was chosen by Chambers as much because of his sympathy to the spiritual background to Trinity as any merit as an educator he might have had, it is now possible to examine the progress of his headmastership. The headmastership of Frank Archer was characterised by the steady expansion of the School, both in enrolments and in its buildings. With the coincidence of circumstances which were to remove Chambers from the scene, on occasions for lengthy periods, Archer was, in almost every sense, a headmaster in his own right, often unencumbered by direction from above. Indeed, even during those times when Chambers was present at the School, the amount of autonomy he granted Archer was so far beyond that enjoyed by his predecessors that it might be justly said that he was Trinity's first headmaster in his own right.

In many ways, the task which was before him was as daunting as that faced by Hilliard four years before. Trinity had experienced the upheaval of the hasty resignation of its third Headmaster, another Victorian had come to take his place, and the environment itself could only have left him discouraged. The conversion of the handsome Towers building into a school had been an on-going process and was

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6 Trinity Grammar School Committee Meetings 49-51.
hardly complete when Archer came to Trinity. Long-standing member of staff, Clarrie Latham, who was appointed in Archer's first year (May, 1917), recalled:

The enthusiasm of Mr Archer, which seemed to be shared by everybody around him, gradually began to take hold of me after I had got over the shock of poorly equipped and inadequate classrooms and the seeming hopelessness of everything. I began to sense for the first time an atmosphere pervading the place, a determined spirit working steadily to build up something that was one day going to be worthwhile. No one seemed to be conscious of his present surroundings; their eyes seemed to be fixed always upon something far ahead of them.7

Alston had found "the teaching rooms cramped"8 during his brief stay, but Archer diplomatically avoided reference to this when he responded to the Committee's inquiry of his first impressions of Trinity. Archer was intent upon steering a positive line and, by all reports, "the Committee was delighted with what the Headmaster had to say". Perhaps he was more restrained than tolerant.

Frank Archer's intrinsic gift was his unassuming humility which disguised an enormous talent. Through this balance, he was able to work with the sometimes impetuous Chambers and direct Trinity into the post-war period, the Influenza Epidemic of 1919, and the recovery of the twenties. In his history of the Australian Headmasters' Conference, James Wilson Hogg, a later successor of Archer at Trinity, spoke of the greatness of F.H.J. Archer as a headmaster in the entire Australian scene:

This is not because he was a particularly colourful personality or pre-eminent in some peculiarly dashing way, but for the very opposite - that he was one of those quiet, shyly retiring men who are possessed of a vast accumulation of wisdom and of headmastering lore, gained not through the inheritance of some great and prestigious school but through the sheer power of moral and intellectual leadership exercised for the most part in schools which for much of their lives struggled for their very existence. Frank Archer, whose character "burned with a pure gem-like flame", must be used here to typify that kind of Headmaster who has been, in Australia perhaps more than elsewhere, the very backbone of Independent and, notably, Church education. . . 9

Such a man was the fourth Headmaster of Trinity.

7 Latham and Nicholls, op.cit., pp.42-43.
8 TGS Committee Number 45, 3 August 1916.
The steady expansion of Trinity under Frank Archer embraced the establishment of the *Triangle* magazine, growth in buildings, in enrolments, in academic performances, in the revivification of the Prefect system, and in an ambitious attempt to found a collective of like minded schools which might cooperate in sport and other areas, a forerunner to the Associated Schools union which began in 1929. Of great historical importance was his founding of the Trinity *Triangle* magazine. The first *Triangle* was to be printed by a local firm, Boulton Bros., at a cost of £4. 17. 6 for 200 copies and appeared at the end of the Trinity term, 1917. As he had been at Caulfield, Archer was the editor of the new magazine, and an editorial committee was formed by the Prefects, one of whom was given the unenviable responsibility to gather Magazine articles. The *Triangle* replaced the Grammar School News column in the Parish Magazine and was, perhaps, the first step in the slow separation from Holy Trinity Church, Dulwich Hill. Unpretentious and thorough, the *Triangle* provided an invaluable record of the life in the school.

Typically, the *Triangle* contained an editorial section entitled "Detur Gloria Soli Deo", usually written by Archer himself. This article was largely concerned with the enhancement of a "Trinity ethos", that distinctive character to which all members of the school community should aspire. The first "Detur Gloria... " gave a short sketch of the history of the Trinity Grammar School, insisting that a Christian foundation was central to the Trinity ethos:

> A need clearly realized becomes a call to action; so in a spirit of faith and Christian enterprise, and with a deep conviction of Divine guidance, the representatives of the Church in Dulwich Hill decided to found the School. ¹¹

As well as establishing the *Triangle*, Archer was of invaluable assistance to the arduous task of expanding the fabric of the School. The Dulwich Hill property was badly in need of development when Archer took office. There were two substantial building projects undertaken during the Headmastership of F.H. Archer. On 1 September 1917, the programme outlined by Chambers in the Committee Meeting at which the appointment of Archer was announced, "mushroomed" into existence. It consisted of a new open air dormitory and classrooms with a new library. The second expansion was opened on 2 April 1921, and included a two storeyed

¹⁰ Minutes of the TGS Prefects' Meetings, 23 February 1917.
¹¹TGS *Triangle*. June, 1917.p.2
addition to the Boarding House as well as a new Masters' Common Room and classrooms. Finding the money for these ventures was always left to Chambers, who possessed a flair amounting to genius for this kind of enterprise, and gifts came from unlikely sources: "The Warden reported receiving a gift of ten pounds from an old boy in appreciation of the school - being the amount of his first increase in salary at his work". It was not the last time that Chambers' fundraising acumen would be called upon to assist Trinity. 12 At the ceremony to mark the first laying of the foundation stone (23 June 1917), £35 was placed on top of the stone by the 450 supporters who attended the function. These ceremonies were occasions of great optimism and statements of confidence in the future of Trinity abounded, especially the first ceremony in 1917. The Triangle described the ceremony:

A few weeks before Midwinter the first symptoms of coming change appeared. Carts began to invade the neighbouring allotment, and the bush huts and robber dens of the small boys were ruthlessly demolished in the interests of advancing civilisation, while the owners forgot their wrongs in the interest of seeing trenches dug and concrete prepared. In a few days the extent and shape of the building was clearly defined. 13

The Archbishop attended this foundation stone ceremony and spoke of the importance of the Church's educational work, praising the growing achievements of Trinity. At the opening ceremony a few months later, presided over by Archdeacon Boyce, Chambers reminded the audience of the claim which the school has on the State and the community, "seeking, as it does to bring the best traditions of greater public school life within reach of the lads here". In a chilling reminder to all present that a war was still being waged in Europe, he hoped that the school might be supported on patriotic grounds "as an institution where boys might be fitted to take the place of the men who are falling at the Front".

It was at the opening function in late 1917, that Hilliard argued that the heritage of the school was in the hands of each of its present pupils. In an address which was regularly quoted at subsequent official school functions, Hilliard observed:

There is no storied past, no long tradition rich in noble names, famous in the various departments of life - all that is to come;

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12 TGS Committee Number 55, 12 July, 1917. See also Chapter 6 and 7.
13 Triangle, December 1917. p.4.
the boys of today... are ancestors, and their descendants in
the School will either look back to them with gratitude and
pride, or be sorry that they were ever associated with the
place. A great responsibility lies upon every chap; but it is
also a wonderful privilege.

It was perhaps this sense of struggle, so much a part of the early life of this school,
which distinguished it from other places. Trinity required cast iron confidence from
all involved with her. This was not because of her likely success - more likely the
opposite.

The building projects discussed above and undertaken in this period were
predicated on a projected enrolment of 300 students by the end of the School's first
decade. As we shall see, it was not until the end of the Trinity's fourth decade
that this figure was ultimately reached. Nevertheless, from the original twenty-
nine students who enrolled in 1913, the numbers had risen to 121 by the time
Frank Archer assumed the Headmastership in 1917. Chambers and the School
Committee had every reason to hope that enrolments would reach three hundred by
the mid-twenties. The trend had been very encouraging, and with Trinity's full
prospectus appearing in the parishes of New South Wales, the outlook was very
hopeful in spite of the War and the secular divisions caused by the Conscription
debate.

The Headmastership of Frank Archer also witnessed a significant growth in
numbers which grew to over 18014. The figures are meaningless, however, unless
placed in the context of the post-war problems which he was to face. Foremost
among these problems was the Influenza Epidemic. The Influenza Epidemic of
1919 was little short of a crisis for schools like Trinity. When the year opened the
enrolments had risen to 155 of whom 40 were boarders. However, they fell back
markedly to 117 at the height of the Epidemic. In the final analysis, the experience
was a positive one for Trinity, but, for a time, all lessons were suspended by
government legislation. The brief Post-War depression and unemployment may be
thought to have had some effect on enrolments, yet, in the case of Trinity, no
decline was evident.

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14 The enrolments as quoted at the opening of the TGS Committee each February are as follows.
Where-ever two figures are given, the relevant month is included.
1917: 121.
1918: 143.
1919: 155, 117 (March) and 162 (August).
1920: 174 and 182 (December).
1921: 173 and 186 (December).
1922: 162 and 180 (March).
The Archer years also witnessed growth in the academic life of the school. There was a radical expansion of the curriculum at Trinity, as there was elsewhere, as prescribed by the Department of Education which extended the Intermediate Examination to cover three years work rather than two. The three term year was formally introduced into New South Wales schools in 1919. Despite this rapid change, the Archer period yielded the foremost academic progress in the school's short history. The Triangle reported the results of the annual examinations in the mid-year edition the following year, and also the important event of the first Trinity boys entering University. Although there had been other boys to leave the School and ultimately gain degrees, these were the first to matriculate who had been at Trinity almost from its foundation. The Triangle of June 1918 announced, with considerable pride, that A.B. Kerrigan, D.S. Rowe and G.A. Chambers were "now at University, the two former doing Law and the latter Science". Dudley Seymour Rowe entered Trinity in February 1914 and was appointed Prefect in 1916 and 1917. The nephew and namesake of the Warden, George Alexander Chambers, entered the School in February 1913, and also became a Prefect in 1917. He was awarded the Fraser Bursary in March 1918 and later became a leading Medical Practitioner and long serving member of the School Council. 16

Pupil number two on the School register, Alan Bevly Kerrigan was one of the original "twenty-nine". He gained a "First Honours" in History and "Second Honours" in English and was the first Trinity boy to gain a University Exhibition. 17 Kerrigan had a life-long association with Trinity, first as an original member of the School and twice School Captain in 1915 and 1916, and in his final year (1917), which was Archer's first year, he was also Captain of the First Eleven and First Fifteen. He was later one of the leading barristers in the City of Sydney, a Queen's Counsellor, he served on the Diocesan Synod and Standing Committee, and was a member of the inaugural Trinity Grammar School Council formed in 1928 18. He was Honorary Secretary of the School Council for many years, a position in which he displayed immense ability and foresight.

15 It is of interest to note that the Speech Day report did not appear for the first time in the Triangle until 1919, and thereafter, only followed the form of a prize list. The Headmaster's Report was printed in the Parish Magazine and in the Diocesan Magazine throughout the Archer era.
16 Dr George Chambers died in 1987 and his Memorial Service was held in the Trinity Chapel.
17 An Exhibition was awarded to the top one hundred students in the state and was based on the results in the Leaving Certificate. Funds for the Exhibition were given by the Government for distribution by the University. There was, of course, only one University in existence in Sydney at the time.
18 Bev. Kerrigan wrote the preface to the first Trinity History in January 1974. He died in February 1977 at the age of 76.
In the matter of academic progress, the award of a University Exhibition was the test of the academic mettle of a school. Archer was able to enhance the work of his predecessors by the use of the new facilities at the Towers and by his own genius for getting the best out of those with whom he worked. The first Triangle commented:

Two months have passed since we entered our new rooms, and the impression of both masters and boys, supported by the results of examinations, is that lessons have become immensely more effective and enjoyable, and that many who were formerly indifferent have caught the spirit of steady, cheerful work. 19

The new buildings endowed Archer with a scope for expansion never available to Hilliard and there is little doubt that it buoyed the confidence of both staff and boys. Moreover, Archer brought a kind of professionalism to bear on the school. He was first and foremost an educationalist and he thought deeply about the best method of teaching the boys under his care. In his final report at Speech Day, 1922, he said:

One essential condition of true education is that the pupil should progress at the pace at which he can properly master and enjoy the work he is doing. In the delicate business of education, all factors are important. . . [An] extremely important factor is the spirit which pervades the class-room. The most favourable atmosphere for progress is that of friendly co-operation between masters and boys in the happy partnership of work. When tension and strain begin to replace this much harm results.

Frank Archer believed that proper education was personal and his emphasis was on teaching the boys rather than the subject. His young staff, it seems, followed him without reserve:

Informal gatherings, quite unlike any staff meetings held at that time in other schools, would spontaneously occur in the Head's home, and the other staff would often linger until midnight discussing education, or special problems, or particular boys. 20

This personal influence over his pupils and colleagues was to be a hallmark of Archer's long career in headmastering and his efforts at Trinity yielded fruit. Albert E.R. (Roy) Hoskins, the son of T.J. Hoskins, M.L.A., a member of the

19 Triangle, June 1917, p.8
20 Latham and Nicholls, op.cit. p. 43.
School Committee, received an Exhibition in 1920. Roy Hoskins, like Kerrigan, had been for two years Captain of the School, the First Fifteen and the First Eleven. He later played Rugby for Australia and became a promising junior surgeon in England. His life was tragically cut short at the age of 31 from a germ he picked up while operating. Another Exhibitioner was C. H. Sippe, the Dux in 1920, who received a First Class Honours in Geology and was placed first in the State in that subject. In the same year, Oliver Cordell, who was later to go to Central Tanganyika with Chambers and Wynn Jones, gained a University Bursary.²¹ Norman Sherwood, one of Archer's staff, resigned in February 1919 to take up medical studies. Hence, there was an emphasis on academic excellence in the classroom greater than that which had been possible before Frank Archer.

On a lighter note, it would appear that not all pupils at Trinity were scholars. The Triangle included a list of quotable student blunders from the annual examinations of 1918:

**Flebut Aristaeus, quod apes cum stirpe necatas** (Ovid).
Anybody can see that this means, "A flea bit Aristaeus, and the apes stripped the nectarine trees".

Or another:

Always leave punctuation to chance. It makes your composition much more interesting. For example: "A photographer took some photos of the races and jumps on the whole, the sports turned out to be a success." "Cromwell was born at Huntingdon at the age of twenty-nine, he entered politics".

Archer appeared to have a special talent for drawing the best out of both boys and staff and this was nowhere more evident than in his expansion of the Prefect System at Trinity. The prefect system had been established by Kenneth Henderson in the school's first year, although the narrowness of the Trinity's activities limited its impact in the early years. When Archer came to Dulwich Hill, he immediately increased the Prefect body²² and formalised their selection and

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²¹ Triangle. August 1921
²² In 1913 there were 4 prefects John McCausland (the first School Captain), Garnet Pickles, Robert Anderson (who joined the staff in 1916 and was later Bursar) and Alan Bevley Kerrigan. In 1914, after the departure of Garnet Pickles, George Chambers was added to the list. 1915: Albert Austin and Lewin Best were appointed, totalling 5 Prefects. 1916: Dudley Seymour Rowe was appointed to replace Austin and Best, leaving 4 Prefects in Hilliard's final year.
duties. He had seen the system operate well at Caulfield and was anxious to use every opportunity to place the honour and tradition of the school in the care of the boys themselves. Moreover, he used the Prefects to administer areas of school life which had previously been the task of the masters.

The first minuted prefects' meeting took place in the Sixth Form "hut" known as "The Domicile" on Friday, 23rd February 1917 and it set the pattern for all such meetings held during Archer's term as Headmaster. Typically, the Headmaster acted as Chairman, and the Captain of the School acted as secretary to the prefects. The prefects were assigned to their tasks by the Headmaster in consultation with the meeting, and their responsibilities were remarkable by modern standards. The prefects discussed the design and criteria for the awarding of sport and house colours. Martin Justelius, for instance, was appointed Football Secretary in March 1917, and he was directed to write to Sydney Grammar School, Newington College, SCEGS (Shore) and Sydney High School for matches. The reasoning behind this was noted: "It was considered unnecessary for a Master to be busied with fixture dates, the duty of arranging fixtures would be experience for a Prefect. "23 Others, such as Oliver Cordell (Prefect in 1920), organised additional facilities for Tennis and for concerts. Cecil Eastway (who entered in 1915) was Prefect Librarian for 1923, a position established by Archer; Charles K. Ward (1920) was the Magazine Organiser and created Form Representatives to gather articles for the Triangle, and a Missionary Organiser was appointed with the specific task of co-ordinating the Missionary Giving programmes of each form.

Archer believed that the prefects were key members of the School community, and he challenged the boys he appointed to be conscious of their high office.

The Headmaster drew attention to the Prefects' individual responsibility for the School Honour and Tone. Example would establish Tradition and Tradition would preserve Honour and Tone24.

Trinity was not without its discipline problems in its early days, even to the point of loitering and smoking "becoming a practice in the school". The prefects were to

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1917: Martin Justelius, Alfred Hendry Chambers, James Smith, Charles Victor Salisbury and A.E. Roy Hoskins were added to the list, making a total of 8 in Archer's first year.
23 Minutes of the TGS Prefects Meeting Number 9; 27 November 1919.
24 Ibid, 27 February 1917.
ensure that their behaviour was an example to their peers: "The Headmaster regarded smoking as a pleasure which prefects should deny themselves for the sake of their School." Nevertheless, it is significant that Archer maintained the public school philosophy that the boys should lead themselves, partly for the educational benefit of the prefects but also for the strength of Trinity:

The Prefectship is the highest honour the school can bestow. The prefects are the best products of the school. If they have low standards of honour and duty it is clear that the school has failed. It may be pushing boys through examinations and even may gain sporting successes but it is not producing men.\textsuperscript{25}

In his advice to new prefects, he observed that the best form of discipline is \textit{leadership} and his parting remarks are worth noting as representative of the mind of Frank Archer:

Rely more on LEADERSHIP than authority. Fellows will follow you when you call them to come and join you in lifting the School to honour. . . Try sympathetic handling of individuals and make the best of them. . . Finally, don't be afraid of failures and be prepared to learn from mistakes. The big task before the present years is to build traditions worthy of a great School. Traditions are school habits of thought and conduct...

\textbf{LET ALL TRINITY HABITS STAND THE TEST OF THE BADGE.}

Archer, therefore, returned to the School motto and the symbol of the triangle which suggested both the Triune God and the tri-partite man with his needs intellectual, spiritual and physical.

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Frank Archer had been an accomplished sportsman, and a former Sportsmaster at Caulfield Grammar. He also knew that in the sociology of education, sport plays an integral role in generating school identity and loyalty.

\textsuperscript{25} Archer's notes: "The Prefectship". c.1920 in Prefects Minutes. The present Headmaster of Trinity Grammar, Mr Roderick West, wrote in a marginal note in the Prefect's Minutes: "The spirit of all these observations is totally relevant today, yesterday and tomorrow".
The Archer years were vigorous and successful on the sportsfield despite the poor practice facilities and the lack of space and equipment.

During Archer's first year, the first Athletic Sports Meeting was held at Petersham Oval. Having been planned for the previous October, it was postponed during the Warden's absence in Queensland in late 1916. When Archer came to Trinity, he threw his energy behind the occasion. The report in the Triangle on the Annual Sports suggests a Sunday School picnic rather than a serious competition, yet it serves to illustrate the amiable atmosphere of the new school:

At two o'clock (28 April 1917), before the numerous spectators already assembled, a pistol shot sent a line of white-clad figures scampering across the grass, the first boys to run in a Trinity Sports meeting. For three hours races followed in rapid succession, with the music of the band to enliven the brief intervals. In the middle of the afternoon, a willing band of ladies with their headquarters in a large tent, dispensed afternoon tea to all visitors within the enclosure. The solemnity of pure athletics was pleasantly relieved by several amusing and picturesque events, of which the form teams' race, with its flying figures and gay flags streaming, was one of the most attractive. 26

It was not possible to arrange inter-school Athletics competitions, and the struggle to set proper standards remained a problem.

Although not always admitted, success in sport fortifies the reputation of a school. Knowing the importance of a regular competition to sporting success and the advantages of belonging to a "league" of this ilk, Frank Archer made several approaches to the Great Public Schools for Trinity's admission. The Associated Schools did not come into being until the end of 1929 (with Trinity, Barker, St Aloysius and Knox). The drain of students to the GPS Schools, which would be a steady flow in the mid-1920s, was only a trickle under Archer. However, if Trinity was to survive, admission to this type of association was regarded as crucial. Associated membership of the GPS was denied in a meeting held in the latter half of 1922. Yet, the meeting was of importance in that it reveals both the competition for educational prestige which existed amongst Sydney schools, and for the standing of Frank Archer within the fraternity of independent schools. In a report of the meeting made by Archer (presumably to the School Council, although the text is to be found in the Prefects' Minutes) he noted:

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26 Triangle June 1917, p.5.
The origin of this meeting was in concerted action by Barker, Cranbrook and St Aloysius. The fact that the Headmaster had some time previously written to inquire whether the GPS intended to admit any more members, and if so, on what conditions, prompted the GPS Council to invite a delegate from Trinity. This courteous action was duly acknowledged to the Council. 27

Not surprisingly, the GPS dismissed the obsequious approaches of the newer schools for the time being. Archer alone was paid the compliment of an invitation to the meeting, perhaps a recognition of his eminence.

Curiously, this active interest in sport appeared to wane later in Archer's career. Canon S. W. Kurrle, a pupil of Archer's at Caulfield and later his successor as Headmaster of that school before moving to The King's School, Parramatta, recalls rarely seeing Archer at a football match. 28 He ascribed this absence to Archer's ill-health which plagued him for much of his later life.

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George Chambers had been the Founder and suzerain from the school's earliest days and none felt the weight of his gaze as much as his headmasters. He had so dominated the first headmaster to the point that he felt unable to proceed with the school. Hilliard, whilst being a fine headmaster, had enjoyed a curate-rector relationship with the Warden and their personalities suited the situation. Alston had come to Trinity under the shadow of bereavement, and because of his short term of office, it is impossible to assess his relationship with Chambers. This is especially so given that Chambers had been away for a part of Alston's brief term. However, Archer was Trinity's first headmaster to have been allowed a measure of autonomy by the Warden, aided by Chambers' lengthy absence and so may be said to have been the school's first headmaster in his own right.

Diocesan duties kept Chambers away from his parish for almost eighteen months. The appointment of G.A. Chambers as the Archbishop of Sydney's Deputationist to the Colonial and Continental Church Society indicates the high esteem

28 Speech by Canon S.W.Kurrle re. Frank Archer at TGS Archer House Dinner 1984.
in which J.C. Wright held him. Wright felt that the English churches should be made aware of the progress of the Church of England in Australia, and, in Chambers, he had an energetic, vivacious and determined ambassador for his cause. Chambers was the pre-eminent Anglophile. He was profoundly loyal to the Empire and immensely proud of his own English heritage. He had had experience in parochial work, in the training of theologues and in the chaplaincy of the lay readers (a post filled coincidentally, by W.G. Hilliard after Chambers' departure for England) and J.C. Wright was pleased to give Chambers the opportunity which would alter the course of his life. The Diocesan Magazine announced:

May we take this opportunity of congratulating the Rector and Congregation of Holy Trinity, Dulwich Hill, on the fact that the Reverend G. A. Chambers has been appointed to lecture and preach in England on the characteristics and prospects of the Church in Australia, especially with a view to development under post-war conditions. Mr Chambers' long experience of Australian conditions, more particularly in his connection with Moore College and with the Lay Readers Association, should prove of great value to him in his new work. We wish him an enjoyable and successful tour with a speedy return to the parish where he will be so sorely missed.29

The Colonial and Continental Church Society maintained Corresponding Committees in Sydney and Melbourne and was the forerunner to the Bush Church Aid Society. Chambers was among the twenty-six delegates who met in St Andrew's Cathedral, Sydney, in May 1919, when B.C.A. was founded, and he reportedly nominated the first Organizing Missioner.30

Chambers sent a steady flow of reports and letters to Trinity Grammar School (as well as to the Church Record and the Parish Magazine) from October 1917 until his return in March 1919.31 Trinity boys were anxious for news of his safe arrival given the perils of the submarine campaign in the Atlantic. They read his notes on Honolulu and the United States which appeared in the Triangle of December 1917. Predictably, Chambers went beyond his brief as deputationist to acquaint the English with the needs of the Australian Church and he included education as a major topic of his discussions with the English church. He wrote to the boys in mid-1918:

30 Sibtain, op.cit. Ch.5
31 Before he left, Chambers made a hasty tour of country New South Wales and Victorian churches: "so that he might be able to speak from recent experience of the difficulties which bush clergy have to overcome". (Triangle, December 1917, p. 3).
I had thought of writing you a short article on the Greater Public Schools of England, but the hugeness of the task has driven me to write to you more informally in a letter. So far I have seen Eton, Harrow, Winchester, Cheltenham, Trent, the Dean Close School, Clifton and Monckton Combe. All are splendid schools, with great traditions and a fine spirit in them and doing a great work for the country. In fact, when you realize that at Eton there are 1,070 boys in residence, and the other schools also have big enrolments, it is easy to see how the future of England and the Empire is being determined in these schools...

They cannot understand it in England when I tell them our boarders sleep out all the year round, and regard sleeping inside as a penalty. Most of them think it great, but prefer to sleep inside here. I agree with them, and I feel sure our boarders would too.  

The indefatigable Chambers also published a booklet on Trinity while in England. Remarkably, the first any knowledge of it was received at home was when Chambers wrote to the School Committee (25 July 1918) requesting £33 for its completion. The booklet was entitled "A Venture of Faith" and it yielded donations of varying sizes from English well-wishers. No copies of this work are extant.

In addition to his deputationist work, Chambers met a number of associates from Trinity during his sojourn in England. Monty Hinsby, one of Chambers' curates during the foundation of the School, had been an A.I.F. Chaplain since August 1917. He met with Chambers shortly after the latter arrived in London and they went to St Paul's Cathedral together. Hinsby sent regular letters to the Diocesan Magazine and referred to the Chambers rendezvous in one of them. He also wrote to his parishioners: "I saw the former captain of TGS, my friend Robert Anderson, in camp at Salisbury Plain the Saturday before he left for France". Gunner S.L. Dolph, another of the foundational staff, and later member of the School Council, was at the front by mid-1918, though no record exists of a reunion with Chambers. Yet obviously of more enduring significance was the marriage of George Chambers to Winifred Talbot Rice from Swansea in Wales in December 1918, whom he had met during his deputationist work in Surrey. If we are to believe one schoolboy's recollection of George Chambers, the married man would no longer have to ask one of the boarders to comb his hair in the mornings!

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33 TGS Committee Number 70, 22 August 1918. This meeting reported the donation of £1 received from Mrs Laura Thompson from Great Malvern, England, when she read the booklet sent to her.
The role of Warden during Chambers' absence was occupied by the *locum tenens*, the Rev. F. C. Philip, who was later to go as temporary Headmaster of the St George Grammar School in Hyderabad, India. Philip acted as Chairman for all Committee Meetings and occupied Chambers' rooms in the Towers during the Warden's absence. Yet it was Frank Archer who assumed much of the control of the school's progress during the critical years of 1918 and early 1919. Initially, only tentative decisions were made by an uncertain committee, and for the first time there was no meeting in the summer holidays of 1917/1918. Such circumstances meant that Archer was the first Headmaster to appoint a member of staff, namely the Physical Education Instructor, Col. Peterson. Hitherto, all other appointments had been made by the Warden. Apart from Chambers, Hilliard had only once ever reported to the Committee concerning the school's enrolment, and usually matters associated with the purchase of equipment were left to the Warden. During Chambers' absence, for the first time Archer, the Headmaster, assumed both of these responsibilites. Financial security was still elusive, to the point that the Committee was forced to proceed cautiously with the purchase of its first typewriter - acquired at a cost of £1 down with monthly repayments of £1! Yet the emergence of Archer as a somewhat autonomous authority is significant to observe.

Archer was therefore, given far greater scope than any of his predeccessors, and he used it well. To his small staff he appointed the sometime Headmaster of Parramatta Grammar, the Rev. Rex C. Blumer M. A., B. Sc. (later the vice-principal of the Prince of Wales College, West Africa) to teach Mathematics. Archer also commenced carpentry classes. He enhanced the Old Boys Union, which was founded in his first year, and he greatly encouraged missionary support given by Trinity. His own spiritual ambitions for the School were realised by the Mission or "Mish" as it was affectionately known. Spiritually, Frank Archer was initially almost comfortable within the prevailing liberal evangelicalism of the Diocese of Sydney under Archbishop Wright. There is some evidence, however, of Archer's increasing interest in liberal theology34 and, to an extent, his appointment of P.A. Wisewould onto the staff in 1919 typified this interest. Wisewould was known to Archer in Victoria and he had of late been General

34 Interview with Dr. Lindsay Grant whose father later discussed the matter with G.A. Chambers. Also letter C.E. Latham to P.J. Gibson, 27 March 1972 (In the possession of P.J.Gibson).
Secretary of the multi-denominational Australasian Student Christian Movement. It would appear that Chambers did not approve of Wisewould's appointment to Trinity, for the matter was raised at a Committee Meeting shortly after the Warden's return. Soon after, Wisewould and his wife discreetly left Trinity, after a mere twelve months of service, to represent Australia at the World's Conference of the Student Christian Movement held in Sweden in 1920. Chambers declared that he objected to the cost of keeping their place at the School at a time when Trinity was hit by expenses which resulted from the Influenza Epidemic. Nevertheless, the Founder made other appointments shortly after Wisewould's departure, the cost of which was of similar proportions. There was clearly another explanation. The irony is that, after Chambers' departure from the Sydney Diocese in the late 1920s, he began a spiritual pilgrimage which would make him more enthusiastically welcomed at St James', King Street than in St Andrew's House. The Wisewould episode is the sole hint of any tension between Headmaster and Warden after the return of Chambers, and the Warden had high praise for the work of Archer in his absence. Moreover, the grip which Chambers had on every operation of the School was loosened after his return, and Archer was allowed greater rein. As well as a wife, Chambers "imported" two recruits for Trinity from his stay in Wales. Kenneth Jones, was appointed in September 1919 as a Parish assistant with accounting duties at the School, and his brother, William (Bill) Wynn Jones, entered the 6th Form that year. Both men were to have lengthy associations with Trinity; both were Housemasters and key staff under Archer. Bill Wynn Jones followed Chambers to Africa and became his successor as Bishop of Central Tanganyika, thereby cementing the link between that Diocese and Trinity Grammar School. A School contemporary of Wynn Jones, Oliver Cordell, was later to be his Archdeacon in Africa.

The extent of Archer's limited autonomy is revealed in his handling of the crisis precipitated by the Influenza Epidemic. The jubilation of the Armistice in November 1918, was quickly dampened by a new national crisis, a dreadful Influenza Epidemic which had swept much of the world in the latter half of 1918 and

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35 Due, no doubt, to the increasing prominence of Chambers in the Diocese, and the attendant increase in workload.
early 1919. Sydney was not spared the effects of the worst epidemic in Australian history. The New South Wales Government was forced to take emergency action in response to the first cases reported in the Sydney Morning Herald: "Pneumonic-influenza has appeared in Sydney. Four cases have been definitely identified, and between 17 and 19 suspicious cases have been reported. They are all in the Randwick Military Hospital." In the same edition, the appeal went forth: "Wear a mask; The Government appeals to every person to wear a Mask, and thus to protect the nation from a great scourge." The schools did not re-open in the new year, theatres and public halls were closed, the public was urged to order shopping by post or telephone, no movement was permitted between New South Wales and Victoria, church services were prohibited, and the wearing of a mask in public places was made compulsory.

Schools throughout Sydney experienced great hardship in the Epidemic. Cranbrook School was in its first year, and the timing of the Influenza Epidemic threatened its foundation. Government schools simply remained closed for the duration of the problem, so great was the risk of infection. Archer had, to some degree, anticipated the crisis and, as early as September 1918, had taken precautions: "The Headmaster reported that owing to the prevalence of Measles and Influenza he had decided to go into vacation 10 days earlier for Michaelmas."37

As we have seen, enrolments were greatly restricted by the Epidemic which was, in itself, a considerable financial setback to a school which was dependent solely upon enrolments for income. The absence of Chambers for the worst of the predicament, made decision making difficult. The Committee was aware that the existing fee structure was insufficient to meet the School's debt, yet they were reluctant to propose a new fee schedule until the Warden's return. Administratively, however, Archer acted with great expediency:

The Headmaster reported the conditions of tuition under epidemic restrictions - adopting lessons by correspondence and stated that probably the year's work would suffer no diminution of periods thereby. 38

The Influenza restrictions remained in force until May 1919 and throughout that time only a small staff was present at the Towers. Many schools quarantined their boarders to ensure that no infection hit their Houses. However, Archer took

36 SMH. 29 January 1919.
37 TGS Committee Number 71, 5 September 1918.
38 Ibid. Number 76, 20 February 1919.
the entire complement of Trinity Boarders together with Miss Underhill (the Matron) and the whole household lock, stock and barrel to the Warden's cottage "Swanwick" at Austinmer below the Illawarra escarpment. Austinmer had been the site of many excursions for Trinity boys, but, for a few months in 1919, it was to become the location of what would be a significant experiment in Australian education.

By necessity, Trinity had moved away from the city and into the less tumultuous atmosphere of a coastal-rural environment. Boarding communities establish team-work efficiently enough, but coupled with the division of labour necessary in such a setting as "Swanwick", boys who had been 'difficult' in Dulwich Hill became much more responsive. Neither Archer nor the boys who spent that time at Austinmer forgot the lessons learnt39, and the Headmaster carried his experiences with him beyond the modest confines of the early Trinity. Years later, as Headmaster of Caulfield Grammar School, Frank Archer was the prime-mover behind the Yarra Junction scheme, the first experiment in off-campus communal education in Australia.40 Other schools have emulated this lead, including Geelong Grammar and The King's School, and there has been a measure of overseas interest in the concept. Yet the impetus, to an extent, came from Archer who had witnessed the educational advantages of a rustic community experience at Trinity's Austinmer in 1919.

The boys, too, found the experience enriching. In addition to the now customary Triangle, a group of senior boarders and prefects produced a whimsical piece called "The Austinmer Saturday Evening Post, with which is incorporated 'Duck-Pond Ditties' ". It was dated 2nd May 1919 and was Gratis. The 'Austinmer Post' gives an insight into how the time at Austinmer was spent. Masters and boys were actively involved in the process of education, although it is difficult to imagine how a Master would allow such a ditty as "Tea-Time Tit-Bit" to be published under his name:

Our tea-time's a terrible staggerer,
Each boy stabs his bread with his dagger-r,
Before you count four
The butter's no more,
And the tea's pouring down like Niagara.

40 See Webber, H. op. cit. pp.112-115.
Communal eating habits have changed little since these times.

A student's view (possibly Oliver Cordell's) of the experiment is found in an article called "Trinity by the Sea".

When the 'Flu germ seemed about to interrupt our scholastic pursuits...it seemed good to Those-in-Authority that the boarders of T.G.S. should fly to some secure retreat beyond the reach of the mischievous microbe, and there continue their studies.

Thus it came about that Trinity packed its pyjamas, toothbrush and cadet-trousers in a rug, and betook itself to Austinmer, where we established a small colony of about thirty boys filling two houses and two tents.

For nearly six weeks we have remained here, the washers-up washing and the waiters waiting without a growl, and although the track up to Sublime Point has become a well-defined road, trod by the feet of countless pilgrims, and the breakers have almost entirely disappeared into Trinitites' noses, ears, eyes and internal economy, we are quite willing to stay another six. Down here we have had opportunities to do things of educational value, of which we would never have dreamt before; and we hope that even after returning to School, we may be able to follow up many of these new activities.

After returning to Dulwich Hill, some of the younger boys found it difficult to re-adjust and wrote to the Editor of the Triangle requesting that an Austinmer style "playtown" be erected at Trinity!

The school, however, did not remain untouched by the Epidemic. Frederick Garner Challands died from what the medical authorities believed to be Influenza, but later proved to be Typhoid fever. He died in Lewisham hospital on Easter day 1919, aged only fifteen years. The loss was keenly felt since Garner Challands was a boarder , and he had taken an active part in the life of the School. "His parents (Dr and Mrs Challands...) who were in attendance on their only son at the last, were quite satisfied that he did contract the fever at the School. The Warden represented the School and officiated at the funeral held at Mt. Victoria." No other cases of typhoid were reported from Trinity. Sydney Allan Smith, a member of the Fourth Form and reputedly a promising runner, died of Influenza in June 1919, after a particularly virulent fever. The Triangle of September 1919, contains the most moving "In Memoriam" to both boys, and the circumstances must have been especially tragic for both staff and boys. Annual prizes in memory of the two deceased Trinity boys were established almost immediately. Both prizes are still

41 TGS Committee Number 80. 25 April 1919.
awarded today and serve as a reminder to contemporary Trinitarians of a world in which Influenza could be a killer.

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Frank Archer's resignation from Trinity, to take effect at the end of the year, was conveyed at the meeting of the School Council of 15 June 1922. He had been the Headmaster for almost six years. His departure was deeply regretted by the whole School community:

...Mr Archer after fully considering the matter and although he regretted very much leaving his present environment he found that family reasons called him back to his native town. The Warden spoke in eulogistic terms of Mr Archer's capabilities and success as Headmaster and expressed the opinion that this position would be a very difficult one to fill.42

The announcement was not made public until his successor had been appointed, and was accompanied by a flood of tributes, and statements of regret for his leaving. The School Committee (the term "School Council" was adopted in October 1922) tried unsuccessfully to retain him, both by anticipating a more lucrative offer from another school43, and by trying to persuade him to remain at Dulwich Hill. Indeed, when Archer's successor, Dr.G.E. Weeks, left in 1929, the Council again approached Archer at Caulfield to return to Trinity, a tribute to the deep impression he had left.

Certainly, the reason for Archer's resignation, apart from any possible question of tension between the Headmaster and the Warden, was the ill-health of his family, in particular of his mother, and the isolation he felt from them while he was in Sydney. It is doubtful whether he discussed this openly with his family before taking the decision: his return to Caulfield as Headmaster came as a surprise to even his brother-in-law, W.S. Morcom, who had been on staff with Archer at Caulfield before his Trinity years and was later his Senior Master.44

42 TGS Committee Number 118, 15 June 1922.
43 Ibid. Number 112, 17 November 1921.

Archer had been asked to withdraw from the meeting whereupon Chambers proposed an increase in the H.M.'s salary "...as he could easily obtain a more lucrative position if he wished and that we should forestall anything of that kind..." Archer graciously "...expressed his gratitude for the consideration as he was not expecting it."
44 Webber, op.cit. pp.101ff.
his new situation, Archer must have had experienced "more of the same" because the new Caulfield job was a role subordinate to his immediate predecessor, W.M. Buntine who was to act as "Principal". It was a position perhaps as nebulous as that of Warden at Trinity. However, Archer appears to have resisted any motivation from pride or desire for power in returning to the more established Caulfield Grammar, and the great humility of the man cannot possibly be overlooked. Those at Caulfield regarded his return as something of a "catch":

His success in Sydney has been most marked, for in six years TGS has practically doubled its numbers, while its results in University examinations have been phenomenally good...far exceeding anything previously achieved...
Mr Archer is a strong believer in outdoor games... a valued and prominent churchman... Member of the Board of Education of the Diocese of Sydney as one of the Archbishop's nominees. He was one of the committee which compiled the handbook published by the Board for the work of Religious Education in Public [State] Schools. He has also been closely connected with the Student Christian Movement, being for some time the Chairman of the NSW Auxiliary. 45

Archer had taken Trinity Grammar School to the end of its first decade, and was the first headmaster to be, in a very real sense, in his own right. He had negotiated the potentially damaging rivalry between the roles of headmaster and warden. The men and women on his staff were profoundly influenced by one who has been described as a "born teacher", in spite of his propensity for lateness and his "glorious other worldliness"46 which was occasionally frustrating. He was responsible for the founding of the Old Boys Union, of which he was made a Life Member in 1950, for the House system for sport in 1921,47 for the Triangle Magazine, a wider Prefect System, School Sporting and Merit Colours, Annual Athletics Meetings, School Concerts, Form Prizes, for the first attempt to found an Association of schools, for the Student Christian Movement at Trinity, Missionary Giving by Forms, for the Austinmer Experience and for countless moral object lessons governed by terms such as Truth, Duty and Honour. His influence over his pupils was intense and unforgettable, as one of his prefects, Oliver Cordell, recalled:

The effect of his witness on my spiritual life was immeasurable. He had more influence on my life than anyone else and gave me

45 Caulfield Grammarian q. in Ibid.
47 The first three houses being School House for the Boarders, Hilliard and Founder's Houses.
all the vision I had for any work I may have accomplished.48

Archer remained at Caulfield Grammar School until his retirement in 1954, becoming one of Australia's most respected Headmasters and, at his death in early 1958, the Headmasters' Conference, two schools and countless Old Boys all over the world, mourned his passing.

The opening of the Trinity Grammar School Chapel in 1957 saw Frank Archer return to join in the celebration of a building of which the School could but dream during his incumbency. In the Sanctuary Windows of the Chapel both the Founder and Archer are remembered, Chambers in the "Matthew Window" and Archer in the "Mark Window". The Archer Window has three scenes: the first is the Baptism of Jesus, with the text "Thou art My beloved Son"; the second shows Jesus standing by a small child with the text "Suffer little children to come unto me" and the third is the Parable of the Sower with the text "The sewer seweth the Word". In this window, the first Light suggests his call to the ministry of teaching, the second his profound interest in and understanding of the young, and the third his planting of the seeds in those about him of knowledge, goodness and charity."49 A more appropriate tribute could not be possible. His many virtues were underscored by an unshakeable grasp of the Kingdom of God, leaving one of his students and a later successor as Headmaster of Caulfield to pay tribute to Frank Archer as simply "a great man, a humble man, a godly man."50 It is also clear that Chambers admired Archer for this same godliness:

The New Testament was his Ideal text book on Education, and moulded and shaped his methods in every subject he taught. None of us will ever forget the wonderful talks he gave us at our School Communions, on the meaning of the Badge, reminding us of its inspiration to full completeness of manhood, and its incentive to growth.

