

## Chapter 1

# Introduction

### *Context and aims*

Throughout the entire history of Western civilisation, only one institutional model for the education of children has been developed - the school. In the form that we know them, schools have their origins in Greek thought and culture, yet as early as the fourth century, Christian churches became involved in the establishment of general purpose schools.<sup>1</sup> This involvement has been debated by theologians and philosophers of education. On the one hand, there are those who suggest that like the family, the church and the state, schools are a divinely ordained institution. This follows from the notion that “taking dominion” over the created order, as humankind was commanded to do in the book of Genesis, involves a rational supervision and control of creation, with education and, therefore, schools, being a logical extension of this idea.<sup>2</sup> Others, however, deny the idea that there is a biblical mandate for establishing schools, suggesting that Christians of the early church found no difficulty in sending their children to pagan schools, and simply insulated their children against the undesirable effects of this pagan education via nurture at home and at church.<sup>3</sup>

Allowing for the various positions which can be taken with regards the existence or otherwise of a biblical mandate for church involvement, what reasons can be established as to why churches became involved in the provision of schools? Hill suggests three motivations which, over time, drew

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1 E.A. Judge, 'The conflict of educational aims in New Testament thought', *Journal of Christian Education*, vol. 9, 1966, p 33.

2 M.L. Peterson, *Philosophy of Education: Issues and Options*, Intervarsity Press, Illinois, 1986, p 87.

3 B.V. Hill, *Called to Teach - The Christian Presence in Australian Education*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1971, p 100.

churches into education.<sup>4</sup> The first of these he describes as the social service motivation which saw churches seeking to promote literacy for the sake of the spread of the gospel. In addition, following the collapse of the Roman Empire, churches increasingly took on areas of social responsibility including the provision of schools, orphanages and hospitals. The second motivation Hill describes as lettered piety. Here he suggests that Christian scholars, as a result of combining Christian and Hellenistic values, began to assert that academic learning was a means to enrich worship and piety. The final factor is described as the teaching mandate motivation. Here Hill claims that churches have used their exegesis of biblical passages such as Matthew 28:19-20,<sup>5</sup> to justify a direct involvement in education.

Whatever the rationale for involvement may have been, by the beginning of the nineteenth century, the involvement of the church in education was firmly established. An important justification by this time was the idea that education, especially that of children from the 'lower orders', was an aspect of moral training, and given the general acceptance that Christianity was the foundation of morality, education was seen as the responsibility of the church.<sup>6</sup> Partridge goes on to suggest that this essentially European way of thinking was passed on to Australia at the time of colonisation and, therefore, the assumption was that church-based schools would be established to provide an education for the colony's children.<sup>7</sup>

A second question which presents itself in establishing the context of this study is whether or not these schools can themselves be considered to be Christian. Because these schools were established by institutions which are themselves Christian, it has been generally accepted that church schools are also *Christian schools*. Such an assumption is too simplistic and largely

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<sup>4</sup> *ibid.*, p 101-103.

<sup>5</sup> 'Therefore go and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and teaching them to obey everything I have commanded you...' Matthew 28 : 19-20, NIV.

<sup>6</sup> P.H. Partridge, *Society, Schools and Progress in Australia*, Pergamon Press, Sydney, 1969, p 11.

<sup>7</sup> *loc. cit.*

vacuous for it relies too heavily on the content of the establishing institution and is essentially circular. Hadley has put forward a helpful way of approaching this issue in stating that:

Christian men and women, and Christian institutions, may be termed “Christian”; however, they should be understood as being Christian not in virtue of their supposed content or essence, but only in virtue of their orientation and direction.<sup>8</sup>

It is the belief of many Christians in a variety of denominations that church schools have perhaps lost their ‘orientation and direction’, and are largely indistinguishable from grammar schools with a liberal humanist basis. Such schools may give ‘deference to the church as a noble and godly institution but salute even more enthusiastically the social aspirations of their fee-paying patrons.’<sup>9</sup> This view would generally account for this loss of direction by suggesting that church schools have largely adopted the secularised curricula which have resulted from the gradual secularisation of society. It has reached the point that, according to Goldsworthy:

Such schools are often Christian in name only and in their being to some degree controlled by denominational synods or assemblies. There is no overall Christian view of reality underpinning their educational processes.<sup>10</sup>

I find myself to be largely in agreement with the sentiment expressed above in relation to church schools and their “loss of direction”. What has prompted my research, however, is an assumption implied by such criticism. In order for church schools to have lost their direction, they must have, at some stage in their history, been “going the right way”. It is therefore the intention of this study to examine the direction in which five such schools set out. The emphasis will be on an examination of the agents and events which influenced

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<sup>8</sup> G.V.S. Hadley, ‘The Christian independent school: A response’, *Journal of Christian Education*, Papers 75, November 1982, p. 18.

<sup>9</sup> B. V. Hill, ‘Is it time we deschooled Christianity?’, *Journal of Christian Education*, Papers 63, November 1978, p. 16.

<sup>10</sup> G. Goldsworthy, *Gospel and Wisdom*, Lancer Books, Homebush, 1987, p 132.

the formation of these schools, in order to determine on what basis they could be described, at the time of foundation, as *Christian*. Furthermore, by careful choice of schools, it is also intended that some conclusions may be drawn in relation to how the direction of such schools, at the time of foundation, has changed over time.

### ***Assumptions and limitations***

The choice of Anglican schools was made for two main reasons. Firstly, in order to be able to make any meaningful comparisons over time, it was felt necessary to compare schools which were based on the same denominational framework. Given that such schools are not systemic, there would already be difficulties inherent in the comparison of the schools, and comparing schools from a variety of denominations would only have intensified these difficulties. Secondly, my own denominational background in recent years has been Anglican. I therefore set out on this research with a personal interest in, and concern for, Anglican denominational schooling. It is up to the reader to determine whether the conclusions drawn about these Anglican schools can in any way be applied to schools of other denominations.

Having determined that Anglican schools would provide the framework in which the study would be set, it was still necessary to undertake a sample of schools. Again, for essentially pragmatic reasons such as ease of access, it was decided to choose schools only from within the Anglican Diocese of Sydney. In addition to the locational factor, it was also felt that the reasonably consistent evangelical nature of the Diocese throughout its history would alleviate any problems associated with large shifts in doctrinal position, in terms of comparing the schools' foundations.

The final decision which needed to be made in terms of establishing the range of the study, was that of the schools themselves. Although this study is concerned with the *foundation* of Anglican schools, in terms of gaining access to material, it was felt necessary to limit the sample to only those schools which were still in existence. Despite the fact that in the early years of the colony's

existence, Anglican schools dominated the educational scene, changes to education, especially those which flowed from the passage of the Public Instruction Act of 1880, saw the number of Anglican schools decline significantly, to the point that by 1993, only sixteen Diocesan schools catering for secondary students existed within the Sydney Diocese.<sup>11</sup>

The choice of schools was narrowed further by the decision to examine only those schools whose existence could be said to be due to the Diocese itself. A number of Diocesan schools, such as Danebank Anglican Girls' School and Blue Mountains Grammar School, were well established by the time they were taken over by the Diocese. Such schools had been established as private venture schools, and a comparison of their foundation with that of schools which have been founded from within the Diocese, would have provided little insight into the changing influences which saw Diocesan schools come into existence.