Nearing the end of his life, Archer commented to a friend that his accomplishments, such as they were, counted for nothing but for his personal faith in Christ. It was because of this personal faith that Archer embraced the School motto Detur Gloria Soli Deo with such firmness and energy, and it is strangely

48 Cordell quoted by Latham and Nicholls, op. cit. p.45.
50 Kurrle Speech, TGS 1984. Canon Kurrle regard the portrait of Archer which hangs in the Trinity Dining Hall to be an almost perfect likeness "with one exception; its too pale".
We have seen in the incumbency of Frank Archer the three preoccupations of this thesis amply illustrated. First, the demographic setting, namely the (inner) western suburbs of Sydney was of fundamental importance to the kind of school which was being established. That Trinity should have aspirations of "public school" pretensions did not escape those who jealously guarded their lofty status, that is, the G.P.S. schools who refused admission *inter alia* to Trinity. By the end of the war, however, with the press for space at the Trinity site becoming acute it was increasingly obvious that the area into which this school had been born was growing less and less of the kind that sent its sons to independent schools. The focus for this propensity had, by now, shifted to the suburbs surrounding Burwood and Strathfield. Secondly, Trinity had been established and remained an attempt at Anglican schooling which did not confine its religious fervour to the chapel. Frank Archer, the consummate professional, privately had begun to shift from the evangelical tag which had been placed on him before his arrival. Publicly, however, he was unswervingly loyal to the spiritual foundation he had received. Finally, in Archer now as well as in Chambers we observe the profound and immeasurable impact of individuals on institutions.
Chapter 5

The Headmastership of Dr G.E. Weeks. 1923-1928.

Do you carry on the work which I have begun.
David Livingstone quoted by G. A. Chambers (1928)

When Frank Archer left Trinity Grammar School at the end of 1922, the keen winds of change were already being felt in the corridors of the secular and church authorities. Since the Great War and the brief economic boom and bust of the twenties, the minds of the educational theorists and politicians had been sharpened by what they saw as the urgent need for a purposeful, pragmatic education system. The "education explosion"1 which began in the 1890s had presented challenges to all educators and as we have seen, Trinity Grammar School was founded in the echoes of this movement. Trinity's survival was now dependent upon the response of its leaders to the challenges of an increasingly secular, guilty, impatient, reckless, disconsolate post-war world. Its progress, as with its foundation, rested almost entirely upon G.A. Chambers and his infectious vision for a "Great Public Church School in the Western Suburbs". Chambers, and for that matter Archer, realised that eventually Trinity Grammar School must find more spacious grounds to take the greater enrolments it would need to be a "Great School". Furthermore, if Trinity was to secure its "Promised Land" it must seek a wider foundation than the parochial one into which it was born. If these needs were perceived by the unrelenting Chambers, they were not shared by the Diocesan authorities who were facing their own challenges in the 1920s.2 It would take skilful persuasion, and even considerable pressure, to achieve the Diocesan Foundation of Trinity Grammar School, and it took Chambers the Bishop to succeed where Chambers the Rector had failed.

The Trinity Grammar School Council and G. A. Chambers could not possibly have foreseen the extent of the demands which the ensuing years would place upon a headmaster. Archer had been a professional educationist, a headmaster in his own right, and his departure was universally lamented. The Warden selected the

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1 Barcan, op. cit., Chs. 16 and 17.
2 See also Judd and Cable, op. cit., Ch.12
celebrated Dean of Nelson Cathedral, New Zealand, Dr George Edward Alison Weeks, to fill the gap left by Archer, thereby beginning a remarkable link between that Diocese and Trinity Grammar School. Dr Weeks, a scholar *par excellence*, was more at home in the cloisters of a university or in a cathedral than he could ever have been in the exhausting, untutored western suburbs of Sydney and he would experience his greatest trials in his six years in the peripatetic Trinity Grammar School.

The history of the Headmastership of G.E. Weeks is emphatically the history of the great removal of Trinity Grammar School from Dulwich Hill to the Hurlstone Agricultural College site in 1926. In the years of Weeks' incumbency, Trinity was, in a manner of speaking, re-founded both with a new location and with a new administration under the auspices of the Anglican Diocese of Sydney. Chambers' own life took a dramatic turn during this period with his appointment to the newly established Diocese of Central Tanganyika as its inaugural Bishop in 1927, thus bringing to an end the "Chambers hegemony" at Trinity. It is impossible, therefore, to understand the Headmastership of Weeks without recognising the immensely destabilising forces at work around him.

Dr. G.E. Weeks' appointment as headmaster was announced at the Council Meeting of 28 September 1922. To a degree, his arrival was eclipsed by the accolades given to the reluctant Archer, as indeed his departure in 1928 was obscured by the enthusiasm for the return of W.G. Hilliard. The *Triangle* of December 1922 devoted a lengthy article to the change of headmasters. The new headmaster came highly recommended:

The Very Rev. G.E. Weeks, M. A., B.D., LL.D., Dean of Nelson, New Zealand, has accepted the Headmastership of Trinity, and comes to us with every prospect of carrying on and extending the good work of Mr. Archer.

Dr. Weeks possessed a knowledge of academia at its higher levels. He was a graduate of Queens' College, Cambridge (Master of Arts), Durham (Bachelor of Divinity) and Trinity College, Dublin (Doctor of Laws). He served as a vicar in London and in Suffolk before he enlisted as a Navy Chaplain before the Great War. In 1899 he began a period of service in South Africa where he was vicar of St Paul's Church, Durban, and later the Headmaster of Hilton College, Natal "which was founded by an old Rugby man." Returning to England, he again ministered in

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3 *Triangle* Dec, 1922, p. 8
London parishes before another opportunity to serve "in the colonies" came with the invitation to travel to Nelson as Dean of the Cathedral in that Diocese. He filled this position from 1916 to 1922 before his appointment as Headmaster of Trinity Grammar School. It was the appointment of a "kindly English gentleman with considerable academic attainments, steeped in English tradition, and with a wide experience of places and people."  

The appointment of G.E. Weeks suggests that Chambers already saw the necessity of enhancing the wider reputation of the school so well established under Archer and, to a lesser extent, Hilliard. There is little doubt that a major change at Trinity was imminent, and Chambers would have loved Archer to have remained in charge during such an upheaval. However, if he were to lose Archer, he would gain a man deeply entrenched in the English Public School tradition, urbane, genial and with a reputation for oratory. The link between Nelson and Sydney has been well documented by Janet West, and Weeks came recommended by well placed clergy and laymen in Sydney Diocesan circles. A letter of praise was sent to the School Council by the increasingly influential Anglican Church League, who regarded the appointment as an indication of the School's evangelical foundation. Chambers would have regarded the appointment with particular satisfaction because Weeks appealed to both traditional loyalty to the "Old Country" with all its attendant dignity and tradition, and to the liberal/academic evangelicalism which was the mood of the Diocese at the time. It should also be observed that Chambers selected another clergyman to be headmaster, no doubt with the intention of utilising him in the parish of Dulwich Hill and beyond.

It is understandable that Chambers should seek a man of Weeks' reputation and calibre to be Headmaster, but that Weeks should come to a school such as Trinity is not so easy to comprehend. He was a scholar of the highest order, accustomed to the genteel drawing rooms of Victorian England and their colonial counterparts in South Africa and New Zealand. He would have seemed more suited to a lesser English Public School where he might repose in his aloofness and erudition to the benefit of all around him. Trinity was still rawly new, with only the determination of its founders to guarantee its future. It had shortages in buildings,

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4 Latham and Nicholls, op. cit. p. 46
5 See J. West, op. cit. Ch. 7
6 Interview with Dr Lindsay Grant (March 1988), School Captain of TGS during Dr Weeks' final year (1928). Mr W.H. Grant, Lindsay's father, had heard Dr Weeks preach in Nelson and returned to Dulwich Hill with glowing reports. Trinity educated the sons of Canon Langford Smith and the Rev. H.S. Begbie who had reportedly been anxious to preserve the evangelical foundation of the School. Weeks' appointment was acknowledged with approbation.
7 TGS Council Number 121. 28 September 1922.
in capital, in equipment, in space, and in quality staff. Moreover, in the final analysis, it was a school later to be set down in the most unlikely place for success in the terms sought by Chambers. If Trinity was to compete with the "Great Public Schools" of Sydney in the educational marketplace, stacked heavily against it was its location in the declining inner western suburbs. The problem of location, and its lack of easy access to transport, was to be one of the reasons for the hesitation of the Diocese of Sydney to acquire Trinity as a Diocesan school in the late 1920s, a process described elsewhere. It is almost certain that Weeks came to Trinity without a detailed knowledge of its setting or of its problems. Chambers was most anxious to locate such a man as Weeks whose fine image as well as commanding mien and scholarly temperament, the Founder hoped, would enhance the regard in which the School was held by the community. The details of the situation at Trinity were left largely undiscussed. Later, Weeks complained to his most able staff member, Clarrie Latham, that he felt that he had, to a degree, been brought to Trinity under false pretences, expecting something quite different from what he found.8

Weeks was, in a sense, the right man for the wrong place. His skills were pre-eminently in lecturing and preaching, not in the creative exercise of making an impossible situation seem tolerable. To the boys of Dulwich Hill Parish Hall and the ramshackle Summer Hill site, his natural shyness suggested that he was cool and aloof, almost unapproachable.9 His Headmastership was remembered more for his lessons on Shakespeare than for anything else. He seemingly lacked that indispensable trait of Headmastering, an understanding of boys. In addition, it fell to Weeks to guide the school through its "pioneer days"10 in the parish hall and into the Hurlstone site, whilst giving it sufficient credibility as an institution worthy of receiving the sons of Sydney Anglicans. Ultimately, the task was beyond a man who should have been in a school with a solid foundation and a loyal alumni; one for which his mellifluous English accent would be reassuring rather than disconcerting.

G.E. Weeks commenced his incumbency in the first term of 1923, fully three years before the removal to Summer Hill took place. Yet, it would appear that the search for another home for Trinity commenced as early as 1921, while Archer was still Headmaster. The Headmaster of nearby Hurlstone Agricultural College, Mr. G. Longmuir, had dined with Frank Archer shortly before the latter left Sydney and had discussed with him the desire of Hurlstone Agricultural College to find a more suitable location for agricultural studies. Simultaneously, a deputation from the

8 Interview with J. Wilson Hogg, 21 March 1988
9 Lindsay Grant Interview.
10 The phrase is that of Reg Marsh; Interview, October 1987.
Dulwich Hill Primary School had forced the Department of Education to send Mr J. Dennis, the local inspector of schools, to investigate claims of overcrowding at that school.

Mr Dennis reported to the Department that:

The congestion at the Dulwich Hill school is deplorable. . . Additional accommodation is required but it is out of the question to put further buildings on the present site. For many years proposals for the acquisition of more land have been before the Department, and meantime the situation has been growing worse. . . The most convenient thing, no doubt, would be to buy land adjoining the school site, but that is all built upon and its price would be prohibitive. . .

Dennis suggested two solutions to the problem of overcrowding at Dulwich Hill, both of which involved the Department of Education in a considerable outlay of money. Chambers would have known something of the vicissitudes of Dulwich Hill Primary School because the Department had been renting the Parish Hall of Holy Trinity for a number of years to relieve congestion at the school. He immediately contacted the Minister for Education with a proposal for a three-way exchange of properties between Trinity Grammar School, Hurlstone Agricultural College and Dulwich Hill Primary School. It should be added that this contact was made by Chambers alone, without the imprimatur of the School Council; in any case, they were most unlikely to object to such a "marriage of convenience."

The first Council meeting of 1923 noted:

The Warden reported that the Minister for Education visited the School last Saturday and inspected the property. The Minister was impressed and remarked that it was a favourable proposition (an exchange with buildings and land at Hurlstone Park Agricultural College) and it will receive serious consideration.

The Department of Education gave the matter more than serious consideration and between January 1923 and February 1924, a frenetic and, at times, acrimonious correspondence took place between Trinity Grammar School and the Minister. The original parcel of 30 acres owned by Hurlstone was reduced to 17 acres by the

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mutual (if not reluctant) agreement of Trinity Grammar School Council, the Department of Education and Ashfield Municipal Council. The southern reach of land which stretched to a point below Hurlstone Park Terminus was established as a public reserve, later named after a prominent Ashfield Councillor, Alderman Yeo. The green and spacious Yeo Park has ever since defended Trinity from an invasion of suburbia from the south and it now "provides a pleasant approach" to the school.

The crux of the negotiations between the Department of Education and Trinity Grammar School was the insistence by the Department that the valuation given by the Valuer-General be binding upon the agreement. Chambers, being no stranger to shrewd financial transactions, made provision for an independent valuation of both The Towers site and Hurlstone Agricultural College by representatives of the Ashfield Council and local property agents. Matters reached an impasse when the Trinity Grammar School Council received word of the Education Department's valuation in December, 1923. The Towers was valued at £10,000 by the Valuer-General, whilst Hurlstone Agricultural College was allegedly worth £25,000 "unimproved" and £30,000 "improved". Hence,

The Warden intended replying stating that the value placed on Trinity Grammar School was rather below what we had anticipated and that also the Council's valuation of Hurlstone Agricultural College was £24,000 ...

The final valuation, upon which the exchange of Hurlstone Agricultural College and Trinity Grammar School was based, was £12,000 for The Towers and £25,000 for Hurlstone. To complicate matters further, the Department insisted upon resuming The Towers in February 1924 whilst withholding the Hurlstone site until February 1925 at the earliest. Trinity was thus to be homeless for at least twelve months, a sojourn, which to the School's endless frustration, lasted twice that length of time. This bloody-mindedness of the Department of Education in the matter of the transfer of properties reflected a deepening distrust between Independent and Government

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12 TGS and the parishioners of Holy Trinity agitated for the resumed Hurlstone land to be made into a park; how difficult it was to dissuade the local Council is impossible to say. (See Parish Magazine, March 1924).
13 The myth of TGS owning Yeo Park and selling it during the Depression is hereby debunked; although, as shall be observed from the footnote below, TGS was anxious to acquire as much land as possible. This was not only to provide space for expansion but the additional land would have been a financial guarantee should subdivision and sale be an economic necessity. It is tempting to conjecture that even had TGS acquired the Yeo Park land, it would have been sold along with the Seaview Street frontages as part of the Diocesan strategy to relieve the School's debt. Perhaps the withholding of Yeo Park was as providential as the acquisition of the whole estate.
14 TGS Council Meeting No. 136, 20 December 1923. The latter valuation included Yeo Park; the Education Department's valuation did not.
education. Before the Trinity deal was finalised, the Department had made unsuccessful overtures to another Anglican School, Woodcourt Girls' College, which was located near The Towers. The Trinity/Department exchange was an opportunity to force the Church authorities into a belated penance for the "sins of their fathers", who had enjoyed a measure of government patronage, whilst at the same time assisting the government coffers to buy land at Glenfield for the relocated Hurlstone Agricultural College. In the process, the fact that Trinity Grammar School represented no interests wider than those of Holy Trinity Parish, Dulwich Hill, was rather forgotten by the authorities.

In addition to finding sufficient funds to complete the purchase of the Hurlstone site, Chambers had to solve the problem of interim accommodation for the School. At the eleventh hour, the Council was forced to approach the Parish Church Committee for permission to set up the "back hall in Herbert Street" as a science room and the old church, and vestries as classrooms. In cramped and hopeless conditions, with curtains separating one form from another, and one lesson from another Trinity somehow managed to survive.

To exacerbate this problem, Trinity Grammar School lost its Boarding House and the Church lost its Rectory by its sale of The Towers. Consideration had been given to purchasing "Abergeldie", the imposing estate on the fringe of Summer Hill, but the cost had been prohibitive. The solution was found in the purchase of "Holwood", a stately residence in Victoria Street, Ashfield, opposite Hurlstone Agricultural College. It was considered as "quite suitable for housing boarders, Resident Masters, Domestic Staff" and it cost £3,000. The sale was negotiated by Chambers alone, conducted within the four weeks between Council meetings in November and December 1923. The deal included the use of a small plot of land adjacent for the modest rental price of 1 shilling per month. Holwood remained in the possession of Trinity Grammar School until its sale in July 1927, for the sum of £3,500. The Trinity boarders travelled for one penny each way from Ashfield to the claustrophobic Parish Hall for lessons. The boarders beheld the "Promised Land"
during those two years before the removal was complete, dreaming of the days when the cultivation paddocks might become manicured playing fields.\[18\]

The period of homelessness for Trinity Grammar School was expected to last for about twelve months. However, the Education Department, for reasons never fully explained, was tardy in the transfer of properties and it seemed to the Headmaster, Staff and pupils alike that the day of the Promised Land would never come. Trinity was conducted in the Parish Hall of its parent church, not for the first time in its history, and these years were among the most trying ever known at the school. As well as losing the Towers in 1924, the School saw the departure of G. A. Chambers from residence with the Boarders, and his position as Warden changed markedly from what it had been in previous years. It also meant that Weeks was the first Headmaster to be "in charge of the House as well as the School"\[19\], rather than merely living adjacent to it. Yet, as the evidence of the next years illustrates, although Chambers no longer was the "refuge" of the boarders from other authorities, he was still emphatically in control of the school.

The Headmaster, for his part, attempted to rouse the School by referring to the "Promised Land" which lay beyond the desert of the Parish Hall. Although Weeks had delegated the task of editor of the **Triangle**, he wrote in May 1924:

> In days to come, Trinity will be known as the Uppingham of New South Wales, and 1924 as the year of the Great Removal... The parting from the old home was not unmingled with regret. The School assembled in the dear dusty old playground and sang "O God Our Help in Ages Past" as, for the last time, the green and white school flag slowly fluttered down.

The strain of inadequate conditions was felt most keenly in the classroom. Into the cramped hall went members of staff such as W.G. Coughlan (whose caustic wit was feared by the boys\[20\] and who later became a controversial Director of the N. S. W. Marriage Guidance Centre), W. Wynn Jones (Sportsmaster and Housemaster), K.G. Aubrey (Assistant Administrator and well loved figure, who was later an Archdeacon of Nelson Diocese, New Zealand), O.T. Cordell, G.H. Carter, C.E. Latham and the Rev F.A. Walton (who, in 1927, became the Director of the Sydney Diocesan Board of Education). Hessian curtains suspended from the ceiling separated one class from another and, if one account is to be believed, an

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\[18\] Interview with Reg Marsh 1987.
\[19\] G.A. Chambers in **Triangle**, December 1923, p.5.
\[20\] Notes from H. Maitland Ware, left TGS in 1926, 15 March 1985.
enterprising pupil could choose between a variety of lessons within earshot at any given time. 21 Although the younger boys regarded the experience as a reckless adventure, the boys who sought their Leaving Certificate suffered. Because of the poor conditions, at least one promising student, who was expected to take the position of School Captain for 1924, left the School during the first term to take up the Exhibition offered at the end of 1923. 22 The Triangle magazines, which had been under some scrutiny at Council because of the costs, record a tongue-in-cheek view of the conditions, as one article in the Form Notes section suggests:

We are the Trinity nomads. Where can you find us? Echo answers, "Where?" We inhabit the mysterious regions N.N.W. of the Main Hall, and eke out our wretched existence in an environment of lockers, uncleaned blackboards, and legless chairs!23

The Library, too, was at an "extreme disadvantage" so that "now the Library consists of so many locked presses in the Laboratory"24 which was, incidentally, a vestry.

By the end of the time in the Parish Hall, the strain was beginning to tell on even the most phlegmatic. In his monthly report to Council, a requirement first introduced in February 1924, Dr Weeks noted:

There are indications, however, that some of the parents are beginning to get tired of the conditions under which we are working. Two have intimated their dissatisfaction with their son's progress. . . and the probable removal of the boys at Christmas. Both are in the Lower School where conditions are most difficult.25

Not surprisingly, enrolments fell markedly, particularly in the early months of 1924. At no time did they exceed 150 boys, and in one case, a pupil left after seven days. 26 It is difficult to reconcile the evidence of falling enrolments and the Headmaster's own comments to Council, with the statement he made at the final Speech Night in the Parish Hall (December 1925) where he stated that "not a single scholar has

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21 Reg Marsh, 1987; similar testimony given by Lindsay Grant, 7 March 1988.
22 Reg Marsh left in March, 1924. See also Prefects' Minutes, March 1924. TGS Archives.
23 TGS Triangle. VIb Form Notes, May 1924, p. 31.
24 Prefects' Minutes, May 1924 and Triangle May 1924
25 TGS Council Number 158, 15 October 1925.
26 Enrolments 1924-1926; March '24-144 (30 boarders); April- 5 left; June- 142; February '25- 131 (8 new boarders). February, '26- 163 (54 boarders). The increase can be partly explained by a publicity drive in the latter part of 1925 and by the canvassing tour discussed elsewhere in this chapter.
been withdrawn during the past two years on account of our difficulties, nor has the harmony of our corporate life been marred. " Nevertheless, with the completion of the Trinity Grammar School/Department of Education deal imminent, the news of falling enrolments was received with dismay, and Chambers redoubled his efforts to gain Diocesan assistance.

The occupation of the Hurlstone site in 1926 was greeted with unabashed joy. Chambers regarded the moment with particular satisfaction, as the realisation of a dream:

'Your young men shall see visions. ' Such has been the experience of all connected with Trinity who have in any way thought of the future of the School or dreamed of its possibilities. As the School enters into possession of its larger premises... and work will be resumed next term in new classrooms, it is to be remembered that this step makes possible the realisation of the vision of Trinity as a Great Public School. 27

In September 1925, the Governor of N.S.W., Sir Dudley de Chair, inspected the new Trinity grounds and was photographed for the newspapers ploughing a furrow in what is now the Number One Oval. The Warden recalled that "His Excellency seemed pleased with all that he had seen, and especially with the furrow which he himself had made." 28 The celebrations culminated in the Official Opening Ceremony by the Governor-General of Australia, Lord Stonehaven, on Saturday 17th April 1926. As a vice-regal function, the ceremony received wide newspaper coverage including photographs in the *Sydney Morning Herald* and the *Sydney Mail*. 29 The Archbishop, who presided, called for support for the valuable work, and the Governor-General received spontaneous applause when he said that:

He had no doubt that when the good work that was being done was more fully known there would be many friends who would come forward and assist on the lines indicated by the Archbishop.

The new site was, however, a great deal short of perfect. There was an inadequate water supply, the paddocks were largely unusable as ovals, the buildings were not wholly suited to the needs of Trinity and it was hard to find quality staff to

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27 *Triangle*, December 1925, p. 4
28 *Parish Magazine*, 1 October 1925.
29 *SMH* Monday 19 April 1926; *Sydney Mail* Wednesday 21 April 1926.
remain because of minimal wages. Mr S.G. Martin, a former Captain of The King's School, was appointed in February 1926 at a salary of £140; he resigned at the end of the first term for a position at "Shore" paying twice that salary. The Headmaster himself, had taken a temporary salary reduction of £50 per annum to assist the School financially. 

To establish football ovals, Trinity negotiated for the "spoil" from the Liverpool Road tunnel and other excavation sites of the emerging Sydney Rail network, and the O.T.U. contributed £30 for their drainage. Hurlstone Agricultural College had found the soil unsuitable for their purposes. Blackberry bushes grew rampantly along the Seaview Street frontages and the Municipal Council required their removal in July 1927. The poor state of the playing fields precluded any fixtures there until the Number One Oval was completed in 1930. Matches were played at Pratten Park in Ashfield. One Old Boy recalls the levelling of the ovals:

The main oval was being developed from a gully which ran from the school buildings towards Hurlstone Park where there was a small infants school... We used to kick a football about on a piece of no man's land there; I remember tackling a big lad one afternoon and bringing him down on a broken bottle resulting in quite a nasty gash in his thigh. 

When the Diocesan Council was formed in 1928, an early item on their agenda was the completion of work on the playing fields - the parochial Trinity Grammar School Council had found the cost of proper oval construction prohibitive.

The year 1927 was in spite of this upheaval, perhaps the best year of Weeks' Headmastership. The term opened with record enrolments, and the Hurlstone grounds were becoming more suitable. Letters from parents appeared to buoy him in his work:

For some months past I have been anxious to send my son to Trinity. I have felt that a few years spent there would be the best possible training for him.

Academic results were pleasing without reaching the levels they had done a few years before. I.C. Tacon, Dux of the School in 1925, overcame the hardships of the Parish Hall and gained a number of Honours passes in his Leaving Certificate.

30 TGS Council Number 150, 19 February 1925; Whether this pay cut was as voluntary as the minutes indicate is impossible to determine; there must be some doubt, however, given the action of the Council in 1928 - see the relevant section in this chapter.
31 Notes from H. Maidland Ware, (1926-1927); 15 March 1985.TGSA
32 Parish Magazine, 1 January 1927.
Neild, Hill and Whittaker were given Teachers' College Scholarships in 1927 and D.P. Petrie received an Exhibition in March 1928. The boys, on the whole, were oblivious to the extent of the financial crisis which Trinity faced.

In the context of this atmosphere, the students and parents sought the distraction of successful school sporting teams. The Headmastership of Dr Weeks witnessed the poorest years for sport the school had known, and marks a sharp contrast with the Archer and Hilliard years. The decline was predominantly a result of adverse circumstances and the resulting poor morale. Yet Weeks had little interest in sport, and the Prefects urged him to be more emphatic with the School over poor attendance at practices. To some boys, his lack of interest in sport smacked of aloofness. Late in his Headmastership (August, 1928), the Football Secretary reported a small improvement:

... St Aloysius 1st XV only beating us 15-0 as compared to 45-0 in the first match. Even with all this improvement, the teams do not seem to have any spirit, the boys play simply because they have to, and if they have any chance of being unavailable they immediately seize it and offer the most trivial excuses. A similar spirit is dominant among the remainder of the School who do not play, and seldom turn up to the matches to barrack for their School. They just listen to the reports, often of defeat, and do no more. It is no wonder that the teams lack spirit.

The state of sport under Weeks' administration could not have helped his role in unifying the School during its upheaval. There is evidence of a division with the prefects on this point. On one occasion he complained to the prefects of a:

sense of lawlessness so prevalent in the School. ... After a short discussion it was thought that the lack of sport had much to do with this, and with more keenness in practices it would be remedied.

There was also a disconcerting tendency to refer with sentimental fondness to the Archer days:

Burns then reminded the meeting of one of Mr Archer's suggestions concerning the Prefectship, namely that boys who did not respect the Prefects should be brought before

33 Prefects' Minutes, 1923-1928.
34 Prefects' Minutes, 28 April 1927.
the Prefects as a body. He said that it would greatly strengthen the Prefect position... All were unanimous.35

Relations between the Headmaster and prefects although never warm, were somewhat proper and formal. In fact, few Old Boys of the period have fond, specific memories of Dr Weeks. He was said to have carried a cane in the sleeve of his gown and was capable of administering discipline on the spot.36 His real strength, however, was his grasp of fine English literature, especially Shakespeare, and he was often called upon to give lectures outside the school. His melodious accent was, to his annoyance, occasionally heard parodied around the school. He was also older than any previous Headmaster. His wife, he explained to his School Captain in 1928, had been disfigured in a horse-riding accident some years before; her lack of beauty had not escaped the notice of the less polite members of the Trinity community. Nevertheless, Dr Weeks, whose tall, striking figure was an imposing sight for the boys, was especially commanding when in his natural habitat - the lectern. Portraits of both Weeks and the Founder were presented to the School by the boys in 1926.37 Weeks appears resplendent in full academic regalia, a "thorough gentleman."38 He also had a dog of which he was very fond -

One of the things that always amused me was to see the Weeks's out walking - first a big Collie dog, several yards later Dr Weeks, followed a couple of yards later by Mrs Weeks.39

Perhaps it was, to the boys at least, a procession in order of importance.

Further evidence of the dominant role which Chambers maintained over Trinity is to be found in his actions at the conclusion of the purchase of Hurlstone. At a time when the daily financial tight-rope of Trinity was at its most treacherous, G.A. Chambers, in his wonted ebullience, purchased Strathfield Grammar School. When all around was economic gloom and the Council seriously considered the sale of the tongue of land surrounding the property known as the Seaview Street frontages to meet loan repayments (October 1926), the Warden announced:

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35Prefects' Minutes, 12 October 1927.
36Notes from Russ Burnett (Old Boy 1924-1935), May 1984.
37Parish Magazine, 1 January 1926.
38Interview with Ron Meldrum (Old Boy) 10 March 1988.
39Notes from H. Maitland Ware.
... that he had learnt from Mr Wheaton that this School was for sale, and fearing that this School, which in his opinion could become a great feeder for Trinity, might fall into the hands of another secondary school, he had lost no time in getting several local residents interested and had succeeded in purchasing this property for £5,000.40

It is astonishing that Chambers still wielded this degree of influence over Council proceedings. There had been no prior debate on the matter; he had simply "seized the day" when the opportunity arose. The unnamed "local residents" were undoubtedly relieved when the Council and Trustees of Trinity Grammar School took over Strathfield Grammar School in February 1927 with finances from the A.M.P. Society.

The purchase of Strathfield Grammar was later applauded by the Diocesan authorities, and indeed, time has also vindicated Chambers' impetuosity. If Strathfield Grammar had been procured by another school, direct competition would have resulted. The urban "sprawl" had seemingly left Strathfield and Burwood more or less unscathed and, consequently, such a district might yield a steady flow of enrolments from the local community. If Strathfield Grammar remained as a Preparatory/Junior Secondary School, the pupils should naturally "feed" Trinity Grammar School and Chambers hoped that the "albatross" of uncertain enrolments at Summer Hill would be permanently removed. Theoretically, it was an ingenious stroke.

For a time, the two schools did, in fact, compete with each other. Strathfield remained a separate institution administered by the same Council as Trinity Grammar School. The Headmaster of Strathfield was the "redoubtable" and recently retired former headmaster of Fort Street, A.J. Kilgour,41 under whom W.G. Hilliard had worked some years earlier. Kilgour retained much autonomy in directing his school until the amalgamation with Trinity in 1932. Weeks had no jurisdiction at Strathfield, but Chambers was considered Warden of both schools. With the burden of such a substantial capital debt the parish of Holy Trinity had grown too small for its offspring and a Diocesan re-foundation, for financial reasons alone, was now regarded as essential.

Chambers' manoeuvres between 1924 and 1928 illustrate the extent of his influence and intractability. He realised that the income of the school could not

40TGS Council Number 169, 21 October 1926.
41J. West, op. cit. p. 73.
possibly meet the demands of such a huge debt accrued in this period. Optimum enrolments were a pre-requisite to survival, and these enrolments would be more readily achieved if the school possessed a truly Diocesan foundation. As early as January 1924, Chambers informed the Diocesan Board of Finance that he intended to approach the Synod "for a constitution and a board of management for Trinity Grammar School." Hitherto, it has been assumed by existing sources that the break with the parish of Holy Trinity occurred because of Chambers' appointment to Central Tanganyika as Foundation Bishop in 1927. However, his first approach to the Diocesan authorities occurred before he could have had any inkling of the African commission. The break was undoubtedly prompted by his uncertainty, albeit tacit, over Trinity's ability to survive as an independent entity.

Chambers had good reason to believe that the Diocese would give Trinity a sympathetic reception. He was well known in Diocesan circles, both as the Rector of a parish with a reputation for accomplishment, as sometime Deputationist for the Archbishop and as a leading member of Synodical committees. The former Headmaster, the Rev. W.G. Hilliard, was a colleague on many of those committees and indubitably lent his mentor great support. Trinity had been established as an Evangelical School in an Evangelical Diocese and had the tacit support of the Anglican Church League. Furthermore, the Diocese had shown a willingness to acquire schools, especially after the First World War; Barker College, for instance, was acquired by the Diocese in 1919.

The Diocese of Sydney, however, showed a marked reluctance to assume responsibility for Trinity. The approach to the Diocese for a Synodical Constitution for Trinity went largely without impact - indeed, even without record in the Diocesan documents. Further, the impetus for the Diocesan push was lost when Chambers left for Britain in March 1924 "seeking out suitable men" to assist S. J. Kirkby and the Bush Church Aid Society. His absence until December 1924 left the business progress of Trinity in abeyance, as the Council Minutes suggest. Yet the impecunious state of the school was being felt at all levels of its operation and in falling enrolments. The resistance of the Diocese to Chambers' appeals for support is made more poignant by the schools which were taken over by Synod in this period.

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45 Sibtain, op.cit. p. 36.
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45 Sibtain, op.cit. p. 36.
That Chambers should use the term "rejuvenation" of the district suggests that Ashfield/ Summer Hill was already in decline relative to the "sterling residential" area it had been when Trinity opened in 1913.\textsuperscript{52} Certainly the westward expansion of Sydney after the First World War was "most dramatic in Canterbury-Bankstown area, which took 1/5 of Sydney's total increase in these years."\textsuperscript{53} The pressure for land resulted in the subdivision of a number of gracious properties including "Abergeldie", and later "Holwood" adjacent to Trinity. Yet, more importantly, the change in the sociological mix of the area left the school without a natural "watershed"\textsuperscript{54} of pupils to fill its classrooms. It was the right school in the wrong place. In addition, the area has historically long been poorly served by public transport in comparison to schools such as Shore, Grammar and Knox. In the final analysis, to send a boy to Trinity has always been an effort because the School has had to draw from all over Sydney. Even ignoring its crippling debt, and its inadequate facilities which disadvantaged it in the market place of education, the geographical factor alone should have led to the failure of the School. Put simply, by every law of economics, Trinity should simply not have continued to exist.\textsuperscript{55}

The Diocesan authorities, apparently aware of these seemingly insurmountable problems, resisted Chambers' solicitations. They had found it difficult to keep pace with the costs of running its own institutions such as the Home Mission Society, whose annual income had declined markedly in this period.\textsuperscript{56} They were anxious to avoid any unnecessary strain upon Diocesan finances in an age when governments no longer gave grants of land and capital to establish new churches in the growth areas of Sydney. The Diocese, therefore, had to be cajoled into supporting Trinity. This was done by a more professional veneer to Council operations in the form of Trusteeships and new Trinity Grammar School Regulations (March 1926) and a suggested "Council of Government" (July and September 1926). Pressure of a more political nature was exerted when Chambers proposed to:

\ldots constitute a Council of Government, control and management of Trinity Grammar School to take the place of this Council, \ldots to include representatives from the parish. \ldots Dr Paling also moved that the Warden \ldots

\textsuperscript{52} See Ch.1, also Ashfield Council Mayoral Minute, 31/12/13, Mitchell Library, NSW. See also Judd and Cable, \textit{op.cit.}, Ch. 12
\textsuperscript{53} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 191.
\textsuperscript{54} The term is that of Wilson Hogg, Interview, 21 March 1988.
\textsuperscript{55} Such a theme was pursued by Wilson Hogg in his address on the occasion of the 75th Anniversary Service held at Holy Trinity Church, Dulwich Hill on 6 March 1988.
\textsuperscript{56} Judd and Cable, \textit{op.cit.}, Ch. 12, esp. p. 195.
communicate with the Council's Solicitors and ask them to submit a draft constitution on the basis of "Cranbrook".\textsuperscript{57}

It was well known that Cranbrook was a church school not under the control of the Diocese. The terms of its Constitution stipulated that of the Council of fourteen, at least two but no more than four members were to be clergy; this was in direct resistance to Diocesan "policy" which had customarily insisted on 50% clerical presence on School Councils.\textsuperscript{58} Chambers was thus issuing a thinly disguised threat.

Immediately before Chambers travelled to Britain for his "interview" and later enthronement in Central Tanganyika, he succeeded in gaining the Diocesan assurance he required. In April 1927, the Church of England Evangelical Trust of New South Wales assumed control of Trinity Grammar School and the Holy Trinity Church School Council, which had founded and nurtured their beloved School, was dissolved on 7 May 1927.\textsuperscript{59} The Trusteeship of this Committee was only the first step in the process of gaining a "Trinity Ordinance", but with Chambers' departure from Holy Trinity he had made a critical breakthrough in the Diocesan re-founding the School. The final step was to wait until the Right Reverend Dr G.A. Chambers returned triumphant and in fighting mood, in 1928.

The motivation behind this period of furious activity was Chambers' personal conviction that one day, probably very soon, Trinity would be a "Great School". He had committed the school to a course of action which would either "make or break it", and he believed its future to be in the hands of the Almighty, Providential God. Yet Chambers was a pragmatic theologian. The ventures of faith have to be secured by prayer and by perspiration, by the doctrine of Divine Omniscience balanced by human responsibility. Even Churchmen live in the real world, where debts accrued have to be serviced in material terms. He appealed to financial institutions for loans at modest interest rates for no other reason than the pure altruism of his venture. To the Diocese of Sydney, where his own influence had been steadily increasing, he argued that Trinity was becoming a Diocesan responsibility:

Trinity Grammar School is the only Church of England Grammar School for boys in the western suburbs of Sydney, and should have the support of all Church of

\textsuperscript{57} TGS Council Special Meeting re Finances, 2 September 1926.
\textsuperscript{58} S. Braga, A Century of Governance, Ch. 10.
\textsuperscript{59} TGS Council Meetings Number 173 and 174 (21 April, and 7 May 1927).
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The money to which the Warden was referring was, of course, the Bosch Appeal funds described elsewhere in this thesis. Perhaps no other account more adequately illustrates the temperament of G.A. Chambers.

In the quest for funds and for numbers, no scheme appeared too outrageous. In February 1925, soon after his return from Britain, Chambers proposed a Canvassing Campaign of New South Wales country Anglican parishes with a view to advertising the existence of Trinity. He hoped to gain both financial assistance and even more importantly, the enrolments so crucial to servicing the debt. A Buick car was purchased at a cost of £215,64 and A.D. Johnston (a member of the Council from 1922-1927) and W.A. Kerrigan (1913-1925) travelled to the wheat growing district of NSW, largely at their own expense. It was one the final acts of Walter Kerrigan, who died in December 1925, shortly before Trinity could occupy the site for which he had toiled so earnestly. He alone had been with G.A. Chambers from the inaugural School Committee Meeting of 1912. The whole of Trinity mourned his passing. The Country Canvassing Campaign was, in financial terms however, a failure. It was reported that "the merits of the School had been conveyed to over two hundred houses in that district where hitherto the School had been unknown,"65 but little had been gained to give reason for confidence in the future. In response, Chambers, renowned for his efficient harvesting of donations, proposed a city canvassing campaign where he and A. D. Johnston might "approach some of the wealthier men of the city for their benefactions. . . "66 Two such city campaigns were launched: the first in May/June 1925, and the second and more effective campaign of December 1927 to May 1928. The results of the first campaign were not encouraging; fifty-one calls were made between 20th May and 12th June 1925 and the responses were uninspiring. They ranged from:

Peters American Delicacy Co. , Redfern. Had a long interview with the Acting Manager who said he would place our appeal before the Board of Directors in about a month's time.

to,

Newland Bros. , Ltd. , Surry Hills. Interviewed. . . who said could not do anything at present, but when we are

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64 Even here, TGS could not afford to pay cash; they put £100 down and the rest was payable over twelve months.
65 TGS Council Special Meeting, 8 April 1925.
66 TGS Council, 8 April, 1925.
furnishing the new School he would make special prices for any articles ordered from their factory.

Or another case, in a commendable display of marital intuition;

Mrs Collard, Constitution Road. Was very interested in the school, and promised to recommend her husband to lend £500 at 6%. Called next day, and sorry - No.67

The first campaign did succeed in gaining a measure of support from Sir Benjamin Fuller, who promised a Bursary of considerable proportion, Sir Samuel Hordern and Miss Eadith Walker. In a stroke of alluring blandiloquence, the latter two were granted the hitherto unknown title of Life Governors of Trinity Grammar School by Chambers in December 1925, once more without reference to his Council. Sir Samuel Hordern was already heavily involved with Cranbrook, and he later helped to found Kambala School, Rose Bay (1926) and his support would have been helpful to the reputation of the School. Chambers decided that anyone who made a donation in excess of £100 should automatically be called a Founder of the School. In August 1928, the Treasurer of Council, Kelso King, proposed that a "Founders Board" be erected and placed in the entrance to the school building.68

It was not until the second city canvassing campaign that a significant breakthrough in support for Trinity occurred. When Chambers returned from his enthronement as inaugural Bishop of Central Tanganyika and honorary Doctor of Divinity in December 1927, he set upon the Sydney business and Church scene with renewed urgency. Between March and August 1928 his activity was awesome and irresistible. On one occasion,

... a business man listened as the Bishop put his case, but fidgeted restlessly and said a definite "no". The Bishop had summed the man up... "I am indeed sorry that you have missed this great opportunity of saving a fine school which is achieving great things. You are the first in this great city of Sydney to refuse me". This must have pricked the man's conscience, for the Bishop left with a good donation. He said to his companion as they went from the building, "That was a great answer to prayer."

Still, another business man;

67 TGS Council Number 154, 25 June 1925.
68 TGS Council, 16 August 1928. "Donors of £100 and upwards should be known as Founders of the School and have their names on a tablet in the main entrance of the School". The Board is now in the Council Room.
on receiving a letter from the Bishop asking if he might call on him, promptly sent him a cheque, saying that this would cost him less than a personal visit!69

These, however, were mere preludes to his most important accomplishment of these months - the acquisition of one of the most respected business and philanthropic leaders of his generation, Sir Kelso King, as Honorary Treasurer and Trustee of Trinity Grammar School.