A further constraint was the desire to compare the foundation of these schools over time. It was felt that in order to gain maximum benefit from this comparison, the choice of schools should be made so as to essentially maximise the potential time frame. The time frame has, then, been established by the choice of the first and last schools. At the same time, it was felt that a meaningful comparison would be best served by choosing schools which were founded, as much as possible, within comparable intervals throughout the period under examination. This was done as best as possible, given the other constraints upon the decision process.

The final influence over school choice was the decision to choose schools which were established as boys' schools. This was done to maximise the time-frame of the study, and also to once again provide maximum scope for meaningful comparison of schools of like nature. From the viewpoint of maintaining consistency, it is perhaps unfortunate that the most recent schools

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<sup>11</sup> Board of Education - Diocese of Sydney, as at January 1993. There are in addition, six primary schools, a number of which are preparatory schools for established Diocesan secondary schools.

to be established in the Diocese have been co-educational. In terms of the overall aims of the study, however, it was felt it was better to include a school which had been recently founded as a co-educational school, than to maintain the above consistency and finish the comparison with a school founded in 1959.

In the end, the schools which have been chosen for inclusion in this study, largely chose themselves, by fitting the criteria outlined above. The schools which have been included are listed below, along with the year in which they were founded:

The King's School	1831
Sydney Church of England Grammar School	1889
Trinity Grammar School	1913
The Illawarra Grammar School	1959
Macarthur Anglican School	1984

It should be noted that this study has deliberately chosen to largely ignore the events which took place in relation to each school after the time of foundation. As is indicated by the thesis title, and described in more detail in the preceding aims, the intention of the study is to examine only the foundation of each school. Whether or not the direction in which the schools were begun was continued beyond the first day, is beyond the scope of the present examination.

### *Profile of Resources*

A variety of sources have been used within the framework of this study. The aim has been to determine, on the balance of probabilities, what the influences were which contributed to the foundation of the five schools studied. It may well be that as yet unknown sources will become available to one day throw new light into what are still, dark corners. It is hoped that when and if that occurs, the conclusions here drawn will be further supported. As Stanford has described it, the nature of history is such that it is, at best, 'no more

than a tissue of mutually supporting probabilities.<sup>12</sup> The 'probabilities' which make up the conclusions of this study are based on the sources described below.

### *School histories*

All but one of the schools under examination have had a history written for them. Some of them have had more than one. In the main, these histories provide a thorough account of the school's existence from the time of inception, and on the whole, appear to have avoided the danger, best (or perhaps worst) illustrated by Victorian hagiographies - ignoring the distasteful and celebrating the triumphs. These histories provided a good starting point for coming to grips with the agents and events surrounding the school's foundation, however, they understandably lacked the depth necessary to provide sufficient information on the particular period of each school's history under examination. *The King's School* by Lloyd Waddy illustrates this point. The main chapters of the book begin with the period immediately preceding the school's foundation. A short preface examines briefly, some of the factors which led to the establishment of the school, however, these are largely ignored in favour of an overview of the factors which led to the appointment of William Broughton, the school's founder, to the position of Archdeacon of Sydney. The emphasis in such sources was found to be more descriptive than analytical, as is fitting, given their intended readership. They were also useful in providing direction for the collection of further sources.

### *Founders' writings*

In the case of the first three schools, a single individual was essentially responsible for the school's foundation. In some instances, these men wrote specifically about the school which was being established, often something along the lines of a school prospectus. For example, G.A. Chambers, who founded Trinity Grammar School, wrote and published a prospectus for Trinity

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<sup>12</sup> M. Stanford, *The Nature of Historical Knowledge*, Basil Blackwell Ltd, Oxford, 1986, p59.

Grammar in 1913, just in time for the school's opening. Being clerics with a concern for education, however, they also took opportunities to preach sermons relating to educational practice and the role of the church in education particularly. Chambers provides a further example here, however, two earlier founders, Bishops Broughton and Barry, who founded The King's School and Shore respectively, were more widely published. Whether or not they preached more sermons than others on the topic of education is impossible to ascertain. Because of their positions as Bishops, however, the sermons they did preach were more likely to be preserved in written form. All that remains of Chamber's sermons on education are detailed newspaper reports, rather than published copies of the sermons themselves, as is the case with Broughton and Barry. These writings were often the key to describing the direction which these founders established for the schools.

### *Oral sources*

In the case of the final school, oral sources provided key insights into the agents and events surrounding its formation. As is discussed in the body of the study, this school was not founded by a single individual and, therefore, the availability of written sources which provided insights into the minds of those who founded the school, was somewhat limited. Oral sources were an effective means of filling this gap. The opportunity to use oral sources was available because the school is relatively new and, therefore, the school's founders are still alive. Unfortunately, The Illawarra Grammar school which was also founded "by committee", has reached the age where the founders are no longer alive, and the opportunity to collect oral sources has therefore passed. I was, however, able to make written contact with the school's founding headmaster, who provided a written response to questions put to him. An interview was, unfortunately, not possible as contact was made only days prior to his leaving for an extended vacation in Europe.

### *Other sources*

Numerous other sources were used during the research phase of this study, and specific details are spelt out in the bibliography. A variety of additional primary sources, including manuscript materials, official published materials, School Council minutes and Church Ordinances were utilised. Secondary sources not described above, largely consisted of unpublished theses, books and journal articles pertaining to the role of the Christian religion in education in Australia.

### *Methodology*

Stanford outlines an approach to the historical method which I found useful and attempted to apply.<sup>13</sup> The stages involved in the transformation of evidence into historical construction are firstly, the speculation as to what might be studied; secondly, the selection and preparation of the evidence; thirdly, an attentive reading of the evidence; fourthly, a tentative metamorphosis of the evidence into a coherent construct; and finally, a recognition that the author is guided and controlled by his approach to the evidence, and his own history.

An important component of the study has been the development, where possible, of an understanding of the founders' "world views". The assumption which underlies this is that '[n]ot only are educational policy and practice subordinated to educational theory, but educational theory itself is born out of a larger world view.'<sup>14</sup> With the objective being to ascertain the direction in which the founders set these schools moving, the inclusion of this material is held to be directly related to the stated aims of this study.

At various points along the way, the lives of the founders have been briefly "fleshed out". It is hoped that such liberality in perhaps straying from the

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<sup>13</sup>     *ibid.*, p. 84.

<sup>14</sup>     Peterson, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

major intent of the study, will be excused on the grounds that it provides additional insight into the characters who made such a significant contribution to the foundation of these schools and, therefore, aids in the understanding of these founders' approaches to education.

### *Conclusion*

In describing the approach of the British philosopher of history, Robin Collingwood, E.H. Carr once said that '[h]istory cannot be written unless the historian can achieve some kind of contact with the mind of those about whom he is writing.'<sup>15</sup> Collingwood's view was that the historian should approach their sources with an 'imaginative understanding', in order to explain and interpret the facts as they found them. While accepting this insight from Collingwood, Carr suggests a danger in this approach.