The wooing of King was of the utmost importance. George Eccles Kelso King was approached by Chambers in June 1928, shortly before the Bishop departed for Africa. It was a critical moment - the Diocese continued to resist making a firm decision regarding the acquisition of the Trinity Grammar School Council, and the debt climbed each month. Not only would Kelso King provide the necessary shrewd business acumen, but he would also give the credence to the School sought by hesitant philanthropists and churchmen. It is not coincidental that the celebrated Bosch challenge came a mere month after King's appointment as Trinity Grammar School Trustee. Kelso King, who was knighted in 1929, was a prominent figure in Church government, serving for many years on Synod Committees and notably on the Church of England Property Trust. Chambers had approached him with a modicum of success a decade earlier in King's capacity as Chairman of the Walter and Eliza Hall Trust, and he served with him as a member of the influential Property Trust in 1924. King's success in business did not suggest a parsimonious spirit, as the Sydney Morning Herald noted on the occasion of his 83rd birthday;

He has been senior executive officer of the Mercantile Mutual Insurance Company since its formation in 1877, and became its Managing Director in 1928. He is a Director of the bank of New South Wales, chairman of Morts Dock and Engineering Co., Beale and Co., . . . a director of Illawarra and South Coast Steam Navigation Co., Australian Fertilizers Ltd., and Colonial Mutual Life Assurance Society. He is chairman of the Walter and Eliza Hall Trust, the Boy Scouts' Association, the Boys' Brigade, president of the St. John's Ambulance Association, the Ambulance Brigades, and the Australian Pioneers' Club; and is also a member of the councils of the King's School, Trinity Grammar School and Canberra Grammar School. 70

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69 Sibtain, op.cit. p. 49.
Kelso King was also an active Freemason, having been initiated in 1878, and it is tempting to conjecture that given the strength of that movement during the first half of this century, many connections for the School were made within its aegis. Chambers and Hilliard were both Freemasons, joining other clerical luminaries such as Principal D.J. Davies, from Moore College, and the Rev. J. Bidwell. The influence of the movement in business and patronage, together with its philanthropic leanings have been well noted. Kelso King remained a key member of Council until his death in 1943, and Trinity Grammar School's survival against such appalling odds is due, in part, to his careful stewardship of the meagre finances available.

With the support of Kelso King and upon the recommendation of the Church of England Property Trust, Chambers' Diocesan challenge culminated in the granting of a Trinity Grammar School Constitution Ordinance on 8th October 1928. In the Archbishop's Charge, which opened Synod proceedings, J.C. Wright observed:

But we cannot be too thankful that we as a Church possess great Secondary Schools based upon the foundation of the religious system of our Church... You will have the opportunity of giving a Constitution to one such school, the Trinity Grammar School, that has already won its spurs under the fostering care of Bishop Chambers when Rector of Holy Trinity, Dulwich Hill, and which now appeals to you for a Constitution. Bishop Chambers did a great work in the creation of the School, and we can never forget how hard he has laboured in his last few weeks, although full of his preparations for Tanganyika, to raise subscriptions in order to place the School on a sound financial basis before he left us. It has been a splendid achievement. Work like this is needed if we are to be saved from paganism.

The Ordinance was to embrace both Trinity Grammar School and Strathfield Grammar School. He had convinced Standing Committee of the value of the work and accordingly Committee advised Synod that:

There are heavy mortgages on the property, and it was essential in order that the Schools might be saved to the Church, that such a transfer be made at once...

71 See West, op.cit. pp. 63-65.
72 Archbishop's Charge, Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney, 1929, p.293.
73 Standing Committee Report, Synod Proceedings, Part 7, p. 3, October 1928. SDA.
The first members of the Synodically appointed Council were the Rt. Rev. Bishop D'Arcy-Irvine (Chairman), Mr Kelso King and Mr C.M.C. Shannon (Church of England Property Trust representatives), Mr R. Anderson and Mr A.B. Kerrigan (Old Trinitiarians Union representatives, coincidentally the first and second boys enrolled at Trinity Grammar School in 1913), the Rev. Canon Langford-Smith (St Andrews, Summer Hill), the Rev. Canon H.S. Begbie, the Rev. W.T. Price, the Rev. F.W. Tugwell (Holy Trinity, Dulwich Hill), the Rev. A.L. Wade, Dr P.R. Cole, Mr T. S. Holt, Mr R.J. Lyons Mr J.H. Smith, Mr C.P. Taubman, and Mr W.J. Williams. The names of many on this first Council featured prominently in Synod reports across that decade and the majority had experience on the Councils of other schools. So ended the parochial foundation of Trinity Grammar School, and the romance associated with one man's ambition for a parish school gave way to the flinty realities of a Diocesan organisation.

Critical to the survival of the school in the context of such crippling debt, was the financial support of G.H. Bosch. The stone gates overlooking the Number One Oval at Trinity Grammar School were erected as a commemoration of the "Munificent Beneficence" of George Henry Bosch. Bosch was undoubtedly a friend of Kelso King and, like so many others of his ilk, he was a respected altruist. However, where others had made donations of one hundred pounds for worthy causes, Bosch astonished the community with gifts of thousands of pounds. He had been a significant supporter of the University of Sydney, contributing large sums of money to the establishment of a Chair of Surgery, and research grants for the study of embryology, cancer, anatomy and physics. In 1928, the year of his "challenge to Trinity", he gave £220,000 in city property and securities to the University. Some years later, at the age of 75, he gave a further £250,000 mainly to the same institution. He regarded himself as sole Trustee of his wealth and in all his gifts, "he exercised wise discretion." The urgency of funds for Trinity Grammar School to meet the debt of the new Summer Hill property had been a stumbling block to Diocesan acquisition. There is evidence to suggest that the frenetic activity of Chambers in his final months in Sydney was motivated partly by the continued hesitancy of the Diocese, which in July 1928, had urged "that steps should be taken to secure an adequate endowment for the School." Late in the same month,

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74 SMH. Thursday, 30 August, 1934. Bosch was born in Beechworth, Victoria and moved to Sydney in 1881 establishing a small watchmaking business. The enterprise became one of the biggest in the city, and his interests broadened.

75 Sub-Committee Report to Standing Committee of the Synod of the Diocese of Sydney, 30 July 1928. SDA. Members of this sub-committee were Bishop D'Arcy-Irvine (Bishop Co-Adjutor), the Dean of Sydney, Rev. W.G.Hilliard, Sir Albert Gould and W.J.G.Mann.
Kelso King and George Chambers approached G. H. Bosch with the request for a donation of £10,000 provided that another £10,000 be raised by the community. Although the terms of the donation were not finalised until October, the "munificent gift" was announced in the launching of an Appeal in September 1928. It was a triumphant end to the labours of G.A. Chambers and, with his small family, he boarded the train to commence a journey south to Melbourne en route to Africa, with a heart buoyed by the thought that his part in the "great work" was, for the moment, complete.

The Appeal sought a further £15,000 to augment the donation of £10,000 from G.H. Bosch. Not only was the Summer Hill site in debt, but it was poorly equipped and had, in effect, cultivation paddocks rather than playing fields. King had proposed the immediate sale of the Seaview Street frontages, an idea already advocated by others on the Trinity Grammar School Council, and the idea was eagerly received by the Ashfield Municipal Council who had sought the land for road widening as soon as the Hurlstone site was acquired by Trinity. The sum of £7,895 was raised through this sale and tragically, the money was consumed immediately by general expenses. The Bosch Appeal ran until the end of 1930 eventually raising £22,536, funds which were to save Trinity from the threat of closure during the hardest days of the Depression.

The passing of Trinity from parochial to Diocesan hands was mirrored by the departure of Chambers from the Sydney scene. It is difficult to determine when George Chambers first developed his interest in missionary work. For many years he had been an active participant of the Church Missionary Society's Summer Schools, even allowing the use of his weekend property at Austinmer for meetings. One of his earliest references to Mission was in a letter sent to the Dulwich Hill parishioners during his journey to Queensland in the latter half of 1916. Chambers had read the autobiography of A. R. Tucker, Bishop of Uganda, entitled Eighteen Years in Uganda and East Africa (1890-1908) and was overwhelmed by the spiritual exertion of people who gave their lives and their energies for the service of the

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76 SMH, 11 September 1928.
77 TGS Council Meeting 16 August 1928. The correspondence with Ashfield Council was reported in meetings from August 1926- March 1927. The junction of Seaview Street with both Prospect Road and Victoria Street, Ashfield was considered too narrow by the Municipal Council and 33 feet of land was sought from Trinity. The sad irony is that the same plot of land, which sold for a total of £7,895-10 (Reported in the first Diocesan Council Meeting held in Church House, 9 October 1928) is now being reclaimed by the School for its expansion at a considerable cost.
Gospel of the Kingdom of God. During that stay in Queensland, Chambers had visited the Yarrabah Aboriginal Mission and he wrote to the boys of the School about missionary work within Australia. Coincidentally, in 1917, the Headmaster-designate, Frank Archer, was anxious to generate voluntary giving to the missions by each form; when he heard of Yarrabah Mission and their need for a portable organ to assist with mobile services, he mounted a special project to meet the need. Their gift was reported in the *Diocesan Magazine* in April 1917:

The Yarrabah Mission is rejoicing over the gift of a portable organ from the boys of Trinity Grammar School, Dulwich Hill, Sydney. Mr Perry writes: 'It is one of the best of its kind and is of the greatest use. We used it for the first time at Reeves Creek, on the festival of the conversion of St. Paul, much to the joy of our people'.

Archer left the administration of the "Mish" in the hands of the prefects and Form Council - funds were usually given to the Church Missionary Society of Australia.

In addition, Chambers had engendered a deep missionary interest in his parish of Holy Trinity, Dulwich Hill. Before he became Rector, Holy Trinity had been connected with only two missionaries; Miss Isabel Suttor (CMS, 1897) and Mr Charles Lack (China Inland Mission, 1898), both of whom worked in China. Under Chambers' labours, missionary interest flowered rapidly. The parish dispatched its first missionary from Dulwich Hill, Rev. E.C. Gore (CMS, 1912), who worked in Southern Sudan. He was joined in the field by Miss Amy Gelding (CMS, 1919), who served in Tanganyika where Chambers would be foundational Bishop in less than a decade. In total, eleven missionaries were linked with Holy Trinity during Chambers' rectorship, which is more than half of the total number connected with the parish in its 100 year history. To further emphasise the Trinity Grammar missionary link under Chambers, six of those eleven missionaries connected with the parish had a direct association with the school. In a sense, Trinity became a great "missionary school".

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78 Holy Trinity Dulwich Hill, 1886-1986; Unpublished centenary history pamphlet. The missionaries linked with Holy Trinity under Chambers have a profound association with TGS. The missionaries of this period were:
Rev E.C. Gore, Sudan 1912; Miss Amy Gelding, Tanganyika 1919; Rev F.C. Philip (who had been locum tenens as rector and Warden of TGS) India 1919; Miss S. Wade, India 1919; Rev R.C. Blumer, West Africa and Mr S.T. Dunstan, West Africa (both of these men taught at TGS); Rt Rev G.A. Chambers, Tanganyika 1928; Miss Narelle Bullard, Tanganyika 1928; Rev W. Wynn Jones, Tanganyika 1928 (Old Boy, Sportsmaster and Housemaster at TGS); Miss M. Vance, Tanganyika 1929; Rev. O.T. Cordell, Tanganyika 1928 (Old Boy and Staff member of TGS). See also Judd and Cable, *op.cit.* pp.218-220.
On his first visit to Britain, Chambers was profoundly concerned with the method of training clergy and the possibility of English support for the proposed Bush Church Aid Society. He had dined with the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1918 and their conversation was inevitably laced with stories of the Church Missionary Society throughout the world. His contact with the CMS in Australia was due to his "growing influence"79 in the Diocese of Sydney; his reputation as a fund raiser was also significant to the Society's limited means. In 1922, he became Commissioner for the NSW branch of CMS having turned down the office of Federal Secretary, a position held by one of Trinity Grammar School's foundational staff, the Rev. M.G. Hinsby. He combined the duties of Honorary Federal Secretary with those of his "Commission" until the second trip to Britain for the BCA Society interrupted that work. There is no evidence to indicate that the proposal for the creation of the Diocese of Central Tanganyika was known to Chambers during this trip. When he returned to Australia in 1925, he embarked upon another campaign to gather funds and potential fieldworkers for CMS. One such worker from Tasmania, Miss Ruth Taylor, was to later marry Bill Wynn Jones in Tanganyika.

The nomination of G.A. Chambers as inaugural Bishop of Central Tanganyika (now Tanzania) came as a result of his close association with the CMS at a time when the Bishop of Mombasa implored the CMS in Britain to divide his sprawling diocese. The Rt. Rev. R.S. Heywood visited Australia in early 1927 on a mission to forge a link between Tanganyika and the Australian CMS. The Australian church was in the process of liberating itself from the colonial dominion of English bishops and regarded the offer of responsibility for Tanganyika as a proving ground. Awash with enthusiasm, on 10 February 1927, the Federal Council nominated G.A. Chambers as first Bishop of a diocese to be funded and staffed from Australia. Ultimately, the appointment was to be made by the Archbishop of Canterbury and a flurry of letters and cables between England and Australia resulted. The General Secretary of CMS (UK), W. Wilson Cash wrote to Chambers in early March:

I think you know how very careful, and in fact cautious, our Archbishop is in matters of this sort; he has never up to now, I understand, agreed to the consecration of a Bishop, for whom he is directly responsible, without a personal interview. . . I rather gather that he is prepared to go ahead and accept Australia's nomination, and is only waiting for the assurance that will come from Archbishop Wright. . . His Grace's suggestion that you should come home80 I think really means that he is expecting to go

79 Sibtain, op.cit. Ch.5.
80 "Home" in this case, was a reference to England.
the parish had a direct association with the school. In a sense, Trinity became a great "missionary school".

On his first visit to Britain, Chambers was profoundly concerned with the method of training clergy and the possibility of English support for the proposed Bush Church Aid Society. He had dined with the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1918 and their conversation was inevitably laced with stories of the Church Missionary Society throughout the world. His contact with the CMS in Australia was due to his "growing influence"\(^{79}\) in the Diocese of Sydney; his reputation as a fund raiser was also significant to the Society's limited means. In 1922, he became Commissioner for the NSW branch of CMS having turned down the office of Federal Secretary, a position held by one of Trinity Grammar School's foundational staff, the Rev. M.G. Hinsby. He combined the duties of Honorary Federal Secretary with those of his "Commission" until the second trip to Britain for the BCA Society interrupted that work. There is no evidence to indicate that the proposal for the creation of the Diocese of Central Tanganyika was known to Chambers during this trip. When he returned to Australia in 1925, he embarked upon another campaign to gather funds and potential fieldworkers for CMS. One such worker from Tasmania, Miss Ruth Taylor, was to later marry Bill Wynn Jones in Tanganyika.

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\(^{79}\) Sibtain, op.cit. Ch.5.
waiting for the assurance that will come from Archbishop Wright. . . His Grace's suggestion that you should come home. I think really means that he is expecting to go ahead. . . [So] if you can come to England for an interview with the Archbishop, you ought to come with plans so made that you could go straight to your new diocese from here.

In the space of one month, the Warden became the Bishop! In his reply to the Archbishop, Chambers expressed a desire to journey to England via East Africa, where he would "attend the Jubilee of the Uganda Mission... also the Conference of the East African Diocese in Nairobi and then visit the mission stations in Tanganyika" with the Bishop of Mombasa. Hence, in May 1927, Chambers traversed the Indian Ocean to see his new field of work before his enthronement as Bishop of the new Diocese on All Saints' Day. The boys of Trinity donated his episcopal robes to mark the occasion.

Not surprisingly, Chambers approached the Tanganyika task with the same verve characteristic of all his work. He dreamed of taking "twelve workers out with me;" in fact he managed to recruit seventeen missionaries to travel with him and they were joined by a further nineteen within five years. But Chambers demanded the most from those whom he knew the best. To Reg Marsh, who, as remarked earlier, had been a boarder under the Warden in the Towers and later lived with Chambers family while studying at University and working at the School, the Bishop wrote a letter:

How you would enjoy this trip but your turn must wait till you finish your bond (Exhibition). Then I will arrange your passage but every worker who goes out, whether as Doctor, Teacher, Farmer, Electrician etc., is first and foremost a missionary, with an experimental knowledge of the love and grace of God in Jesus Christ in his own life and with a passion inspired by the Spirit of God to tell out the Gospel that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners. Will you ask Mrs Chambers to guide you in your Bible reading. . . Guard the sacred treasure of your health so as to be all the fitter for the 40 years in Africa that may be your privilege in the future.

80"Home" in this case, was a reference to England.
82 G.A. Chambers to the Archbishop of Canterbury, 19 April 1927. Chambers' papers, MCA.
83 Chambers to Winifred Chambers, 14 May 1927; quoted in Sibtain, op.cit.
84 Chambers to Reg Marsh, 21 May 1927. TGSA.
With the passing of the Warden, there appeared to be a concerted effort to remove the headmaster to allow a more suitable successor for a re-founded school. Dr. G.E. Weeks was at Trinity during its most difficult years of flux and re-establishment. Yet, to some extent, he enjoyed more autonomy than any of his predecessors could have imagined. Frank Archer might have been the first headmaster "in his own right", but the Warden still lived at the school and was often directly involved in its daily operation. When Trinity disposed of the Towers in 1924, the Warden moved into a rectory in the Boulevarde, Dulwich Hill, some miles from Holwood. Furthermore, Chambers' protracted absences in Britain and on HMS and CMS work, left Weeks with comparative freedom to direct the school's educational functions. However, Weeks lost the confidence of the Warden and Council because he was unable to hold enrolments at Trinity when they were most needed.

As observed above, Dr Weeks was ill-suited to the task of holding the school academically together when all was apparently in chaos. His aristocratic bearing seemed to inspire more badinage than confidence even though he was highly respected for his academic accomplishments. His reputation throughout the Diocese as a speaker of quality ensured many invitations and Chambers used him freely at Holy Trinity, Dulwich Hill. But the history of Trinity during this period is dominated by the affairs of the purchase of Hurlstone, and by the Diocesan acquisition of the school. The Headmaster did not directly involve himself in either of these things. Seemingly, in contrast to Hilliard or Archer, he was uninterested in matters of commerce. His attendance at Council Meetings was irregular, especially towards the end of his Headmastership. Possibly this reluctance to attend Council caused the monthly Headmaster's Report to be introduced in February 1924. The boys considered him to be aloof and unapproachable, although there remains considerable sympathy for him amongst Old Boys who remember him. The prefects were loyal to him without perhaps the depth of affection they had felt for Archer. The decline of sport in the school, and his apparent inability to counteract this decline, did not help him bridge the gap between himself and the boys.

Weeks' relationship with Council or, more importantly, with Chambers fluctuated. At no time was doubt cast upon his intellectual capacity. His judgement

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86 Interview with Lindsay Grant; cf. Interview with Ron Meldrum and Archdeacon John Reeves.
was, however, not so readily accepted, either in the matter of staff appointments or in the priorities of the school. Clearly the first years of his Headmastership were overwhelmed by the problems of the removal and it would seem that the Council hoped that the falling enrolments would recover when the Summer Hill site was occupied. When the boarding gains of 1926 and 1927 fell from 78 to 48 at the start of 1928, there appears to have been a total loss of confidence in the Headmaster. It is possible that the initial increase in numbers had, in reality, been falsified by many country children wishing to experience a year in a Sydney boarding school. Conditions at Summer Hill were still spartan, and the glamour might have worn thin after a relatively short time. The boarders drifted either back to the country or, in some cases, to the more affluent G.P.S. schools such as Shore and Kings. A new schedule of fees, implemented at the end of 1927, was designed to meet the anticipated costs of running a house of over 70. The sudden loss of such numbers was, therefore, catastrophic. Furthermore, Chambers the Bishop was in the process of negotiating the transference of the school to the Diocese and was therefore acutely embarrassed by the decline.

When the Bishop returned from Britain and Africa in the summer of 1927/28, his intention to secure the future of Trinity was all-pervasive. Dr Weeks enjoyed his continued respect as a lecturer and preacher, but he felt that Weeks was not the Headmaster to take Trinity into its new era. Perhaps, to avoid the ugliness of any direct confrontation, Chambers and the School Council moved to place the Headmaster in an untenable position. Thus, in March 1928, Dr Weeks was informed that as a result of the financial strain on the school, his board and residence allowance would be reduced by £100; shortly after, he was asked to accept a reduction in salary of £20 per annum, leaving him with £480 per annum - effectively £120 less than his salary at the corresponding stage in 1927. The Council noted:

They expressed regret at the necessity for such a step but with the decline in the number of scholars and especially the decline in boarders from 78 last year to 48 this year, the trustees are unable to follow any other course.

The Headmaster attended no Council meetings in 1928.

G.E. Weeks tendered his resignation to Council on the 21st July 1928 which was duly accepted with polite regret. Curiously, the terms of the resignation were

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87 TGS Council Numbers 175, 26 May 1927 and 176, 23 June 1927 - the "dismissal" of the School Matron was against the wishes of the Headmaster.
88 TGS Council, 23 June 1928. The numbering of meetings ceased when the Council became a Diocesan one.
dictated to the Headmaster, in contrast to the departure of his predecessors. With almost indecent haste, Chambers contacted Frank Archer at Caulfield Grammar with an offer of £500 per annum plus board and accommodation for his whole family with travelling expenses. After several attempts to persuade the reluctant Archer to return to Trinity, Chambers could wait no longer. On 4 September 1928, a few days before the Bishop left for Africa, the Council secured the Rev. W.G. Hilliard (Headmaster 1913-1916) a popular figure at Old Boys' functions and a rising influence in Diocesan circles, as Headmaster-elect. His salary and conditions were similar to those offered to Frank Archer. It would seem, therefore, that it was not finances at issue in the departure of Dr Weeks. It was the success of the future enrolments at Trinity. Chambers could not leave his beloved school until he was certain that a "tried and true" headmaster was appointed.

The evidence suggests that Weeks was reluctant to leave Trinity Grammar School. Although he had found it a difficult experience, he had developed an affection for the rough-hewn nature of the boys in his charge. Yet, he was embroiled in circumstances which he had little ability to control and his farewell note to the prefects suggests this sense of powerlessness:

I add on this the last occasion of presiding, my very real and deep appreciation of the work of the Prefects throughout six very difficult years. The School need have no fear of the future while such characters are formed within her precincts.

*Floreat Trinitas*, GEW. 90

The accolades given to Hilliard (1916) and Archer (1922) on their departure were absent on this occasion. There had been no attempt to dissuade Weeks from his intended course of action. Bishop Chambers simply wrote of him: "he has made his great gifts of scholarship available to the School, and has established Trinity still more firmly in the life of the Church and the Community."91 The School Captain, unaware of any problems facing the Headmaster beyond the frustrations of a dire situation, found the task of delivering a farewell address to Dr Weeks immensely difficult.

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89 TGS Council, 21 July 1928; this was the same meeting at which the resignation of Weeks was received.
90 Prefects Minutes, 24 September 1928.
91 *Triangle*, August 1928, p. 6.
There was little discussion beyond Council of the circumstances of Dr Weeks resignation. Some recall thinking later that the Headmaster "didn't get his just deserts;" but the majority knew little about the matter and, therefore, had no opinion. To Clarrie Latham and other members of staff, the departure of Weeks was regrettable (for they respected his profound academic integrity) but unavoidable (for they knew how ill-suited he was to the task given him). Ultimately, it is impossible to regard the episode as an honourable one in the life of the school, particularly given the almost cynical way in which the resignation was achieved. However, the motivation which prompted their action was the determination to secure the future of the school beyond doubt. The tragedy was not Weeks' resignation but the expectations of those who appointed him to a position for which he was neither suited nor capable. Chambers, to some extent, provided for Dr. Weeks' future by arranging his post as the first Diocesan Missioner in 1929. He performed this task with some success, although its itinerant nature did not suit his abilities. He resigned from the Diocese of Sydney after a broken leg and a mere six months in office, and returned to England where he became vicar of Fenny Compton parish. He remained there, in quasi-retirement, until his death on 24 August 1941.

The years of the removal were among the most arduous and momentous in the history of Trinity. During these days, Trinity had operated in three separate locations, namely the Towers, the Parish Hall at Dulwich Hill and Hurlstone Agricultural College; it was greatly encumbered by a fearsome debt which became the subject of the largest single donation ever made to the school; it had been transformed from a parochial to a Diocesan foundation and in the process, the Committee which had served its interests from 1912 was superseded; the Founder and Warden became the first Bishop of the Diocese of Central Tanganyika and he thrust Trinity into the vanguard of missionary endeavour; finally the school ceased to think of itself as a school of the Parish of Holy Trinity, Dulwich Hill, but as a place which would one day be a "Great Public School". Behind all of this stood the "Colossus" - Chambers.

92 Interview with Ron Meldrum 10/3/88.
93 Clarrie Latham discussed with the School Captain the inability of Weeks to plan a timetable and bemoaned the fact that the School would be in chaos were it not for his efforts. The evidence suggests that Latham was not overstating the situation. Later, he made a similar remark concerning Weeks to J. Wilson Hogg.
The period of the removal was possibly the busiest in Chambers' normally hectic life. Time and again he pressed ahead when all indications urged moderation and circumspection. He seemed to know nothing of uncertainty or discouragement and those around him either found him simply irresistible or utterly indomitable. Upon his initiative alone, Trinity Grammar School rose from a dusty Dulwich Hill playground to the relative heights and spaces of Summer Hill, leaving sceptics and opponents open-mouthed with astonishment. When Dr Chambers, the Bishop of Tanganyika, left his place as Warden he had no doubt that one day Trinity Grammar School would be the Great Public School he dreamed of in 1913, boasting as many as 500 pupils. Chambers gave to Trinity an assiduous, belligerent will to survive. The vision of a school which desired to provide a sound education in the context of a pervasive sense of the love of God in Christ constrained Chambers to a great and systematic exertion.

It was important, too, to observe the process by which Trinity was accepted as a diocesan school. The Anglican authorities viewed the Summer Hill enterprise with considerable apprehension chiefly because of the size of the debt on the property and because of a lack of cast iron assurances that enrolments could be sustained in such a setting. The support of philanthropists of considerable means was fundamental to their final decision to assume control of Trinity. To those involved with the school there remained virtually a missionary zeal for the spiritual work about to be enhanced in the western suburbs. The unprecedented interest in overseas missionary service which emerged at Trinity between 1927 and 1934 was almost entirely due to Chambers. It is interesting to speculate that Chambers' best opportunity for advancement within the church was by the pursuit of an overseas bishopric. What is clear is the way in which the Diocese of Sydney moved sharply towards conservative evangelical polity in the next decade. Conveyed by the headmaster-designate, W.G. Hilliard, with it went Trinity Grammar School.
Chapter 6:


I am stirred by the daring of your name "Trinity". The background of your life and work is nothing less than God. (Bishop of Armidale, Founder’s Day, 1932.)

When the decision was taken to remove Trinity Grammar School from its site at Dulwich Hill to the "spacious grounds" of Summer Hill, the future for the school appeared less than secure. Trinity had never found stability in high enrolments and yet the Summer Hill venture necessitated that the school compete directly with the Great Public Schools to find upwards of three hundred boys. The Dulwich Hill days had been a stable but modest beginning, but with the Trinity Grammar School Ordinance of 1928, a new foundation was effected. The new headmaster, William Hilliard had been selected partly because of his popularity amongst the Trinity fraternity and partly because he was a suitable candidate from the viewpoint of both the diocese and prospective parents. In this second headmastership of Hilliard it is possible to observe the exceptional impact on the life of Trinity made by the three preoccupations of the present thesis. The comparative disaffection of the Summer Hill/Ashfield area, the enhancement of an evangelical school in an evangelical diocese and the emergence of a new central figure are all features of Hilliard’s incumbency.

The second Headmastership of W.G. Hilliard began more than a decade of struggle for Trinity - a struggle which was at times almost too great for it to endure. The story of any single Headmastership in this period must be seen as a part of that process of survival against appalling odds. As victims of historical circumstance, Trinity had expanded at a most inopportune moment, on the eve of the Depression. The survival of the school in those years was due in no small measure to the Bosch Appeal and to the adroit leadership of Hilliard and others on the School Council. As it happened, the most severe times for Trinity occurred after the years traditionally regarded as those of the Depression. The problem facing the school was largely circular: to survive financially, Trinity had to attract greater enrolments, especially boarders, by expanding its facilities. Yet buildings required money, and this came
only through larger enrolments. To exacerbate matters for the struggling school, on a number of occasions in this decade, major capital expenditure was undertaken immediately prior to largely unexpected national crises. The Summer Hill site was acquired by Synod a mere twelve months before the Great Depression, and the development of the Founder's Block and the Pool at the Senior School came just before the outbreak of the Second World War. Both of these events were felt keenly by a school which relied heavily upon a section of society especially ravaged by the Depression, and which was located within sight of the newly built Sydney Harbour Bridge to the east and Mascot airport to the south-east, placing it within an area declared a "danger zone". Ever at the heels of the Headmasters and Councils of the thirties were the financial institutions and the Standing Committee of the Diocese of Sydney whose reservations about the future of Trinity were well known.

The telling feature of the second Headmastership of the Reverend W.G. Hilliard was the remarkable stability and confidence which he brought to bear on his environment. In the context of singularly vexing financial questions, of falling enrolments, of the third removal of the school in ten years and the human tragedy of the great depression, Hilliard was a study in calm authority. What Chambers had been to the school in its early years, Hilliard was to the boys of the thirties. His second Headmastership of almost six years was in a similar vein to his first incumbency of 1913-1916. Both "took place against a background of national emergency." Both required an almost pioneering spirit, the facing of privations in facilities and in finances. The school had perhaps outgrown the need for a Warden per se but Hilliard emerged as a kind of "leader of the pack" and his humour and commanding presence carried the school much in the way that Chambers incurable optimism had done. Hilliard's departure from Trinity as the Bishop of Nelson, New Zealand, in October 1934 prompted the School Council to state their:

grateful appreciation of the devoted, successful and altogether magnificent work of the retiring Headmaster... and recognise that the continuance of the School during the past six difficult years is almost entirely due to the many sided excellence of his Headmastership.3

1 West, op.cit., p. 69. The two emergencies were of course, the First World War and the Great Depression.
2 C. Latham quoted by West, p. 73.
The later months of his Headmastership were in fact preoccupied by his Nelson appointment, but this did not prevent the Council from insisting that the contribution Hilliard had made outweighed all other headmasters and his departure was lamented more than that of any previous. Only Frank Archer was comparable in stature.

The appointment of William George Hilliard to succeed Dr G.E. Weeks as Headmaster came in September 1928 and, curiously, the new appointee attended more Council meetings in that year than the incumbent, Weeks. As observed elsewhere, Bishop Chambers was determined to leave Trinity Grammar School in the control of a trusted headmaster and it is not coincidental that the Council sought the return of the two most successful and respected headmasters in the history of the School, namely Archer and Hilliard. The latter had spent the years since his first Headmastership in parochial work at St John's Ashfield (1916-1926) and St Clement's Marrickville (1926-1928). Throughout these years, Hilliard was a frequent visitor to Trinity and was present, usually by invitation, at virtually every official function which occurred at the school.4 His appointment was received with approbation by the Diocese,5 and particularly by a burgeoning political force in the governance of Trinity, the Old Boys. In an address to the Old Boys' annual dinner shortly after his appointment was announced, Hilliard described himself as a returning "Old Boy", for "we have ever been one body, masters and boys, in the splendid enterprise of Trinity!"6 In this address, Hilliard delineated his approach to the educational task at Trinity. In terms reminiscent of G.A. Chambers, he spoke of the great national work of Independent schools:

It is in our great public schools, with their storehouse of idealism, that the hope of the future lies. This Australia of ours has a wonderful destiny, and she will depend, as our dear old England has depended, on her great public schools. We shall strive on as a Church School to help Australia realise her great and rich future.

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4 For a fuller discussion of this point see West, op.cit., p. 70.
5 Standing Committee Minutes, 3 December, 1928
6 Triangle. Dec., 1928, p. 10. West uses this quotation as the epithet for Chapter 6.
So far as the leaders of Trinity were concerned, the school must assume the mantle of a Great Public School and direct its course as if that elevated status were its birthright. The function of a Church of England school must be to present a witness for the Church, in this case, to the western suburbs of Sydney and, thereby, prepare national leaders for the future. In much the same way as Chambers before him, Hilliard saw Trinity as a reflection of the English public schools which formed the pre-eminent model of an educational system. This presented two problems for the direction of Trinity after 1929. The mood of the Australian community was egalitarian, and therefore Trinity, as a "public school" unashamedly bent on the task of preparing leaders was as much at odds with the community as other Anglican Boys' Schools. Critics of these schools were found not only in the left wing political parties but within the ranks of the Church itself where an increasing number believed that Church schools served the interests of the commercial and sporting world more effectively than those of Christianity.  

A more practical problem was the demographic setting of Trinity Grammar School. The aims of Hilliard and the Council placed the School at odds with the new character of the district in which it operated. For instance, the wearing of straw boaters by Trinity boys, which was instituted by Hilliard, was hazardous for boys who were likely to have it "pulled down over their ears" by local boys who resented such a display of superiority. The area itself became increasingly dilapidated and unkempt, a mere shadow of its former gracious days. This effectively sharpened the division between the school and the area from which it had at one time hoped to draw its support. The exception to this was, of course, Trinity's subsidiary school, Strathfield Grammar, which had always enjoyed the support of the Strathfield/Burwood district. Indeed, without the support of the Strathfield district, Trinity would simply not have survived. The nature of Church School education was never questioned by Hilliard or the Council, but the problem of the location of Trinity, not least of all because of its inaccessibility to public transport, became a burning issue for the next decade.

Hilliard left parochial work for the Headmastership of Trinity partly because he sought a change from parish life and partly because he was ambitious. The critical need of the school in 1928/29 was to find a stable support base to service the sizeable debt accrued in the purchase of the Hurlstone property. He was urged by Chambers

7 For a discussion of this see S.Braga A Century of Governance, pp. 178 ff.
8 Interview with William J.Pickard, Old Boy 1925-1932 and later Bursar. (21/5/88)
9 Interview with J.Wilson Hogg.
to meet a challenge for which he was remarkably suited - the challenge of making Trinity into a viable school with its new foundation. With the promise of the Bosch Appeal money and the hope of a flourishing work at Summer Hill augmented by the steady flow of "post Intermediate" Strathfield Grammar boys to fill the classrooms, the prospects appeared favourable when Hilliard assumed control. He announced: "I have come back to a life work - and nothing - no bishopric in Australia can tempt me from Trinity". 10 Ironically, it was not a bishopric in Australia which drew him from Trinity in 1934, but one in New Zealand, and the "life work" was only a six year term.

It is likely that a significant reason for his acceptance of the position in 1928 concurs with the reason for his departure - his ambition. From the early days of his career, Hilliard had shown an interest in Diocesan leadership. To take the appointment at Trinity, Hilliard found it necessary to resign from the Council of the Home Mission Society, the Diocesan Magazine Committee, the Board of Education, the Social Problems Committee and the Councils of The King's School, "Shore" and Barker.11 It was a list which might have made even Chambers blush and one to impress the most casual observers of Diocesan politics. This interest in the life of the Diocese continued throughout his Headmastership, culminating in his appointment as a Canon of St Andrew's Cathedral in August 1932 and his Presidency of the influential Anglican Church League in the crucial year of the election of a new Archbishop in 1933. 12 His theological shift from liberal to conservative evangelicalism was made complete in that year and the offer of the See of Nelson in December 1933, for some time a bastion of evangelicalism in New Zealand, came undoubtedly as a result of his skilful leadership of the Church League. His ambition was not all consuming or rapacious, but it was ever present. Indeed, he wrote an editorial on this subject in the Triangle in 1933.

When W.G. Hilliard began his work at Trinity in 1929, a sense of optimism pervaded the school. The Bosch Appeal to date had yielded £11,006 of which the community had contributed £6005. At the opening of the 1929 school year, the roll numbered 163 pupils, 45 of whom were boarders. The numbers had almost touched 200 during the Archer years but had slipped badly as a result of the period of the

10 Triangle, May 1929, p. 12.
11 Standing Committee Minutes, 3 December, 1928.
upheaval of shifting sites. Of particular concern were the poor boarding numbers and Hilliard was charged with the task of enhancing the appeal of the school as a boarding school a task which eluded him. The boys felt the change of Headmasters very keenly feeling that in Hilliard they had a "man amongst men" to lead them. The change of headmasters was not only felt in the classroom and playground but particularly in Council deliberations. Even before Hilliard's official term of office began, he had written to the Council with suggestions as to the appointment of staff and the re-organisation of the lower school. He wisely requested the clarification of roles particularly in his duties as "Warden" of Strathfield Grammar School and the nature of the relationship between the Council and the Headmaster. He anticipated the newly formed "House Committee" (a forerunner to the Council Executive Committee) by proposing methods of reducing expenditure and other refurbishments. In marked contrast to the former Council's attitude to Dr Weeks, all that Hilliard proposed was accepted with enthusiasm.

An awkward task before the Headmaster was to tread the tightrope of the nebulous Wardenship of Strathfield Grammar School. Since Trinity had acquired Strathfield Grammar in 1926, the two institutions had run almost independently. The Headmaster of Strathfield was A.J. Kilgour, the former distinguished Head of Fort Street whose eminence as an educationist was almost legendary. Apart from his curious penchant for expectorating on a particular tree near the entrance to Strathfield, "Dags" Kilgour is recalled for his chiding of the idle boys of Fort Street and Strathfield with the warning "you won't get your plate up!" The "plate" referred to the brass plate which was a feature of the Macquarie Street Medical Specialist or the Phillip Street Barrister. Kilgour would accept nothing less from one of his pupils. Hilliard had served under Kilgour as a Modern Language master at Fort Street in 1910, and those days had left a profound impression on his early career. Almost twenty years on, Hilliard was now required to act as the Warden or superior of Strathfield Grammar where his erstwhile mentor continued to work. There is little evidence of any interference by the "Warden" in 1929 and, in November of that year, the title was

13 Interview with W.J. Pickard, 21/5/88.
14 TGS Council, 11 Dec., 1928.
16 Interview with P.J. Gibson (1931-1937; before 1931 at Strathfield under Kilgour) 23/5/88.
Also W.J. Pickard, who considers with disappointment the fact that he only had one year under the great Kilgour.
quietly dropped. Later, Hilliard would later assume complete control of both Schools when the merger took place in 1932.

Hilliard was the central figure in the life of the school throughout his Headmastership. He attended all meetings of the Council, House Committee and Executive. He chaired the prefects' meetings and took a more avuncular role than his predecessor by giving advice to prefects. He spoke at most morning chapel services, very often lacing his text with frequent references to the school Rugby or Cricket matches played the previous weekend. His orations, though lengthy to the point of being soporific were well appreciated by a morning audience enjoying the loss of classroom time. Less popular were the Sunday boarders' services where boys would go to extraordinary lengths to bring the Headmaster to a more precipitate conclusion. In his early Headmastership, he was regarded as an exceptional teacher of languages and English literature and he shared with Dr Weeks a love of Shakespeare. He was, however, prone to expatiate on a variety of topics if one of the more enterprising boys gave him the opportunity. He was also appallingly absent minded and lacked a sense of punctuality. In addition to his many duties as Headmaster, he found the time to coach the 1st XI Cricket team. The press of other commitments and the arrival of Mr George Wheatley, the Captain of the Balmain District Cricket Club as groundsman in 1932, relieved him of this task. His extraordinary energy for all aspects of school life maintained a sense of purpose and morale in others when, in reality, Trinity was unknowingly approaching the lowest ebb it had yet known.

The Headmastership of Hilliard may be thought of as being in two phases: the Summer Hill years (1929-1931) and the Strathfield years (1932-34). The first phase was dominated by the construction of sports fields at Summer Hill and the re-establishment of the school under Diocesan control. The second witnessed a careful administration of the school after the merger with Strathfield Grammar School. To the boys of Trinity, the most significant event of 1929 was not the Wall Street Crash but the formation of an association of schools to provide regular competition. The

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17 House Committee, 19 November, 1929.
18 Prefects' Minutes, 6 May 1929. TGSA.
19 See note in West, op.cit., p. 76 where the incident of a boy feigning an epileptic fit to silence the Headmaster is recounted.
former Headmaster of Trinity, Frank Archer, had been a prime mover at the first meeting of schools in 1922. Negotiations progressed tentatively until March 1929 when Hilliard and the newly appointed Bursar, Robert Anderson, attended a meeting to discuss the proposed formation of an association of schools. Within one month of this preliminary meeting, the Council was called upon to ratify the arrangements for an Association of Public Schools which included Trinity, Knox, St Aloysius and Barker. Although Cranbrook had shown initial interest in the Association, that school did not join until 1930, and Waverley College joined in 1944. The Associated Schools provided a focus for the sports conscious Hilliard, and the first combined event, the Athletic Sports, was eagerly welcomed. The Sportsmaster, M.K. Jones wrote:

The formation of an Association of Schools is one of the most important events in the history of this School's sports. We have tried for many years to bring about such an Association and now it is an established fact...The first event will be the Athletic Sports on October 19th at the Sydney Cricket Ground. If we are to succeed, we must train hard...

Trinity was placed third on 57 1/3 points behind the larger Knox (120) and Barker (60 5/8). The team boasted a mere twelve members and good performances were recorded by J. Sharpe, W. Stott, M. Wade and R. Bird. The following year saw the inclusion of Rugby, Cricket and Swimming competitions between the Associated Schools and in all of these events, Trinity displayed more courage than success.

The invigorated sports schedule underlined the need for proper playing fields at the school. It had been four years since the Summer Hill site had been the home of Trinity, and Hilliard urged that the makeshift ovals which had been so unsuitable for cricket and other competitive sport, should be drastically improved. The poor results of the previous years had to be reversed, and the reluctance of the school to practise was partly because of the lack of playing fields. Therefore, he personally supervised the formation of a wicket on the main oval and insisted that the £2,000 outlay should be taken from school funds supported by the Appeal. The grounds had been in disorder for some time and in the summer of 1929/30, at a cost of £38, the Bursar

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20 House Committee, 12 March, 1929. Strictly speaking, Bob Anderson was not Bursar at this time. His appointment came at the end of March, two weeks before the CAS was ratified.
21 Triangle, September 1929, p. 19.
22 Mervyn Wade won the N.S.W. 220 yards championship in 1933; TGS Council, 16 February, 1933.
purchased 40 sheep and 6 heifers "to keep paspalum and weeds down." Unfortunately, six sheep were promptly attacked and killed by dogs and a further £22 had to be found to build a pen. The oval was completed and opened with great circumstance by the Governor, Sir Philip Game, on the occasion of the 14th Annual School Athletic Sports on Saturday 27th September 1930, before a large assembly of Old Boys, parents and boys. The sport results following this event were in contrast to those before. Hilliard continued to show a passion for sport, especially cricket, and his reports to Council were augmented by lengthy descriptions of the school's performance in the arena of games.

Although Hilliard was fond of games, he also made a strong impression on the boys of Trinity both in Chapel and in the classroom. The school day began with a short chapel service and no matter how onerous the Headmaster's commitments, he always attended and usually led these services. The School chapel was the focus of the spiritual work of the Headmaster and he was determined to sustain the link between Trinity, Chambers and Tanganyika. In December 1929, the Founder wrote to Hilliard:

I introduce to you the coat of arms of the Diocese [of Tanganyika], connecting Trinity Grammar School with it in the Triangle and Stars with the Sydney Diocese. There is the Cross and the open Bible, and the African weapons of defence and attack - the shield and spears. The coat of arms is registered in the College of Heraldry, London.  

This link between an African diocese and a Sydney Anglican school must surely be unique in the truest sense of that term. Hilliard was not willing to allow such a link to fall into obscurity and his "inspirational" chapel talks recounted themes of the honour of the school's spiritual past. Visiting missionaries were occasional guests of the school and the letters of Chambers, Bill Wynn Jones, Oliver Cordell, Rex Blumer,

23 TGS Council, 13 February 1930. Due to the high cost of feed the heifers were sold in May at a loss of £3/11. By the 7 May, 1931 the remaining sheep were sold for the same reason at a disturbing loss of £31. Nevertheless, there was always a handful of stock on the property either to keep the grass down or to pull the gardening machinery.

24 For example, Triangle, May 1929, p. 6; "This year the Head has been the preacher at all Chapel services, and his eloquent and practical addresses have been much valued".

25 In the Triangle, December, 1929, p. 23.

26 Triangle, August, 1930, p. 2
Charles Bellingham, and later, those of former School Captains Bobby Burns and Harry McClelland, were read with great interest. Amongst the boys, the work of the Chapel was augmented by the newly founded Crusader Union. Crusaders was introduced into Australian schools in 1930 by Dr Howard Guiness and Trinity was among the first schools actively to pursue its aims: "to encourage chaps in the School to make a stand for Christ, and to witness for Him by their lives in the School." Under the leadership of Bruce and Alan Bryson, Harry Nossiter and Bill Pickard, as many as thirty boys would meet to hear recent old boys like Lindsay Grant and Bobby Burns underline the need for spiritual interest at school. Other Old Boys such as Dr Ian Holt have retained a life long association with Crusaders. After Hilliard left, the work of Crusaders appeared to wane.

The classroom during Hilliard's Headmastership was most noticeably affected by the Depression. The lack of funds made the acquisition of quality staff a problem even before the Depression began. With the failure of the school's income from fees in 1929, the Council asked the Headmaster to consider ways in which the expenditure might be reduced. Hilliard proposed a reorganisation of the staff so that the older men be replaced by young graduates. Sadly, some were retrenched on the eve of the Depression and left with great reluctance. The new term of 1930 saw the appointment of Mr M. McGrath, Mr A.H.G. Chambers (an Old Boy), Mr K.D. Grove and Mr E.K. Stewart, later a Lecturer in Classics at Sydney University. The salary costs of the four new men were the same as those of the retiring three. M.K. Jones finally left the School in 1932 and took up the responsibility for the parish of Austinmer in the Illawarra District of New South Wales. He was later to serve with the Second A. I. F. and labour amongst the prisoners of war after the fall of Singapore. Aubrey was retained and continued at Trinity until the end of 1932 when he left to train for the Anglican ministry. He was subsequently appointed Archdeacon of Greymouth, in the evangelical diocese of Nelson, New Zealand. The merger with Strathfield Grammar School in 1932 required further difficult decisions from Hilliard. Of the staff appointed in 1930, only E.K. Stewart survived the merger. Hilliard and the School Council agonised for some months over the the role of Kilgour in the scheme of the new

27 Triangle, May 1931, p. 5
28 TGS Council, 18 October, 1929. It should be noted that this reorganisation did not occur as a result of the Depression for the Wall Street crash was not until November, 1929.
29 This matter cropped up at Meetings from February to November 1931 and it is clear that A.J. Kilgour was not happy with many of the new arrangements.
Trinity and finally the aging patrician accepted the position of Classics Master and moved out of his study to make way for Hilliard. In many ways, the presence of Kilgour on the Trinity staff brought a much needed professionalism to the Common Room. Senior boys relished the opportunity to study under "Dags" Kilgour and one Old Boy recalls that it was a source of some regret that he was able to spend only one year with him and that he did not know Kilgour at Fort Street. The other staff, although willing and dedicated, were not in the league of Kilgour, and Hilliard found that the better teachers left, as they had done even under Archer, for the better salaries of the GPS schools. As one member of staff put it:

There was a feeling at Trinity teachers were engaged much as missionaries might be; a man was given a Bible and a hook to hang his hat on...and then he had to operate on zeal.

Remarkably, academic results were still creditable even in the days of the Depression. Trinity achieved a pleasing 90% success rate at the Intermediate Certificate in this period, and after the merger with Strathfield, the number of Leaving Certificates climbed into double figures annually. Compared to other Associated and GPS schools, the Trinity results were sound. During Hilliard's Headmastership, six University Exhibitions were gained compared to only three for the rest of the decade. Fred Pollock, Mel Newth, Ian Holt, Ken Pilcher, Ian Moore, Dal Cartledge, Bill Pickard, Walter Ives and Peter Gee showed not only academic promise, but became well known figures in business or in the Church for many years. Old Boys at University also performed promisingly with W. H. Neild topping his year in Medicine, and Douglas Petrie winning the coveted "1851 Exhibition" to Cambridge University in 1934.

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30 Interview with W.J.Pickard. Bill Pickard recalls that one of the best things about the merger was Kilgour, who was "a most inspiring teacher". As a Classics Master, Kilgour's results were astonishing! However, he had the curious habit of asking boys to run around the block at Strathfield and recite mathematics tables before the class would settle down to the study of Latin. (Interview with P.J.Gibson).
31 H.R. McWilliam, q. by J.West, p. 74.
32 This point was made by the School Council in a document sent to the Standing Committee in July 1940, where the comparative results for Shore, Kings, Newington and the Associated Schools showed Trinity holding its own academically. TGS Archives, Bursar's Reports to Standing Committee, 1934-1944.
33 Announced with great pride in the TGS Council Minutes, 27 July 1934 and in the Triangle, August, 1934.
The narrative of Hilliard's Headmastership must be considered within the context of the Great Depression. It is essential to realise that for Trinity, though the immediate effects of the Depression were only partly visible, the events of 1929-1933 dominated the economic life of the school until the end of the Second World War. The Bosch Appeal cushioned the worst blows of the economic collapse and, even though the period saw the absorption of an entire school, *viz* Strathfield Grammar School, the Hilliard years avoided the depth of financial tribulation which dominated the Stephenson and Murphy Headmasterships. In the process, however, the £22,000 of the Appeal evaporated in the payment of interest on mortgages, on the completion of the purchase of Strathfield, and almost half on general running costs.\(^{34}\)

As previously noted, the location of Trinity placed it in a precarious economic position and there had been some difficulties even before the Wall Street Crash of late 1929. Trinity had sought a place in the constellation of Sydney Boarding Schools and had purchased the Hurlstone site partly with that in mind. However, the rural sector of the Australian economy experienced a fall in primary commodity prices after 1925\(^{35}\) and consequently the national economy was in peril for some time before the Crash. When the nation overspent to maintain post war living standards, many businesses and, it must be said, schools borrowed beyond their means. The large country boarding intake of 1926/27 was now a hopeful memory as those on the land began to feel the loss of income. The country campaigns, now almost an annual event in the Trinity calendar, appeared to have little impact.\(^{36}\)

Few Independent schools in Sydney were saved from the loss of enrolments during the Depression. Nearby Newington College fell from 340 to 223 boys in 1931.\(^{37}\) Between 1929 and 1932, Cranbrook dropped from 336 to 251; The King's School from 443 to 381; Shore from 667 to 600; Barker College from 208 to a

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\(^{34}\) This matter was raised at many Executive and TGS Council Meetings from 1931-1935. For example Sir Kelso King made available £2756 from the Appeal Fund for School running costs from December 1931-January 1932, which included the cost of the Summer Hill and Strathfield merger.


\(^{36}\) An obscure handwritten note in the Bursar's file lists the names of the boys enrolled as a result of the campaign of 1933 and 1934. In 1933 there were 6 new names: Moxham, Shipway, Sullivan, Souter, Horley and Rawlinson; in 1934, this number fell to four: Beesley (sic?), Thomas, Sullivan and Ogilvie.

disastrous 83;38 and the Presbyterian Ladies College from 206 to 145.39 Boarding numbers were worst hit as illustrated by Kambala School, where numbers fell to a mere 10 in 1931.40 However, in most cases, these schools recovered quickly. When W.G. Hilliard took office as Headmaster, the enrolments at Summer Hill were 163, 45 of whom were boarders. Even before the Crash of October 1929, the Headmaster had to report to Council that "unofficially some five boys had left without notice"41 in addition to two boys who had secured jobs. When the news of the Wall Street Crash reached Sydney, the numbers had dropped to 153 and the prospects for an improved financial structure through an increase in enrolments became an illusion. Although there was no collapse, as with Barker, from 1930-31 the total enrolment fell still further to 139, only 30 more than Hilliard had administered during his first incumbency in 1916.

The loss of income from the fall of enrolments was exacerbated by two other problems for the school: the Appeal and the problem of defaulting fees. The Bosch Appeal was launched at the end of 1928 and opened with a flourish of donations. By 1930, these donations slowed to a mere trickle and the last £750 was gathered only after an extension of twelve months on the terms of the Appeal through the agency of Bishop Chambers, home on furlough, the Archbishop and the Reverend F.W. Tugwell. In addition, some donors who had promised sizeable gifts were unable to pay. In 1929, Sir Benjamin Fuller had promised a £1000 donation towards the Appeal. Early in 1930, he was forced to review his offer saying:

knowing the way chickens come home to roost, when making my donation of £500 I said that I would give a like sum later providing it was conveniently possible. . . I must most certainly be excused when I say that the proviso in my promise makes it impossible in fairness to myself and family to attempt to fulfil and therefore it must be as though it were never even provisionally made.42

38 This was as much a consequence of "maladroit Headmastering" as the Depression; see S. Barker, Barker College. A History. John Ferguson, Sydney, 1984. Figures for King's, Shore, Cranbrook and Barker are taken from S. Braga, A Century of Governance, p.185.
41 TGS Council, 14 May, 1929. There is no causal link between the economic conditions in mid 1929 and the departure of these boys although West erroneously observes that there was; see op.cit., p. 72.
42 See Correspondence between Sir Benjamin Fuller and Sir Kelso King: 7 January 1930 - 8 February 1930, TGSA.
In spite of the protestations of Sir Kelso King and the Headmaster, the decision remained. Hilliard also wrote to the rectors of Anglican Churches with requests for support of the Appeal but there is little evidence to indicate any degree of success. The Appeal ended with a creditable figure but Sir Kelso pressed for a further £3000. Along with the Council, King knew that the only path to economic security was through an urgent canvass for pupils.

In addition to the slow, even reluctant completion of the Appeal, the money which the Appeal yielded was, in some respects, squandered. In 1928, the total indebtedness of the school was £35,959; by 1934 this figure was still almost £26,000 and the Appeal money had been exhausted. The mood of the Diocesan authorities towards Trinity cooled as the plight became more grave. In 1928, the Synod praised the operations of the school:

This Synod learns with great satisfaction of the munificent gift of £10,000 offered to Trinity by Mr G. H. Bosch... Synod hereby records its deep thankfulness to these generous benefactors, and assures them of its keen appreciation of their co-operation in the endeavour to secure to the Church this splendid property for use as a Great Public School, free of debt.

The report of the school to the Synod for 1929 was equally warmly received:

With the enthusiasm shown by the staff, the boys, and the friends of the School and the new status conferred upon it by Synod, the future of Trinity is assured.

Trinity's annual reports to Synod were not printed in the Diocesan Year Book after 1930 because of the cost. The prominence of Hilliard in the Diocese undoubtedly allayed their doubts, but even in 1934 the school was forced to make a request to the Standing Committee for assistance in repaying the interest on its mortgages. By 1935 after Hilliard had gone to Nelson, the questions about the viable future of Trinity became more vociferous.

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43 For example, W.G. Hilliard to Parish Council, All Saints' Anglican Church, Hunter's Hill, 18 July, 1929. TGSA
44 Letter Sir Kelso King to TGS Council, 23 April, 1930. TGSA.
45 Sydney Diocesan Year Book, 1929.
46 TGS Council, 19 April, 1934.
The second problem for the income of the school was the number of defaulting fees. Trinity did not draw from the professional and business classes as effectively as did other schools. 47 Its parents were, unfortunately, vulnerable to the worst ravages of the Depression and the late payment of fees became commonplace. Not only so, some debts were never repaid. It was standard procedure from the early twenties to insist upon one term's fees in lieu of notice of withdrawal, however, during the Depression this became almost impossible to enforce. Withdrawal occasionally came in the form of changed status: "I beg to inform you that for the sake of economy owing to a very greatly reduced income, I have to remove David from your school as a boarder, but for the time being shall be glad if he may remain on as a day Boy."48 In other cases it was tinged with sadness:

I deeply regret the necessity of having to write to you regarding my inability to allow Trevor to continue his studies at Trinity Grammar School. I had hoped that by this time conditions would have improved sufficiently so that he could have carried on to the Leaving Exams. I wish to express the thanks and appreciation of [my wife] and myself to yourself and the staff for the interest they have shown in Trevor. His studies and school associations have been a pleasure and inspiration to him, and it is with feelings of real regret that I have to state that your fees are more than I can see my way clear to meet. 49

In the middle of the Depression, the school had approved special fees for as many as 20 boys and gave generous reductions to the sons of clergy.50

Sadly, the sources record little of Trinity's possible sympathy for the plight of struggling families. The Bursar at this most difficult time, Bob Anderson, appeared to file correspondence concerning late fee payment only and scores of letters revealed an apparent intransigence on the part of the school's administrators. Adopting the adage that to look after the pennies was to allow the pounds to look after themselves, the Bursar would write even if six pence were outstanding.51 Perhaps the most

47 See C.E.W. Bean, Here My Son, Sydney, 1950. (publisher unknown) p. 231 where the professions of Shore parents is noted as 66% city based professional or business persons.
48 A.G. Friend to Bursar, 9 Sept., 1930. Bursar's Correspondence, TGSA.
49 A. Fowler to W.G. Hilliard, 19 December, 1933. Bursar's Correspondence, TGSA.
50 W.J. Pickard was one such recipient of special fees, receiving a scholarship to remain at the School. Also W.G. Hilliard to J.E. Dalton (25 January, 1934), where the Headmaster suggests a pro-rata payment to enable Bruce Dalton to complete his Intermediate Certificate at TGS. In general, the sons of clergy received a minimum of 50% reduction of fees.
51 Bursar to S. Bradley, 22 October, 1930.
regrettable incident was the relentless pursuit of a parent who ran a failing guesthouse and who ultimately requested that no further correspondence be sent to his ailing wife who might read it to her further distress.\textsuperscript{52} To be fair, the Bursar allowed additional time for remittance of fees but when the debt mounted, he placed the matter in the hands of the school's solicitors. Outstanding fees from the Depression amounting to £409.17.4 were finally written off in July 1938. The pressure to maintain the school's income left the Executive and Council with little choice but to pursue those in arrears with fees. At no time in the Headmastership of W.G. Hilliard could the Bursar stretch the income to meet the expenditure and there was an average annual running loss in excess of £1,700.\textsuperscript{53} Much of this loss was generated by the annual interest bill on the Summer Hill mortgage. The Council was forced to call upon advances from the Bosch Appeal, the Seaview Street subdivision proceeds and a Commonwealth Bank overdraft approaching a disturbing figure of £5,000\textsuperscript{54} to meet periodic costs. These costs were aggravated by the late payment or defaulting of fees.

When Trinity Grammar School was on the point of financial crisis, its subsidiary school in Strathfield was holding comparatively steady. After the end of the first term of 1931, the Bursar reported a net loss of £1208 for Summer Hill but only £197 for Strathfield.\textsuperscript{55} Other schools who were largely unencumbered by such substantial capital debt, had managed to balance their budgets even at the most desperate time of the Depression.\textsuperscript{56} It became obvious to the Council that the books must balance and, with this in mind, a proposal was mooted for the closure of one of the two schools. The selection of the more appropriate school to close was not difficult. Although Strathfield had only marginally fewer numbers and was not so burdened by debt, Trinity Grammar was seen as the senior partner. Summer Hill boasted playing fields but Strathfield had none. Moreover, there had been a measure of reluctance on the part of the Strathfield school to become part of the Trinity fold. When the new oval

\textsuperscript{52} The Basil Lofting/Bushby file, 1930-1938. TGSA. The sum in question was a sizeable £80. A parallel to this was the R.H. Wheeler File (1932-1938) where the School pressed for the £89 debt to be paid from the proceeds of the bankruptcy.

\textsuperscript{53} Bursar's Report to Standing Committee, 1935. TGSA. 1928-£654; 1929-£1962;1930-£1757; 1931-£2772; 1932-£1635; 1933-£1549; 1934-£1645. The loss was caused by the mortgage costs and the merger.

\textsuperscript{54} House Committee Minutes, 16 July, 1929 and Executive Minutes, 3 July 1931. The School Council was in turmoil when the guarantor for this overdraft, Mr F.H.Stewart sought to be relieved. An almost acrimonious correspondence passed between A.B.Kerrigan and F.H.Stewart from 1931 to 1934 and the reader is left both understanding the concerns of the guarantor and the great needs of the School.

\textsuperscript{55} TGS Council, 11 June, 1931.

\textsuperscript{56} In the same year that TGS reported a loss of over £2000, Barker reported a profit of £517 and Shore, £2085. Sydney Diocesan Year Book, 1932. MCA.
was officially opened in 1930 for instance, Kilgour had deliberately refrained from bringing a Strathfield team to Summer Hill for the celebrations. A bemused Council asked him to explain this "most wholly regrettable incident." Rumours of Kilgour's imminent retirement were also reported around Strathfield and the Trinity Council asked that they be quashed by his "prompt denial." Hence, when the bank insisted upon a reduction of the School's overdraft in early 1931, the Executive proposed "that Strathfield Grammar School be closed and the property sold, and its pupils be transferred to Trinity Grammar School..."

This decision was only part of a long process to find a more viable home for Trinity, which began even as early as June 1929. In one of his earliest reports to Council, Hilliard proposed that consideration be given to selling the Summer Hill property and purchasing 100 acres in the country district of Campbelltown-Camden. He wisely feared that in ten years' time, the sociological pattern of Summer Hill would leave the school without the support of the local community. Anticipating the rejection of this plan on the grounds that it was a major shift from the intention of the Founder, namely that a Public School be provided for the children of the western suburbs, Hilliard further proposed that the Strathfield site be developed to assume this responsibility. It was an ingenious plan because it shifted the emphasis of the school towards boarding, and sought to draw its support from the swelling population of Sydney rather than the contracting population of the country. The proposal lapsed under the weight of financial pressures of the Depression. Yet importantly, behind this suggestion was the genuine doubt as to the school's ability to attract the support of the local community and this doubt fuelled the debates of the mid thirties over the future of Trinity Grammar School. It was not long before the Council recognised that the local community was becoming more and more of the kind that did not send its sons to Independent schools, and that industry would soon overwhelm the inner-western suburbs.

The closure of Strathfield Grammar School in 1932 sorely tested the diplomacy of Hilliard and the Secretary of Council, A. B. Kerrigan. After months of negotiation,

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57 Executive Minutes. 23 October, 1930.
58 Executive Minutes. 20 November, 1930.
59 Executive Minutes. 5 February, 1931.
60 TGS Council, 11 June 1929. Hilliard even went to the trouble of getting an informal valuation of the Summer Hill property and researching the price of land in the Camden district.
the original decision to sell the Strathfield site was overturned. Instead, the merger of the two schools involved the curious fragmentation of the academic and sporting work of the School on two sites. From the beginning of 1932, academic work was conducted at Strathfield whilst sport and the boarding house remained at Summer Hill; transport between the two sites was by way of a "motor 'bus". The merger of Strathfield with Trinity was, understandably, not wholly acclaimed. In 1931, the aggregate enrolment of the two schools was 265; however, the total after the merger was 236 and the boarding numbers remained between 20 and 30. Enrolments continued to fall, in spite of Hilliard's best efforts to keep them constant. The merger decision was more momentous than would at first be apparent because implicit in the decision was the view that Summer Hill was no longer appropriate as a site for a Public School. The Council's research had shown that over half of the amalgamated School's pupils would come from Strathfield and Burwood, and "for years to come would continue to do so."

Moreover, they hoped that the loss of pupils to GPS Schools would cease if a Public School were situated in a locality well served by transport and well stocked with parents capable of paying fees. There is little doubt that the merger was the first step in a second great removal of Trinity Grammar School and in that stroke, Strathfield Grammar School was no more.

The smooth merger of the two schools was as much a tribute to the personality of Hilliard as to the labours of Council and staff. For a short time, there was a measure of rivalry between Strathfield boys and the Trinity boys who arrived at their school in February 1932. This was particularly so in that touchstone of all schoolboy endeavour - marbles. Remarkably, the merger was an accomplished success, at least socially, before the end of the year. The merger aside, Trinity was still beset by the maladies similar to those experienced by the rest of the community. The scourge of the Depression was unemployment and loss of wages in the workforce, and both of these problems touched Trinity. The Headmaster proposed that the school offer a 50% reduction of fees to any boy who wished to return rather than face almost certain unemployment. The offer seemed to have little effect on enrolments. The Triangle published a series of articles on this subject entitled "The Youth and...", ending with the cry "Young man, don't drift," as a warning against Trinity boys swelling the

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61 Memorandum re Trinity Grammar School to Standing Committee, May 1935. TGSA.
62 The cost of this merger was £546, an amount which could not be squandered on an experiment.
63 Interview with Peter J. Gibson, 23/5/88.
64 Triangle, December 1931.
armies of unemployed who clogged the city streets and pubs. While the Premier of New South Wales was creating a constitutional maelstrom in 1932 and the largest bank of its kind in the country, the Government Savings Bank, was forced to merge with the Commonwealth Bank to the great financial loss of many, 65 Trinity was forced to seek a stay of interest on its mortgage. 66 In line with the Commonwealth Government's decision to reduce real wages by 10% in 1931, Trinity Grammar School reduced staff salaries by 8 1/3% and did not increase them again until 1935, long after the Government had approved increases. The average annual income for this period was £220; the average salary of a teacher at Trinity was £208 and very often this was reduced if a man were resident. It is not surprising therefore that Hilliard found the acquisition of quality staff very difficult. Furthermore, when the school was pressed for funds, wages were often met from the pockets of the great stalwarts of the Council namely T.S. Holt, J.A. Young and C.P. Taubman. It was to be the first of many times that members of Council would dip into their own pockets with only a remote hope of reimbursement.

Although the Depression was disastrous for the 24% of the workforce unemployed, 67 conditions were more agreeable for those in work. Most Trinity parents remained solvent. Comparatively minor privations in uniform and equipment were common amongst the boys of Trinity. One Old Boy recalls wearing his brother's King's School socks throughout these years and another recalls that his father, who had been saved the degradation of financial ruin, provided clothes for both boys and staff in the worst days. 68 The parents' struggle to keep boys at a school whose fees, although less than those of the GPS schools, were still high was perhaps one of the most painful results of the Depression. Yet in spite of the lack of facilities, the sometimes indifferent standard of instruction and the uncertain future of the School, Trinity seemed to draw tremendous loyalty from the majority of those with whom it was associated. Central to this was Hilliard.

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65 See C. Schedvin pp.234ff; also the Archbishop's Charge to Synod, 1932. Sydney Diocesan Year Book, 1933.
66 Executive Committee, 8 March 1932.
67 C. Schedvin, op.cit., Ch.2.
68 Interview with P.J. Gibson, 23/5/88; and Arthur Holt, 31/5/88.
It was episcopal ambition not financial strain which lured Trinity' central figure from his "life work". Amid the unrelenting turmoil of interest repayments, enrolments and school resettlement of late 1933, Canon W. G. Hilliard was publicly offered the See of Nelson, New Zealand. Trinity was in its twenty-first year, but rather than a robust coming of age, it was beginning a struggle for its life. The Headmaster had been present at all stages of this life and a Trinity without Hilliard appeared unthinkable. In addition, there were some hints of an economic improvement in late 1934 and with the support of the Diocese of Sydney, Trinity might well sustain a slight increase in enrolments experienced for the first time in eight years. However, the Headmaster was motivated by an understandable episcopal ambition. He had promised a "life work" but was about to leave with the same ill sense of timing shown by some of his predecessors. Ironically, far from being seen as abandoning the school, Hilliard's acceptance of the appointment was regarded with delight by Council and pupils alike. The Headmaster himself went to some lengths to ensure that the School's affairs would be as buoyant as possible at his departure.

Hilliard had been closely involved with the politics of the Diocese for some years and his work as Canon of the Cathedral, as President of the Anglican Church League, as Grand Chaplain of the United Grand Lodge, as Chaplain to the Lay Readers and as a member of the Standing Committee had placed him in an influential position. At the death of Archbishop, J.C. Wright, a longtime friend of Trinity, Hilliard was a force in the election of his more dynamic successor Howard West Kilvinton Mowll.69 As evidence of Hilliard's growing reputation in his own right, the Nelson invitation came in December, 1933 - four months before the new Archbishop arrived. After prayerful consideration, the offer was accepted in January 1934 and Hilliard resigned from the Headmastership to take effect "towards the end of 1934."70 With a hint of regret, the Council gave its "congratulations to the Headmaster on the honour paid him by his election to the Bishopric of Nelson". Much of Hilliard's time in 1934 was taken up with his preparations for his new work and in advising the School Council over the ever mounting financial problem. As if to symbolise the Diocese of Sydney's

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69 See Judd and Cable, op.cit., Ch.14; and also West, op.cit., pp.78-80.
70 Executive Committee, 11 January 1934.
Sydney’s goodwill towards the school, the stone gates of St Andrew’s Cathedral were placed at the main entrance to the Summer Hill property for the relocation cost of £50. This goodwill was cultivated by Hilliard, A.B. Kerrigan, T.S. Holt and C.P. Taubman. They knew that it would not be long before the delayed payment of interest on the mortgage would require the direct intervention of the Diocese which had contributed nothing to the school financially to this date.71 At a time when the winning personality of Hilliard might have been most useful, he found it increasingly necessary to withdraw from direct negotiations with the Standing Committee. He did, however, issue a veiled challenge to the Diocese in his Synod Sermon in 1934, preached just before his departure for New Zealand. Using the text, “Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and his righteousness...” (Mt 6:33) he urged:

For the sake of the Kingdom of God in the years that lie ahead, the Church must be prepared to work and to spend in the cause of the youth of today and the future... And we must do our best to make the most of our Church day schools that we have. Like stars in the educational firmament, they shine as witnesses to our educational ideal; they keep before the community the principle that the whole educational structure should be built upon a religious foundation, that the whole of the instruction should be set against the background of the love and the life of God. Just as the Great Public Schools of England, though but a small proportion of the population have passed through have blessed the whole nation,. . . so do our Church schools exercise a symbolic influence. . . and [are] a centre of inspiration for Christian leadership in the Church and State. They are worth maintaining and improving, cost what it may.72

This address was used to defend the school before the Diocese during the heated negotiations of 1935 and the strong link between Trinity Grammar School and the ordained ministry and missionary work of the Diocese became a central argument.

Hilliard had deliberately delayed his departure for New Zealand until such time as a successor could be named. He urged that steps be taken to find a replacement without delay.73 For the first time, the position of Headmaster was widely

71 It is true that a loan of £4,000 was raised from the Diocesan Education and Book Society to establish the School in 1913, but this money had been repaid before the Summer Hill removal of 1926. Like Barker College, Trinity Grammar School had been assumed by the Diocese without any cost to that body. cf. S.Braga, A Century of Governance, p. 184, where it is observed that the Diocese had contributed £10,000 to Trinity by 1931.
73 Executive Committee. 11 January, 1934.
advertised and a sub-committee (Kerrigan, Taubman and Young) was appointed to investigate applicants. From a list which included Bill Wynn Jones, the Council offered the position to the Rev. P.W. Stephenson in May 1934. The Headmaster-elect could not take office until the new year, so Clarrie Latham was appointed Acting Headmaster for the final term of 1934. Even though Latham had been responsible for the daily administration of the school, he lacked the ability of Hilliard to hold the staff together under difficult conditions. Staff might have laboured almost for love alone under Hilliard, but when the changeover occurred, the hardship of the past four years swelled in a torrent of demands. The talented E.K. Stewart resigned in November and secured a position at Shore before he completed his career in the Classics Department of the University of Sydney. At the same time Mr Latham was forced to discipline and finally dismiss the Matron for alleged visits of men to the maids' quarters, and W.J. Stratford and Mr D. Jaffray both left with some bitterness. It would appear that this turmoil indicates more about Hilliard's ability to instil loyalty rather than any lack of confidence in Clarrie Latham.

The great asset of Hilliard the Headmaster was his extraordinary grasp of the task of leading: his understanding of those with whom he worked, his love for the boys who looked upon him with confidence and loyalty, his genuine interest in the preoccupations of his boys, and his vision for the place of Trinity in the Diocesan schema. His infectious humour and personality defused many potentially volatile situations sometimes even caused by his own error - and this was not confined to Council meetings or the Common room. On one occasion, Hilliard inadvertently caned the brother of an offender, leaving the culprit untouched. When he discovered his mistake, he told his hapless victim, "That's six I owe you." Years later, the victim was a burly soldier sitting on a train from Parramatta to the City and Bishop Hilliard entered the same carriage. Observing the numerous and equally burly companions of the victim, the Bishop remarked "I hope you aren't going to recall the incident when I socked you instead of Dick; with all these big friends of yours I wouldn't have much of a chance." On another occasion Hilliard was alarmed by an outbreak of swearing in the school. He spoke to the Assembly and told them a story about an old town where on one side of the road a business was run by Mr J. Brown, and on the other side one run by Mr J. Smith. The town had been infested by bugs, so the sign outside

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74 Complete details of the termination are unknown.
75 Both recollections are those of P.J. Gibson, 23/5/88.
Mr Brown's shop read "Mr J. Brown - Bugger"; but the sign outside Mr Smith's shop read "Mr J. Smith - Bugger (no relation to the Bugger across the road)". The Headmaster made the point that though there may be occasions to use such words, one should avoid doing it with malice! To the boys anticipating a lengthy sermon, it was refreshingly broad minded and had instant appeal.

The departure of Hilliard in October 1934 was deeply regretted by the whole School community. He was farewelled in an official ceremony held in Ashfield Town Hall on 9 October and his last chapel service as Headmaster, three days later was a "most solemn and impressive occasion." The Old Boys made a gift to him of new Episcopal robes and finally a large crowd gathered to watch the Monowai sail out into the Harbour followed by the Premier's launch, kindly loaned for the occasion. As rapturous as his welcome, so was his farewell and there were few who were not touched by the moment. The Council was certain that the "many sided excellence" of Hilliard's Headmastership had been largely responsible for the existence of the school through "the past six difficult years."

Hilliard's own farewell message to the school was written in the Editorial of the Triangle in August, 1934. In this article, he referred to his own memory of Trinity as "an inspiring fellowship and a great ideal". The idea of fellowship suggests the importance which Hilliard gave to the sense of community both spiritual and temporal, which ought to exist at the School. However, the "great ideal" was the role of the School as a witness to Christ. He continued:

When I think of 'Trinity', its origin and its history, I am bound to remember that above all else it is a religious foundation, and that its founders hoped religion, definite, vigorous, and unashamed would ever be a real experience, and the dominating inspiration in the personal life . . . of the School. That I have striven to set before you, and if I have failed in this, I have failed in all.

That he may have been spared the worst of the economic stress of that decade because of the Bosch Appeal, although significant in understanding the period from 1929 to 1934, perhaps misses the point of Hilliard's capabilities. Trinity Grammar

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76 Triangle. December 1934, p. 12.
77 TGS Council, 11 October, 1934.
78 Triangle. August 1934.
School, at least in its foundational rhetoric, was a school in which the name of Christ was honoured and where the pupils of the western suburbs might find an education delivered in the context of the truth of the Gospel of Christ. When Trinity had lost its Founder to Africa, it had gained a second Founder in Hilliard. Though the loss of this latter day Founder was a great disappointment, within a decade, Hilliard had returned to Sydney as Bishop Coadjutor and Chairman of the School Council.

Through the headmastership of Hilliard, Trinity demonstrated that, like other schools and the rest of the community, it was as much the victim of historical circumstance as any other place. Yet what was unusual was the continuity of purpose and problem, and the means by which this purpose and problem were addressed. The continuity of purpose was simply the perception, admittedly one which was evolving in the chameleon atmosphere of a diocese undergoing theological change, that Trinity Grammar School was an Anglican school to the glory of God - an evangelical school in an evangelical diocese. Its founder had been an evangelical; its headmasters and governors had been, in the main, evangelicals. Scores of its students, some of whom were to rise to positions of ecclesiastical prominence, were evangelicals. This proclivity would not change in essence, but merely wane during the long and stable headmastership of J. Wilson Hogg. There was, too, a continuity of problem. As an unendowed school, Trinity had been set down in an area which grew increasingly hostile to Independent schools. It was founded therefore not where the market forces determined a need; but where spiritual minds observed a need. This intractable expression of faith in a purpose was very nearly shown to be misguided. Finally, there was a continuity in the role of a significant individual. For the first two decades it had been Chambers; after the loss of Chambers, a new "warden" is raised. The pattern does not conclude with Hilliard but is an everpresent weave in the fabric of this school's history.
Chapter 7:

The Headmasterships of P.W. Stephenson (1935-1937) and V.S. Murphy (1938-1942).

For it would be a tragedy if the School had to close down and a disgrace to the Church.
Sir Kelso King, 1941.

Until Canon W.G. Hilliard left Trinity in October 1934, the school had been able to avoid the worst of the Depression through the support of the Bosch Appeal funds. However, the financial crisis was merely postponed not resolved and even in the first school term of 1934, the School Council realised that the mounting debt with its attendant interest repayments could not be discharged from the school's funds alone. The Appeal and the proceeds from the Seaview Street Estate had kept Trinity afloat since 1929 but when these were exhausted the future of the school appeared extremely tenuous. From 1934 until the appointment of James Wilson Hogg as Headmaster in 1944, Trinity faced no fewer than four crises which forced a rearguard action from the Council, the Parents and Friends, and from an extremely reluctant but indispensable Diocesan Standing Committee. On the battlefield of Subcommittee Report, bank overdraft application and Synod debate not only the financial state of the school but also its very raison d'être was laid bare. Those who supported Trinity affirmed their belief in the spiritual nature of its work, in its scholastic validity and in its mission to the community in which it was set down, to the Church in Sydney and to the rest of the world. The Headmasterships of two very different men, P.W. Stephenson and V.S. Murphy, were unified by this incessant struggle for survival and by the sense of purpose for a school which, at least for those who laboured to keep it alive, was "meant to be".

The departure of Hilliard in many ways marked the final link with the original foundation of Trinity in Dulwich Hill almost a quarter of a century before. Hilliard had been present at the school's opening ceremony as a foundational member of staff, he was an early headmaster (1913-1916) and virtually filled the void left by the absence of Chambers after 1928. A future without Hilliard was perhaps as unthinkable as one without Chambers had appeared before he left for Tanganyika. He had been the central figure to succeed Chambers and the Council was anxious to appoint another very quickly. Through its existence, Trinity had had seven
headmasters in fewer than twenty-five years, four of which were clergymen. The only layman headmaster to remain at the school for longer than six months was the accomplished Frank Archer. It is not surprising then that Trinity regarded clerical applicants for the position of headmaster with a measure of favour having had the benefit of an ordained minister of the Church of England since 1923. This feature of the school's leadership reflected the belief both that an ordained minister more accurately embodied the spiritual heritage of Trinity and also that such a headmaster provided a veneer of respectability to what was in the end a comparatively new church school. The loss of Hilliard to the Diocese of Nelson brought these matters into focus and once more emphasised the purpose for which Trinity believed that it existed.

Although the years at issue in this discussion embraced the administration of two headmasters, namely P.W. Stephenson and V.S. Murphy, the problems before them were identical. Their headmasterships, though in a sense very different, were dominated by the task of saving the school from financial collapse. Put simply the problem which had faced Dr Weeks and Canon Hilliard had only been delayed by the Bosch Appeal, not solved. To survive Trinity had to increase its income to the point where it could both repay its debts and commence a programme of expansion which would provide facilities comparable to other schools with which it competed. For a new school lacking the comfort of a strong old boys clientelle who might come to the economic rescue, Trinity could only rely on enrolments for income. As already observed elsewhere, the enrolments at Trinity had by 1934, failed to reach the level anticipated by Chambers when he purchased the Summer Hill site in 1926. This was more a result of circumstances such as the Depression and later the Second World War which affected the whole Sydney scene. The demographic problems associated with the setting of the school made survival tenuous even during periods of buoyancy. Hence between 1934 and 1944 it was not only difficult to balance the annual budget but the school fell into arrears with even the interest repayments on their mortgages. The decision to return to Summer Hill from the Strathfield site and to retain Strathfield as a Preparatory School came only after a protracted debate in the School Council and in Standing Committee. Apparently unperturbed by the spectre of annual budget deficits, Trinity twice launched into building projects which they hoped would enhance their reputation and at the same time, appease their

1 Hilliard (twice), Weeks and Stephenson all came from an active Church ministry to take office as Headmaster. The foundation Headmaster, K.T. Henderson although not ordained at the time of his incumbency, took holy orders shortly after he left Trinity.

2 This is not to overlook that P.W. Stephenson (1935-1937) was the last clerical headmaster in the School's seventy-five history.
debtors through greater enrolments. The second of these, the Swimming Pool at Summer Hill, was undertaken on the eve of the Second World War and precipitated the deepest financial crisis hitherto endured. Surprisingly, this period was perhaps the most ebullient ever known with respect to pupil morale. Extraordinary camaraderie amongst staff, parents and boys and sporting success unknown since the days of Frank Archer appeared to counterbalance any loss of confidence in the financial viability of Trinity. So far as this thesis is concerned, the place of a leading individual shifted from the personality of the headmaster or warden to the key role played out by Councillors who, in many ways, saved the school. It is of importance to the caseline of this work that the individuals, for in this period there were three, were evangelicals; two, in particular, were leading synodsmen in the Diocese of Sydney.


The loss of Canon Hilliard in 1934 involved the school in the disturbingly familiar process of locating a new headmaster and their search was the most exhaustive yet undertaken. In May 1934 the School Council resolved to appoint Rev. Percival William Stephenson, M.A., B.D., variously known in his early days as Paddy or P.W.3 By virtue of his background, Stephenson was in some ways well recommended to the position. The son of a baker in a small country town north of Melbourne, he worked in his father's business before his mind turned towards the prospects of a life on the Christian mission field. In preparation for this step, Stephenson entered Caulfield Grammar School in 1906. F.H. Archer, who later became Headmaster of Trinity and of Caulfield Grammar, knew Stephenson both as a pupil of Classical Greek and eventually as a colleague on the Caulfield staff. Archer wrote to Clarrie Latham in November 1934 recounting his impressions of the newly appointed headmaster of Trinity.:

When I first entered Caulfield Grammar School as a very young and

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3 E.K. Cole, Sincerity My Guide - A biography of the Right Reverend P.W.Stephenson (1888 - 1962). Church Missionary Historical Society Trust, Melbourne, 1970. This book observes that P.W. Stephenson "would never seek a position, but [rather] have faith that God would provide new avenues of service for him in his own time and way" (p.2). It is a pivotal point in the argument of this book that Stephenson was guided by sincerity rather than worldly or human ambition. Though it is not the intention of the present study to take issue with this claim, at least in the case of the Headmastership of Trinity Grammar School P.W.Stephenson did make a formal application (TGS Council, 10 May, 1934). He was indeed, one of sixteen applicants and a member of the last three short-listed.
inexperienced Master, one of the most pleasant responsibilities allotted to me was to teach Greek to a senior boy who at the age of 17, had made up his mind that he would be a missionary. I enjoyed that job, partly because my burly pupil was a tiger for work, and partly because he was one of the best and keenest members of of the first football team I was coaching; but most of all because he was such good company, fond of a joke, always cheerful, and full of understanding for other people's difficulties, including mine! In spite of my help, he passed his Greek, and all the other requirements for matriculation...4

Such praise from the "much-loved" F. H. Archer5 would later stand Stephenson in good stead although, as shall be later observed, the description did not really fit the kind of person Stephenson later became at Trinity. Upon leaving Caulfield Stephenson was encouraged by the Victorian Church Missionary Association to acquire some parochial experience before venturing into overseas missionary work. Although impatient to pursue his desire to serve in another country, he spent five formative years as an assistant minister, as a teacher at Caulfield Grammar and as a student of theology at the newly founded Ridley College in Melbourne. Theologically, he was "a convinced Evangelical and [he] maintained this stance throughout his life; but (his biographer enigmatically added) with a love and affection for others."6 For this reason as much as any other, Stephenson was well suited for a position such as headmaster of Trinity which was an evangelical school in an evangelical diocese. Stephenson had been intent upon a life on the mission field and became one of the pioneers of Australian missionary service. He had resisted the offer of his former Principal at Ridley, W.C. Sadlier who was the Bishop of Nelson, New Zealand to join the staff of Bishopsdale Theological College in that Diocese. Shortly before his departure for India under the auspices of the English C.M.S., P.W. Stephenson was married and the English C.M.S. allocated them to Edwardes College in Peshawar on the North Western border of India, in an area now known as Pakistan. The Stephensons were the first Australian missionaries to serve at this location. From 1914 to 1924 they toiled "with great acceptance" in an area which posed a most strenuous threat to both health and safety7. Eventually he became Principal of Edwardes College, the first University College in the Frontier Province. As Principal he was responsible for the administration of the College and the oversight of the entire missionary work of the Province. He resigned from Peshawar in 1924 when his poor health and concern for his three young children in an

4 F.H. Archer to C.E. Latham, in The Triangle, December 1934, p. 16.
5 Triangle, December, 1934.p.16.
7 In his letter to Clarrie Latham, Archer wrote: "It was a strenuous life at Peshawar in a trying climate, with raids often threatening from the fierce hill tribes, and it culminated in the added stress of the war period".
increasingly politically unpredictable environment prompted him to leave India and return to England. Through the influence of C.M.S., Stephenson was offered the more salubrious position of Professor of Exegetical Theology at St John's College, Winnipeg, attached to the University of Manitoba in Canada. He renewed his affiliation with C.M.S. and Australia in 1928 when he accepted the post of inaugural Federal Secretary of the Australian Church Missionary Society. This appointment was one of considerable responsibility because the Australian C.M.S. was taking its first hesitant steps in autonomy from its English parent body. The grand experiment of the new "Society" was the Diocese of Central Tanganyika where the Founder and Warden of Trinity Grammar had been made the foundation Bishop. It was for Stephenson to guide the administration of C.M.S. into autonomy and, as it happened, into the Depression. This familiarity with an institution in financial peril, one whose avowed aim was the extension of the Kingdom of God and one which to a degree relied upon the goodwill of people who were already hard pressed by the economic situation made Stephenson's progression from C.M.S. to Trinity curiously appropriate.