The emphasis on the role of the historian in the making of history tends...to rule out any objective history at all...In place of the theory that history has no meaning, we are offered here the theory of an infinity of meanings, none any more right than any other...<sup>16</sup>

In entering into the minds of the founders of these five schools, it is to be hoped that the author has to some extent, fulfilled Collingwood's objective, so that the founding direction of these five schools is laid clear for the reader. At the same time, the author has attempted to let the founders speak for themselves as much as necessary. Where interpretation is required it has been provided, however, a relativist approach has not been attempted.

In their own minds, the founders of these schools were establishing *Christian schools*. It remains to be seen, however, in what sense they can be seen to be Christian, and to what extent this has changed during the more than one hundred and fifty years under examination.

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<sup>15</sup> E.H. Carr, *What is History?*, Penguin Books, London, 1968, p. 24.

<sup>16</sup> *ibid.*, p. 26.

## Chapter 2

# The King's School, Parramatta

The process of examining Church of England schools within the Diocese of Sydney begins with the foundation of The King's School. In some senses, the foundation of The King's School sets the agenda for the establishment of similar schools throughout the next one hundred and fifty years. It provides a formula for the foundation of other Diocesan schools and provides a benchmark against which subsequent schools can be compared. As shall be demonstrated, the characteristics of the school, established by its founder, remained significant for years to come, and certainly its establishment has had some influence on all schools which have followed in its tradition.

In the earliest years of the colony, education was given a low priority. This was largely a reflection of the general apathy towards education which existed in the mother country. The threat of rebellion loomed large in the minds of the conservative Tories who controlled the purse strings of the Exchequer, and even the Bishop of London was convinced that it was 'safest for both the Government and the religion of the country to let the lower classes remain in the state of ignorance in which nature has originally placed them.'<sup>1</sup> Any progress made in the field of education, however, was certainly made under the auspices of the established church, and by 1814, two orphan schools and six parish schools were operating in the colony.<sup>2</sup>

The possibility raised above, that any one church could be considered as 'established', is an important one when considering the foundation of the King's School. What does it mean to consider the Church of England as the established church? The relationship of the church to the state in England was one of position and privilege. The contemporary historian, W.W.

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<sup>1</sup> F.A. Cavanagh, 'State intervention in English education', *History*, 25, No.98, p.144, quoted in A.G. Austin, *Australian Education 1788-1900*, Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, Melbourne, 1961, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> R. Border, *Church and State in Australia 1788-1872*, Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, London, 1962, p. 39.

Burton, argued in 1840 that under law, 'the church of England has been, and is established as the national church...as part of the state itself.'<sup>3</sup> Before the Legislative Council, in 1839, Bishop Broughton also argued that under the pillars of the English constitution, the church had the right to 'special protection and encouragement'.<sup>4</sup> Certainly, the early governors had no doubts about the relationship. Macquarie, for example, following his deportation of a Father O'Flynn, recommended to the Home government that no more sectarian preachers be allowed in the colony.<sup>5</sup>

Such a position has not always been accepted by historians. In an excellent appendix to his *Church and State*, Gregory summarises the history of arguments for and against the principle of church establishment.<sup>6</sup> Whilst there is no scope here to recount these various positions, the conclusion that 'one can cite legal opinion both for and against Anglican establishment' would appear to be a fair one.<sup>7</sup> The question though is not just one of law; the reality of the day was that, legal or not, the colonial church in its early years was granted status and privilege beyond that of any other sect or denomination.

The consequences of this as far as the establishment of the King's School is concerned will be examined in more detail in the next section. It is sufficient at this point to conclude that the position of the church in the earliest years of the colony, provided an opportunity to dominate the field of education. The colonial administration was providing the salaries of the clergy, making land grants upon which the church could erect schools and churches and providing assistance in terms of the building process itself.<sup>8</sup> This of course was ultimately manifested in the establishment of the

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<sup>3</sup> W.W. Burton, *The State of Religion and Education in New South Wales*, Cross, Simpkin, and Marshall, London, 1840, p. 42.

<sup>4</sup> W.G. Broughton, 'Upon the resolutions for establishing a general system of education'. Speech of the Archbishop of Australia in the Legislative Council, 27 August, Sydney, 1839, p. 11

<sup>5</sup> J.S. Gregory, *Church and State*, Cassell Australia Ltd, Melbourne, 1973, p. 8.

<sup>6</sup> *ibid*, p. 258-260.

<sup>7</sup> *ibid*, p. 260.

<sup>8</sup> C.H. Wellard, *Church schools in secular society: their involvement in education*, MEd Thesis, UNE, 1979, p. 12.

Church and Schools Corporation, which aimed to bestow upon the church the means by which it might remain the established church forever.

### *Why was the King's School established?*

On 13 September, 1829, William Grant Broughton arrived in Sydney aboard the *John*, to take up the position of Archdeacon of New South Wales. Although he was unaware of it at the time, the revocation of the Church and Schools Corporation's charter arrived with him. The significance of this lies in the provisions of the charter itself, which provided that 'one seventh part in extent and value of all the Lands in each and every such County' should be turned over to the Corporation.<sup>9</sup> While it may be said that a disproportionate amount of the funds raised by this endowment were to be directed to the support of bishops and clergy - five sevenths of all funds - the remaining two sevenths would have been quite sufficient for the perpetual operation and provision of schools for years to come.<sup>10</sup>

Even allowing for the difficulties which beset the Corporation during its relatively short existence, on the basis of the Charter's provisions, Broughton could well have expected that the provision of education in the colony by the church would not be a difficult task. Progress had been made by his predecessor, Archdeacon Scott, and his fellow trustees, and they certainly believed that they had done an adequate job in the provision of education when in 1831 they suggested that 'the want of a school, it is hoped, is not very seriously felt in any part of the colony where sufficient number of children to form one could be assembled.'<sup>11</sup> What effect it might have had on Broughton, had he known of the decision to revoke the charter, prior to his acceptance of the Archdeaconry is a matter for mere speculation. As we shall see in due course, however, Broughton was not one to waiver from his firmly established beliefs with regards education, and when he

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<sup>9</sup> Instructions to Governor Darling, 17 July, 1825, in A.G. Austin, *Select Documents in Australian Education 1788-1900*, Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, Melbourne, 1963, p. 9.

<sup>10</sup> S.H. Smith, & G.T. Spaul, *History of Education in New South Wales 1788-1925*, George B. Philip and Son, Sydney, 1925, p. 40.