When Canon Hilliard tendered his resignation, P.W. Stephenson was experiencing another bout of failing health. His application for the post at Trinity reflected his desire for a change rather than a diminution of responsibilities. He was, however, in no haste to commence work in Sydney and he requested permission for study leave in England for the duration of 1934; Trinity held onto Hilliard until October and was then forced to appoint Clarrie Latham as Acting Headmaster pending the arrival of the Stephensons in the new year of 1935. His health restored and his family safely removed to Sydney, the new headmaster attended his first Executive Committee Meeting on 24 January 1935. Compared to the welcome extended to Hilliard in 1929, it was an unspectacular entry into Sydney life for Stephenson. Indeed, the new Head slipped quietly into place and appeared to some at first, a pale replacement for the dynamic Bishop of Nelson. In his opening Editorial, Stephenson appealed to the traditions of the School as his guiding light:

We seek to keep the School in constant remembrance of these great matters and send out into the world men whose lives will indicate that Trinity is faithful to the first ideals of its Founders, and to the aim

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8 It should be noted that P.W. Stephenson was informed of his appointment before his departure for England and was not, as the Latham and Nicholls book asserts, informed whilst in England.
9 TGS Council Minutes May to October, 1934. Stephenson also urged that any repairs or alterations to the Headmaster's Residence at Summer Hill be completed before his arrival at Trinity. Even after the year began, the new Headmaster and his family was accommodated by T.S. Holt in Burwood until the repairs were complete.
enshrined in its motto, that out of our life and activity, God may be glorified. 10

There was no promise of a lifelong service (as with Hilliard), no sense of pioneering or of re-founding the school (as with Archer and Weeks). The task which P.W. Stephenson seemed to have inherited was solely preoccupied with survival. There were 11 meetings of the Executive or the School Council between 20 November 1934 and 14 February 1935, all of which were dominated by financial matters. There was normally none.

The great contribution of Stephenson during his relatively short Headmastership was his assistance with the what the School Council termed the "Future Policy" of Trinity, by which it meant the problem of running a school on two sites. From the outset, he urged that the educational work should be prosecuted on one site and that an improvement in facilities was of immediate importance.11 His prior experience in administration and in managing a penurious institution had equipped him for the task at Trinity. He was also well respected in the Diocese of Sydney12, an honour not always paid to alumni of Melbourne and he retained the position of Federal Secretary of The Church Missionary Society in an honorary capacity only to be relieved in 1937 by M. G. Hinsby, himself a foundational member of the Trinity Grammar School staff of 1913. Perhaps with such preoccupations it is not surprising that he appeared to the boys uninterested in their daily lives13. Certainly Stephenson was a most dedicated Christian leader, a keen administrator. However, he had been absent from the school classroom for some years and the greater part of his life had been spent serving in India or Canada with older students. Although he had two sons who attended Trinity (Arthur and Noel), to the boys of the school he seemed to lack the rapport and the understanding of boys which had been so present in Hilliard.

A remarkable feature of the years of Stephenson's Headmastership was the apparent discrepancy between the dire financial state of the school and its hitherto unsurpassed success on the sportsfield and in other areas. Between 1935 and 1937, Trinity won every major competition in the C.A.S. circuit at least once. These results were astonishing not only because of the lack of financial support but

12 See E.K.Cole, op.cit., Ch. 5.
13 Interviews with P.J. Gibson, A. Holt, H.A. Scott (all Old Boys of the 30s).
especially given the division of the two sites and the fact that sport was conducted a
bus trip away from the main school. At Summer Hill, the Number One oval had
been in use for a number of years but the other grounds were little better than
paddocks and there was no swimming pool. After a fire in 1936 which destroyed the
timber gymnasium, the sportsmaster H. R. McWilliam was forced to fashion crude
cricket bats from fence palings. Yet the lack of equipment and the poor facilities
appeared to bear little impact on results. The success of Trinity was brought before
the public eye through lengthy match reports which appeared in the Sunday Sun
newspaper. The Manager of the Sun, Mr Ron Doutreband enrolled his son Alan at
the School in 1936 and E.N. Greatorex, a well known Sydney Rugby identity and
sportswriter reported on Trinity's exploits in the C.A.S. rounds. He opened one
article with the headline: "Trinity Grammar's Brilliant Unbeaten Union Record."

Considered one of the finest combinations produced by the school
Trinity Grammar became undefeated premiers of the Associated
Schools by beating Barker College 12-3 in the final Rugby Union
round on Saturday.
A much younger and lighter team than the Great Public Schools
champions, St Joseph's College, Trinity, nevertheless, bear
favourable comparison with the performances of [the]
Hunter's Hill combination. 
Outstanding players in the team are Jim Ledgerwood (five-eighth). 
Dick Gibson (breakaway), Eric Osterman (lock), Clive Burnet
(front row), and Eric Wise (winger), who scored most of the tries.

In another match description between the two teams, Greatorex entitled his piece
"Trinity and Barker Teams showed the True Spirit of the Game" and followed with
the quaint reflection: "Seeing the youngsters in action made me feel rather sad. It is
not so long since I gave up the game, but I felt an old man when I left the ground. I
watched and wished that I was out on the field as young and eager and as excited as
the lads who made up the two teams"16. The publicity appeared to have some effect
on the reputation of the school - one old boy recalls being stopped in the City when it
was noticed that he was wearing a Trinity uniform and asked how the football team
was going.

The wealth of sporting success in the school was not entirely reflected in the
classroom. Measured by results in the public examinations, the School performed
modestly gaining three University Exhibitions between 1935 and 1937 and assisting

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14 Interview with H.A. Scott. See also J. West, Innings of Grace, Ch. VI.
15 Sunday Sun, August 29, 1937.
16 From a press clipping in the possession of H.A. Scott; Sun, August 30, 1937.
30 boys out of 49 to pass the Leaving Certificate\(^{17}\). Although this represented fewer than the number gained in the early years after the amalgamation under Hilliard, the Exhibitioners gave some cause for satisfaction. In 1936, A.D. Thomas and in 1937, G.W. Harker and N.L. Stephenson (the Headmaster's son) received the coveted Exhibitions while E. D. Wren became the first Trinity boy to be awarded the Duntroon Scholarship. However, Trinity struggled to attain any consistent reputation for academic achievement and they not only had difficulty in attracting enrolments but in keeping their good students from going to other schools. One old boy recalls that his brother was withdrawn from Trinity and sent to Fort Street because his parents were disappointed with the calibre of Intermediate Certificate pass he had received.\(^{18}\) The lure of the G.P.S. schools posed a continuing problem to which Stephenson could find no answer. He laboured under the burden of a school conducted on two sites with poor facilities and little prospect of financial expansion in the future.

The staff too, appeared to lack the sophistication which might be expected of Public Schoolmasters. In December 1935, that elder statesman of education A.J. Kilgour retired amidst a plethora of tributes and in the process, Trinity lost a significant attraction. The other staff members were either very young and inexperienced or impecunious. Ron Glenvale lived in a "shed" on the Summer Hill site and would use a piece of rope to hold up his trousers. He was also in the habit of smoking a cigarette until its disintegration by inserting a pin in the end when it became too hot for the fingers. Glenvale remained on the staff of Trinity until the mid forties when he moved to Sydney Grammar School and a long and distinguished career in games and in the classroom. Two younger masters had the propensity to set their classes work and spend their time chatting on the balcony at Strathfield.\(^{19}\)

Though never acknowledged by the school's own history, the most evident contribution of Stephenson's Headmastership was his leadership through the first two of four financial crises which Trinity endured between 1935 and 1943. Precipitating these crises was the failure of the school to meet its debts and it was forced to rely upon the support of the Church of England Property Trust and on the dedication of Councillors such as C.P. Taubman, J.A. Young and A.B. Kerrigan. For some years Taubman and Kerrigan served on the Standing Committee of the Diocese

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\(^{17}\) Report to Standing Committee, 1940; TGSA.

\(^{18}\) Interview with H.A. Scott.

\(^{19}\) Interview with P.J. Gibson.
of Sydney and were well placed to keep the need of Trinity before the Synod. Their individual impact almost certainly saved the school from closure when the Diocese grew to be unsympathetic.

The mood of the Sydney Diocese towards Church education, like so many other aspects of Diocesan life was in a state of flux. The gathering conservative Evangelical mood of the Diocese had made its impact since the coming of the new Archbishop in 1933. The remnants of the former uneasy balance between liberal and conservative Evangelicalism were gradually being replaced by a new generation of determined conservatives who were anxious to observe doctrinal exactitude with an emphasis on the teachings of the atonement. The result was tension and in some cases an open schism. In such a context Church School education was under some threat, regarded by some as either superfluous or downright damaging to the work of the gospel. For a diocese still suffering from the effects of the Depression, there could be little pecuniary sympathy for the smaller and newer schools who fell by the wayside. Yet in spite of the Depression, the more established schools such as King's and Shore had returned a surplus over their annual budgets and had maintained their enrolments. Seen against this backdrop, Stephenson, as an evangelical working in an evangelical Diocesan school, was an important component in maintaining the support of the Synod which had been so hard won by Chambers and sustained by Hilliard.

To understand the nature of the precipice opening before Trinity, it is necessary to describe the curious reality of the school's financial decline occurring in the context of an improvement in the general economic conditions in Sydney after 1934. Even before W.G. Hilliard left Trinity to assume the office of Bishop of Nelson, New Zealand, the school had exhausted the Bosch Appeal funds and had begun to default on the repayment of interest to their mortgages. Facing litigation,

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20 See Judd and Cable, op.cit., Ch. 14.
21 The former Trinity master and Anglican Director of Education in Sydney Rev. F.A.Walton moved to the Melbourne Board of Education after control of his own Board fell into the hands of the conservatives. Their editorial interference in his resource magazine The Trowel made his position untenable. Similarly, Principal D.J.Davies of Moore Theological College found himself isolated from the Diocese and his life and career ended unhappily. (J.West, David John Davies - A Principal Embattled; Moore College Library Lecture, 1988.)
22 For example, the Shore figures would have brought comfort to even the most cynical observer. The surpluses were as follows: 1930-£714; 1932- £1485; 1933- £1650; 1934 - £1808; 1935 - £2928. (Figures taken from the Synod reports published in the S.D. Year Book, 1930-1936.) This compares to losses experienced by Barker, Trinity, SCEGGS Moss Vale and Cremorne. The Barker losses were relatively temporary and by 1935 they had recovered sufficiently to build a new Pool and a Dining Hall with a 40% increase in enrolment experienced in one year alone.
the school reluctantly approached the Church of England Property Trust who, under the Trinity Grammar School constitution retained control over its properties. The school's reluctance to go cap in hand to the Diocese was based it seems on a fear that allowing the Diocese to make a direct financial input (as opposed to a loan) might compromise the school's administrative autonomy.\textsuperscript{23} Although an inaccurate observation by Braga claims otherwise, in the first monetary outlay ever made by the Diocese to Trinity, the Church Property Trust provided £244 which met the arrears of interest accrued on one mortgage until mid 1934. However, the enormous burden before the school remained and the Council submitted a detailed report to the Standing Committee which outlined the reasons for their plight.\textsuperscript{24} The report had three components: it described the nature of the school's indebtedness observing that the cash loss which had been a regular feature of Trinity annual accounts since 1929 was caused largely by interest on mortgages; secondly, it gave a defence of a "Trinity" education; finally, it made application for what became known as the "Christ Church St Laurence Allocations". These "Allocations" became available for Diocesan church schools through the enforced closure of the Christ Church St Laurence School in 1932 and the subsequent resumption of their funds. Not surprisingly, the decision to resume these funds was bitterly resented by Christ Church whose relationship with the Diocese had long been volatile.\textsuperscript{25}

The assistance of the Diocese was not won easily. The Bursar of Trinity, Robert Anderson, prepared detailed records and accounts for the school since 1929 in an attempt to demonstrate the thrift with which their affairs had been conducted during the Depression. It will be recalled that the Diocese had baulked at assuming control of a school encumbered by debt in the first place and their reluctance to come to the assistance of Trinity in 1935 was consistent with this policy. Hence, the school was forced to defend its very existence. The Council used the words of the Archbishop's address in the Synod: "When we come to consider results I am disturbed and distressed at the few candidates coming forward for the ministry of the Church from our Great Public Schools, especially those conducted under the auspices of the Church itself". The Council added: "In the twenty two years of its existence, 29 of Trinity's ex-pupils and/or Masters have entered the Ministry or the Mission

\textsuperscript{23} Upon receipt of the first Property Trust "gift", the School hastily convened a sub-committee to consider the position of the Council in relation to the control of money, of property and of the constitution and they proposed an association of Anglican schools which might help others in times of such need. Although it failed, the latter proposal was presumably designed to alleviate the necessity of going cap-in-hand to the Diocese.

\textsuperscript{24} Report to the Registrar, Sydney Diocesan Registry, 10th April, 1935. TGSA.

\textsuperscript{25} See Laura Mary Allen, \textit{History of Christ Church St Laurence}, Sydney, 1939, (publisher unknown).
Field". They also included an extract from a letter sent by R.H. Swainson the General Secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association to P.W. Stephenson:

Trinity has turned out some splendid fellows and I feel that of all of the so called Church Schools Trinity at present more than any other is turning out young men of fine manly qualities expressing definite Christian faith and purpose in their lives.

Given that Trinity was an asset to the spiritual work of the Church in the western suburbs and at home in the company of other important Church schools, it argued that the Diocese should come to its assistance as a matter of necessity. In the words of Sir Kelso King: "We are certainly entitled to sympathy in a practical form in our present position, which has been brought about through conditions beyond the control of the Council." The Standing Committee, however, was not easily persuaded. Even if the Diocese provided money to rescue Trinity in 1935, there was little assurance in the minds of the Standing Committee that the financial future of the school would improve. "The financial position of Trinity Grammar School", the Standing Committee reported to Synod in 1935, "has caused the Diocese concern. A sub-committee was appointed and had a lengthy conference with the Executive Committee of the School." The disturbing features of the Trinity indebtedness, apart from the failure of enrolments, were the unwieldy number of mortgages on the properties and the tendency of the Council to allow some of its own members to make unsecured loans to pay monthly accounts. After some deliberation the Sub-Committee to Synod recommended that the Diocesan and Educational Book Society advance to Trinity Grammar School through the Church of England Property Trust an interest free loan of £4,000 (eventually repayable by 1955) of which £3,000 had to be used to release the Strathfield site from its mortgage and £1,000 towards the debt to Mrs Christian R. Thorrett. In addition, the annual interest payments would be met from the "Christ Church Allocations" for a period of three years on the provision that the Trinity Council negotiate a reduction in interest rates to 3% per annum. It was in some ways a generous package, but it was not unique to Trinity. The same Christ Church funds were used to sustain SCEGGS Cremorne and Moss Vale until the former was closed down on the 31st December, 1939. Nevertheless, it was the difference between Trinity receiving a writ for defaulting on interest payments and its survival.

26 Report to the Registrar, 10 April, 1935. TGSA.
27 Sir Kelso King to TGS Executive Committee, 22 March 1935; in Report to the Registrar, 10 April, 1935. TGSA.
28 Year Book of the Sydney Diocese, 1936, p.359.
29 Diocesan Registry (H.W. Archinal) to Trinity Grammar School Bursar (R. Anderson), 12 June, 1935. TGSA.
The successful cajoling of the Diocese was achieved through the labours of the Bursar, Bob Anderson, the influence of the Headmaster and C.P. Taubman who both served on sub-committees of the Standing Committee and the legal expertise and determination of A.B. Kerrigan. It was Kerrigan who secured the reduction of annual interest rates and in one case succeeded in having this reduction retrospective to September, 1932\footnote{TGS Council, 8 August, 1935. The backdated interest was on the mortgage to Mrs Christian R.Thornett.} effectively cancelling much of the accrued debt from this source. The presence of Stephenson in negotiations was perhaps not decisive but it was nevertheless important. With a C.M.S. man at the helm of Trinity, Archbishop Mowll himself a former C.M.S. missionary in China and undoubtedly a long time acquaintance of the Headmaster\footnote{See M.Loane, Archbishop Mowll. London, 1960, (publisher unknown ).}, would have had cause for greater confidence in the evangelical future of the school.

The direct financial intervention of the Diocesan placed the School Council in the invidious position of being wholly accountable to the Standing Committee beyond the mere submission of annual reports. There is some evidence of resistance by the Council to this prospect even before the application for assistance was made\footnote{TGS Council, 10 May, 1934.}. Dire financial circumstances, however, forced their hand and subsequently all Council deliberations were conducted with proverbial glances over the shoulder at the ever watching Diocesan Standing Committee. Clearly Trinity wished to conduct its affairs without the influence of the censorious elements of the Synod; yet the Standing Committee believed, with some justification, that if the Diocese was to provide money for the survival of the school then it was entitled to a more than cursory participation in the school's operation. The impact of this tension was almost immediate. In addition to the aforementioned conditions upon the Diocesan rescue package, the Sub-Committee insisted that the school make further "economies" in order to save money. The Council promptly rejected this by observing that further economies were impossible "except by reduction in salaries which are considered to be too low at the present time"\footnote{TGS Exec. 20 June, 1935.}. Holding the whip hand, the Standing Committee nevertheless insisted upon appointing a sub-committee to investigate potential economies for Trinity Grammar School within a month of the Council rejection of such a condition.
In addition to oversight of the administration of the school, the sub-committee which investigated the future prospects of Trinity re-opened the hoary question of the viability of Summer Hill as a site for a school. Between July 1935 and May 1936, not for the first time since 1929, a series of protracted meetings and reports considered proposal and counter-proposal over the future of the school. In a report to their parent body, the sub-committee observed that: "The fact that the Boarding School is at Summer Hill and the teaching is done at Strathfield . . . is in our opinion almost fatal to the success of the School. " In another equally damning conclusion they maintained: "at the end of that [3 year] period, the prospects of the school being able to meet its financial obligations appear to be hopeless. "34 It was little short of a proclamation of the inevitable - it was no longer, in their view, a question of if but when Trinity Grammar School would close. The Council responded sharply: "This does not represent the opinion of those who have carefully nursed and understood the finances for a long period". 35 They reasoned, however, more by faith than by sight and in truth the school finances continued to be tenuous. Before the end of the first term of 1936 the Council was forced to accept a temporary loan of £700 from C.P. Taubman and T.S. Holt to meet the shortfall in expenses before the receipt of the May fees. This was a repeated feature of the school's financial scenario and it caused the Standing Committee considerable disquiet. For its part, the Council anticipated that the few years after the merger between Trinity and Strathfield Grammar would be a time of reconstruction of the school's catchment area;36 better times were ahead and the school merely required temporary relief.

If the school authorities argued for relief until better times should arrive, the Standing Committee believed that there was little doubt that those times were illusory in Summer Hill. To a degree the Council had resolved upon the Strathfield plan after 1932 by virtue of their relocation of the academic work to "Llandillo". Although the Summer Hill site possessed excellent playing fields and a boarding house it was badly in need of development. Only the lack of alternative playing fields in Strathfield had prevented the complete subdivision of the Hurlstone estate and by late 1935 the Council favoured the Strathfield plan on the basis of the viability of enrolments37. This plan required a daunting capital investment of approximately £12,000 to provide suitable playing fields and new classrooms. Interestingly however, the Executive allowed a loophole:

34 Report of the Sub-Committee to Standing Committee, tabled at the TGS Council, 10 December 1935. The constituents of this committee appear to have been inter alia C.M.C. Shannon, Sir Kelso King, The TGS Executive and the Archbishop.
35 TGS Council, 10 December, 1935.
36 Ibid.
37 Memorandum re. TGS to Standing Committee, January(?), 1936. TGSA.
The Summer Hill scheme, assuming that for financial or other reasons the Strathfield scheme is rejected, has many doubtful aspects, but if adopted should, the Executive considers, be less uncertain of success with a Preparatory School maintained at Strathfield.

Thus by February 1936, with the enrolments increasing for the first time for some years the Council had resolved for financial reasons to accept this loophole. They noted that "the best hopes of Trinity lie in the direction of the Executives Committee's recommendation that the classrooms for the Upper School and a Swimming Pool be constructed at Summer Hill providing that the necessary money can be raised".\textsuperscript{38} It was a bold plan particularly considering the difficulty of the school to even meet its periodic expenses\textsuperscript{39} in spite of the removal of the burden of interest repayments. Yet they were confident that Strathfield would feed Summer Hill and hence began to plan for the third removal of the senior school in a little over a decade.

There was a second financial crisis during Stephenson's Headmastership no less threatening than the first. In the new term of 1937 the confidence in the survival of the school was dashed by a disappointing decline in enrolments, a decline made more poignant because it was unexpected. In 1936 the worst of the Depression appeared over and the school numbers increased slightly to 218 suggesting that the steady erosion since the amalgamation had been nullified. Disaster struck in 1937 when the school opened with 180, a decline of over twenty-five percent in one year alone. This fall of enrolments was caused partly by the apparent lack of teaching expertise\textsuperscript{40} and poor facilities of the school - it cannot be explained by the Depression because most schools appeared to be recovering strongly. One possible cause of the enrolment slip was a series of fires which brought Trinity into some notoriety. Between May and July 1936 an arsonist, thought to be one of the boys, set alight numerous buildings at Summer Hill and to a lesser extent Strathfield, including the complete destruction of the timber gymnasium.

\textsuperscript{38} TGS Council, 18 February, 1936.
\textsuperscript{39} For example the funds were short not only in May 1936 but also in August. On this occasion, J.A. Young and T.S. Holt loaned £100 and £200 respectively.
\textsuperscript{40} The biography of Stephenson claims that the most important contribution during his Headmastership was "to raise the general academic standards and the spiritual tone of the School" (p. 68). As we have seen, the spiritual life of the School was strong under Hilliard; and there were great limitations on the Stephenson's academic ambitions for Trinity. Hilliard's results in any corresponding period were better than his successor's. Hence, the contribution of Stephenson was not in raised academic standards.
at Summer Hill. The six fires were reported in the newspapers with the headlines "Fires in School - Malicious Person with Axe to Grind". The sub-committee of Synod and the Executive regarded the deterioration in enrolments gravely. The loss of numbers obviously meant the loss of income at a most inopportune moment. The Summer Hill plan was scheduled to take effect in 1938, subject to a more successful prosecution of the Appeal launched in 1936. The Diocese had covered £630 in interest repayments but the long awaited recovery appeared as elusive as ever. Moreover, the blow was exacerbated by the departure of the first Bursar, Robert Anderson, in December, 1936. Bob Anderson, it will be recalled, was the first pupil enrolled at Trinity in 1913, a former Prefect and master at the school, a veteran of the First World War, the first Old Boy to enrol his son at Trinity. He was a founder of the Old Trinitarians Union and he had had an almost continuous association with the Council since 1926. Since 1929 Bob Anderson had discharged the responsibilities of Bursar with acumen, managing the business affairs of the school with judicious expediency. The boys at Strathfield passed his office on their way to class and his face was as familiar to them as that of the Headmaster. His loss to Shore was a bitter pill as the Council noted:

He has held this position for 7½ years and during that time he has not only been faithful and painstaking in the routine duties attaching to the office but he has made a most valuable contribution to the life and spirit of the School. He was replaced by his assistant, Miss P.G. Hamilton, at, it should be said, a considerable saving in salary to the school. The enquiries concerning the falling enrolments struggled to apportion blame to any single factor other than the general maladies of a school in a financial quagmire and they proposed schemes for canvassing further enrolments. The Summer Hill scheme would cost £7,000 to construct new classrooms and commence the Pool; of this amount, only £1,000 had been gathered after one year of energetic fund raising by J. A. Young and the newly named Parents and Friends' Association.

The survival of Trinity through this crisis was one of the most extraordinary moments in the history of the school and serves to illustrate that in a school like this, the energy of a single figure can transform its shape. The Founder, Bishop G. A. Chambers returned from Tanganyika for his second furlough in mid 1937. The Council had importuned Chambers to assist with the Bosch Appeal during his last

41 *Sydney Sun*, 15 June, 1936. In a pointed footnote, one article retorted "The mystery of certain school fires remains a mystery. But had the fires occurred in the Taxation Department - !"
42 TGS Council, 10 December, 1936.
furlough in 1930. Trinity's need on this occasion was perhaps as great as it ever had been and the weary Chambers was given transport and a list of names to approach. The results of Chambers' efforts surpassed even the most optimistic aspirations of the most sanguine member of the school community. In a mere five days Chambers raised £6,000 which was a sum sufficient to pay for the new classroom block proposed at Summer Hill. We know little of the donors and can only guess at the method Chambers employed to reap such funds. Yet it caused the Council to respond with unrestrained gratitude. Bishop and Mrs Chambers were acknowledged for their "wondrous act of self-sacrifice" in the "remarkable campaign of five days when he raised £6,000 for the erection of new classrooms and the provision of a swimming pool for the School which allows the work to proceed at Summer Hill". The minute recorded the Council's gratitude for the Founder's initial acquisition of the two "splendid" properties and for the Bosch Appeal; but the "latest piece of work . . . will meet a great need at one of the most critical moments in the development of the School".

This remarkable episode enabled Trinity to proceed with the construction of the new premises later aptly known as the "Founder's Block" despite being unable to pay its own arrears in interest and with significantly reduced enrolments! Designed by the Old Boy architect F.E.B. Rice, the new block would boast six classrooms, a Masters' Common Room, a Library, a small office and a Chancel behind a screen to be used as a Chapel. It was built in an area now forming the southern reach of the Quadrangle at Summer Hill adjacent to the old stables and the Science rooms. To the boys and parents alike the work progressing at Summer Hill was the cause of great enthusiasm. In the space of one month in 1937, Trinity had been transformed from a school almost certain to collapse to one with sufficient confidence to launch into a substantial building programme - the more remarkable because the programme was almost completely without debt. Even before the Chambers' miracle, the sub-committee was forced to acknowledge the Council's efforts in sustaining the school:

The Sub-Committee is of the opinion that the Council of the School has performed a great work in keeping the School going, notwithstanding the tremendous difficulties encountered. In the interests of the Church generally, the Diocese should encourage the Council and assist the School to the utmost. No Church School can effectively carry on without adequate endowment.

43 TGS Council, 8 July, 1937.
44 Report of the Sub-Committee of the Standing Committee appointed to consider and report on the financial statements of Trinity Grammar School for the year ended 31 December, 1936; 28 May, 1937. D.J.Knox, Chairman. TGSA.
With the promise of continued interest repayments by the Diocese, the Council pressed ahead with the Summer Hill proposal and made ready to the removal of the Senior School to its old home on the Hurlstone site. G.A. Chambers, writing to the *Sydney Morning Herald* from his cabin on the *S.S. Maloja* in the Great Australian Bight, challenged the Sydney community to redouble their support and give to help the school complete its development:

> A swimming pool to cost £1500 is in view at once; £10,000 is the immediate objective. I am wondering whether there are not others in New South Wales who would like to have a share in fulfilling the purpose for which the school was founded. . . The chapel at Trinity or the swimming pool would be beautiful memorials. 45

Chambers' unashamed appeal to the desire of humanity for immortality achieved through gracious memorials reveals that he was not above the use of sublety in his money raising repertoire. The new block was opened by the Archbishop on 17th November, 1937. The Parents' and Friends' Association President J.A. Young spoke to the assembly on "Milestones" and called upon the boys to regard each moment as a part of the whole process of building traditions which would give the school a "character of its own". A.B. Kerrigan reported on the business progress of the school and a message of congratulations was read from Sir Kelso King. The school had survived - even more than that, it had flourished!

Amid the wave of excitement which swept the school at the opening of a new complex, amid the deliberations over of the new building, amid the planning of the chapel and the donation of the Communion table and the vessels, P.W. Stephenson tendered his resignation as Headmaster. His resignation took the community by surprise. Although it was expected that Stephenson would give six months notice of his intentions, he informed the Council of his decision on 9 September 1937 that he wished to take leave of his post at the end of the year. The reasons for this decision are difficult to determine and even the Council at the time appeared to act indecisively. They ordered that the decision be kept strictly confidential and that a sub-committee of Young, Taubman, Kerrigan, Tugwell and the Archbishop be appointed to deal with the "matter". It was another month before the letter of resignation was formally accepted and the announcement was not made public until

the end of October, leaving scarcely enough time to find a replacement. Stephenson's biographer alludes to his excessive workload as the cause of his resignation from Trinity. Throughout his Headmastership, Stephenson had retained the post of Honorary Federal Secretary of the C.M.S. and, in recent years with Archbishop Mowll and Monty Hinsby, he had been closely involved with the reorganisation of the work of that body in Australia. Cole asserts that "he just had too much to do, and the strain and tension were beginning to affect his health". Certainly, Stephenson had a most strenuous task during his short incumbency but the decline in his health fails to account for the relative haste and secrecy which surrounded his decision to leave the school. The circumstances are shrouded in mystery. He wrote to the Archbishop on 28 August but he did not tender a written resignation to the Council until 22 September. The loss of another headmaster, once more at a strategic time in the life of the school, appeared to throw the Council into turmoil. They did not accept the resignation until 14 October, a further five weeks after the sub-committee had been appointed into the "matter". The findings of this committee were not recorded.

It would seem that apart from any consideration of over-exertion through the work, Stephenson was not well suited to headmastering. He had come, as we have noted, from the missionfield of India and Canada but in both of these locations, he had been responsible for University Colleges, not schools. His work with C.M.S. had been substantially administrative rather than pastoral and although he was universally respected for his warmth and compassion, these qualities do not seem to have emerged as the hallmarks of his Headmastership at Trinity. He lacked the humanity of Hilliard and to some old boys, he seemed ever conscious of his clerical collar. Moreover, he appeared to want of that kind of sympathetic judgement which when applied strategically might rescue a boy. He conveyed a degree of pettiness with dress regulations and seemingly an unease with the daily workings of the school. He acquired the unfortunate epithet "Creeping Jesus" because of his habit of walking noiselessly through the timber corridors of Strathfield. Yet this image of P.W. Stephenson does not appear to be consistent with the great Australian missionary figure whose lifelong walk was governed by "sincerity" and compassion. He was, in the end, unsuited for the work at Trinity and perhaps, by the latter part of 1937 prompted by fatigue, he began to see this. During the series of fires in mid 1936, the stress had caused him to seek leave of absence for six weeks. Though there is no suggestion that the mental frailty had returned in 1937, the workload had

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46 E.K.Cole, op.cit. p. 70.
47 Interview with A. Holt, P.J. Gibson, R. Wiseman, H. Scott.
not eased nor had his pleasure in the task of Headmastering increased. He accepted the offer of the position of Commonwealth Secretary of the British and Foreign Bible Society as Divine guidance that he should be ministering elsewhere. Reportedly, he "loved his new work".48

The Council tribute to P.W. Stephenson emphasised two main contributions made by the Headmaster through his brief term of office at Trinity. They thanked him for his advice on the new classrooms and design of the Founder's Block; and they gave him special honour for his assistance with the thorny matter of the "Future Policy" of the school, by which it meant the most viable location of the School in the future.49 The farewell celebrations were comparatively subdued, confined as they were, to a segment at Speech Night on 15 December 1937, when the Stephensons were given a presentation from the Council, Staff and boys of the school.50 In truth, Stephenson has been more honoured by the school since his departure to a distinguished career in the Church as the successor to Hilliard as the Bishop of Nelson, New Zealand and missionary statesman. He farewelled the school, as so many of his predecessors had done before him, with an appeal to the heritage of Trinity - a school marked by its tenacious survival, its spiritual ideals and its arresting sense of camaraderie:

It is his [Stephenson's] earnest wish and prayer that Trinity will ever be noted for sound learning, good sportsmanship and real religion; that every boy who enters the School will catch the inspiration of it and seek to live out the ideals set before him, and that the School will go on from strength to strength in numbers and influence and be an increasing power for righteousness in the community.51

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49 TGS Council, 14 October, 1937.
50 There was little of the pomp which had surrounded the departure of Hilliard and even the Triangle of May 1938 failed to carry an article on the ceremony. Perhaps the greatest gift to him was the success of his son Noel, a fine footballer and Dux of the School in 1937.
51 Triangle, December, 1937, p. 6.
Trinity Grammar School began its twenty-fifth anniversary year with the arrival of another new headmaster, the eighth in its history. Once more the Council found it necessary to find a successor with great haste, fearing that the loss of a headmaster immediately before the resumption of senior school work at Summer Hill would negate the potential enrolment gains that the new building might bring. Stung out of their initial inactivity by the need of the moment, in November 1937 they deputised J. A. Young to seek the best and most willing person available from the celebrated St Peter's College, Adelaide, while he was in that city on business. It is not clear why the Council sought its replacement particularly from St Peter's Adelaide. There appears some evidence for contacts which Chambers had made in that city. During the Appeal which operated earlier in 1937, the Adelaide Diocese had promised to donate £1,000 possibly brought about through the visit of G.A. Chambers to Adelaide during his furlough. It is astounding that even from Africa the founder of Trinity held some influence over its deliberations. The Headmaster of St. Peter's College, A.G.C. (Guy) Pentreath recommended to J.A. Young, during his visit to that school, the Mathematics Master and Sportsmaster, Vernon Sherren Murphy.

In many ways, Vernon Murphy was a peculiar appointment to a Sydney Diocesan school and one, to be honest, whom the writer of this thesis finds impossible to place in the pattern which has been established. Although his academic qualifications were impeccable he appeared to have little in common with the Evangelical emphasis of the Diocese of Sydney. A Western Australian by birth, he was educated at the Scotch College, Claremont, before proceeding to the University of Western Australia where he graduated with a Bachelor of Arts degree in 1921. His sporting prowess, particularly in Cricket, Athletics and Australian Rules football coupled with his academic promise led to his acceptance as a Rhodes Scholar in that year. He travelled to Oxford in the United Kingdom where he completed a Bachelor of Arts in the School of Natural Sciences; indeed, during his first year as Headmaster of Trinity in 1938 he was admitted to the degree of Master of Arts from Oxford. Upon returning from England, his career in Australia brought him under the charge of two very fine headmasters, both of whom were clergymen. During the latter half of the 1920s, when a few suburbs away Trinity was stepping cautiously into its site at Summer Hill, Vernon Murphy taught under the Rev. Dr. C. J. Prescott of Newington College in Stanmore. Although in the autumn of his career, Prescott had dominated Newington for thirty years and Murphy worked under him at a time when his status in Sydney educational circles was scarcely less than
legendary, and when education in New South Wales was in a state of rapid change. After 1928, Murphy joined the staff of St. Peter's College, Adelaide, which was led by K. J. F. (Julian) Bickersteth, M.A., a man who "was to confer upon that school in his thirteen years as headmaster a considerable eminence". During these years of financial uncertainty for Independent schools across Australia, Bickersteth was one of the eight men who founded the Headmaster's Conference of Australia. It was Bickersteth's successor, Guy Pentreath, who recommended Murphy to the beleaguered Council of Trinity. Vernon Murphy had enjoyed a measure of patronage at St Peter's by dint of his Rhodes scholarship and his soundness as a schoolmaster. However, he lacked the kind of spiritual suitability which had been so present in the headmasters of Trinity since 1923.

The years of Murphy's Headmastership, like those of P.W. Stephenson were dominated by the burden of financial debt. Whereas Stephenson had taken the school through the delayed impact of the Depression, Murphy's inherited problems were augmented by the peril of the Second World War which dealt a most savage blow to the hopes of a Trinity recovery. The new Headmaster was tall and athletic with a warm and engaging temperament. He took an active part in the coaching of athletics and games, on occasions remained with members of the School Fifteen as the light failed on the main oval teaching them how to kick a rugby ball in the manner of Australian football. He was a firm disciplinarian but he disdained the trivial. He was a visionary, with a determination to push for the improvements in the Summer Hill site regarded as indispensible to the growth of the school. Yet he was hindered in his work at Trinity by two flaws: his churchmanship which was irreconcilable to that of many on the Council and all on the Standing Committee; and his pessimism as to the future of Trinity after the diabolical crisis of 1940/41 and the future of Sydney under the threat of military invasion. Consequently, "Spud" Murphy has been remembered by Trinity as the man who deserted the school in its time of peril for the sake of personal security. To make such an assessment overlooks the achievements of a talented headmaster who was perhaps in the prime

52 D.S. MacMillan. op. cit. Murphy's name is not mentioned in this work.
53 J. Wilson Hogg, op. cit. p. 21. Hogg succeeded Murphy as Headmaster of Trinity Grammar School and for a time, served with him on the Headmaster's Conference.
54 Latham and Nicholls op. cit., allege that in addition to being a delegate to the Rhodes Scholar's conference he was part of the New Educational Fellowship in 1937. However, Hogg points out that the New Educational Fellowship which was inspired by the same energy for new educational ideas as the Australian College for Educational Research, had not commenced until 1938. Murphy was already in Sydney by this time.
55 Interview with H.A. Scott, the fullback of the 1939 First XV.
of his career and his precipitate departure in 1942 needs to be understood rather than condemned.

The years of Vernon Murphy's Headmastership, like those of Stephenson before him, were conducted with the ever present threat of financial collapse as the backdrop to substantial educational progress. Between 1938 and 1942, Trinity was once more refounded on two permanent locations, it extended the educational and cultural experiences available to boys, its Headmaster was admitted to the Headmaster's Conference of Australia and, like so many other Independent Schools near the city, it faced the challenge of living in a city apprehensive of bombardment and invasion. The first year of Murphy's incumbency coincided with the removal of the Senior School to its present site at Summer Hill with the Junior School (known later in 1938 as the Preparatory School) remaining at Strathfield. The Founder's Day of 1938 witnessed the celebration of both the third great removal and of the silver jubilee of the school. Messages were sent by Bishop G.A. Chambers, K.T. Henderson who was the foundation Headmaster, Bishop W.G. Hilliard and two members of the original staff of the school. Murphy added his own reflections: "The Founder and the first members of the staff had set a standard. We should not be complacent, we should ever strive to develop the School and make a place worthy of the ideals of the Founder".

To some extent, during 1938 the Headmaster hurled himself into his new task with a verve symptomatic of the Founder. The first year of Murphy's Headmastership was the sole year of his office in which Trinity was not wholly distracted by its debt nor by the war. The anniversary, new buildings and a roll which increased from 173 in March to 188 in December gave cause to view the future with optimism. In one year, Murphy had established a Cadet Unit for the first time in the school's history, a Dramatic Club and a "Glee Club" which provided an occasion for forty boys to spend their lunch times singing, boasting by way of their aims: "we are content with fostering the love of music and the expression of it". Murphy also introduced Standard Trials to measure and enhance the performance of Trinity athletes for the Associated Schools competition.

56 Triangle, May, 1938, p. 8.
57 TGS Councils, 10 February and 8 December, 1938. Interestingly, this increase can be attributed largely to the Preparatory School, where the numbers went from 30 to 40 and they continued to increase at Strathfield even when the numbers at Summer Hill were slipping.
58 Triangle, August, 1938, p.7.
The introduction of cadets provided the first organised attempt apart from sport to extend the boys of Trinity beyond the classroom. In a sense 1938 was the commencement of the vision of the rounded education so endemic in Public Schools in general and Trinity in particular - scholar, sportsman and man of God. Under Frank Archer the School had spent some time out of the classroom at Austinmer during the Influenza Epidemic of 1919 and the results in games were relatively astounding. Bishop Hilliard's two incumbencies were typified by his preoccupation with literature, sport and religion. Both men, however, had been frustrated by the lack of financial support for their programmes. V.S. Murphy, perhaps unwittingly\(^59\), gave a measure of formality to this desire for the rounded individual. With the assistance of Captain Mander Jones of Shore School cadet unit and old boy N.C.O.s such as Sergeant Major Dick Gibson, Trinity boys who might be otherwise undistinguished could rise through the ranks. It would not be until the coming of James Wilson Hogg in 1944 and the relative financial security of the post war decade that the notion of a liberal education was more thoroughly articulated.

Hence, the school's twenty-fifth anniversary year of 1938, was perhaps one of the most successful years in its history. Buoyed by this early success Vernon Murphy urged the Council to press ahead with its redevelopment of the Summer Hill site. He advised:

> If we are to compete with other schools we must rebuild as soon as possible. Other schools seem to be able to raise money and loans, though their debts are as great if not greater than ours. One school in our group has built a swimming pool in a year when there was a loss of well over £2000. They have since rebuilt the school and their numbers are now nearly 3 times what they were in 1933.\(^60\)

In an obvious reference to Barker College, Murphy encouraged the Council to be bold and not to hesitate with the improvement of school facilities. In the past, Chambers had demonstrated a willingness to pursue a course of action when wisdom might have counselled circumspection. Even though the year had shown the long looked for signs of stability, Trinity still required the financial assistance of J.A. Young and C.P. Taubman to meet its accounts.\(^61\) The issue remained the same throughout the thirties - enrolments. Correctly enough, Murphy insisted that Trinity would never attract the numbers they require to balance their annual budgets unless the school

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\(^{59}\) That is to say he never spoke in terms later used by Hogg, nor was there any philosophical defence of his approach. The School Council seemed to welcome his initiatives both for their implicit merit and for their attractiveness in the marketplace of education.