<sup>11</sup> Report of the Trustees of Clergy and School Land in NSW from 1 March 1830 to 30 December 1830, C.O. 201/218, fs.178.

finally was informed of the decision to close the Corporation, he undertook to use every last opportunity to promote the position of the church while the Corporation still had some life.<sup>12</sup>

Broughton's proposal with regards the foundation of The King's School, examined later in this chapter, was written essentially without any assistance. As such, The King's School can be seen as a reflection of Broughton's personal beliefs with regards education and society and its institutions at large. Indeed, these beliefs can be seen as the reason why The King's School was established, for the school was very much the founder's attempt to put into practice the beliefs and values which he regarded as sacred. Broughton's writings on these subjects, provide the requisite insights into the beliefs which bore fruit in the shape of The King's School. While these writings are not systematic, they are none-the-less quite informative and a thorough analysis will provide a comprehensive understanding of his attitude towards education in particular. Whilst most of the sources used were written after the formation of The King's School, there is a consistency throughout which leads one to conclude that, at least as far as the institutions and ideas under examination are concerned, Broughton's beliefs were fundamentally still the same in 1850, as they were in 1830. What follows, then, is an attempt to unfold Broughton's beliefs in a number of key areas. It is the contention of this chapter that these beliefs provided the inspiration and motivation for the founding of The King's School.

### *The Church of England*

We have examined briefly the link between the church and the state, and seen that the position of the Church of England in Australia, certainly in the first fifty years of the colony's existence, was one of establishment. Broughton had a firm belief in the correctness of this. His arguments were most strongly put and clearly explained in his speech to the Legislative

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<sup>12</sup> K. Kennedy, *Anglican attitudes to education in NSW, 1788 - 1880*, MEd Thesis, University of NSW, 1977, p. 50, 60.

Council in 1839, where he addressed the resolution to establish a system of general education.<sup>13</sup>

Broughton looked to the English Constitution for his theoretical basis in believing that the church and the state were inextricably linked. Broughton told the Legislative Council that according to the constitution, the church could expect 'the fullest measure of aid and support'. Such support should not be withdrawn unless it can be demonstrated that the church, because of unfaithfulness, was no longer worthy to receive it. The colony, he believed, was established not under a mere portion of the constitution, but under the whole, and as such, the rights of the church at home should be imputed to the colonial church. While Broughton acknowledged that it was up to the Legislative Council to decide whether or not it would grant the means which the Crown may recommend for the enablement of the church to establish its own principles, he claimed that this did not dissolve the obligation of the Crown from making such recommendations.<sup>14</sup>

Broughton goes on to describe England as constitutionally the 'Defender of the Faith'. While changes had occurred in terms of the method of appointment to political administration, whereby a man's religion was no longer used to determine his relative fitness for holding office, such changes had done nothing to 'subvert the original foundation of our Constitution; which is the union of Church and State.'<sup>15</sup> Those who conducted the revolution of 1688 did not intend for the constitution to be limited in a geographical sense, but rather, it was meant to encompass all British subjects. The reason why these men had linked the throne and their faith so inseparably as to require the Sovereign to be at all times in communion with the English church, was that they were persuaded 'that this faith was most consonant with truth and most friendly with liberty.'<sup>16</sup> Broughton believed then, that wherever the Crown and the church be found together, the former should ensure that the latter had the means by which it would remain in its rightful place as the established church. This, of course,

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<sup>13</sup> W.G. Broughton, 'Upon the Resolutions for establishing a general system of education'. op. cit.

<sup>14</sup> *ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>15</sup> *loc. cit.*

<sup>16</sup> *ibid.*, p. 12.

included the provision of state aid to the church for the purpose of establishing of schools.

For Broughton, this was a fundamental issue. He was not supportive of state aid to other Christian denominations for he believed that the Church of England was the true Christian church. Its foundation did not occur at the Reformation, for the Reformation simply took the church back to its roots in New Testament history.<sup>17</sup> This underlay Broughton's thinking in relation to the place and role of the Church of England. He was assured that God himself had set apart the Church of England for 'some singularly important end connected with the progress and final prevalence of the Gospel.'<sup>18</sup> His desire to see the Church's role in education continue, would suggest that education itself had a role to play in bringing about this 'end'.

Broughton believed that the Church should be seen as a community, united together by their faith in God and their opposition to the forces of evil which existed within the world. These opposing forces were to be won over and subdued by the righteousness of the Church. He used the time-honoured metaphors of light shining through darkness, and sheep exposed to the ravages of wolves, to explain the position of the Church in relation to the rest of the world.<sup>19</sup> The proper functioning of the church had eschatological consequences because:

The Church of the living God is that channel through which the streams of grace and salvation are to flow, and to be distributed over the whole earth; and to feel no concern whether that channel is kept pure and undefiled, or whether it is choked by corruption, is in reality to be indifferent whether the cause of salvation proceeds and prospers, or whether the gates of hell prevail against it.<sup>20</sup>

For Broughton, then, the ministry of the Church is at all times to bring before those who will listen, the character of Jesus Christ as the 'Redeemer'

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<sup>17</sup> W.G. Broughton, 'The Present Position and Duties of the Church of England', Sermon preached at Canterbury Cathedral, 17 September 1835, p.7.

<sup>18</sup> *ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>19</sup> *loc. cit.*

<sup>20</sup> *ibid.*, p. 4.

of the church, and the one who brings 'salvation'.<sup>21</sup> Again, we see implications for not only the establishment of new congregations, but also for the establishment of schools. Such schools would not only provide an education in the necessary skills of the world, but also, in the doctrines of the church and the gospel of salvation. Interestingly, the language of Broughton cited above, suggests an evangelical fervour which in other ways was perhaps missing from his ministry. In his plan for The King's School, Broughton alludes to the 'training up [of] the rising generation...in this Colony for ever in the Faith of Jesus Christ', but appears to give greater emphasis to the 'encouragement and maintenance of piety and virtue, and of a holy, sober and religious character among all classes of this community'.<sup>22</sup> The significance of the work of the church as a motivating factor for the founding of The King's School is, however, clear.

Broughton maintained a certain degree of separatism towards the other denominations who shared many of his beliefs regarding the role of the Christian church. There were certainly occasions when he sought to unite with the other persuasions against forces which he believed were rallied against the church. His expediency on these occasions, however, could not mask his underlying partisan approach to the position of the Church of England. This partisanship manifested itself most vociferously in Broughton's views regarding the Roman Catholic Church.

### *Roman Catholicism*

The foregoing description of Broughton's understanding of the Church of England, and its position with regards the state, provides the requisite background to a brief description of his views with regards Catholicism. It is important to understand that The King's School was established as a bastion against the forces of Catholicism which Broughton believed himself to be engaged in battle with. Broughton had arrived in Sydney concurrently with

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<sup>21</sup> W.G. Broughton, 'A Charge Delivered to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of New South Wales at the Primary Visitation' in the Church of St James, in Sydney on Thursday, 3 December, 1829, p. 8.

<sup>22</sup> 'Plan prepared by the Venerable Archdeacon Broughton, upon which to form Grammar Schools and eventually a College in New South Wales', Sub-enclosure No. 1, Darling to Murray, 10 February, 1830, HRA, Vol. xv, p. 359.

the demise of the Church and Schools Corporation, whose existence had been designed to preserve the exclusivity of the established church in relation to matters such as state aid to education. This exclusivity was, however, being eroded.