\(^{60}\) Headmaster's Report to TGS Council. 13 October, 1938.

\(^{61}\) TGS Council 8 September, 1938; also TGS Exec. 17 November, 1938.
had a marketable commodity such as a pool and a boarding house large enough to take in excess of one hundred boys. Boarders remained an economic necessity for, to put it bluntly, they were worth three day boys. However, there appeared to be a growing uncertainty that the greater enrolments would not come with sufficient haste to meet the cost of developments. Murphy warned the Council that because of the need for reconstruction at Summer Hill, the numbers would not increase at the same rate in 1939 as they had in 1938. In spite of, or perhaps because of this, a swimming pool was commenced in January, 1939 and opened on Founder's Day, 1st April with an assembly of five hundred people to mark the occasion.

Impatient for the complete rather than piecemeal reconstruction of the Summer Hill site, Murphy turned immediately to a proposal to renovate the Boarding House. Plans were interrupted by the news of the Nazi invasion of Poland in September, 1939 and an impending war with Germany. Even before the outbreak of war, C.M.C. Shannon of the Church of England Property Trust urged financial caution "in view of tension overseas". In a short time, discussions of air-raid precautions at both sites were underway and the Headmaster made the properties available for "National safety". At the same meeting it was noted, "in view of the outbreak of war since the last Council meeting, the Committee feels that it would be entirely unwise to proceed hastily". The Second World War caught Trinity Grammar School ill-prepared. Though the sages in the history classrooms at school had been predicting such an occurrence for some time, few could have anticipated the effect on schools such as Trinity. In the short term, the impact of the war on the school was to force a halt in the development agenda and to instil a measure of uncertainty even in the Council. The expansion of the war into the Pacific Ocean after 1941 placed the inner city and suburbs near Mascot airport in near panic. It is not coincidental that Trinity should face two further financial crises after the outbreak of war and after the Japanese sorties into the eastern seaboard.

To understand the first crisis of Murphy's Headmastership it is important to recognise that the financial security of the school resided with the Standing Committee who had, in addition to providing an unsecured interest free loan of £4000, attended to interest repayments since 1935. With such breathing space, Trinity had pressed ahead with the resettlement on two sites and the provision of the Founder's Block and a pool at Summer Hill. The swimming pool was paid for by the proceeds from the Parents' and Friends' Association Fetes. At the same time, Trinity had

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62 TGS Council, 23 August, 1939.
63 TGS Exec. 19 Sept., 1939.
64 Interview with Harvey Ford.
failed to exceed an enrolment of 200 in spite of the best efforts of advertising and annual country campaigns. The result of this was an uneasy equilibrium between income and expenditure whilst ever the Diocese met other costs. Disaster came at the start of 1940 when the total enrolment slipped from 191 to 181 with a net loss of eleven boarders. To the bitter disappointment of the Council, the country campaign of 1939/40 resulted in a loss of country boarders who comprised a mere ten of a house of twenty. The anticipated loss for 1940 was £1179, one sixth of the total income, a figure which excluded the interest bill met by the diocese.\textsuperscript{65} The Council resorted to the Standing Committee with a request for an Ordinance to empower the mortgaging of the school properties to provide money to continue through 1940/41. For the second time in five years, the Standing Committee responded by launching an investigation into the financial affairs of Trinity, a school which was rapidly becoming an albatross around the Diocesan neck. Between April and September 1940, the future of Trinity was decided by the numerous and at times acrimonious reports which flowed between the Executive, the Council, the sub-committee, the Standing Committee and the Synod. The sub-committee summarised the plight of the school in a report to Standing Committee:

\begin{quote}
Although the School has received £37,220 for the sale of land and gifts over the period of the last eleven years\textsuperscript{66}, its equity today based on the valuations supplied is only £18,158 so that in the period under review £19,052 of the above gifts and sales have disappeared in running losses and in structural improvements of value to the School as a going concern but which do not appear in the valuations. This does not include the relief already given by way of the repayment of interest which has amounted to £3222.
\end{quote}

Judging by the loss of income incurred through the boarding house, the committee advised that it should be closed, but they did concede:

\begin{quote}
It must be realised, however, that the closing of the boarding school would add further charges to the day school costs and these together with the replacement of the boarders lost would require at least a further 75 day scholars to meet them. Day boys might be more easily obtained than boarders, but the School Council informed us that Newington is a competitor for this class of scholar in the Western Suburbs.
\end{quote}

The Council had not failed to notice or for that matter to admit to Standing Committee that even when the numbers had been falling overall, they had been increasing at Strathfield and by 1940 comprised nearly half of the total enrolment at Trinity. The sub-committee concluded this grim scenario with the advice: "Should it be decided

\textsuperscript{65} TGS Exec., 27 February, 1940.
\textsuperscript{66} It had been eleven years since the Diocese took control of the affairs of the School.
that the School must be carried on, [we]... would suggest this as a temporary expedient only".67 The Council's response, articulated by A.B. Kerrigan, deplored the seeming lack of a "courageous spirit"68 on the part of the Standing Committee and the Diocese:

The Council was dismayed to find no view expressed by your sub-committee that the existence and maintenance of a Church School in the thickly populated Western Suburbs is a vital part of the Church's work among its people and for the community generally. The Council... wishes to impress upon the Standing Committee that it is the consciousness of this solemn duty and privilege that has kept the Council undismayed through many difficult years, and even now emboldens it to disagree with the opinions expressed... regarding the future operations of the School.

The continued existence of the school was, in their view, a matter of faith. Kerrigan's plan was to negotiate short term mortgages which would allow the school to rebuild its boarding house, discharge its debts and proceed with its work in Summer Hill. The Council retorted, "It would appear . . . that the sub-committee has less confidence in the necessary work that the School is doing than the Banks, who were looking at the matter from a purely business point of view."69 The Standing Committee, apart from maintaining interest repayments until July 1942, refused to make a firm commitment to rescue the school. They had already closed SCEGGS Cremorne in December, 1939 - Trinity was merely another recalcitrant Diocesan school. Sir Kelso King, in the last year of his life implored the Synod to "guarantee the carrying on of the School for the duration of the war, for it would be a tragedy if the School had to close down and a disgrace to the Church."70 Temporary relief came at the end of 1940 when the Council secured a loan of £3000 on the personal guarantee of J.A. Young and C.P. Taubman from the Bank of New South Wales. Almost as soon as the money was received, however, it evaporated on the repayment of outstanding debts71 and the expected loss for 1941 was £1302, even greater than the loss of 1940. Crisis was narrowly averted by a welcome increase in enrolments at Strathfield. The better endowed area upheld the senior branch of the school and Murphy sensed some relief: "[There is] every prospect that the numerical strength of the School will be maintained at last".72

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67 Report re. Trinity Grammar School, 21 June, 1940. TGSA, also SDA.
68 Comments of the School Council upon the sub-committee's Report, 4 July, 1940. TGSA.
69 Comments of the School Council, 4 July, 1940.
70 Sir Kelso King to the Standing Committee; copy to TGS Council, 3 April, 1941.
71 These included the repayments of the £1757 and £875 to C.P. Taubman and J.A. Young respectively in loans outstanding for some years. Both men abstained from voting for the motion which passed this payment.
72 TGS Council, 4 December, 1941.
Having survived the first crisis, Murphy was unable, or unwilling, to endure the second. In December, 1941 the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbour and within a matter of months began their own version of "lightning war" towards Singapore, New Guinea and, to the horror of the nation, Australia. In February 1942, Darwin and shortly after Broome, Wyndham and Townsville were bombed and the war came closer to home when Sydney and Newcastle fell victim to submarine attack between May and June, 1942. Schools such as Newington, Cranbrook, Scots and Kambala who were in the inner city or on the shores of the Harbour were regarded as particularly vulnerable to damage in the event of an attack. At all of those schools a decline in numbers occurred in 1942. Newington and Trinity were in peril because not only were they both within site of Botany Bay and Sydney Harbour but they were close to Mascot airport, a certain target for bombing in an area regarded as a "bomb zone". The Council discussed the merits of the four proposed evacuation points for the School namely, Wallacia, Cobbity, Silverdale and Bundanoon, though none of these plans were pursued. In the first Council meeting of 1942, the Headmaster announced to Council that the enrolments had fallen to 165, its lowest level since the amalgamation in 1932. There is no doubt that Murphy was shattered. At the start of 1942, nearby Normanhurst School in Ashfield had closed down through failing enrolments. Murphy feared the same at Trinity. The loss of numbers flew in the face of his bold predictions of 1941. The entry of Japan into the war caused a measure of panic among some members of the community who evacuated their children to country schools or to King's, Parramatta. Ironically, the greatest numerical loss was at Strathfield where the numbers fell from 94 to 69 in the summer holiday. Vernon Sherren Murphy, who had by now lost all hope of survival, in a special Executive Committee meeting on 2nd March by informing them of his appointment to the Headmastership of the Hutchins School in Hobart to take effect from Easter 1942.

The forces at work in the decision of Murphy to leave Trinity were both spiritual and pragmatic. The four years of his Headmastership had been energetic and accomplished. Murphy was the first Headmaster accepted into the

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74 See Alanna Nobbs, op. cit., Ch. 4. All of these schools could boast enrolments of in excess of one hundred pupils more than Trinity. Cranbrook lamented the decline to less than 300, a number only aspired to by Trinity.
75 Interview with J. Wilson Hogg.
76 TGS Council, 12 February, 1942.
77 TGS Council, 12 February, 1942.
Headmaster's Conference of Australia in September 1940, and in a sense, bestowed upon Trinity all of the benefits of belonging to a national association of Independent Schools. His admission to the Conference said as much about his links with Bickersteth and Pentreath of St Peter's, Adelaide, as his own eminence. His care for his staff and his boys is not to be disputed. When the school finances were at a most critical stage, Murphy argued with the Council:

The School is blest with a very good staff... I hope to keep intact as far as possible the present staff; but we cannot keep young and ambitious men unless we can pay them good salaries, hold out prospects for advancement, and make some provision for superannuation. 78

In the same vein some years later he again advised the Council to view staff requests for increased salary "favourably"79. Yet, it would seem that the regard for Murphy was not universal. He lacked the personal support of key figures on the Council who amongst other things, disputed his judgement in the selection of Prefects.80 His own spirituality, such as it was, was perhaps more in keeping with his native Perth than with the doctrinaire tendency of the Sydney Diocese and the more conservative elements on the Council and Standing Committee regarded him with some distrust. Though the Headmaster taught senior Divinity, he was the first since the school was refounded with Diocesan backing not to be a clergyman. As soon as he arrived, the spiritual work of the school was delegated to the honorary chaplain, Archdeacon John Bidwell, until in 1941 Geoffrey Parker, who later became the Assistant Bishop of Newcastle, was appointed the first full-time school chaplain.

During the defence of Trinity before the Synod in 1940/41, all negotiations were conducted by Kerrigan and Taubman who were both influential figures in the Synod. As a Rhodes Scholar, the Headmaster was best suited to the study and to the games field - not to the Synod. Hence we may surmise that Murphy felt spiritually ostracized to some degree.

The second and more pragmatic force at work in Murphy's decision was his apprehension that Trinity would close. The school was fortunate to survive the crisis of 1940 when enrolments had fallen to 184 leaving the budget heavily in deficit. All indications from the Standing Committee had been that the school's continuation should be dependent upon financial equilibrium and that no pious rhetoric would prevent the inevitable closure if the level of deficit recurred. When the new school year of 1942 opened with an enrolment of sixteen fewer than the number which

78 TGS Council, 8 December, 1938.
79 TGS Council, 5 December, 1940.
80 Interview with Old Boys who wished to remain anonymous.
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78 TGS Council, 8 December, 1938.
79 TGS Council, 5 December, 1940.
80 Interview with Old Boys who wished to remain anonymous.
brought about the first crisis, Murphy showed open disappointment. As a father of two small children, Winsome and Leith, and as an ambitious educationalist he had no desire to be without a situation or associated with a school which had closed. Acting with a marked lack of professionalism Murphy appeared to act as soon as the news of the dire enrolments broke. He did not appear to inform the Council of his intentions to apply for another position; neither did he provide them with the requisite six months notice. His announcement came on 2nd March - by 8th April he had departed from Trinity.

He was not pilloried by all for his decision. His Senior Master, Clarrie Latham who was in many ways a kindred spirit of Murphy, years later wrote to an old boy: "both he and Mrs Murphy gave everything they had to Trinity during their short four years there. But for the war they would have completed a thoroughly good job that was already on the way when they had to leave".81 A close associate through these years, A.B. Kerrigan paid public tribute to Murphy:

Trinity presents its Headmasters with problems peculiar to itself arising from its moderate enrolment and absence of endowment as well as from the separation of its Preparatory School. Determined to use all available material to its best advantage, Mr Murphy met these peculiar problems and [all others] . . . with patient understanding and practical common sense. The School Council always accepted his judgement and opinion with complete confidence; the staff recognised in him not only a master of his craft but also a smooth administrator; the boys respected him and valued his ever-ready and kindly help both in form and on the field.82

Vernon Murphy made his own emotive farewell (but nevertheless inevitable) minute to the Council:

I feel that though the School has not developed in numbers as one would have wished it has developed soundly in scholarship and in other school activities. I am proud to think that I may have had some share in this development...It shall be with extreme regret that Mrs Murphy and I will say farewell to Trinity, where we have spent such happy years and from which we have caught some of the spirit which marks all who have been associated with the School.83

The memory of V.S. Murphy has been sullied by the circumstances surrounding his departure. Murphy remained at the Hutchins' School for only one year until his appointment in 1943 to the Headmastership of Hale School, Wembley Downs in his own state of Perth. He ended his career tragically in 1959 afflicted by cancer of the

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83 TGS Council, 19 March 1942.
Chapter 8:

The Headmastership of James Wilson Hogg.

Trinity was founded by faith, nurtured by courage and sustained by loyalty.


When V.S. Murphy hastily left Trinity in 1942, it seemed unimaginable that the school could survive. Set down as it was in an area declared as a bomb zone, labouring under falling enrolments, and burdened by a capital debt which was nearly as great as the combined value of the Trinity properties, the school was floundering. The resolute efforts of successive headmasters and councillors appeared to have brought Trinity little closer to financial stability by 1942, and the besetting vulnerability to fluctuating enrolments seemed to return with each initiative for expansion. So convinced was the Sydney Diocesan Standing Committee of the imminent failure of Trinity Grammar School that they decided, if only briefly, to close the school. Evidence of uncertainty even on the part of the Council is shown in their reluctance to replace Murphy immediately. Ultimately, the appointment of James Wilson Hogg as headmaster in 1944 represented, at best, the final fling of the Council to find a man to suit the hour. When Hogg left Trinity in 1974, at the end of three decades of headmastering, he had indelibly marked both Trinity and the whole educational edifice of Australia. The Wilson Hogg years (1944-1974) are best understood as occurring in two phases. The first phase involves the years from 1944 to 1962, a period in which Trinity finally shook off the threat of closure. The second phase of the Headmastership of J.Wilson Hogg (1963-1974) is characterized by his emergence as a figure of considerable eminence in Australian education.1

In James Wilson Hogg, Trinity found a new Chambers. The two men could not have been more temperamentally different. Hogg was of an urbane, poised almost artistic nature; Chambers was incurably optimistic, impatient and domineering. Yet both, ironically, appeared to suit the circumstances in which they found themselves. Chambers was the archetypal pioneer who was armoured with vivacity and a seemingly absolute spiritual conviction of his plans. There was, in his mind, no doubt that Trinity was a great spiritual work for the western suburbs and he was mystified that the diocese should

1 James Wilson Hogg was known variously as Wilson Hogg or merely as Hogg. For the most part, this thesis will refer to him as Hogg.
perceive it in any other way. It was this indomitable spirit which was responsible *inter alia* for the founding of two schools in different continents and the establishment of Australia's first missionary diocese. James Wilson Hogg lacked the colour of Chambers. He wore his spirituality with comparative privacy and he could not have been construed at any time as an evangelical. Yet his Christian conviction was not so far removed from that of Chambers as might first be imagined. He became captivated by the spiritual nature of education and he used his considerable flair with the English language to enunciate his educational philosophy. His contribution to the narrative of Trinity was as great as that of its founder simply because of his immeasureable influence over the lives of those with whom the school was associated. That he was not an evangelical was, it seems, of concern to some in the Diocese of Sydney. Paradoxically, the spiritual life of Trinity though it became more formal and more traditional in the Hogg years, appeared to flourish.

The hasty departure of Vernon Murphy as Headmaster in April 1942, left the Council uncertain about the appointment of a new Headmaster to replace Murphy while the war continued. The position of Acting Headmaster (later called Principal) was given as a stop gap measure to the Senior Master, Clarrie Latham. It was an impossible situation. In the twenty months between Murphy and Wilson Hogg, Trinity had no fewer than six Bursars, leaving the school's proper financial administration in disarray. In 1942, the School operated on a deficit of £1100 which was more than one-fifth of its annual income. The school found itself reliant upon the assistance of J.A. Young, C.P. Taubman and A.B. Kerrigan to meet the wage bill for September 1942 and the arrears in interest repayments in the same year. To make matters worse, key members of staff began to lose confidence in the Council when no apparent measures were taken to find a new headmaster for 1943. The dedicated Headmaster of the Preparatory School, J.G. Hart, accepted the Headmastership of the Guildford Grammar Preparatory School, Western Australia, at a salary of £140 p.a. more than he received at Trinity. It was not, he reasoned, that he was unhappy at Trinity, but he sensed "some uneasiness in the

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2 TGS Council, 11 December 1942.
3 Of the six Bursars, one resigned through illness (Mrs D.G. Martin), two were asked to resign because of numerous errors in their work, and two left without explanation. In fairness, it may be supposed that all available people were otherwise engaged in the war effort and the longest serving Bursar of this period, Mrs R.P. Arnott, was appointed only for the duration of the war. At times, Trinity called upon its inaugural Old Boy and Bursar, Bob Anderson, to assist in the keeping of books.
4 TGS Exec., 29 September 1942.
5 The title "headmaster" was dropped in favour of "Master of the Preparatory School" during the incumbency of K.L. Sandars at Strathfield, based upon the prevailing belief that the School has but one Headmaster, not two.
Common Room and elsewhere re the School's policy concerning the appointment of a new headmaster. The Chairman of Council and sometime Headmaster, Bishop W.G. Hilliard, reluctantly admitted that the Council's policy was not to make an appointment during the war but, equally, it was Council's policy not to make this public. Yet he acknowledged that the situation was dire:

You know the secularising influences in education, and there might be a strong move to jeopardise the existence of private schools as such. Although I do not think that will come to pass, schools - all of them - have their ups and downs. The King's School closed for a while at one time. Barker at one time was right down, and has now recovered magnificently. Not long ago, Cranbrook was in a difficult position but is climbing up again with 343 boys next year, with 115 boarders. As far as Trinity is concerned, we are passing through difficult times at present. But even if the blackest possible thing happened to Trinity, whatever might be true of the future of the School as a whole, I have no doubt of the future of the Preparatory School. It is in a steadily growing district. It might be if the very worst came we should be able to retreat to the Prep. School and as things improve and as time went on, separate again and expand.

It is of importance that Hilliard should allude to the lack of support for the Summer Hill branch of Trinity, providing further support for the notion propounded by the present thesis that the demographic setting of Trinity was an encumbrance to its survival. Bishop Hilliard, as one of the Diocesan Bishop Co-Adjutors, offered himself as Warden, in the hope that "there might be some prestige in the minds of the parents...[if he] had an official position of that kind in the School." The title first appeared in 1943 and was quietly dropped after Hogg's appointment in 1944.

The Standing Committee appeared convinced of Trinity's impending demise. A sub-committee of the School Council consisting of J.A. Young, Bishop W.G. Hilliard, A.B. Kerrigan, C.P. Taubman, and Archdeacon J. Bidwell was established in March 1942, to investigate "how the School should be carried on". They resolved that, in the final analysis, "the cessation of the School's activities...would probably fail to relieve the Church of its heavy interest bills, and would involve caretaker fees..." Armed with no more convincing arguments than their faith and their belief that the Church would be no better off should they decide to close the School, the sub-committee was summoned to investigate...
meet with the Standing Committee on 23 June 1942. Although the proceedings of that meeting were but scantily recorded in the official minutes, it was later confided by A.B. Kerrigan to James Wilson Hogg that the Standing Committee had decided to close the School and dispose of its assets to service the ponderous debt on the property. A vigorous defence of Trinity was launched by Taubman and Kerrigan, whose influence in the Diocese had been long and significant. A.B. Kerrigan's riposte was defiant with the Churchillian peroration: "And, gentlemen, Trinity will be there when all of us are dead", and he sat down. Prompted more by the fervour of his arguments than by their rationality, the Standing Committee left the matter in abeyance. It was the last time in the school's history that the Council was forced to defend its existence to the Standing Committee on financial grounds.

Recovery came, modestly, if not miraculously, in the latter half of 1943. As ever, the extent of the recovery can be measured in the growth of enrolments, especially boarding numbers. At the start of 1943, the school had a mere 164 boys, of whom 36 were boarders; by the end of that year the enrolment had risen to 214 and the boarding house had doubled in numbers. This trend continued after 1944 when the roll numbered 335, the greatest number ever recorded in the 31 years of Trinity's existence. This dramatic cartwheel in the school's fortunes was almost entirely due to the turn in the tide of the Pacific war with the defeat of the Japanese offensive at Midway Island in June 1942. With the loss of superiority in the air and at sea, the Japanese advance was halted in New Guinea and by 1943 there was a feeling in the community that the worst was over. Those schools whose enrolments were worst affected by the threat of invasion near the Harbour and the bombing of Mascot, began to recover at about the same time. Cranbrook and Newington, whose numbers had fallen alarmingly, both enjoyed substantial numerical increases in the latter war years. The recovery of Trinity was perhaps slower than other schools and was centred largely on Strathfield and the boarding house rather than Summer Hill. Yet it was with a tremendous sense of relief that the Council could report a modest budget surplus and an improvement in the school's indebtedness by May 1943. With an improved financial position, the school apparently moved to appoint a new

10 Hogg Interview, 21/10/88. (Hereinafter known as the Hogg Interview). It should be said that none of the terms of the debate concerning the closure of Trinity appear in any of the Synod Proceedings or Standing Committee Minutes from 1940-1944. There are, obviously, the tabled reports of sub-committees of the Standing Committee into the affairs of the School which appeared in 1940 and 1941. The matter received merely a passing reference in the meeting of June 1942. Yet, there is perhaps sufficient valid historical evidence to consider the account of the proposed closure of the School as accurate, especially given the unforgettable circumstances of Kerrigan's peroration.

11 It is interesting to note that even the Founder, Bishop Chambers, who had returned to Australia for a time in May 1942, could not spare the time to assist in the defence of the School. Perhaps this gesture alone indicated how Chambers felt, at last, no further responsibility for his creation.

12 See A.C. Child, op.cit. Ch.5; Also D.S. Macmillan, op.cit. Ch.16.

13 TGS Council, 13 May 1943.
headmaster, although it should be said, the matter received scant debate at Council level. The search for a new headmaster had begun tentatively and, no doubt, unofficially in late 1942 when, at a cocktail party, A.B. Kerrigan mentioned the matter to the new Headmaster of Knox Grammar School, William Bryden, the uneasy successor to the eminent founding headmaster of Knox, Neil MacNeil. Bryden indicated that he had a young housemaster, James Wilson Hogg M.A.(Oxon), in whom Kerrigan might be interested. An interview which could at best be regarded as "purely exploratory" took place in Kerrigan's chambers. Wilson Hogg was shown a rather "flattering photograph" of the School and asked whether such a position as Headmaster of Trinity Grammar School might interest him. The Trinity recovery, evidently, was not sufficient to justify an immediate appointment and Wilson Hogg heard no more about the matter. By mid 1943, the Council of Trinity seemed to prefer a member of the Church of England for the post and, since Wilson Hogg was a Presbyterian, the Archbishop reportedly unsuccessfully offered the Headmastership to the Rev. Dr. Stuart Barton Babbage who was, at the time, on missionary service in the Middle East. Dr. Babbage later returned to Sydney as Diocesan Missioner, a position, it will be recalled, once held by a former headmaster of Trinity, Dr G. E. Weeks. With every prospect of a sustained recovery at Trinity being contingent upon the due appointment of a headmaster, Kerrigan once more contacted James Wilson Hogg.

The appointment of Hogg to the Trinity Headmastership by the school Council was accomplished with a measure of reluctance. Hogg was invited to an interview at the school in November 1944 and was conducted over the grounds by John Young and A.B. Kerrigan. As he passed by an area now occupied by the School Library, he observed "old Clarrie Latham", the Principal, teaching in what was known as "Room 23":

And he came out and he lent on an old bannister and looked out across this desolate scene with me. Here was about 17 acres of land within 6 miles of the G.P.O... And I thought of the huge possibilities; it was not a sort of cramped place - there was a relative amount of space and one good building, one very old and attractive building but in a terrible state, and a swimming pool (to which I, later, addressed all the attention of prospective parents, away from all the rest). There were huge possibilities. 16

There were, although unknown to Hogg, two further ordeals for him to endure before his appointment was certain. The selection was, of course, subject to his interview with the Archbishop, H.W.K. Mowll. The ponderous, imposing figure of the Archbishop put

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14 Hogg Interview, 21/10/88.
15 Conversation between Janet West and Dr S. Barton Babbage, July 1988.
16 Hogg Interview, 21/10/88.
the young Wilson Hogg to the test by asking him emphatically, if he had read the "recent white paper on education in England", implying that any man with the temerity to apply for such a position as headmaster ought to be familiar with such a work. With his career hanging precariously on his answer, he replied honestly that he had not read it. "Oh yes, of course", replied the Archbishop, "it hasn't reached Australia yet!" The second ordeal was potentially far more damaging for Hogg in the longer term. A measure of division on the Council emerged, it would seem, over the religion of the new Headmaster. Central figures on Council such as C.P. Taubman, who later proved to be his most immovable supporter, were actively opposed to his appointment. The sub-committee designated to select a new headmaster confided:

Everything seemed to combine to make the task of running Trinity Grammar School very difficult, and the appointment of a Headmaster was no reflection on anyone's administration, and there was no alternative but to accept the report and endorse the action of the sub-committee in their recommendation of Mr J. Wilson Hogg as Headmaster.  

One councillor even exclaimed that: "[he] would not be a party to a Headmaster who did not attend Chapel services and give positive assistance to the Chaplain". The ambivalence of the Council towards the new Headmaster reflected the belief that an Anglican School needed an Anglican headmaster; in any case, it was only a few years earlier that Trinity had shown a marked preference for clerical headmasters. The appointment of a Presbyterian, even though a kindred Protestant spirit, represented for some, a considerable change - perhaps the thin edge of the wedge of religious compromise. Such manifest sectarianism was not confined to Trinity Grammar School. Similar episodes occurred at Kambala, where Miss Mary Roseby had to resign from the position of Principal in 1926 because she was not a member of the Church of England; and another instance was the resignation of Miss Eunice Macindoe, Principal of the Presbyterian Ladies' College, Croydon, in 1956 partly because of doubts over her Presbyterianism. Hence, the Trinity episode not only reveals something of the religious mentality of the Council and the Diocese at the time, but elucidates the tremendous impression which Wilson Hogg made in his start at the school. Ironically, at the end of 1944, after his first year of service, those who were most ill-at-ease over the appointment, moved a vote of congratulations to the Headmaster for a fine year's work! It was a

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17 Hogg Interview, 21/10/88.
18 TGS Council, 9 December 1943.
19 A. Nobbs, op.cit. p.63
20 J. McFarlane, op.cit. p. 105.
21 TGS Council, 14 December 1944.
remarkable achievement for Hogg to have, so completely and in so short a time, arrested the confidence of those who were so uncertain about his spiritual suitability for Trinity.

Born the son of a medical practitioner in Wellington, New Zealand, in 1909, James Wilson Hogg spent his childhood years in a variety of places in the South Island of New Zealand while his father discharged his duties as the Assistant National Director of Medical Services during World War One. He was educated at Christ's College in Christchurch as a boarder, and at Scots College, Wellington, as a day scholar. His father had the "Scotsman's passion for education" and, in his son's second year at the New Zealand University, he offered James the choice of remaining in New Zealand and being "set up" in life, or being sent to Oxford and helped no further. "So", he recalls, "as long as it took to draw breath inwards I decided, and I went to Oxford". In Oxford he felt that he became truly educated. His desire to be a writer, which had led to his first short story being published in a magazine when he was fourteen, was consuming and was heightened by his contact with the cultivated minds he encountered at his own Balliol College. At the end of his Master of Arts degree he sought a position as a journalist to provide pecuniary stability before commencing his literary career. The Depression, however, made it impossible to survive as a writer and he secured a teaching position in a Preparatory School called "Soberton Towers" in Hampshire. While teaching at "Soberton", Hogg also completed his first novel, The Snow Man, which was later reviewed in the Times Literary Supplement. His five years in England had stimulated a mind which was expansive and vigorous, and a spirit which was as creative as it was contemplative.

Returning to New Zealand, Wilson Hogg joined the staff of his old school, Scots College, Wellington, where he taught English, wrote a number of radio plays and coached the First Eleven cricket team. He married Alyson Webb, whose love of music remained a life-long interest and which later made an impact upon Trinity in the Society of the Arts, which was founded in 1951. Hogg worked under Neil MacNeil, the foundation headmaster of Knox Grammar School in Sydney, from 1937 until the latter was invited to Wesley College, Melbourne, in 1940. It was a seminal experience for Hogg to observe a man whose career at Knox had, in the relatively short space of fourteen years, made

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22 Ibid.
23 Ibid.
that school one of the "leading schools in the State". MacNeil was a remote, almost forbidding figure, "the sort of headmaster before whose study door assistant masters drew a deep breath. The distance from door to desk was described by one of them as the Longest Journey in the World". It was after his years at Knox that James Wilson Hogg, in his thirty-fifth year, coincidentally the same age at which G.A. Chambers founded Holy Trinity Grammar School in 1913, was made the headmaster of a school in the western suburbs of Sydney.

When James Wilson Hogg came to Trinity Grammar School in January 1944, 249 boys were enrolled, more than half of whom attended the Preparatory School at Strathfield. The immediate threat of the war had, to some degree, subsided but the impact of the war upon the School should not be understated. For the first time in Australian history, from 1939 to 1945, the community experienced a war fought, in some measure, in their own backyards. Scarcely an Australian family was left untouched by the European and Pacific conflagration. We have seen the effect of the war upon enrolments at Trinity, but there was also considerable impact upon the life of the school. The Strathfield site was taken over by the National Emergency Service and the Royal Australian Air Force, and part of the building was lost to the school for a time. When the numbers increased at the Preparatory School, Trinity found it necessary to ask the N.E.S. to return the site to the School's use. The air raid shelters and shuttered windows, which had been part of the school landscape since 1940, served as a constant reminder that the war was never far away. It was perhaps, the news of Old Boys on active service that turned the minds of Trinity boys to the war effort in a fashion that was not possible in the Great War of 1914-1918. At the end of each of the Triangle magazines appeared lists of Old Trinitarians on active service. By 1944, these lists carried symbols which denoted "killed in action", "prisoner of war" or "missing". Over 250 Old Boys were listed as members of the Australian Defence Forces - of this number, 33 were killed, a remarkable number for a school scarcely in its second generation. Old Boy and former Housemaster in the twenties and thirties, the Rev. M.K. Jones, the brother of Bishop Bill Wynn Jones, enlisted in the Second A.I.F. from his parish of St Andrew's, Roseville, Sydney. Ken Jones served in Malaya as Senior Chaplain of the A.I.F. 8th Division and conducted services for the battle-worn troops. One soldier in a

24 J. Wilson Hogg, op.cit., p.52.
25 Ibid.
26 TGS Council, 10 September 1944.
27 Newington, much older and more established and hence, with a greater number of Old Boys, lost 52.
letter to his mother, recounted one such service conducted by M.K. Jones: "This Padre spoke as a man to men; he spoke of 'Your citizenship is in Heaven'. . . [and] of holding on to values for the sake of civilisation and society. My ears did not have rose coloured earphones on, but I heard the best, the only exhortation to hold on to good things for the sake of good that I've heard in seventeen months in the Army." Later, Padre Jones relinquished an opportunity to escape, choosing to endure imprisonment by the Japanese for the sake of those in his care. After his release in 1945, he gave a most moving oration at the Memorial Service to fallen Old Boys held in the Chapel annexe in June 1946. In this address he recalled:

One of the happy aspects of one's experiences during this war has been the meeting of Old Trinitarians wherever one went. In every kind of place, under ever varying conditions one was often unexpectedly hailed by some serviceman with whom one had been associated at Trinity. These meetings were with boys of almost every generation of the School's life.

Ken Jones met a total of sixteen Old Boys, three of whom did not return. The boys of the school participated in the war effort by collecting paper, scrap metal and raising money for Old Boys who had enlisted. At the end of 1940, the boys, assisted by the Ladies' Auxiliary, had established a "Comforts Fund" which purchased items sent as parcels to Old Boys in the services. The Triangle of 1944 reported:

The Comforts Fund has continued to flourish. This year, something like four hundred parcels have been sent to Old Boys serving with the Forces. This is a splendid effort. . . The ladies of the T. G. S Women's Auxiliary are doing a great job with the funds at their disposal, meeting regularly to pack and despatch the parcels, and raising money by various means. By the end of this year, the Senior School boys hope to have raised nearly £100 for the fund by direct contribution and the proceeds of entertainments.

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28 Letter from Paul Cutts, quoted in Triangle, December 1942. p. 5.
29 See Triangle, Archive Notes, 1986.
30 Address given by the Rev. M.K. Jones at the War Memorial Service to Fallen Old Boys, held at Trinity Grammar School, Sunday 23 June 1946. TGSA.
Broadly stated, the school to which James Wilson Hogg was appointed in 1944 had endured almost two decades of continuous struggle for survival, culminating in the harrowing experience of the World War and the threat of closure. Trinity had survived these vicissitudes for three principal reasons: the dedication of those who may be called the founders of the school, many of whom had supported Trinity with their rhetoric and with their pockets; the transcendent belief in the merits of providing an Anglican school set down in the populous western suburbs of Sydney, a locality which neither desired nor directly supported an Independent evangelical school; and finally, a profound conviction, held by many, of the divine assent for the school - a school hardened by challenges against which, almost providentially, it had persevered. Years later, J. Wilson Hogg reflected that "the laws of chance must ever be subservient to the purposes of God, and there is little doubt - no, there is no doubt - in my mind that this school was meant to be". During Hogg's early years at Trinity, he faced problems encountered by no previous headmaster - the problems of harnessing, indeed, moulding a revival in a school more accustomed to the tyranny of financial pragmatism than the liberty of comparative security. Hence, as an educational visionary and as a creator in the truest sense, Hogg was pre-eminently suited to the task of making a reality of G.A. Chambers' hope for the school he founded in 1913.

The first period of Hogg's Headmastership (1944-1962) occurred in the context of prodigious educational growth in New South Wales. The origins of this stimulus to the nature of education in Australia's most populous state derived from the Second World War. The war-time Labor Government, and the community espoused "a spirit of social reform" designed to fit the community for the future without war. So far as the community was concerned, education was a vital component of the post-war world and was given a priority which was unparalleled since the Public Instruction Act of 1866. There were significant increases in numbers seeking University and Technical education, additional teacher training colleges were built to meet the teacher shortages so prevalent in the decade after the war, and school populations rose almost universally. In 1946 there were 19,811 candidates for the Intermediate Certificate; by 1956 this number had increased to 31,039, reflecting the rapid increase in population which has been so well documented elsewhere. Proportionally, Independent schools retained much the same percentage of the total pupil population, viz. 24.6%, yet this figure masks an increase from 115,187 children attending Independent schools in 1945 to 167,053 in 1956. It is worth noting that during the same period, Trinity Grammar School increased from 347 in 1945 to

34 Ibid.
198

879 in 1956 - a substantially greater increase proportionally than that which might be explained by population increases. Similar, though perhaps not so pronounced, trends are evident at Cranbrook, Newington, King's and Barker.35

Equally, there were changes to the educational approach necessitated by social pressures. The Hogg Headmastership fell under the shadow of the mushroom cloud - the ever present threat of a nuclear holocaust - at a time when the world changed more rapidly and appeared smaller than ever before; at a time when the character of the country wrestled with the post-colonial age and large scale non-British emigration, and a growth in secondary industry which had a voracious appetite for a technologically and scientifically minded workforce. All schools faced these challenges and, without exception, flourished in a way scarcely imaginable before the Second World War. Hence, the proper approach to the Hogg years should take cognizance of this increase in educational interest which occurred within the context of a community manifestly conscious of its material future. Yet it would be incorrect to dismiss the achievement of the Hogg years as, in some measure, historically inevitable. Rather, the revivification of education after World War Two provided the luxuriant climate which enabled him to give expression to his educational philosophy.

Three main emphases are indentifiable in Hogg's educational approach. He was passionately interested in the education of the whole boy - educated in spirit, in mind and in body, and the order of the three was deliberate. In his parting remarks to the Sixth Form of 1946 he said: "And by education I mean the development of the complete man. In schools such as ours this development is a balanced one, relying upon the Chapel, the classroom, the playing field and the parade ground. There is reason and significance behind the order I have arranged these factors..."36 Secondly, the Headmaster was concerned with the formation of a school whose "material permanencies", the bricks and mortar of the environment, were physically beautiful, "full of dignity" and "raised with care, thought and prayer". While the first building project of his Headmastership was underway at Summer Hill, he observed that "the well nurtured youth with a just distaste would hate the ugly even from his earliest years and would receive beauty with his soul and be nourished by it, so that he may become a man of gentle heart..."37 The creation of the Quadrangle and the Trinity Grammar School War Memorial Chapel in the 1950s were the finest expressions of his desire for beauty in a world governed by mass production and architectural pragmatism. The Chapel, more than any other building at Trinity,

35 In truth, those schools did not have such a great distance to recover as Trinity.
37 Ibid., No. 35, Triangle May 1948, p.5.
symbolises Hogg's concept of what is architecturally dignified and worthy as a place of worship within a church school. Finally, the Headmaster attempted to instil a desire for a "cultivated mind" into a school which was set down in a community more attuned to the nearby race track and football ground, and at a time in Australian history when a specific interest in the Arts was either ignored or regarded, in the main, as "morally suspect".38 His crusade for a cultivated mind received its best expression in the Society of the Arts, which sponsored its first concerts in 1951, and in the growth of Art and Music within the school.

Between 1944 and 1962 the Trinity roll increased from 249 to 995 at the height of the Jubilee celebrations in 1962. The stability of the school's administration led to a steady rather than sharp ebb and flow of numbers evident in other schools.39 In brief, all comparable schools increased throughout this period and all found it necessary to build sufficient classrooms to cope with the demand for places in Independent schools. The growth of Trinity, however, is made more astounding by the recollection of a struggling school in 1943 under threat of closure, with scarcely more than one hundred pupils after thirty years of careful nurturing. Hogg set a lofty standard within the classroom. He was a most gifted teacher, sharing with his predecessors such as W.G. Hilliard and G.E. Weeks, a passion for the poet whom he considered the greatest in the English language, Shakespeare. Hogg was blessed with an almost awesome command of English expression and he spoke with the kind of lyrical eloquence not easily forgotten by his students.40 His voice was dignified without pretentiousness; his manner, modest and correct without aloofness. The most illogically expressed views of the most grubby boy in the School were regarded by the Headmaster with an impression of absolute gravity. To set a tone of dignity and self-respect in the school he wore his academic gown over a dark suit and black shoes and he desired a formal code of dress in both staff and boys. He also insisted upon all adults regardless of their status, being called "sir". "One of my happiest moments", he later recalled, "occurred after I had been [at Trinity] about six weeks when Dr Howell, who was the School doctor, came down from the Sick Bay... and he said to me: 'What has happened to the place? The boys are calling me Sir. ' We had it as an absolute rule in the School and it became a Trinity convention...."41 It was this dignified and impressive mien of the Oxford graduate in Summer Hill which so enriched

38 Hogg Interview, 21/10/88.
39 Knox Grammar School, for example, experienced only a modest increase after the war and was, for a time, superseded by Trinity. Between 1955 and 1960, that school experienced a spectacular increase in numbers from 756 in 1955 to 1,136 in 1960. This compares to 819 in 1955 to 996 in 1960 at Trinity. See B. Mansfield, op.cit., p.73.
40 Interview with V.C. Branson (old boy of the 60s). See also Latham and Nicholls, op.cit.p.90-91.
41 Hogg Interview, 21/10/88.
the school and did so much to win the support of Council, parents and boys in Wilson Hogg's first years. Though he recognised that there was no other practical alternative, the Headmaster disdained the notion that examinations were an end in themselves. Ideally he sought a liberal education which resisted the pronounced sociological trend towards uniformity:

I am persuaded that the producing of a boy of such a mind is not only desirable but also a necessary aim. . . The well educated boy emerging from school has, in fact, little real knowledge. . . Facts have not been stuffed into the resisting maw of his mind, but he has been trained in the faculty of acquiring knowledge. We live, however, in a bitterly material age, and above all in an age of mass production. The tide of individualism is on the ebb and we are left on the secure but muddy shores of uniformity.42

The chief attempt of the school to meet the demands of a liberal education was expressed in its emphasis on the cultivated and broadly educated mind. Academically, however, Hogg immediately recognised the need for the school to perform creditably in the public examinations which assumed an invigorated importance in the post war years. In his first decade, he reported publically that the academic bark of the school progressed steadily, but privately he lamented the relatively poor rate of success in the public examinations for some years coupled with the difficulty of finding staff of good quality prepared to work for minimal wages.43 Yet there were signs that results were improving in a way commensurate with the growth of numbers - by 1959, the school could boast a creditable 80% success rate in the Leaving Certificate. University Exhibitions as a touchstone of a school's academic prowess were replaced by the award of First Class Honours passes at the Leaving Certificate. In 1955 for example, the Headmaster reported that whilst the overall success rate at the Leaving Certificate was a modest 70%, Trinity gained 5 First Class Honours passes which compared favourably with 3 from Shore, which enjoyed twice the candidature, and 8 from the selective North Sydney Boys' High School.