Before the conclusion of his governorship, Macquarie had been forced to accept the arrival of two Roman Catholic priests in the colony. This was followed by the arrival of the Methodist, Rev. George Erskine in 1822, and the Presbyterian Dr. John Dunmore Lang in 1823.<sup>23</sup> Their presence in the colony placed pressure on the colonial government to deal with their multi-denominational population in a more even-handed manner. It is difficult to determine with any degree of precision, the exact denominational character of the population in the early colonial years. The census of 1828 only divides the population into two groups, Protestants (69%) and Roman Catholics (31%). The first occasion on which we receive an informative division was the census of 1841 which contained the following denominational breakdown:<sup>24</sup>

Church of England	57%
Presbyterian	10%
Methodist	3%
Roman Catholic	28%
Not stated	2%

While it is difficult to determine from these figures any accurate estimate of the non-Anglican population during the early 1820s, it would not be too much to suggest that something in the order of 40% of the colony may have been in that category.<sup>25</sup> Given the strong feelings which Broughton had with regards the primacy of the Church of England, it is not surprising that he felt it necessary to shore up his church's position against the threat of

<sup>23</sup> R.J. Burns, 'Archdeacon Scott and the Church and School Corporation', in *Pioneers of Australian Education* ed.C. Turney, . Sydney University Press, Sydney, 1969, p. 12.

<sup>24</sup> K.L. Grose, *Educational experiment of the 1820s: a study of the origins, development and demise of the NSW Clergy and School Lands Corporation*, PhD Thesis, Sydney University, 1974, p. 79.

<sup>25</sup> Such a figure may be considered conservative when one considers that during the 1820s, the convict proportion of the population would have been comparatively larger than in 1841, and a large proportion of convicts were of Irish-Catholic stock.

other denominational influence by ensuring a continuity of leadership, provided by a quality school.

To describe him as intolerant and perhaps even bigoted, however, is to misunderstand not only his theology, but also his historical setting. While he was certainly antagonistic towards Catholicism, and we may criticise him for the manner in which he at times expressed his opinions, his views were consistent with his understanding of the reformation and the protestant nature of the Church of England. There were fundamental differences between Protestantism and Catholicism which Broughton saw as being irreconcilable. He suggested to Sir George Arthur that for a government to support the Church of England, it could not, at the same time, support policies which would promote Catholicism. To do so would be inconsistent; blowing 'hot and cold at once.'<sup>26</sup> It is not surprising, then, that Broughton so vehemently opposed Bourke's introduction of the Irish National system of schools. According to Broughton, such a system would give an advantage to the Catholics, requiring them to surrender nothing, yet demanding that the Protestants surrender fundamental doctrinal principles. Such a system could not be considered 'neutral'.<sup>27</sup>

Broughton saw the growth of the Catholic church as a prospect:

...so striking and remarkable, that a failure to give utterance to the sentiments of dissent and apprehension, with which [it] inspires us, would amount to a confession of distrust or desertion of our principles; and could gratify none but those whose zeal is incessant, as their activity is boundless, in attempting to bring back a train of errors, which it was believed had been...abolished forever.<sup>28</sup>

If people shifted their allegiance from the Church of England to Catholicism it would be a rejection of the blessing of God; a return to the idolatrous worship of graven images; a restoration of a system which would expose 'the secrets of every breast, and the privacy of every household, before a

<sup>26</sup> Broughton to Arthur, 24 Jan 1834, in Austin, *Select Documents in Australian Education 1788-1900*, op. cit., p. 46.

<sup>27</sup> Broughton to Glenelg, 22 May 1835, C.O. 201/250, f.150.

<sup>28</sup> Broughton, 'The Present Position and Duties of the Church of England' op. cit., p. 5.

tribunal founded upon usurpation of the rights of men and invasion of the prerogatives of God.'<sup>29</sup> Given that Broughton held such strident beliefs, the foundation of The King's School can be seen as an attempt by him to establish within the colony an institution, which, as shall be later shown, would provide leaders for the colony who were not only Christian, but avowedly supportive of the Church of England.

On the occasion of Broughton's sermon in Canterbury Cathedral, in which he addressed the issue of the 'Present position and duties of the Church of England', he remarked that the church faced 'peril' on two fronts. The first adversary was the Catholic church, who refused to compromise or moderate its own opinions, yet sought the complete surrender of the freedoms which had been so hard won at the reformation.<sup>30</sup> We turn now to examine the second 'peril' which Broughton believed faced the church, and which he sought to overcome, at least to some extent, with the establishment of The King's School.

### *Social morality*

Broughton saw social morality as intimately reflecting the nature of society itself. Two problems dominated his thinking in this area - intellectual liberalism and moral depravity. His concern with intellectual liberalism was with what he saw as the seductive spirit which enticed people to conciliate and concede until the only conclusion that could be drawn was that 'all opinions are equally indifferent, and that there is no essential distinction between truth and falsehood.'<sup>31</sup> This 'spirit of the age' had progressed beyond the prejudice of debating and promoting religious principles; whether Christianity was true or not was of little consequence. Any effort to overthrow religion was as wasteful as the effort of promoting it. The end result of such beliefs was to seduce Christians into an indolence which undermined their understanding of the nature of truth and falsehood, and suggested that it was 'unnecessary and illiberal to insist peculiarly and strongly upon our own opinions, when we find an almost

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29     *ibid.*, p. 6.

30     *ibid.*, p. 9.

31     *loc. cit.*

universal understanding and agreement among others to say nothing about theirs.<sup>32</sup> Broughton described this 'refined scepticism', which leads to indifference, as being diametrically opposed to the 'doctrinal infallibility' of the Catholic Church. He was unsure as to which 'peril' posed the greatest danger, but concluded, metaphorically, that:

The body would be no less certainly destroyed by removing the healthy pressure and resistance of the atmosphere, than if it were crushed under the weight of a mountain.<sup>33</sup>

Broughton's attitude towards such intellectual liberalism was more than matched in its fervour by his attitude towards moral depravity and decay. As we shall see in the sections that follow, much of his desire for religious education was tied to his concern for the maintenance of what he saw as 'Christian values'. His experiences in the colony did little to alleviate his fears that without proper religious schooling, nothing would stop the colony from 'sinking continually deeper into the practice of every kind of iniquity.'<sup>34</sup> He wrote to Governor Darling on the 19th June, 1830, just nine months after his arrival in the colony, describing the 'degraded state of morals which unhappily characterizes too great a proportion of the Inhabitants of this town'.<sup>35</sup> His residence, located as it was in the 'District called the Rocks', provided Broughton with ample opportunity to observe 'the most vicious and degraded part of the community' and the 'vice and profligacy [which] prevail in that Class.'<sup>36</sup>

The paucity of morality existing in so much of the colony could lead to only one outcome:

If such be the state of morals in any community that among the people generally there is no conscience to check secret dishonesty, and no fear of divine justice to deter from open force, then human laws are no restraint upon fraud which can evade them;

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<sup>32</sup> *ibid.*, p. 10.

<sup>33</sup> *ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>34</sup> Broughton to Hay, 24 November 1835, C.O. 201/250, fs.198.

<sup>35</sup> Broughton to Darling, 19 June 1830, HRA, Vol. xv, p. 725.

<sup>36</sup> *ibid.*, p. 726.

locks and bars afford no protection against the violence which sets such slight securities at defiance.<sup>37</sup>

Broughton was convinced that the reason for such want of morality was a corresponding want of religious instruction. In a letter to Sir George Grey in 1836, he suggests that if this failure to provide religious instruction should continue, 'nothing could prevent the growing up of an organized system of atheism with greater wickedness than the world perhaps had ever yet witnessed.'<sup>38</sup> In response to this 'wickedness' we have already seen, when examining his views on the Church of England, that a major objective of Broughton in establishing The King's School was the inculcation of 'piety and virtue'.<sup>39</sup>

### *The nature of religious education*

We progress to perhaps the most crucial of Broughton's beliefs in terms of their impact upon his motivation for establishing The King's School - his view of religious education. We shall deal firstly with what he believed to be the nature of true religious education, before moving on to an examination of some aspects of how that education should be put into effect.

Broughton believed that religious education was inextricably linked to the work of the church. As Kennedy has pointed out, Broughton saw religious education as a means by which the church could fulfil its role as the communicator of the gospel. This differed from the low-church evangelical chaplains who had gone before him who saw such education essentially as an opportunity for individuals to evangelise.<sup>40</sup> In fulfilling this function, the church must ensure that religious instruction was carried out with a firm doctrinal basis.<sup>41</sup> This would not simply involve instruction in church doctrine, although this would have its place. If the colonial youths were to grow in wisdom as well as knowledge they must be

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<sup>37</sup> W.G. Broughton, 'Religion, Essential to the Security and Happiness of Nations', Sermon preached at St Philip's Church, Sydney, 26 January, 1834, p. 5.

<sup>38</sup> Broughton to Grey, 28 January 1836, C.O. 201/257, f.131.

<sup>39</sup> See reference 22.

<sup>40</sup> K. Kennedy, op. cit., p. 64.

<sup>41</sup> F.T. Whittington, *William Grant Broughton - Bishop of Australia*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1936, p. 36.

trained “in the nurture and admonition of the Lord”.<sup>42</sup> Aware, perhaps, of the increasing competition which faced the church in attracting children's loyalty, Broughton told the annual meeting of the diocesan committee of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge in Sydney in 1839 that:

We have an additional impulse which our ancestors had not. If they did not teach the people proper doctrines they remained ignorant and the evil was only negative, but now, if we do not instruct them in what is right, others will, and are ready enough to, instruct them in what is bad, and so the evil is positive.<sup>43</sup>

As intimated above, Broughton was convinced that ‘the welfare of every community is intimately connected with the religious character of the individuals who compose it and, therefore, with the degree and kind of religious instruction which is afforded them.’<sup>44</sup> Religious education should, form an integral part of parents' nurture of their children. To suggest, therefore, that parents should not bring up their children to believe what they themselves believed was, Broughton said, ‘the shallowest...and most corrupt of all conceptions.’<sup>45</sup>

According to Broughton, all religious education seeks to hold in check the actions of a society, not naturally inclined towards godly behaviour. By reforming the individual from the inside, religious education attempts to radically change the behavioural outcomes of man's natural state in sin. Contrastingly, a system of general education would serve only to aggravate the evil that it purports to hold in check. The ‘unsanctified knowledge’ that would attempt to replace ‘truth’ would serve only to inflate the vice which it sought to eradicate.<sup>46</sup> In other words, both secular and religious education aim to improve social morality, but only religious education is in a position to do so. Secular education will itself worsen what it seeks to improve.

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<sup>42</sup> Broughton, ‘A Charge Delivered to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of New South Wales at the Primary Visitation’ *op. cit.*, p. 22.

<sup>43</sup> Whittington, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

<sup>44</sup> W.G. Broughton, ‘A Charge Delivered to the Clergy of Van Dieman's Land at the Primary Visitation’ in the Church of St David, in Hobart Town on Thursday, 15 April, 1830, p. 12.

<sup>45</sup> *ibid.*, p. 10.

<sup>46</sup> W.G. Broughton, ‘A Charge to the Clergy of the Diocese of Australia’, delivered at the Triennial Visitation in May, 1844, Sydney, 1844, p. 24.

Consequently, Broughton's beliefs, drove him forward in his quest to establish a quality secondary school in the colony. The situation that he faced in 1830, having settled into his new position and now seeking the right opportunity for the establishment of new schools, distressed him greatly, for it was his belief that:

Unless some preventive step be immediately taken, the generation now rising up can be at best half informed, and in general must remain deplorably ignorant.<sup>47</sup>

Too few people had the means by which they might send their children to school in England, and as a consequence, Broughton believed some who should be occupying positions of importance within the colony, were 'sacrificing all their respectability and influence by associating habitually with their own convict servants.'<sup>48</sup> Given the 'paucity of teachers', capable of delivering a 'liberal education', no opportunity was likely to be provided for society's future leaders, to gain the requirements necessary to qualify them for their natural rank.<sup>49</sup> We turn then to consider the nature of the school which Broughton established to overcome this shortfall.

### *Broughton's vision for The King's School*

Of all the criticisms that were laid at the feet of denominational schooling during the first 50 years of colonial administration, the charge of failure to establish any schools of quality must have rung loudly in the ears of those who sought to defend the system. Whilst such a school had been a part of Scott's original plans, the general failure of the Church and Schools Corporation ensured that this component of his plans never moved beyond the germinal stage. Before resigning his position, Scott himself suggested another influence that had made it difficult to bring his plans to fruition, being that:

...strange perverseness of character of the population of this Colony, who seem generally to prefer persons of their own class

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<sup>47</sup> Broughton to Darling, 26 January 1830, Enclosure No. 2, Darling to Murray, 10 February, 1830, HRA, Vol. xv, p. 362.

<sup>48</sup> loc. cit.

<sup>49</sup> loc. cit.

to educate their children than more respectable and capable persons.<sup>50</sup>

Upon his arrival in the colony, Broughton moved swiftly to put into place his plans for a school, based along the lines of the Grammar schools with which he was familiar. According to Governor Darling, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Sir George Murray, had requested that Broughton begin some consideration of the possibility of establishing such schools, shortly after his appointment as Archdeacon.<sup>51</sup> Under Broughton's scheme, such a school would not attempt to provide an education for the poorer classes, and in this way his plan differed from that of his predecessor. It was Broughton's belief that the whole community would still benefit, however, from the establishment of his school for the gentry.

Little more than four months after his arrival in the colony then, Broughton forwarded to Governor Darling a 'Plan for the Formation and Regulating of the King's Schools Preparatory to the Institution of a College in New South Wales'.<sup>52</sup> This plan was warmly received by those sections of the local press who were known to be supportive of Anglican policy. The *Sydney Gazette* played a key role in seeking support for Broughton's plans. On 28th January, 1830 the *Gazette* published a leading article which stated effusively :

The founders of this plan could not have adopted a more liberal system, consistent with their indispensable duties as Churchmen. They have done all that in them lay to divide their treasures fairly between their own offspring and the offspring of others; and for having displayed a spirit so perfectly free from the

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<sup>50</sup> Scott to Darling, 12 July 1828, in G.P. Shaw, *Patriarch and Patriot - William Grant Broughton 1788-1853*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1978, p. 24.

<sup>51</sup> Darling to Murray, 10 February 1830, op. cit., p. 356.