Hogg also took active measures to enhance the community's growing interest in education. In 1946, he introduced a Junior School component to the Summer Hill site to cater for the older boarders of the Junior School who lived at the Senior School and travelled to Strathfield daily. This allowed an expansion of the Strathfield day boy numbers and, in turn, crystallised the link between the two sites which had been allowed

43 See for example, Report to TGS Council, 13 Feb., 1947, also 1948, 1951.
to dissipate in the war years. In the same year, Trinity established a Junior House known as *Lauriston* in the Boulevarde, Strathfield, which had been used by the Presbyterian Ladies' College, Croydon, during the war. *Lauriston* was ultimately purchased in 1951 for what seemed an astronomical price of £21,000. The Junior House continued as a substantially separate establishment until 1965, after which time it was sold to fund the purchase of *Milverton*, a gracious building adjacent to the Preparatory School site. Hogg, in one of his first decisions at Trinity, revivified the House system at both the Senior School and correspondingly, at Strathfield. This measure may have been in response to the observation of one Councillor in the first Council meeting of 1944, that the school seemed to lack spirit. The aims, as he put them, were so "that the abilities of every boy in the School might be more easily discovered, encouraged and developed; . . . that a House spirit might be fostered and encouraged and thereby the all important School Spirit be more readily engendered; [and] that a greater number of senior boys within the School should have positions of definite responsibility."44 The use of the same Houses at Strathfield, he hoped, would "underline the essential oneness of the two schools." Hogg realised that the survival of Trinity as a force in Independent education was inextricably linked with the prosperity of the Strathfield school as an invaluable feeder to Summer Hill45, an observation made by the Founder, G.A. Chambers, when he originally purchased the Strathfield site in 1925.

The academic progress of the school is better understood by taking cognizance of the wholly comprehensive nature of the enrolment together with the difficulty which Hogg experienced in attracting a first-rate staff because of the financial competition of industry and other schools. The majority of pupils came to Trinity from an arc which extended from Ashfield to Parramatta in the west, from Ryde to the George's River in the south. In 1947, the Headmaster observed that the parental preconceptions of an Independent school were changing from what they had been in the war years: "Then people were sending their sons to the right kind of school for the wrong kind of reasons; there is a tendency now for the boys to be enrolled for the right reasons by people who genuinely desire their sons to receive what we aim to give."46 Hence, he resisted any temptation for academic selectivity. Even when, in 1959, numbers touched 580 in the Senior School and 308 in the Preparatory School, the Headmaster believed that the School should retain its heterogeneous shape: "...we must always give places to many boys who are non-academic and who yet have, perhaps, a most important contribution to make to the School... Any other policy I feel would be a negation of what a Church School is supposed

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44 TGS Council, 9 March 1944.
45 Hogg Interview, 21/10/88.
Hogg also found the acquisition of good staff a perennial problem and the standard of teaching, on the whole, was not strong. Repeatedly, the Headmaster complained to the Council that certain positions on the staff were seemingly impossible to fill, particularly in technical and science subjects. Not for the first time in the school's history, potentially excellent staff were lured away to other places or out of the profession entirely. The Council showed more reluctance than sympathy to meet the ever rising inflation with better salaries for staff and it was some years before a manageable pay scale, negotiated in an era before award payments were guaranteed by legislation, became an accepted feature of the Common Room. The growth in the numerical and financial size of the school is well documented: in 1941, the total enrolment was 196 and the average termly income was £2,700; by 1948, the roll numbered 566 and termly income was £12,000; in 1958, however, the school numbered 959 with over £50,000 average termly income. The task of administering such an institution had changed so rapidly that the school had been, in some measure, industrially ill-prepared. Staff at Trinity were typically paid less for their positions than their counterparts in the Department of Education and in other schools - even by 1962, Trinity could boast only four men with salaries over £1,800 per annum compared to Knox with 7, Barker with 11, Shore with 11, Grammar with 13, Scots with 17 and the King's School with 22.

The following anecdote illustrate the desperate search for quality staff in a school such as Trinity. Hogg recalls being particularly concerned for a young master who was encountering a great deal of difficulty with discipline. He spoke to the young man about it from time to time, and then, suddenly, realised that the class began to be absolutely quiet:

So I passed surreptitiously, I looked in that little glass panel that Trinitarians are familiar with; the boys were working and their heads were down. I passed it three days running and I was enormously impressed. So I went in - and there was nobody there. And I said to them, "Where is he?" And they went on studiously with their work; and he shyly emerged from a cupboard. It appeared that they had come to an agreement that if he would stay in a cupboard, they would get on with their work!

It was an inauspicious end to a brief teaching career.

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48 See, TGS Council, 14 August 1958.
50 J.Wilson Hogg Old Trinitarians' Union Farewell Address, October, 1974.
Hogg was, in many ways, the master builder of Trinity. When he came to Trinity, the extent of the "material permanencies" of the school was limited to one very old building, the block of classrooms built with the funds rasied by Chambers in 1937 and a new swimming pool. At Strathfield where the Preparatory School was conducted, there was little else than the Llandillo building, which was, it will be recalled, in partial occupation by the N.E.S. The grounds at Summer Hill were in a deplorable condition. The Headmaster observed that the grass on the second oval was so long that it defied mowers and it was too green to burn.\(^{51}\) The older buildings at Summer Hill were infested by rats and termites, a feature of this site from the earliest days.\(^{52}\) The narrative of the growth of the school buildings should be directly linked to the growth of the enrolment which, in a very large measure, determined the building priorities adopted by the Headmaster and School Council. Between 1944 and 1962, the school pursued an almost uninterrupted building programme - of these buildings, only the Chapel could be considered as "non-utilitarian". Hence, the growth in the school, coupled with the demands of the Wyndham Scheme after 1955, necessitated classrooms and other facilities. As successive headmasters had discovered, to attract pupils a school needs facilities; yet to provide facilities, a school such as Trinity requires pupils.\(^{53}\)

In July 1945, only eighteen months after Hogg came to Trinity and less than three years after the calls for closure reverberated around the Synod committee, the school called for the construction of a Dining Hall and Kitchen facility as the first stage in a new boarding house. The government restrictions on war time constructions forced the submission of plans to the War Organisation of Industry Committee. Shortages in building materials left the completed Dining Hall with a motley collection of bricks on the internal walls and a temporary, flat roof. The dormitory accommodation above the Dining Hall was virtually complete by February 1948, enabling the Headmaster to report to Council:

The new wing is habitable rather than complete, and most of the internal part of the Old House has been demolished and is in the course of reconstruction. Into this scene of material confusion have moved a hundred and ten boarders and six resident men. The Bursar's Office has been moved to its new position adjacent to my study\(^{54}\) where confusion was confounded by the telephone system being entirely

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\(^{51}\) TGS Council, 9 March 1944.

\(^{52}\) The Headmaster was profoundly embarrassed shortly after his arrival, when a boarder was withdrawn after having woken up with the sight of a rat near his face. His parents explained regretfully that it was not so much that they did not approve of Trinity per se, but they were so appalled by the incident that they could not leave him in such a place. The Headmaster could do no more than disconsolately agree.

\(^{53}\) TGS Council, 11 February 1954.

\(^{54}\) Before 1948, the Bursar's Office was variously in use as a Dining Hall and Boarders library. When the new Administration Block was completed in 1984, the Office was once more restored to the boarders.
reorganised to the accompaniment of days of steady hammering, of sawing, and of staccato conversations with a remote and mystical personality called "Bert". 55

It is impossible to determine the specific origins of the Trinity Quadrangle. The use of a courtyard or quadrangle in educational institutions is perhaps as old as the monastic schools which gave them their origins. By July 1952, the Headmaster had called for the completion of the Trinity Quadrangle before the intended visit of Chambers in 1953. The western buildings of the Quadrangle were constructed in two stages. The eight classrooms built in the north western corner were augmented by the Tower Block, which was finished in December 1954 and opened by the Governor, Sir John Northcott. On the plaque which commemorates the establishment of a quadrangle at Trinity Grammar School, the Headmaster selected the motto of Florence Nightingale: Nihil Actum, Si Quid Agendum - "Nothing has been accomplished while something remains to be done", a somewhat self deprecating maxim which Jim Hogg pursued with all his heart. An old wooden building which formed the northern arm of the Quadrangle from the earliest days, was finally moved from view in 1959. Its final, defiant gesture was to escape from its mounts and roll recklessly towards the private homes on Seaview Street before a valiant but tragically nameless workmen hurled a sleeper in its maurading path. An elegant three storeyed building which replaced it at a cost of £110,000 was opened by the newly appointed Archbishop, H.R. Gough.

The growing emphasis on the study of Science in the modern curriculum impressed upon the school the need for a substantial increase in the science facilities. Partially funded by the Industrial Fund for the Advancement of Scientific Education in Schools, the school commissioned Pyers & Sons to build four new laboratories with adjoining preparation rooms and storage amenities in the basement. When the building was opened by the new Chairman of the School Council, the Right Reverend R.C. Kerle, as the first event in the Jubilee Year (1962), the Headmaster paid tribute to the Industrial Fund which, under the driving force of Sir Edward Knox, L.C. Robson (the former Headmaster of Shore) and F.E. Trigg, had provided £25,000 towards making Trinity one of the better scientifically equipped Independent schools in New South Wales. The Trinity project was the fourth of twenty-five programs set in train by the Fund, and L.C. Robson remarked that an interest in Science was wholly compatible with the philosophy of Church Schools "because the scientific truths that would be discovered in this building and the advancement of the frontiers of knowledge everywhere should, to the competent observer, point more clearly to the handiwork of God in his creation."56 The Fund was a barometer

55 TGS Council, 12 February 1948.
56 L.C.Robson qouted in Latham and Nicholls, op.cit., p.95.
of the growing interest of schools such as Trinity in proposals for State Aid for Independent schools, a debate which had first emerged in 1960. In the same year as the Science Block was promulgated, the Parents & Friends Association hoped to mark the Jubilee Year with the provision of £10,000 for a gymnasium to be built next to the Swimming Pool at Summer Hill. The energetic building program was pursued no less vigorously at the Preparatory School. The acquisition of Lauriston in 1946 and the construction of a swimming pool and filtration plant, partially funded by the Strathfield Auxiliary of the Parent & Friends Association, in 1956 allayed the growing feeling amongst Strathfield parents that the Preparatory School received a low priority against the requirements of the Senior School. A classroom wing, designed by Fred Rice, was completed in the same year. The perennial need for playing fields at Strathfield was relieved in 1952 when the School constructed an oval at the Preparatory School site, as the Headmaster reported,

those vast primeval monsters called Earth-moving Equipment lumbered reproachfully onto the scene, pushed a few trees over, shoved some thousands of little banks with the delicate refinement of heavy-weight boxers doing some fine sewing. They clanked sadly away looking for something else to push about, leaving us with a really beautiful Junior Oval on which, at last, the Prep. School boys can play "at home" cricket matches and hold football practices. This will be turfed by the new year in boy-resistant grasses.

Hogg's consuming passion was for a school which pursued a liberal education in a spiritually conducive setting received its fullest expression in the building of the Chapel within Trinity Grammar School. At the Speech Day of 1950, he observed that the building projects about to be undertaken in the school were merely the physical manifestation of a more lasting objective:

I profoundly believe that we are building slowly, if often painfully, a great school. We are young and must make our way; we cannot like ancient establishments, live upon the fat of years and the marrow of reputation; but to us is entrusted the inspiring task of giving direction to the years to come and of building and rounding out a fine tradition.

57 See for example TGS Council, 14 July 1960. This matter is more fully discussed in Chapter 10.
58 See for example, TGS Council, 8 July 1954.
60 Headmaster's 37th Report, 1949, in Triangle, May 1950
And this tradition was, at its heart, a spiritual one. The task of an educator was quintessentially involved with the training of the human spirit under God:

To put knowledge into the hands of youth and not to instruct him in the ways of wisdom is a piece of transparent folly. That is why I believe with all my heart in Church Schools... and [I] believe that the phrase "secular education" to be nothing more than a contradiction in terms. 61

As he put it elsewhere, to educate a boy without a spiritual frame of reference is to "place a sword in the hands of a blind man". Hogg was pursuing, after his own fashion, the intention for which Chambers had conceived of his school in the western suburbs. It is not surprising, therefore, to observe that from the outset he urged the school to build a Chapel as an affirmation of the belief in the divine nature of their work. In 1946 he argued:

We hope to see rise in dignity among the buildings at Summer Hill... a Chapel about which may centre a belief and a tradition; a Chapel which in size and in beauty will befit this School, and in which the present boys will find a constant inspiration, and the Old Boys, a focus for their most cherished memories and for their deepest nostalgia.62

The impetus for a chapel in this period was not wholly unique to Trinity. Knox Grammar School had plans afoot to build a chapel.63 At Barker College, the desire for a chapel within their grounds dates from the 1920s but was interrupted by the Depression and the War. In 1957, only months before the Trinity Chapel was dedicated, a chapel in the grounds of Barker College was a reality. It is difficult to identify the reason for the construction of chapels in the post war decade. It may have as much to do with the buoyant nature of Independent Schools in that period, yet such a view fails to account for the building of an edifice which is in no sense utilitarian. Perhaps it was a reaction to the steadily increasing secularisation of society at a time when Christianity was regarded as the final bulwark against the materialism which, some believed, found its ultimate expression in communism.

The narrative of the construction of the Trinity Chapel can be traced from an idea first suggested in an Executive Committee meeting of the Council in August 1943. At this meeting it was observed that no other Church of England school had yet launched a general war memorial fund with a "chapel as its object" to commemorate those who had

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63 See Mansfield, op.cit. pp. 97-100.
fallen, and to give thanks for those who safely returned. Hogg seized the objective of a chapel for Trinity and his Speech Day reports appeared to reserve his most rapsodical utterances for the Chapel. "The Chapel", he observed in 1945, "must be the centre and motive force of a school such as ours, and according to the vigour of its inspiration so is the vigour of the School."64 A few years later he repeated his call:

I long particularly for that moment when we shall begin upon the building of the Memorial Chapel... Trinity, a Church School, will not be complete without a Chapel - build what else we may - and a Memorial Chapel of great beauty can dispose her sons to attend to what is righteous, to revere what is holy, and to abase themselves before what is worshipful.65

Funds were to be gained not from the usual financial institutions such as the A.M.P. Society, but from the willing pockets of members of the school family. Hence, other building projects such as the Tower Block, the Dining Hall and Boarding House, and Lauriston proceeded as the Memorial Appeal gathered pace in the early fifties. By 1956, the Appeal had raised in excess of £40,000 of which a small but no less meaningful amount had been raised by the efforts of the boys themselves. Hogg commented:

It will, in size and beauty, be a dominant edifice in a quadrangle which is flanked already by massive buildings. It will constantly be in the eyes of the boys: every time a bell rings and boys flock from classroom to classroom they will be consciously or unconsciously aware of their Chapel. It will become a part of their life, a suffusion, an immanence, a part of the very substance of existence - and not, as so often is, a symbol of a Sunday observance, of a once-in-seven-days piety.

The construction of the Chapel took almost precisely twelve months, from 1956 to 1957, and cost the school £62,000. The resulting building was one of "great beauty and great dignity". Constructed in the traditional neo-Gothic style, its "proportions [were] classic, its length being approximately three times its width and twice its height"66 and Hogg recounted with satisfaction that it was accomplished by the combined efforts of the whole school community:

My mind boggles at the extent and enthusiasm of the work done for the Chapel. In this year alone there has been raised over £26,000 - an unbelievable sum. The whole of the Chapel furnishings and of the furnishings of the Vestry and Choir Vestry, down to the smallest detail, is by gift. The boys this year by their own pledge

64 Headmaster's 33rd Report, 1945, in Triangle, December 1945, p.7.
scheme - and this without prejudice to their missionary collection which is this year a record - have given £2,600 and there is more to come. . . This is indeed a Chapel which in the fullest sense belongs to the people of Trinity - Old Boys, present boys their families and friends.  

The dedication of the Chapel in 1957 represented the culmination of the spiritual vigour of the School since the War. It was a source of inspiration to the Headmaster that he could report to the Headmaster's Conference in 1958 that Trinity had spent £60,000, much of which was raised by Appeal, on a non-utilitarian building. Yet, in truth, the theological proclivity of the school had shifted after the departure of P.W. Stephenson in 1937. Vernon Murphy, who had been Headmaster from 1938 to 1942, had not held firm spiritual views and his working relationship with the Diocese of Sydney was businesslike rather than warm. The difficult negotiations with the Diocese over the closure of the school had not been undertaken by Murphy but by influential School Councillors such as A.B. Kerrigan and C.P. Taubman, the latter of whom was widely respected in Evangelical Anglican circles. The appointment of Hogg in 1944, as earlier observed, caused much consternation in the minds of those who were anxious to retain Trinity as an evangelical school in an evangelical diocese. The new Headmaster was a Presbyterian, a man of profound spiritual insight and conviction, and a "middle of the road" churchman. After seventeen years of direct contact with the Anglican liturgy as Headmaster of Trinity, he was captivated by the Prayer Book's due sense of reverence and order in worship and was confirmed in the School Chapel by Bishop Kerle. But in the early years of Hogg's incumbency, the Archbishop regarded the evangelical heritage of the school as at some risk. This apprehension of the Archbishop led to a direct confrontation with Hogg over the appointment of the Reverend F. Keay as an assistant master at Trinity at the end of the Headmaster's first year. Fred Keay came from the Diocese of Armidale and as such, it would seem for Archbishop Mowll, was potentially incompatible with a Sydney Anglican school. The Headmaster was bluntly told to terminate the appointment and to refrain from similar action without prior consultation with Church House. In a decisive moment in Hogg's early career, his insistence that the appointment remain was supported by Kerrigan and Taubman, and the Archbishop withdrew his objection. Later, Hogg and H.W.K. Mowll grew to greatly respect and admire one another, and the school found a key supporter in its Archbishop. But the incident illustrates both the entrenched attitude of the Diocese towards those things which suggested ecclesiastical compromise, and the tremendous support which Hogg had earned after only twelve months as Headmaster.

68 Hogg Interview, 21/10/88.
Over the next thirty years, especially during the long chaplaincy of Keith Sandars, the influence of the conservative evangelicals which had been central to the life of the School from 1913 appeared to wane. The Headmaster, whose affection for the Prayer Book, its precepts and liturgy, had sought to emphasise a worship characterised by dignity, and by reverence for Almighty God. The change of emphasis at Trinity did not escape the notice of Clarrie Latham, a long standing member of staff. In a letter to an Old Boy, he reflected on being at Trinity after 1917 when his attendance at St James King Street, Sydney, was regarded with concern by the Founder. Years later, St James organised a farewell for Bishop Chambers, and Latham considered that "the old man had then more than outgrown the cramping atmosphere he was in before he went to Africa".69 There is no doubt that Chambers gazed with approbation on the spiritual climate of the school under Hogg. Christianity, as conveyed within a traditional approach to Anglicanism stronger on conscience than on doctrine, was Hogg's sole hope for a humanity whose moral edge had been dulled by the tyranny of uniformity, cynicism and materialism. He observed, in one of his customary sagacious reflections at Speech Day:

> Every ideal should make us cast our gaze up in wonder, in admiration and even in worship. It is significant that Christ died not only on a cross but also high on a hill, and millions of eyes have looked up in wonder since, and caught inspiration from that lofty sacrifice. Looking upward is the most wholesome exercise of the spirit and mind of man. But our children's eyes will not be lifted, nor their minds elevated unless we can in school and home reveal fully those immutable ideals which give permanence and sense to an otherwise transient and idiot world. 70

In 1975 when an evangelical headmaster, Roderick West, was appointed the school reaffirmed the traditional evangelical emphasis on a personal faith in Christ as Saviour as the hallmark of a Christian.

The third conspicuous element of Hogg's educational approach was his desire for each boy who passed through Trinity Grammar School to have the opportunity of acquiring a "cultivated mind", enriched by an appreciation of the Arts. The origins of Hogg's predilection for the Arts can be found in his own creative urge to write, and in his family in New Zealand whom he described as "bookish" and tremendously well read. His Oxford days were initially, however, a "cultural shock".71 Though he had read widely and shown

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69 C.E. Latham to P.J. Gibson, 27 March 1972.
71 Hogg Interview, 21/10/88.
the true affection for rugby and cricket that a son of New Zealand should demonstrate, he felt that after almost a lifetime of education in the nation's best educational institutions he "knew nothing". Hogg's arrival at Trinity in 1944 was a coalescence of these strands in his life: "When I went to Trinity, I remembered the paucity that I had suffered in the Arts. . . and I was determined that it wasn't going to happen in that school." Other schools in which he had taught had virtually no music, no art of any kind, and, as a "kind of concession to the Arts", produced one play a year.

Soon after his arrival at Trinity the Headmaster reported to the Council:

After an observation of 18 months I am forced to the conclusion that the boys have culturally a very poor background. Strenuous efforts to encourage and direct intelligent reading are largely made negative by the fact that no proper library exists. There seems to be an ignorance of Art and an indifference to Music. These problems are National rather than peculiar to Trinity. I feel that we should make a vigorous attempt to solve them for ourselves.

He took the unusual step of appointing a music teacher who taught musical appreciation and singing to every class at Trinity. The desire to make a school in which the Arts received their due place in education issued partly from his belief in the nature of boys. Born in an age of prosperity without security, the Australian boy was "strongly individual yet with an equally strong herd instinct; [he had] an apparently thick hide covering a desperate sensitivity". Together, they were "idealists in search of an ideal". Though perhaps unwittingly, they sought the noble and the dignified and disdained the base and facile, and although they may have had a rough outward shape, "this creature is, I say, possessed of an inward grace and has an instinctive love of the good and the beautiful and true - high instincts which he is too diffident to discover and too ingenuous to hide". In late 1949, at a time when the school enrolment had passed 600, the Headmaster called for the foundation of a Society of all the Arts, the membership of which would come from boys, staff and the whole community. Importantly, the Society was geared specifically to, but not exclusively for, the school, and the Headmaster defied any temptation to cloister Trinity from the community in which it was set down. Moreover, the Society was for all the Arts, not just music. Hence, the Director was asked to arrange meetings which embraced art, drama, dance and music. The Headmaster reported the inaugural Society of the Arts meeting with satisfaction: "The standing of the artists on this occasion sufficiently avouches that standard to which the Society will aspire. We are hoping to

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72 Ibid
73 TGS Council, 9 August 1945.
get the support of people who, while having no particular interest in the School, yet belong to the community which surrounds us". This standard was in no sense compromised over the next decade when artists of international reputation such as the Ukrainian Choir and Ballet, Lyndon Dadswell, Hepzibah Menuhin, Maurice Clare, James Gleeson, Isadore Goodman, and the Amadeus Quartet visited the school. By the Jubilee year, there had been 67 meetings of the Society of the Arts and the annual membership numbered in excess of 250 people from the school and the community. The Headmaster reflected upon the foundation of the Society of the Arts as a unique accomplishment in the life of a school:

In this country which is somewhat given to the worship of toughness, a hard task before a headmaster is to create an atmosphere in his school where the arts may flourish and a boy might indulge an interest in them without arousing the derision or contempt of his fellows.

Its influence on the school appears to have been profound. At other places, when an interest in music and art might have placed a boy under a measure of moral suspicion if not mortal danger, there was at Trinity a comparative acceptance of such an interest. In addition, there was an attempt to form similar societies at other schools - in 1958 the deputy headmaster of North Sydney Boys' High School, who was a parent at Trinity, founded the Falconian Society, loosely based on the Society of the Arts.

During the years from 1944 to 1962, Hogg considered that he had been in fact the Head of a number of different schools; schools of 100, of 300, of 700 and finally, of almost 1,000. He had encountered the problem of the school in its dark days of struggle for survival in 1944, and the problem of building the "material permanencies" which would both satisfy his desire for beauty and order whilst meeting the urgent need for classrooms and facilities. He had given the school a cultivated, almost spiritual atmosphere which counterbalanced those ubiquitous excesses which seem to be inescapably present in boys' schools. The Quadrangle, the Chapel, the Science Rooms, the Dining Hall and Boarding House, and the Tower Block with its library stood now where he had gazed in late 1943 upon a scene of dusty desolation. More importantly perhaps, he had taken the heritage of the school which had been founded by Chambers and moulded by Archer and Hilliard, and he embellished it with a dignity and love of beauty.
Trinity seemed to require a central figure in whose personality resides the hopes of all its constituents. In the school's first period, from 1913-1922, this figure had been Chambers, the ebullient, restless founder whose "energy matched the greatness of his vision". In the second and most arduous period (1923-1942), the figure of W.G. Hilliard had stood for Trinity and its survival when, by all the laws of financial sanity, it should have failed. In Hogg during the third period (1944-1974), the school possessed a brilliant and wholly devoted figure whose faithfulness to the vision of G.A. Chambers for an Anglican school in the western suburbs of Sydney was equalled only by the breadth of his own vision for a school. The overt link with the evangelical nature of the Diocese of Sydney did, in truth, dissipate. The Anglican spirit which emerged in this period was more typified by an emphasis on the reverent, introspective sense of the presence of God. That Hogg should even conceive of a cultivated approach to education in a school flanked by suburbs which could only be regarded as working class areas serves to underline the demographic contradiction of this school.

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Chapter 9:

At a time when nations seem to be afflicted with poverty in leadership,
Trinity has been singularly blessed.
(School Council Minute of appreciation to J. Wilson Hogg, 26 November 1974)

When James Wilson Hogg retired in 1974, his school had grown from scarcely over 200 pupils to more than 1120 and, in the process, had become one of the leading Independent schools in New South Wales. That Trinity had flourished after 1944, in spite of rather than because of its location in the western suburbs of Sydney, and in spite of its paucity of endowment, is due, to a large measure, to the eminence and vision of its longest serving headmaster, James Wilson Hogg. Under his gracious and sensitive leadership, Trinity was taken into the tempestuous sixties - a time so familiarly marked by nonconformity and rapid social change. The salient feature of his first two decades, namely his emphasis on the education of the whole boy expressed in the classroom, in the Chapel and on the games field was enhanced by the school's response to the Wydham Scheme, the plan which did so much to haul the flabby, reluctant, post-war curriculum into modernity. Hogg's third decade of headmastering was also marked by his growing reputation as an educational statesman, expressed pre-eminently through his career-long involvement with the Headmasters' Conference of Australia. His Chairmanship of so august a body in 1962 and his membership of its Standing Committee from 1957 to 1973, bestowed upon his own school, which had been described as one of those "ash can schools" by one of his colleagues, a measure of that elusive prestige so much the birthright of the better endowed schools. In the headmastership of James Wilson Hogg, the continuity of leadership and the unsympathetic nature of the school's demography is readily apparent. The evangelical "restoration" would wait until the appointment of Hogg's successor, Roderick West, in 1974.

No other decade of the twentieth century has witnessed so elaborate and so indulgent a self expression as the sixties. With the agonising memory of the Second World War growing increasingly faint, a generation emerged which was dedicated to the exploration of freedom enunciated, paradoxically, through a kind of conformity to
nonconformity. It was the age of the "Pop Culture", of the Beatles and Woodstock, of the Space Race and Vietnam, of Flower Power, Hippies and of the Pill. Hiroshima and the Cold War had merely served to harden the pacifistic resolve of the "Protest generation" in Australia, a country which luxuriated in the full employment and comparative prosperity of the minerals boom. Later, Jim Hogg reflected on the sixties: "The Beatniks arose at this time, born of the young poets (versifiers, perhaps?) of Southern California; and the Flower Children; and other movements exulting in grubby toes, penuriousness, and the vacuity of drugs. The Age of Protest had begun and was soon to feed hugely upon the agonising moral dilemmas of Vietnam."\(^1\) The impact of the "Now Generation" superseded that of any previous modish movement simply because its message was popularised in the post-war phenomenon of mass communication, sublimely symbolised by its vanguard, television. The newsreels, which sated the hunger of the populace for visual information (even if yesterday's), were swept aside by the immediate impact of "the fraudulent magic of the Box."\(^2\) Moreover, Independent boys' schools in Australia, so perpetually linked with the conservative forces which they had traditionally served, did not pass untrammeled through the Age of Protest. There was much soul searching about the length of hair, the merits of the Cadet movement, the nature of discipline, the influence of the media, the "relevance" of the curriculum and of Christianity, and the emerging menace of drugs. It would be inaccurate to suggest that all pupils of the 1960s were imbued with animosity towards their educators. Yet the climate of the decade was one of youthful scepticism,\(^3\) which took little for granted.

The approach of the Headmaster to the sixties\(^4\) highlights the confidence of the Council in Jim Hogg's ability to guide his school. To his task as headmaster, Hogg had brought what the Council termed in its final eulogy, "wisdom, foresight, sensitivity and [an] unobtrusive strength."\(^5\) He was, in many ways, a refreshing and innovative educational thinker, for he upheld what was meritorious in traditional education rather than lauding it for its own sake, and he employed his impressive lyrical oratory to defend it. He also conveyed a disarming understanding of boys which earned the wholehearted respect of his pupils.\(^6\) He observed:

1 Hogg, op.cit. p.133.
2 Ibid.
3 As opposed to the more destructive cynicism which perhaps succeeded the 60s.
4 Taken here to refer to the period until Jim Hogg's retirement in 1974.
The "teens" used to refer to that time when the young are making the difficult crossing - sometimes stormy, sometimes calm, usually choppy - from childhood to adulthood. But this word. . . is now to become the name of a cult - a cult which has, incidentally, been exploited into a billion dollar business. In an age of mass production not only of things but also of ideas and emotions - and certainly of taste - the great population of teenagers is certainly the fairest of fair game. This is because the strongest urge of the young at the time of transition to adulthood is not for individuality but for conformity. For all his veneer of sophistication the teenager is uncertain, lacking in confidence, desperately anxious not to stand out from the herd. The herd has long pointed hoofs, and so must he. What a field for the mass producer to work in, and what an opportunity for the powerfully insidious influence of that form of propaganda we call advertisement. . . If there is a malaise in the young it is because there is a malaise in the community. The teenager is being subjected to great stresses and pressures and needs a very strong sense of responsibility to cope with them. . . Don't be put off by being ascribed a derogatory shape - "twisted", "screwy", "square" - (I, myself, am referred to as "my cubic father") - a boy really looks for and strongly desires firm direction. . .

It is remarkable that in the final years of his career, Hogg showed the same degree of empathy for his boys that he showed when he was a young headmaster in his early thirties. But the Council was conscious of the entirely new kinds of pressures on teachers and they felt moved, on one occasion in 1964, to refer to "recent publicity given to departures from discipline in other schools and to general unseemly behaviour of some of the youth of the community. . . . [The] Headmaster is assured that he would have its unequivocal support for any action he might take in discipline matters."8 In the final analysis, Hogg was considered as a just and fair rather than strong disciplinarian and he did not care for confrontation.9 He used the cane probably less frequently than his counterparts in other schools and he punished by the use of suspension or expulsion only for incidents of "gross dishonesty" or other significant offences, and across his thirty-one year headmastership, these were few. There were areas of school life which were not as Hogg himself would have wanted.10 With his staff, too, Hogg had a manner which was courteous and dignified. For his entire career, he was limited by the calibre of people available, particularly in the technical subjects and in the sciences, and by the wages and conditions which the school could offer.11 He urged the Council to attempt to keep abreast with conditions offered by other schools, and his participation in the

8 TGS Council, 29 October 1964.
10 Smoking in the School had reached alarming levels and there was a measure of indiscipline in certain classrooms. Interview with Brian and Penny Millett (Member of Staff 1971 -).
11 Interview with D.Max Taylor.
Headmasters' Conference left him well placed to observe those which prevailed elsewhere. In addition, rarely would a member of staff perform a significant function for the School without an immediate note of appreciation, usually hand-written, from the Headmaster. Hogg's own lessons on Shakespeare continued to be memorable. All common rooms, however, have their lesser lights whose impact, unfortunately, can be no less appreciable. One Housemaster was an inebriate, and his senior boys frequently had to "cover for him" to prevent the younger boys from discovering. Another member of staff had a steel plate in his head and would, as a reward, allow boys to tap on his skull. Some staff, who had served in the Second World War, showed a predisposition to rambling for the entire lesson if the judicious question was asked at a strategic moment. Some men were weak; others were "bullies". It would appear that for staff it was a "sellers' market" and although the general tone and spirit of the school was positive, the standard of tuition Trinity boys received depended upon the classes in which they were placed.

The period from 1963 to 1974 presented Hogg with three distinct problems: the implementation of the Wyndham Scheme, the introduction of State Aid, and the continued problem of administering a school wholly dependent upon enrolments for its financial progress, particularly in the context of economic inflation which forced fees ever higher. In an overview at the start of 1963, the Headmaster gave a lengthy analysis to the Council entitled, "Some thoughts on the School as a whole". In this report he made a number of key observations about the progress of Trinity across his twenty years as Headmaster. He believed that, because of its excellent geographical position, "Trinity must always have a Strathfield Preparatory School." Schools such as Shore, Barker, Cranbrook and Knox, he argued, are set down in an area where people think naturally of Independent schools - Trinity, by contrast, draws from a community which thinks naturally of State schools, and, like Newington, is considered to be on the "wrong side of the tracks". The consequence of Trinity's demographic setting, Hogg believed, was that in order to be successful it must be excellent; it must be "desirable rather than fashionable". This was especially the case because, unlike Newington, Trinity could not rely upon a "Greater Public School" status or upon the endowment of a large and influential Old Boy network. After fifty years of operation, the struggle to make Trinity a flourishingly successful school had not diminished and Hogg concluded:

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12 Ibid. Also Robert Parker (Staff 1971-) and S. Donald Holder (1966-)
13 The above anecdotes come from three old boys of the sixties.
14 "Some thoughts on the Schools as a whole", Headmaster's Monthly Report to TGS Council, 28 February 1963. All quotations which follow in this paragraph are taken from this report.
We have fought our way up from a rundown state of impoverishment and dilapidation in 1943 using no resources other than fees and what we could borrow. The dilemma of needing 'boys for buildings and grounds, and buildings and grounds to attract boys' has ever been with us. The fighting our way up has only begun, and I am sharply aware that there is not now nor never will be, room for complacency... [A] large number of our parents make signal sacrifices to keep their sons here.

In February 1966, the Headmaster made reference to his concern for the loss of the 'traditional' drawing area of the school: "As our fees go up, the School will go further and further beyond the reach of those who live in the Western Suburbs, other than Strathfield and Burwood. This, I am afraid, is a sad but inalienable fact." The enrolment figures for the sixties verified his concern. The record enrolment for the school was reached in June 1961 with a total of 1039 pupils. Thereafter the roll slowly but perceptibly declined, dipping to 867 in July 1966, before a steady recovery in early seventies, when it reached 1123 at the time of Hogg's retirement, the highest number to that time in the history of the School. This recovery was a source of some satisfaction to the Headmaster on the eve of his retirement. In contrast, other Associated Schools were able to sustain and enhance the buoyancy which came in the fifties.

The loss of numbers manifestly led to a loss of income at a time when the Wydham Scheme made heavy demands upon the resources of a school. The Wyndham Scheme provided for an additional year in secondary education with the Intermediate Certificate being replaced by the School Certificate attempted after four years and the Leaving supplanted by the Higher School Certificate, gained at the end of Sixth Form. In addition, the Scheme made the teaching of Arts, Crafts and Music compulsory elements of the curriculum and elevated the already exalted position of science. It was the most thorough revision of the curriculum attempted in New South Wales for three quarters of a century and was undoubtedly long overdue. Its introduction, however, left schools such as Trinity in a difficult financial position. A broader curriculum required additional classrooms (especially Science and Craft Rooms), better equipment, and a more specialised teaching staff, all of which had to be provided from the school's sole source of income - fees. For the first time in almost twenty years, the school's income could not match its expenditure and the deficit in 1966 was $46,500. In the context of an annual budget in excess of half a million dollars, this did not represent a situation so critical as

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16 See Barcan, op.cit; Also S.Braga, Barker College: A History, Ch.10.
17 Special TGS Council Meeting, 15 March 1966. Note that the Imperial currency nomenclature changed on 14 February 1966.
that of the early forties when the school could not even meet its own interest repayments, but the figures gave cause for some disquiet.

With such financial pressure as the backdrop, a protracted and at times bitter debate developed over a proposal for State Aid to Independent schools in Australia. In 1964, the Federal Government, whose Minister for Education, Senator John Gorton, had spoken in detail to the Headmasters' Conference on the matter of financial assistance to Independent schools, introduced a scheme to provide all schools, according to need, with funds to construct science buildings and laboratories. Trinity derived some $18,000 from the scheme for its own Science Block extension. The conservative churchmen and clergy on Council had profound philosophical objections to any form of State Aid. The matter went before the Standing Committee of Synod in 1964 which ultimately ruled that Anglican Schools may receive assistance for the construction of Science facilities necessitated by the Wyndham Scheme, but nothing further. The Council of Trinity Grammar School was divided roughly into two blocs on this matter: the clergy, who supported the opinion of the Standing Committee that State Aid was the thin edge of the wedge of Government interference in Independent schools and a brazen example of political opportunism; and the laity on Council, especially the Old Boys, who argued that the Synod was hypocritical to accept Government funds to assist with the completion of Mowll Retirement Village but deny the same financial relief to its own schools. Furthermore, they contended, the financial future of Trinity was not strong; fees had risen 60% in six years and were still rising, and the Wyndham Scheme required new classrooms which the School would somehow have to build. Full State Aid was eventually introduced in 1968. The debate on the morality of State Aid to Independent schools as well as Government schools extended beyond the Standing Committee and Council Rooms of schools into the wider community. The issue was politicised and it "stirred in many people latent and deep resentments."

In Hogg's final years at the school, the matter of State Aid gave rise to an entirely different polemic. Under the Federal Whitlam Government's Karmel Report of 1973, Trinity had been categorised on a scale of A to H for funding purposes as an "A" school. Coupled with the abolition of Commonwealth Scholarships, this was a body blow at a time of high inflation and mounting financial responsibilities. The Headmaster commenced an immediate but unsuccessful correspondence with the Minister, the Honourable Kim E. Beazley, and the Opposition, requesting a review of the decision. In

20 TGS Council, 29 October 1964.

effect, Trinity, a school without endowment and one whose sole source of income was its fees, was categorised as one of the wealthiest schools in the country and, therefore, was to receive minimal assistance. The Headmaster urged parents to write letters of objection to the Minister on their own behalf and on his penultimate Speech Night in 1973 he concluded his report with the comment:

Our categorisation designates us as a "rich" school. The term falls upon our ears with irony. I have watched Trinity grow from 214 boys to 1100, from a School whose grounds were unkempt and desolate, whose buildings were few and for the most part dilapidated, to the School as it is today. Again, this has not been achieved by wealth but by faith and courage, not least of all, by the faith and courage of parents... All Government aid, wherever directed, is, in its effects, assistance to parents. Having regard to the story of the School as I have outlined it, and having regard to the circumstances of our parent body as a whole, I cannot accept a proposition which suggests that parents who send their sons to Trinity should not be entitled to a share of the vast amount of public money that is to be applied to education... Trinity is not set down in the midst of affluence: our parents for the most part made formidable sacrifices to send their sons here. That all assistance should be withdrawn from such parents is an apparent and compounding injustice. 22

It remained a prevailing source of disappointment to Hogg, as he retired in 1974, that the school should be so categorised. 23

The sixties witnessed the departure of two longserving Councillors who had sustained the link between Trinity and its evangelical origins. In March 1965, after 36 years of service on the Council, A.B. Kerrigan retired. Kerrigan's departure marked the close of a lifelong link which had commenced in 1912 when, his father, W.A. Kerrigan, was the Secretary of Chambers' Trinity Grammar School Committee and Bev. Kerrigan was a member of the first 29 to attend the school. He was a member of the foundational Trinity Grammar School Diocesan Council in 1928, he was its Treasurer from 1938 to 1952, and its Secretary from 1952 to 1965. Upon his retirement, he recounted: "When I first took my seat on the Council in 1928, it was for me a proud day - my father had been a member of the School Committee from 1913 to 1925. The years since 1928 have had their problems and troubles but they have been overcome and... the years ahead will have their

problems and troubles to overcome. I have no fear that success will be achieved."24 The Headmaster reckoned the debt owed by the school to Kerrigan to be imponderable. It was Kerrigan's peroration, it will be recalled, which had probably saved the school from closure at the hands of the Standing Committee in 1942. Less than one year after the retirement of A.B. Kerrigan, his colleague, C.P. Taubman, resigned from the Executive and Council of the School. Taubman had been a Lay Canon of St Andrew's Cathedral from 1943 until his death in 1970. Throughout those years he had been a most influential layman on the Diocesan Standing Committee and his active support for the school had been indispensable to its survival. In 1927, he joined the committee of management which bridged the parochial School Committee with the Diocesan appointed Council as a Church of England Evangelical Trust representative. He was Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Council until his retirement in 1966. Of him, the Headmaster remarked that "his natural gravity of manner and dignity of demeanour, his knowledge of Church and secular affairs, his unshakeable principles and his broad humanity of outlook made him peculiarly suited to a position of importance in the government of the School".25 Not only so, the Headmaster acknowledged that the school's survival through the "scarifying effects" of the Depression and the War was "largely through the faith and endeavours of a handful of eminent men of whom Claud Percival Taubman was one".

The Wyndham scheme forced additional building at both Strathfield and Summer Hill. An Arts and Crafts Block and Science Building were constructed at the senior schools and the sub-primary element at Strathfield was enhanced by the purchase of a new building. The final building project undertaken at Summer Hill during the Headmastership of James Wilson Hogg was also his biggest. In 1969, the Council began to consider plans to construct a new library and Assembly Hall complex in the area originally intended for that purpose between the Founder's Block and the Science buildings. The Foundation Stone was set by the Governor of New South Wales on 11 March 1973 and the building, to Hogg's heartfelt honour, was named after and opened by the Headmaster in one of his final official functions on Sunday, 29 September 1974. With the completion of that building, Hogg felt that the School was, basically, "complete".26

24 TGS Council, 30 September 1965.
26 Triangle Interview with J.Wilson Hogg, December 1974. It should be noted that he acknowledged that other things were still to be built: an Administration Centre, a Music Centre, an upgraded boarding house, an audio-visual centre, a film and acting theatre, as well additional classrooms and games facilities at the Preparatory School.
The academic life of the school between 1963 and 1974 progressed positively, though never brilliantly. In the absence of University Exhibitions awards and the passing of Honours passes which had been a feature of previous decades, the best barometer of the performance of Trinity boys in public examinations was the issue of scholarships for tertiary studies. As the School grew in size, so the quality of its candidature improved. In 1969, the Headmaster reported to Council that 40% of Trinity boys proceed to University which compared to the national average which was closer to 5%. This percentage was not perhaps as high as more academically selective schools such as Sydney Grammar or Sydney High School, but it was, nevertheless, a creditable figure.