<sup>52</sup> 'Plan for the Formation and Regulating of the King's Schools Preparatory to the Institution of a College in New South Wales', Enclosure No. 1, Darling to Murray, 10 February 1830, op. cit., p. 357. That the plan was for two schools is perhaps of little more than historical interest. The first of the two planned schools opened in Pitt Street, Sydney, on 2 January 1832. The first principal of this school, the Rev. George Innes died after only eight months labour on 5 September, and a replacement was never made. According to Bourke (HRA, Vol. xvi, p. 806) attendance was never more than eight pupils.

trammels of bigotry...they are entitled to the esteem of all good men, and to the thanks of every parent in the land.<sup>53</sup>

It was plainly set forth in Broughton's plan that the establishment of the schools was for the 'honour of Almighty God', whose name and commandments the school's students would be encouraged to revere. Piety and virtue would be the results of such training, and amongst all classes, a holy, sober and religious character maintained.<sup>54</sup> According to Broughton, religious educational practice must involve a comprehensive approach to the instruction of religious doctrine. Broughton firmly believed that the education which was to be offered at the Sydney College, for example, would, by almost excluding religion from its curriculum, give the impression that revealed truths were unimportant and not worthy of close study.<sup>55</sup> On the occasion of his second visitation at St James' Church Sydney, on 13th February, 1834, Broughton spoke of his desire for schools that would inculcate students with 'the leading doctrines and duties of Christianity' along with various kinds of rudimentary knowledge.<sup>56</sup> Such religious practice was in harmony with Broughton's understanding of New Testament models of education, wherein the Apostle's followers were instructed and 'catechized' in the truths of the Christian faith.<sup>57</sup>

In order to ensure this would occur, religious instruction would be undertaken in a systematic manner. Such instruction was to be based upon books which 'are intended to embrace...only those points of belief on which there is an accordance throughout the greater portion of the Christian Church'.<sup>58</sup> Such books as Bishop Andrewes' *Devotion in Greek* and Bishop Ken's *Manual for Winchester Scholars* are explicitly mentioned by Broughton as texts to be used in conjunction with the religious instruction

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<sup>53</sup> Quoted in S.M. Johnstone, *The History of the King's School Parramatta*, The Council of the King's School and the King's School Old Boys' Union, Sydney, 1932, p. 30.

<sup>54</sup> 'Plan prepared by the Venerable Archdeacon Broughton' op. cit., p. 359.

<sup>55</sup> G.P. Shaw, *Patriarch and Patriot - William Grant Broughton 1788-1853*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1978, p. 27.

<sup>56</sup> Whittington, op. cit., p. 48.

<sup>57</sup> W.G. Broughton, 'Speech delivered at the General Committee of Protestants' on 3 August Sydney, 1836, p. 19.

<sup>58</sup> 'Plan for the Regulation of the "King's Schools" in Sydney and Parramatta, and for settling the Course of Study to be pursued therein', Sub-enclosure No. 2, Darling to Murray, 10 February 1830, op. cit., p. 360.

undertaken. West has suggested that Broughton probably used *Devotion in Greek and Manual for Winchester Scholars* at school, but certainly would have come across the former at Pembroke College where Andrewes was formerly master, and the latter at Hartley Wespall when preparing his own students for matriculation.<sup>59</sup>

For Broughton, the responsibility for implementing religious education was the preserve of the professional clergyman. The role of the clergy extended to the superintendence and spiritualisation of the entire pedagogical experience.<sup>60</sup> The clergy should ensure that a selection of biblical passages dealing with God's hatred of sin and the judgement that awaits those who continue in its practice, be impressed upon the minds of the students under their care. This would be counter-balanced by another selection that dealt with the declaration of God's love towards those who are pure in heart and conduct. Such a practice would aim to ensure that every child would be instructed in 'a reverence for religion...with a decided abhorrence for habits of profligacy and vice.'<sup>61</sup> Even allowing for the rhetorical flourish, Broughton was clearly motivated by a desire to see the students at "King's" adopt what he perceived to be Christian, gentlemanly behaviour.

That the masters to be employed by the schools were to be members of the Anglican clergy could, Broughton admitted, be the cause of some difficulty. It was his opinion, however, that it was necessary to place much confidence in the hands of those who would bear the responsibility for education, and what better class of men could be found to bear such a burden? Such men, he argued, already enjoy the confidence of the state in their role as 'established instructors'. Besides, the men chosen for the King's Schools would be men of acknowledged learning, prudent, temperate and patient.<sup>62</sup> With such standards as these, we see already the makings of a situation where compromise in staffing would become a major issue; an issue which

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<sup>59</sup> J.A. West, *The early life and work of William Grant Broughton - first Bishop of Australia*, MA Thesis, Sydney University. 1972, p. 127.

<sup>60</sup> Broughton, 'A Charge Delivered to the Clergy of Van Dieman's Land at the Primary Visitation', op. cit., p. 15.

<sup>61</sup> *ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>62</sup> Broughton to Darling, 26 January 1830, op. cit., p. 364.

we shall return to as this thesis unfolds.

The free use of Scripture by all believers, was of course, a fundamental cornerstone in Broughton's protestant theology. Its use by teacher and student alike was to be encouraged:

What does Protestantism rest upon? Upon this principle: that Holy Scripture contains all things necessary to salvation; and that the use of it should be free to every man who has a soul to be saved...Upon this conviction the system of Protestant Education has been founded, and hitherto conducted.<sup>63</sup>

It was Broughton's belief that the general diffusion of protestant principles had occurred because of the teaching and availability of Scripture from early childhood. The proposal of the time, to limit the use of Scripture in schools to mutually agreeable selections from a non-protestant version of the bible was anathema to Broughton. Rather than limiting schools to a selection of Scripture, perhaps read out loud by the master or mistress at the beginning of the day, Broughton was keen to see the practice of quantitative religious instruction continue. Whilst it was his belief that too many parents saw schools as the means by which their children would acquire 'that learning which experience shews may be useful to them in the world,' he was keen to see continue the opportunity to lead these children to an 'acquaintance with that which is of infinitely higher value.'<sup>64</sup>

Broughton believed that the strength of such a system of education lay in its promotion of truth. Rather than, as in other systems, refraining from the instruction of any belief with which someone, at some time, may take exception, the Anglican system actively promoted the adherence to the long established biblical Christianity, as understood by the reformers, and subsequently promulgated by the parochial school system.<sup>65</sup> Alternative systems which encouraged people to arrogate to themselves the right to

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<sup>63</sup> W.G. Broughton, 'Speech delivered at the General Committee of Protestants' op. cit., p. 6-7.

<sup>64</sup> *ibid.*, p 13.