On a lighter note, there were two notable coaches at the school in these years. The Headmaster, in spite of his busy life and his natural predilection for cricket, always "coached" the Fifth XV, although he was usually aided by a more youthful and vigorous assistant. Understandably, few, if any, of the Fifth XV would wish to be seen indulging in anything but scrupulously gentle conduct. Equally, Ron Elliott, better known perhaps for his contribution to the School as Classics Master, was a unique and patient coach of the eager, lower teams. In a memorable pre-match warm-up talk, he was overheard to have advised the boys of the 14E XV to watch where he stood and run towards him. He would strategically place himself, with umbrella (usually) unfurled, behind the opponents' dead-ball line and intone like a Greek chorus, "Go, Trinity!" At half time, he would walk to the other end. Curiously, such an outlandishly simple tactic produced either emphatic wins or gargantuan losses - the outcome rarely, if ever, caused a change in the next match plan.

From its foundation, Trinity had regarded its spiritual purposes with the utmost sincerity. Trinity was first and foremost a Church School; that is to say, a school in which the precepts of the Church may be found as a living and dynamic reality within the weave of its daily life. It had been an evangelical school in an evangelical diocese and although Hogg was not an evangelical, he took his role as spiritual leader with the utmost gravity. A man of profound Christian conscience and insight, the spiritual life of the school was pursued with probity and fidelity - always conscientious, never overzealous. He deplored any suggestion of coercion in spiritual matters; faith he believed, is an ineffably personal and as such, a matter incontrovertibly between God and the boy. On the other hand, he believed it to be the duty of the school to enable each boy to "catch" Christianity, by a faithful ministration to the conscience of the boy, and by the demonstration of appropriate principles of life. This is to be distinguished from the evangelical emphasis which had
been present in an earlier period which sought to present the claims of Christ by preaching the death of Christ. Throughout his thirty-one year incumbency, however, Hogg adhered to the observation he had made at the end of his second year, when the Trinity Chapel was merely a classroom with a roller door screen across the sanctuary: "The Chapel must be the centre and motive force of a school such as ours, and according to the vigour of its inspiration so is the vigour of the School." The new Chapel itself had undergone further embellishment after the Jubilee Year, with the unveiling of the Memorial windows and the construction of the impressive pipe organ. In addition to the existing windows, a memorial to the Founder and to A.H.G. Chambers was added in 1965 and 1964 respectively, both of which were designed by David Saunders. The Memorial to the Founder, known as the Mathew Window, was dedicated and unveiled by the Archbishop on 20 June 1965, on which occasion the Headmaster prepared a memorable panegyric.

The selection of chaplains for the school was always a matter of considerable political manoeuvring. The Diocesan authorities reserved the right to grant final approval or rejection of applicants for the chaplaincy. Hogg had clashed with Archbishop Mowll over his appointment of the Reverend Fred Keay to a position as assistant master. He was similarly hamstrung in the matter of chaplains. His appointment of Keith Sandars in 1954 mysteriously escaped the notice of the Diocese. Sandars, although a strong pastor and dedicated schoolmaster with a love of traditional liturgy and a disdain for doctrine, was not an evangelical. The Headmaster sought to advertise for Sandars' replacement in 1964 throughout Australia. However, he was prevented by the Archbishop, H.R. Gough, who insisted that the appointee should come from the Diocese of Sydney. Hence, the Chairman of Council, the Right Reverend R.C. Kerle (1960-1964), wrote a circular letter to all clergy in the Diocese and the Reverend David G. Duchesne, the Rector of St James', Canterbury, was appointed in 1965. The matter was a source of frustration to Hogg but he was not of the temperament to create a public issue over the matter. In any single year, the Chaplain may have also prepared over fifty confirmees and the Chapel was in frequent use by Old Boys for weddings and baptisms. Indeed, for all intents and purposes, the Chapel was very like the parish church of the school.

One of the most ambitious educational experiments undertaken by Hogg had been the conception and establishing of a Society of the Arts. This body was the Headmaster's chief strategy in the quest to provide in the school, those things which

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28 TGS Council, 28 May 1964. Though a potentially grave moment, any power struggle over the selection of chaplains was ignored by the Headmaster, who judiciously allowed the matter to take its own course.
29 Hogg Interview, 21 October 1988.
make for a cultivated mind. In the second period of his incumbency, the Society of the Arts burgeoned under the establishment of a permanent Art Gallery at Trinity. The School purchased a rundown Victorian house for £16,000 with the possible intention of converting it into senior boarding and residents' accommodation. The building allowed the firm establishment of an art gallery at Trinity in 1969 under the aegis of the Society of the Arts. The annual $1,000 cost of maintaining such a large, charming, but badly dilapidated building gave cause for some members of Council to consider Delmar as a luxury that the school could ill-afford. If it was to be used as a facility for the Society of the Arts, the school would still need to find additional senior boarding and resident masters' accommodation, in addition to meeting the annual maintenance bill. The Headmaster, however, who could see the possibilities for the fostering both of an artistic interest in the school and of positive relations with the community beyond, supported the concept of a gallery at Trinity. On the occasion of the Third Festival of the Arts in June 1969, the distinguished artist, Desiderius Orban, who opened both the Festival and its attendant exhibition, described the Society of the Arts and the Gallery as "an oasis in the desert". The proceeds from exhibitions were turned back to the cultural health of the school.

Trinity Grammar School, for all of its progress from 1944 to 1974, was still euphemistically termed by some as one of the "less historic" schools of Australia. It had no great wealth or prestige upon which it could feed in times of difficulty, or upon which it could luxuriate in times of prosperity. Historically, it had drawn its pupils from the less fashionable, well-to-do suburbs of Sydney, and, in the words of the Headmaster, had only just begun "to fight [its] way up". Yet the Headmaster of such a middling school, James Wilson Hogg, became an eminent figure in Australian educational statesmanship. His accomplishments are truly impressive and derive from his involvement with the Headmasters' Conference and from his remarkable trend of producing headmasters from his own staff.

Hogg had been a member of the Headmasters' Conference of Australia from 1945 to 1974. He served on its Standing Committee from 1957 until 1974 and, as early as 1953, he had occupied the position of Secretary of the New South Wales Branch. In 1959, he became one the foundation members of the Australian College of Education,

30 TGS Council, 28 September 1967, Also 26 September 1968.
31 Triangle, July 1969, p.18.
32 This term appears in J.Wilson Hogg, Our Proper Concerns, p.151.
33 Not all members of the HMC regarded its preoccupations as worthwhile. See J.R.Sutcliffe, Why be a Headmaster? Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1977. Ch. 35. Sutcliffe had been the Headmaster of Melbourne Grammar School.
34 Membership of this body was, it will be recalled, by headmaster rather than by school.
which had been launched on the impetus of the brilliant James Darling, the headmaster of Geelong Grammar. Hogg's integrity and wisdom were widely respected as is evidenced by his visit to Bathurst in 1966, on behalf of the H.M.C., to investigate an impasse between a headmaster and his council. Yet the most singular achievement of his "public" career was his appointment as Chairman of the Conference from 1959 to 1962. It was a singular achievement, not only because of the elevated nature of the office, but also because of the kind of school of which Hogg was the headmaster. With customary humility, he later wrote of his appointment: "If he [Hogg] had claim to distinction it was that he was the first chairman drawn from one of those schools euphemistically termed 'the less historic'. A later chairman was to write: 'Hogg opened the door to the HMC Chairmanship when [he] was elected. That was a major breakthrough'. He had begun his headmastering in 1944 at the age of thirty-four at one of those "ash-can" schools, the certain demise of which an eminent post-war speaker had urged Conference to contemplate with complacency. . . However, Hogg's school, Trinity Grammar in Sydney, was one of a number of small schools which, defying augury, resolutely refused to have their lids clamped down."35 His Chairmanship reached its most important moment at the Twelfth Triennial Conference in 1962. This conference, which had examined the question "What is meant by a good school?", was characterised by a sense of fellowship and esprit de corps. He also pursued an aim to involve, by drawing out of "shadowy anonymity", younger headmasters. Hogg was an educational statesman, not only because of the philosophy which he brought to bear upon education, but also for the eloquence with which he expressed those ideas. Recounting the story of an educational misfit whose only claim to excellence in any field of endeavour was a curious ability to hatch a duck's egg under his arm, he concluded:

Here was a boy 'not much good at anything else' but good at hatching a duck's egg under his arm - with all the implications of patient and determined interest in the world of nature about him. He had adopted an empirical method of discovering for himself one of the great elusive mysteries of life, and that in all his days he would probably never be able to spell "empirical" seemed unimportant. Here was a school sufficiently enlightened to respect a boy's peculiar interest and to encourage it. I wish the climate of my own school was such that amidst the solicitous interest of his fellows a boy could do anything so weird, so outlandish and so original. 36

This kind of refreshing, unpretentious educational vision was profoundly impressive and led to many invitations to speak elsewhere, particularly towards the end of his career. In 1969, for example, he addressed the Founder's Day ceremony at Brighton Grammar

35 Hogg, op.cit., p.151.
in 1973, he delivered the prizes at Camberwell Grammar School and in the same year, spoke to the Australian College of Education; in addition, he visited schools at which "his men" had become headmasters. At his own school, he typically expatiated his philosophy of education both to the Council and to the community on Speech Night. For example, in his rationale to Council on the reorganisation of pastoral care at Trinity, he prophetically reminded them of the complexity of contemporary life and the role of schools within this process: "We can accept the fact that schools are agents of society: they are acted upon by society and in their turn, they act upon society. At heart they must reflect the culture from which they spring - while allowing that a part of their responsibility is to form that culture." This grasp of ideas, coupled with his gracious and dignified mien and lyrical oratory was at the heart of his outstanding success as a headmaster. His services to education were honoured by the award of an M.B.E. in the Queen's Birthday Honours' List in June 1974.

It is a matter of academic debate whether history moves along the paths so set down by great men or whether those great men themselves are moved by the irresistible forces of the society in which they have lived. In 1973, approaching his sixty-fifth year, Hogg was weary. He had openly discussed his retirement with the Council from the early seventies and, on one occasion, he had reported on an address given at a Headmasters' Conference in 1969 that universities and schools knew little of what the next ten years might hold - "I must say that I left the meeting feeling a sense of relief that of the ten years which he mentioned, only a few would remain to me as Headmaster of a school. " He had taken an "ash-can school" and made it into an Independent school of real ambition. In that 31 year essay, he had "given all that he had to give, and [he] had no more". In a comment to a senior boy Hogg stated, "as the Labor Party said at the elections - It's Time. " To allow the Council ample opportunity to find a suitable replacement, he tendered his resignation in March 1973 to take effect at the end of 1974.

But as for the boys of this School, I suppose one must be allowed to be jingoistic when one has been a headmaster for a very long time. I have learned to respect them with a very deep respect. I have taught in five Schools, and I think that the really good Trinity boy is quite exceptional. He is strongly individual; a very impressive person. He is, I believe, something quite out of the ordinary; a very special boy and one of whom I am quite proud. In general, I find them now, as I have always found them, immensely refreshing in their straightforwardness, their

39 Farewell Address to the OTU, 1974. TGSA.
quick sense of the ridiculous, their swift apprehension and deep distrust of the affected, the pretentious and the pompous, their unswerving loyalty to each other and to those they respect, and their seemingly innate sense of what is right and wrong, just and unjust. 41

There is little doubt that the nature of the boys at Trinity partly explains why Hogg remained at the school throughout his career. There are, however, two further explanations which may be proffered. In his description of his own Chairmanship of the Headmasters' Conference he noted that the acceptance of the post of headmaster at Trinity represented a most significant challenge: "In inheriting such a school, Jim Hogg had felt, some would say inexplicably, that he was fortunate indeed. He walked in no-one's shadow. The school, perilously low in numbers but with spirit undaunted, was there to be made. Few headmasters have so splendid a chance to express themselves. Most new headmasters feel themselves surrounded by ghosts of the past whispering warnings and forebodings -'We never did things that way' - or are cumbered about by unshakeable traditions, many of which have no other claim to respect than age. But here was a school which a new headmaster could make or which, through economic circumstances alone, would break him. Most young schoolmasters of spirit would have jumped at the chance."42 The nature of this vision itself was the second explanation for his long career at Trinity. He had fully absorbed the hope of the Founder, namely, to establish an Anglican school in the western suburbs of Sydney. But he had expressed this hope after his own fashion. At his final Speech Night report he commented:

A human being is an animal upon whom have been bestowed divine gifts. One of these is creativity; I believe that man is very close to God, the Creator, when he is making something. . . which engages his mind and imagination and hand. Have you ever seen a child, sitting absorbed, and whittling at a stick, shaping his dreams. . .? Pass softly by - you have just seen happiness. Inside every boy is an artist, or a poet, or a writer struggling to get out. The trick is to let him out early, or he dies. He is shut in by the twin portcullis of prejudice (the Australian anti-intellectualism) and self-consciousness. Once break through these and you will find yourself in a rich and magic country. When I first came to the School, I had every boy I taught - at first to his intense horror, and later to his great satisfaction - writing poetry, and I instituted the Annual Graphic Art Exhibition, which is still going strong, and made every boy in the School exhibit in it. . . Stubby and well-licked pencils produced graceful verse, and the ham-like hands of giant footballers and the like, were directed to the Arts, and their fallow minds to literature."43

There was a certain genius in such an approach.

41 Trinity Family Farewell Speech, in Triangle June 1975, p23.
42 Hogg, op.cit., p.151.
In an opening section of his history of the Headmasters' Conference, Hogg poses the question about those things which constitute a great headmaster. "We are", he remarked, "forever weakening powerful words by sending them on petty missions. This is particularly true of the word 'great'..." He rightly observes that length of incumbency, "innovative and highly imaginative programmes" establish reputations and bestow honour upon a school, but they do not, in themselves, confer "greatness". He argues that greatness is more to be found in the mundane, in the simple and undramatic, in the daily round of decisions and revisions which influence the lives of the members of a school. By his long and successful incumbency, by his highly innovative, imaginative and successful programmes, and by the sheer spiritual genius of his simple, mundane, undramatic handling of a growing Anglican school in the western suburbs of Sydney, Hogg does the word "great" no dishonour.

44 Hogg, op.cit. p.20.
45 Ibid.
Epilogue:

The Evangelical Restoration

If we can point our boys to that Living Word in Whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge...then we shall make understanding men out of ordinary boys.

(Roderick West, 1975)

The seventy-five year history of Trinity Grammar School has been a history of transitions and contrasts. From its foundation as a small, parochial school in 1913, Trinity had undergone a transition to a diocesan school after 1928, administered by a council elected by the Synod of the Sydney Anglican Church. From a school operating in an old residence in Dulwich Hill, it transferred to its new home in Summer Hill and Strathfield. From an uncertain beginning which had witnessed no fewer than eight headmasters and five sites¹ in its first generation, from 1944 Trinity had, by contrast, experienced the kind of stability it had so desperately wanted, through the thirty-one year incumbency of James Wilson Hogg. From a school burdened by penury and the incessant threat of closure from 1924 to 1944, Trinity had grown into an Independent school which enjoyed widespread esteem. From the nucleus of twenty-nine boys playing in the dusty grounds of the Towers in Dulwich Hill, the school had grown to number more than eleven hundred pupils who travelled to Summer Hill and Strathfield from all over Sydney. In spite of such change, however, there had been unbroken threads which had bound together the transitions and contrasts in the history of the school. From its inception, Trinity had been conducted as an attempt to provide an Independent Anglican education and its spiritual heritage had remained the unerring heart and soul of the school - it had been, to a greater or lesser extent, an evangelical school in an evangelical diocese. Moreover, in spite of numerous examinations of the alternatives, it had always conducted its spiritual mission in the context of the western suburbs of Sydney, an area which may have been expected to be inimical to

¹ Hazeldene (1913); The Towers (1913-1923); Holy Trinity Dulwich Hill Parish Hall (1924-1925); Hurlstone, Summer Hill (1926-1931); Llandilo, Strathfield (1932-1937); Hurlstone, Summer Hill (1938- ). The Preparatory School remained at Strathfield after the return of the Senior School to Summer Hill
the kind of education which a school such as Trinity provides. Finally, for better or worse, the school has always pursued its purposes under the ministrations of a central individual, usually a headmaster, and the character and philosophy of that figure have left their impression on the pupils who have made up Trinity. The retirement of J. Wilson Hogg in 1974, gave the Council an opportunity to find a successor who might extend the vision for Trinity of G.A. Chambers and those who had followed him. With the appointment of Roderick Ian West to the headmastership of Trinity the Council reaffirmed the evangelical heritage which had been present since the school's inception. This epilogue examines the evangelical restoration of Trinity Grammar School.

Before considering the process of selection of the new headmaster it is of some importance to provide a biographical backdrop. Born in Balmain, Sydney, in 1933, Roderick West was the youngest child of a family of six. His father, Harry West, had a flourishing business as a sailmaker and was passionately interested in local government. He did not, however, have a great interest in education, and the proper education of his children became the province of his wife. Rod West spent his childhood in the inner harbour suburbs of Rozelle, Balmain, Hunter's Hill and Drummoyne. He attended, amongst others, Nicholson Street School as well as Drummoyne High School, until his mother decided, from her housekeeping funds, to educate her youngest son at Sydney Grammar School. His two years at Sydney Grammar from 1949 to 1950, were complemented by spiritually formative years attending St Philip's Anglican Church, Eastwood, where his family had finally settled after retirement. Although he had been raised a Presbyterian, at the age of nineteen he attended a service at Christ Church Anglican Church, Gladesville, and fell rhapsodically in love with the Anglican liturgy. So emerged the two incessant preoccupations of his life: his consuming passion for the Classics, in particular Latin, which had burgeoned under the stimulus of his new school, and for Christianity. His mother was profoundly devout and prayerful, and she urged her children to approach the Christian gospel with due reverence and conviction. Her influence was mirrored by the profound insights of the Reverend Eric Mortley, from whom Rod West gained a consuming love of the scriptures, in particular, the Gospel of St.

2 Interview with Roderick and Janet West, 10/12/88. Hereinafter referred to as West Interview.
John. Hence, he grasped the eternal verities with the wonted enthusiasm he brought to bear on all his interests.3

After completing his education at Grammar, the young Rod West attended the University of Sydney studying Latin, History and English. His contemporary at University and later a noted theologian and ecclesiastical historian, Edmund Campion, somewhat irreverently remembered him as a "thin, nostrilly lad."4 He augmented his qualifications in 1960, with the completion of his Bachelor of Divinity from London as an external student, and in 1971, he completed a Masters degree with a thesis on the ancient Jewish historian, Josephus. In 1955, he commenced his teaching career at Cootamundra High School, in the Central West District of New South Wales. His first headmaster was the redoubtable Murray Callaghan, who was later the headmaster of Sydney Boys' High School. He established the first Inter School Christian Fellowship group at that school and, in 1956, had the honour of bearing the Olympic Torch along part of its route to the Melbourne Olympics. He was seconded by the Department of Education to teach Latin at Fort Street Boys' High School in Sydney from 1957 to 1961, a time he later described as both stimulating and formative.5 In 1960, he married Janet Conti, who was a member of his Gerroa Beach Mission team and who was to become his lifelong partner. Shortly after, he resigned from the Department of Education and journeyed to Britain where he worked in a number of small schools, including King Edward's School, Witley. He returned to Australia to teach at Geelong Grammar School's Timbertop in 1966, where he tutored His Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales, during his sojourn at that school. From Timbertop, Rod West was appointed as the Master in Charge of Classics at The King's School, Parramatta, whilst the Reverend Canon Stan Kurrle6 was the Headmaster. In 1968, he was appointed as the Housemaster of Baker House, where he was given the opportunity to pursue his own approach to education. His was an approach which was pre-eminently pastorally orientated. At Baker House, Rod West held evening bible studies in his residence, worked on gardening and building projects7 near the House as a corporate enterprise.

3 The phrase, "eternal verities" is one used by Roderick West.
5 West Interview.
6 Stan Kurrle, it will be recalled, was the successor of Frank Archer as the Headmaster of Caulfield Grammar School. Such fortuitous links ever keep the historical world of Independent schools small.
7 This was in the form of a "Greek amphitheatre". A full description of the Wests' time at The King's School is to be found in the Triangle, June 1975.
The method of selection of the new headmaster of Trinity reveals a great deal about the desire amongst a significant number on Council for an evangelical restoration. In order to allow sufficient time for a new appointment, James Wilson Hogg had tendered his resignation as headmaster in March 1973. The position was advertised both in the media and in widely distributed brochures, with applications closing by 31 October 1973. The selection process took place between 8 November 1973 and 4 January 1974 and it involved the whole Council under the Chairmanship of the Right Reverend F.O. Hulme-Moir. The Archbishop, Marcus Loane, as President of the Council, attended the interview of the shortlisted candidates. Whilst not consciously implying criticism of Hogg's "middle of the road" churchmanship, some members of Council regarded the change-over of headmasters as an opportunity to fortify the School's evangelical Anglican heritage both theologically and liturgically. Trinity had been founded by a liberal evangelical and, likewise, its headmasters had been, in the main, evangelicals. The Council, therefore, appeared to seek a man who was not only an accomplished educationalist but also an avowed evangelical Christian. Roderick West, whose work with the I.S.C.F. and Crusaders was widely known, and who had a reputation as a dynamic Christian influence in an important Diocesan school, was almost immediately placed on the short list of four. He was known to both the Archbishop and to such Councillors as Dr Allan Bryson. The latter campaigned vigorously for West's appointment. Indeed, it has been alleged that Bryson remained on Council purely to secure the appointment of an evangelical to the headmastership before he retired. Although the voting papers were destroyed after the selection, it was reportedly carried in West's favour by the narrow margin of one vote - that of the Archbishop. Accordingly, on 7 January 1974, C.E. Eastway, as Honorary Secretary of the School Council, offered the position to Rod West who, on 9 January, accepted the position "in

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8 For reasons of confidentiality, applications were sent to the address of the Honorary Secretary, C.E. Eastway.
9 West interview.
10 It will be recalled that W.G. Hilliard and P.W. Stephenson were both leading evangelical bishops after their departure from Trinity. F.H.J. Archer, through his astute and loyal service to Trinity, was highly regarded by the Diocese. Dr G.E. Weeks had been the inaugural Diocesan Missioner after he left Trinity in 1928. The exceptions to the evangelical preponderance of Trinity headmasters were, of course, V.S. Murphy and J. Wilson Hogg.
11 West Interview.
12 Ibid.
the earnest hope that I shall be able to carry on the fine traditions of Trinity Grammar School."13

Before the evangelical restoration under West was accomplished, there was a deep and appalling crisis to be endured. In the life of any institution which may have enjoyed three decades of stability under the leadership of a figure almost universally admired, no change, albeit necessary, is welcome. Few people are blessed with the natural grace and dispassionate detachment sufficient to welcome the infusion of new life and vigour into a school. The changeover at Trinity from Hogg to West was not made with ease. There were some for whom the prospect of, as one staff member put it, a "new pharaoh" rising at Trinity, regardless of who he was, had hastened their departure.14 The majority remained, but a number were apprehensive.15 In a conversation between the retiring headmaster and the appointee, Hogg had advised West to change something soon after arriving: "We are different and they must see that."16 Such advice was welcomed by the new Headmaster, who was replete with irrepressible potential. Over the first two years of his Headmastership, Rod West instituted a series of changes designed to enhance pastoral care and promote accountability and commitment at all levels in the school. The changes, however, precipitated the crisis which ensued.

The changes effected by the new Headmaster in his first two years, broadly stated, were pastoral, administrative and academic. Rod West felt strongly that "every boy who comes into the school in First Form should be able to identify with a man on the staff who will be his mentor for his entire school career."17 He provided four cogent reasons for the increase in the number of Houses at Trinity from four to twelve: it would provide a more intimate atmosphere for the new boy in a big school; it would help each boy be able to identify with one man through his school career; it

14 The term "new pharaoh" was used by a long serving member of staff who resigned in May 1972.
15 Interview with Brian and Penny Millett (2/12/88), Member of Staff 1971-. Hereinafter referred to as the Millett Interview.
16 West interview.
17 TGS Council 27 February 1975.
would provide a better link between the home and the school; and it would save "the most insignificant boy from the misery of unimportance" in his school life. The expanded House system was partly thrashed out in consultation with tutors and housemasters in the Headmaster's residence. A corollary of creating additional promotion positions which was implicit in the revised system, however, was the reduction in influence of the old positions, a bitter pill for some.

In addition to the extension of the pastoral care structure, the Headmaster made three further key changes. In April 1975, with the timetable in some disarray, he appointed a Director of Studies to relieve the Senior Master of the responsibility for the timetable, class lists, absent master rosters and examinations. He also appointed a registrar to alleviate the headmaster from the onerous duty of enrolling new boys. Enrolments, shortly after, were completed at the Senior School which monitored the size and nature of the intake at both locations. This amounted to a significant reduction in the power of the Master of the Preparatory School who was privately very bitter about the changes. West also implemented a revised system of compulsory Extra-Curricular Activities. At its centre was the philosophy of the celebrated founder of Gordonstoun, Kurt Hahn, who maintained that it "is wrong to coerce a boy into a belief, but it is right to coerce him into an experience." The playing of competitive sport (usually for the school on Saturdays) was to be compulsory from Year 7. He introduced Soccer into the school, much to the horror of some traditionalists. In addition, in its original form, the activities scheme required each new boy to join a club in which he participated until the end of Year 10. He was also required to join an "Outward Bound" activity from Year 9 to Year 11. As an alternative to the Cadet Unit, which grew rapidly under the new scheme, Trinity became the only Anglican school to offer the Church of England Boys' Society (CEBS) as a legitimate activity. Later, the requirement to participate in a club was modified and the Outward Bound activity was altered to embrace boys from Years 8 to 10.

19 Twenty-one staff arrived at a voluntary meeting with the Headmaster to consider the proposals in April 1975.
20 The new Headmaster later acknowledged that some elements of the extension of the House system were conducted naively, if not impulsively. This does not negate the efficacy of such an expansion, but merely helps to explain the reaction which it received.
21 West Interview.
22 TGS Council 25 September 1975.
23 West Interview.
held in the customarily chaotic final days of the third term, immediately before the Carol Services and Speech Night. These changes were, on the whole, enthusiastically received. The School Captain of 1976, himself later embroiled in the crisis which followed, reported to the community: "Trinity forges ahead in 1976! The new house system, now a reality, has divided the School into twelve House groups...Each acts separately as individual units, their main functions being pastoral...There has been a great revival in School spirit aided by the fact that each boy is required to play sport for his School as well as to be involved in some form of outward bound activity... Trinity Grammar offers much to the Trinitarian, academically, culturally, physically and, most importantly, spiritually."  

The other area of significant impact made by the new Headmaster was in the matter of school discipline. In his first report to the School Council, he noted three suspensions for smoking, two for truancy and one for an incident on a Geography excursion. At the April Cadet bivouac, there were further incidents of smoking, a disturbing initiation ceremony and C.U.O. indiscipline on the final night. He uncovered matters associated with the use of drugs at a time when community awareness of such problems was perhaps at its peak, and was involved in an unpleasant encounter with the media for his suspension of a boy for failure to honour his Saturday sporting commitment. His approach to these matters, though perhaps lacking the assurance of later years, was both forthright and uncompromising. By the removal or summary punishment of such offenders he sought to enhance the standing of Trinity as a Church school.

The gathering crisis broke in 1976 although, at the end of 1975, there was little hint of what lay ahead. The year had concluded with the Headmaster's challenge:

A schoolmaster's stock in trade is WORDS. And in a Church school
the words of Jesus must have a special place...."Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away". If we can point our boys to that Living Word in Whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge...then we shall make...understanding men out of ordinary boys.29

The first suggestion of tension came in March 1976, when the School Captain was required to make a public apology for some unfortunate and indisciplined remarks he made on Assembly concerning non-Rugby players and pupils of Asian descent. There had been a number of boys and parents who had objected profoundly to the pace and nature of the changes which Rod West had introduced. Interviews with staff members serving at the time indicate that there were protests of various kinds launched by senior boys. From the moment of the apology, it would appear, there was an irreconcilable rift between Headmaster and School Captain.30 The School Captain found a ready ear in the Senior Master, himself affected by the changes, who became the focus for the protestations of a select group of parents and staff within the school.31 In such an environment of rumour and innuendo in the third term of 1976, unthinkable allegations of a sexual nature were precipitately levelled against the Headmaster, the ultimate aim of which was his removal. The Headmaster was, it would seem, substantially unaware of the disloyalty occurring around him. The action of the Headmaster's opponents led to a number of special meetings of the Council Executive where lengthy discussions took place. Unanimously (though at first hesitantly), the Executive and School Council supported the Headmaster, whom they had mildly chided for naive and unguarded utterances, and demanded the resignation of the Senior Master on 1 October 1976.

Regrettably the matter, which was ugly enough behind the closed doors of the Council Room, did not remain there. Led by the School Captain and certain Prefects, a protest of sorts took place in the form of the wanton destruction of seating at the Associated Schools Athletics Championships held shortly after. Yet this was but a prelude to a dramatic 1976 Speech Night. In an orchestrated attempt to embarrass the Headmaster and Council over the resignation of the Senior Master, the School Captain, who had been aided by other members of the School community, leapt

30 West Interview; also Millett Interview.
31 Interview with the Senior Master's Secretary 1974 ff. December 1988.
to his feet and asked at a given moment after the Guest of Honour's address, "What about the Senior Master?" Breaking the brief silence a dilatory collection of hecklers, buoyed by the presence of the newspaper media in the foyer, echoed the question.32 In the kind of moment upon which hung both the career of the Headmaster and the integrity of the school, the Archbishop, Marcus L. Loane, with full and irresistible ecclesiastical authority, arose to command the School Captain to sit down or leave. A handful of people trickled from the Assembly Hall and the Auditorium was subsequently filled with applause when the Archbishop observed that such a display dishonoured the cause they sought to serve. A disconsolate Headmaster, as he left the James Wilson Hogg Assembly Hall, told the Archbishop that he felt the only course of action was to resign. "Nonsense", replied His Grace, "this is a time to build".33

There is little doubt that this episode was the most harrowing of the Headmaster's professional life. In an effort to end the matter quickly, West refused an opportunity to reply to a television interview in which a number of the boys involved spoke their piece.34 He was sustained by the confidence of the Archbishop and other clergy, by the support of the Chairman, the Executive and the Council, by the loyalty the majority of his staff and the Parents and Friends', by his family, and by his own faith in the God of justice and peace. It was, perhaps, this faith which spoke most audibly to those cynics who had questioned the vision of the new Headmaster for Trinity.35 In the final analysis, resentment against the changes which had been instituted fanned the flames which had been ignited even before the arrival of West. He was rumoured to be a party political appointee of the Diocese who sought to gather in their evangelical school which had been, for so long, in the wilderness. Such a view represents a gross injustice not only to West but also to Hogg who had faithfully discharged his spiritual responsibilities for thirty one years. The naive and hasty reactions of West did little to allay resentment which emerged in the first two years. Yet, to many on Council, the survival of West was of the utmost importance to an evangelical revival of the school. There had been a view amongst

32 The Chairman of TGS Council, A.B.Holt, had been told of the presence of the newspapers in the foyer during one of the addresses and his response was both timely and discreet.
33 West Interview.
34 Channel 9, "A Current Affair", Thursday 9 December, 1976; Also Sydney Sun, Friday 10 December 1976. The Chairman of TGS Council also received numerous calls from the media over the ensuing days.
35 Millett Interview.
churchmen in general, that church schools did little to swell the pews in Anglican parishes. Trinity was, therefore, a test case.36

At the start of 1977, with numbers little changed since 1974, the Headmaster had pleasure in reporting: "Taking into account the mournful forbodings of some of those who do not wish the School well, I have been greatly heartened by the enrolment pattern."37 The crisis had been a pivotal point in his career, and he emerged wiser and better appraised of the inglorious moments of headmastering. Moreover, through his resolve to appoint pre-dominantly professing Christian staff, and by his programmes of pastoral care and the promotion of wholehearted participation in the life of the school, he was all the more determined to meet the challenge which the Archbishop had placed before him on Speech Night 1976.38

36 West Interview.
38 It is worth noting at this point that both the previous Headmaster, James Wilson Hogg, and the present incumbent remained unswervingly loyal to one another. A seemingly incessant trail of visitors approached the Hoggs, who entertained them graciously but countenanced no talk of the situation. Indeed, Jim Hogg's first official visit to Trinity was not until April 1976, when, with Mrs Hogg, he attended a function to mark the 25th Anniversary of the Society of the Arts. He wished to avoid any cramping interference between the old and the new. Rod West, for his part, held the accomplishments of his predecessor in the highest admiration. (cf. West Interview).
Conclusion.

This thesis has attempted to trace three continuous strands in the history of a Sydney Diocesan boys' school, namely Trinity Grammar School. The three strands which form the basis of the present study are first, that Trinity was founded and, in the main, has been conducted as an evangelical school in an evangelical diocese. Secondly, that this school, perhaps more than would normally be expected, is dominated by particular individuals whose influence determined not only its daily conduct but its entire future. Finally, this thesis has maintained that it is impossible to understand the narrative of Trinity's history without due acknowledgement of the demographic setting of the school. This school, unlike other comparable church or independent schools, is set down in an area which has been historically unwilling to support an independent school of the kind Trinity proved to be. The nearest point of comparison is, of course, Newington, a school whose setting is counterbalanced by the fact that it is the sole Methodist school in Sydney, notwithstanding that it is assured of a place of prominence by its status as a G.P.S. school.

Trinity has been, historically, an evangelical school in an evangelical diocese. It was founded by the liberal evangelical, the Reverend George Alexander Chambers, in 1913 as a purely parochial labour of the Anglican church of which he was the rector, namely Holy Trinity Dulwich Hill, in the inner western suburbs of Sydney. His purpose in founding the school, as observed in the early chapters of this thesis, was to present a witness to the claims of Christianity as expressed in the Anglican church to the populous western suburbs. Chambers observed that there was no Anglican school on the south side of the harbour and that the sons of the church were forced to go to either "Shore" or The King's School, Parramatta. Some were doing the unthinkable and sending Anglican boys to Newington!

This thesis observed that there are four reasons for founding a school: to preserve a minority religious identity in a larger society; to provide alternatives to allegedly hostile or biassed state schools; to provide leadership for the church and the community; and to evangelise society. In a sense, Chambers shared all of these motives in establishing Trinity Grammar School. He considered his school to be a fundamental component in the strategy of reaching the western suburbs with the
Christian gospel whilst simultaneously providing Christain leaders for the church, for business and for the community. He was an ambitious, optimistic, dynamic individual who took the parish of Holy Trinity into programs as far reaching as founding a school, building a new church and becoming one of the leading producers of missionaries of any Sydney Anglican church. He had almost no philosophy of education to which we may allude, apart from one which derived its model from the great public schools of England. Chambers was not a theoretician; he was a dynamo. The foundation of a grammar school within the precincts of his parish was not his final ambition for his school. He believed that Trinity had the divine assent and that it was incumbent upon the Diocese of Sydney to ultimately underwrite the capital outlays which must attend the establishment of a new school. His was an evangelical school in the sense that its entire raison d'être both at its inception and through its early life was expressed in terms wholly consistent with the thinking of the diocese in which it was set down. This was not to be a school which practised nominal religion. It was to be a witness to the God and church which gave it life. The headmasters and councillors, the staff and majority of the parents were evangelical Anglicans. The remarkable feature of the life of Trinity is that it has, in the main, sustained this evangelical link with the Diocese. There were two exceptions to this feature: Vernon Murphy and James Wilson Hogg. In both cases, the link with the Church house was sustained not by the headmaster but by members of Council. During the Hogg years, the Chairman of Council was the renowned church leader and former headmaster W.G. Hilliard, the Bishop Co-Adjutor. Hogg himself was a deeply spiritual individual, one whose affection for the liturgy and precepts of the Anglican church deepened daily. He did not sever the link with the Diocese. Murphy, however, was not trusted by the Sydney church and his role in the school was consequently hamstrung. The evangelical heritage of Trinity was revivified in the most dramatic circumstances with the appointment of an avowed evangelical headmaster in 1974, Roderick West. The link with the foundation in 1913 was thereby enhanced.

The second feature of this thesis, namely the role of individuals who have dominated the life and progress of Trinity, follows from the nature of its foundation. The school was the brainchild of one man, acting entirely upon his own initiative. George Chambers, who had a skill amounting to genius for getting his way, conceived of an Anglican school in the western suburbs of Sydney and he pressed towards this objective with indomitable vigour and determination. He dragged with him a most
capable band of supporters who were willing to give of their expertise, their time and
even of their personal wealth. Chambers dominated the life of Trinity from 1913
until his appointment as foundation Bishop of Central Tanganyika in Africa in 1928.
Throughout this period he occupied the curious and indefinable position of warden, a
role somewhere above that of the headmasters who were supposed to be running the
school. Predictably this arrangement gave rise to tension though not so much as
some secondary sources such as Braga would have us believe. Having said that,
it remains an extraordinary fact that the first headmaster to have authority to appoint
staff independently was W.G. Hilliard during his second headmastership in the early
thirties, after Chambers had departed. As if to figuratively replace Chambers,
Hilliard twice assumed the title of Warden between 1929 and 1944. The impact of
Hilliard, though not as great as that of Chambers, was incalcuable. He was
associated with Trinity from 1913 until his death in 1960, twice as headmaster and for
twenty years its Chairman of Council. James Wilson Hogg served as headmaster
of Trinity from 1944 until his retirement in 1974. To innumerable students and staff
his personality and influence have left an indelible impression. He served as
Chairman of the Headmasters' Conference of Australia, a significant honour bestowed
upon one who was in charge of what has been euphemistically called "one of the less
historic schools of Australia". To his headmastership, Hogg brought a cultivated
and brilliantly articulate mind and a love of the task of education. Finally, the most
recently appointed headmaster, Roderick West, symbolises the evangelical
restoration of Trinity. The point at issue in this thesis is that the role and influence
of these individual figures is of the utmost importance in understanding the history of
Trinity. As an unendowed school which has, for half of its life struggled for its very
existence, and for two thirds has lived in relative obscurity, these personalities will
have an extraordinary impact on their environment. At any rate, in the final
analysis, the task of education is pre-eminently conducted with the raw material of
humanity. It would be transparent lunacy to deny otherwise.

The third and final component of this thesis has been that a proper
understanding of this school is dependent upon the recognition of its demographic
setting. Trinity Grammar School was set down in the inner western suburbs of
Dulwich Hill and Summer Hill. As observed in the early chapters of this thesis, at
the time of its inception Trinity could rely upon the relatively heterogenous population
of Dulwich Hill and Hurlstone Park for support. As a parochial enterprise, Trinity was assured of enrolments from the parish and its environs. By 1922 it became obvious to G.A. Chambers that if the school was to survive it had to expand. Determined to maintain a witness to the western suburbs, Chambers selected the Summer Hill property of Hurlstone Agricultural College for a three way exchange of assets with the Department of Education. Evidence of both local government records and school populations indicated that the area from the inner city to Ashfield was rapidly changing. Open spaces were disappearing and a massive increase in population was radically altering the sociological nature of the district. Trinity found itself flanked by suburbs which, on the whole, were not interested in the kind of school which it tried to be. Indeed, there were numerous clashes between Trinity boys and the pupils of local government schools. In effect, Trinity survived in spite of rather than because of its setting. Other independent schools were better served by public transport than Trinity. In short, it was an effort to send a boy to Trinity. This fact had not escaped the Diocesan authorities who made the observation as early as 1935 that the Hurlstone site was likely to hasten the demise of the school. The exception to this was, of course, the Preparatory School at Strathfield which was always well supported by the comparatively well to do residents of Burwood and Strathfield. The Strathfield nexus was created by the extraordinary prescience of G.A. Chambers who, in a reckless moment of brilliance, purchased Strathfield Grammar School in 1926. More than 80% of Trinity boys came from this area by 1950. The problem of the setting of Trinity caused numerous proposals for a more viable site when it appeared that the school must close. The realisation that the Summer Hill site was a mere nine miles form the centre of Sydney and was an irreplaceable asset prevented any hasty action. Hence, the Trinity history is not only dominated by its setting in the sense that it drew upon attitudes endemic to its local community. In effect, it had no local community apart from Strathfield and this created an unpredictable enrolment pattern and income base. That James Wilson Hogg was able to establish the only Society of the Arts to exist in any Australian school in an institution set down in the untutored western suburbs of Sydney remains an extraordinary feat.

This thesis has implications, therefore, for education in general and for church schooling in particular. It challenges the suggestion that an independent school cannot survive without adequate pecuniary endowment. It notes that the setting of
the school is of paramount importance to viability and that an institution requires a reliable enrolment base for success. It implies that the role of strong leadership is fundamental to independent education. It has been observed that weak or particularly colourless personalities who lead lack the kind of cynosure to hold an untried institution together. It notes that sympathy between the wider institution of which the school is a component, in this case the Diocese of Sydney, and its offspring appears to be as important as the specific setting of the school. An interesting side issue arising from this thesis might be an historical investigation of the attitudes of Anglican lay and churchmen towards their Diocesan schools; or the contribution of those schools to the Diocese as a whole. Above all, however, it implies that it is possible to retain a consistent sense of educational philosophy across a broad history even in the context of innumerable conflicting interests. That the spiritual utterances of G.A. Chambers, who founded his school in 1913, should still be echoed in 1975 is an unusual if not remarkable component in the life of this institution.
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