<sup>65</sup> W.G. Broughton, 'The Principles of Church of England Education' in *Sermons on the Church of England*, Bell & Daldy, London, 1857, p. 43.

make judgements about all things, led men away from God towards the perils of unbridled human pride.<sup>66</sup>

Broughton admitted to Darling that a 'more Scientific [and] enlarged scheme of education' may have been proposed. He preferred his own system though, long established in the 'Public Schools of England'. The more modern theories, he suggested, principally aimed to communicate large numbers of scientific facts, enabling the learner to make a display of his knowledge and elevate his own opinion of his abilities. As he explained to Darling:

...experience proves that persons, so educated, having their memories cultivated at the expense of judgement, are prone to contravene all established opinions, to despise the authority of all former times, and to decide without any hesitation upon points which have exercised for Ages the minds of the most reflective men.<sup>67</sup>

Broughton was not, however, desirous for science and the church to become enemies. He simply wished to ensure that sensorial and utilitarian tests did not become the only means by which people should determine the usefulness of knowledge. Christians should involve themselves in scientific and philosophical pursuits in order to enable them to maintain an equality with the world and to demonstrate that 'science is not deteriorated by a union with devotion.'<sup>68</sup>

The preface to the plan, submitted by the Trustees of the Clergy and School Lands, indicates that it was not their intention to establish a school for one group only. The trustees were anxious that 'all classes of the community should equally participate in the benefits of the projected course of education', and the plan seeks to be as non-exclusive as possible.<sup>69</sup> 'All classes' in this context must mean all denominations, however, for no means were provided for the education of any children at the King's Schools, other than those who could contribute towards the cost. The plan

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<sup>66</sup> *ibid.*, p. 47.

<sup>67</sup> Broughton to Darling, 26 January 1830, *op. cit.*, p. 363.

<sup>68</sup> Broughton, 'The Present Position and Duties of the Church of England', *op. cit.*, p. 13.

<sup>69</sup> 'Plan for the Regulation of the "King's Schools"', *op. cit.*, p. 358.

was certainly for non-Anglican children to attend the schools, for 'no test or subscription' was to be used to bar entry to other creeds.<sup>70</sup>

In order to ensure the support of non-Anglicans, the plan not only omitted the need for a doctrinal test upon entry, but also allowed for the withdrawal from the weekly lectures, set aside for the purpose of explaining the doctrines and ordinances of the 'Established church', of those students whose parents objected that such lectures would 'interfere with the religious principles on which they are desirous he should be educated.'<sup>71</sup> According to Broughton, education could be conducted upon three alternative principles. Firstly, it may be designed to inculcate exclusively for one profession of faith only, and it would make an adherence to this faith a condition of entry. Secondly, it could systematically exclude religious instruction, or couch it in such general terms as to render it incapable of conveying religious truth. Thirdly, it may provide for instruction in doctrines such as are admitted by nearly all denominations.<sup>72</sup> Broughton saw the first alternative as being inconsistent with what he termed 'the general good'. It is no surprise that he considered the second method as leading to 'a spirit, first of indifference and finally of positive hostility to Revelation'. The third method he saw as the only viable alternative upon which the King's Schools could be based. It was his hope that the plans which he had outlined would be favourably received for they contained 'as little to which other persuasions can object, as in the nature of things [was] possible.'<sup>73</sup> It should be noted at this point that, as it was noted above, Broughton later would oppose the Irish National System put forward by Governor Bourke, which itself could be said to be based Broughton's third approach. How he was able to reconcile support for this method in 1830, and oppose it in 1835, is unclear from the evidence at hand.

In terms of curriculum, Broughton sought to 'introduce the spirit of...English institutions' whilst at the same avoiding the exclusive attention to studies of a classical nature which, he admitted, could be taken to excess.<sup>74</sup>

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70 'Plan prepared by the Venerable Archdeacon Broughton', op. cit., p. 358

71 'Plan for the Regulation of the "King's Schools"', op. cit., p. 361.

72 Broughton to Darling, 26 January 1830, op. cit., p. 363.

73 *ibid.*, p. 364.

74 *ibid.*, p. 363.

In the first year, the main subjects were Religion, Latin, Writing, Arithmetic and Geography. In the second year, an introduction to History was added. By Year 3, the boys were to study Chronology and Astronomy, replacing Geography and History. Broughton had also included examinations on work from previous years so that at the conclusion of the third year, examinations were based on each of the first three years' work. In the fourth and fifth year (called class 4), Broughton introduced Greek, Geometry, Trigonometry and Algebra, and the boys were studying works by Ovid, Virgil and Homer. Finally, in class 5, which took place during the boys sixth and seventh years at the school, the studies included works by Herodotus, Cicero, Horace and Tacitus, while Differential and Integral Calculus followed studies of Plane Astronomy and Spherical Trigonometry.<sup>75</sup> Whilst Johnstone has pointed out the absence of studies in English literature, modern languages, chemistry, geology, botany, music or manual labour of any description, he admits that the scheme's lack of comprehensiveness was made up for in its thoroughness.<sup>76</sup>

It has been suggested that the Anglican system of education which Broughton was seeking to put into practice at The King's School, involved no dichotomy between secular and religious instruction.<sup>77</sup> In interpreting evidence given by Broughton and other Anglicans before the Select Committee of Enquiry into Education in 1844, Palmer suggested that if such a dichotomy was upheld, the temptation would exist for scholars to attach a greater significance to secular pursuits, for the largest amount of time would be spent on them. Certainly, Broughton believed that education should take place within the context of the church, and that proper instruction was only part of the process of doing everything 'to the Glory of God'. In seeking to fend off state involvement, and indeed, state dominance in the field of education, however, it would appear likely that Broughton, and others giving evidence, overstated the distinctiveness of church-based education. Much of what has gone before regarding a description of Broughton's ideas of religious educational practice, as put into effect at The King's School,

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<sup>75</sup> 'Proposed Course of Study and Instruction', Sub-enclosure No. 3, Darling to Murray, 10 February 1830, op. cit., p. 361-362.

<sup>76</sup> Johnstone, op. cit., p. 26.

<sup>77</sup> B.S. Palmer, *The educational policies of the Anglican dioceses in nineteenth century New South Wales*, MEd Thesis, UNE, 1973, p. 52-53.

could be taken to suggest that the avoidance of this dichotomy was easier to contemplate than put into effect.

### *Conclusion*

What can be made of Broughton's foundational aims in establishing The King's School? Certainly, he has been charged by historians with establishing a school for the exclusive purpose of furthering the entrenchment of the ruling class.<sup>78</sup> He himself essentially admitted that this was the case.<sup>79</sup> Shaw has even suggested that the idea of the school being of the boarding variety, was to get boys away from their home environment in order to awaken their minds to excellence, which would then flow into the establishment of good (ie. conservative) government. Nothing can be found in Broughton's own writings, however, to suggest that such an elaborate plan was being unfolded.<sup>80</sup>

On the other hand, the liberality of his plan was a key factor in ensuring its successful movement through the necessary civil authorities.<sup>81</sup> The proposed fees of £28 per annum, including tuition and board, were a fair, average charge for the time, and did not quarantine the school for only the wealthiest gentry.<sup>82</sup> Furthermore, such a fee was significantly less than had originally been forecast by the former Archdeacon in his proposal for a Grammar school.<sup>83</sup> The school was certainly not intended to be parochial in terms of Anglican exclusivity; it neither desired nor sought the right to catechise students who objected to Anglican doctrine.

Historically, it is these issues of elitism and liberality which have dominated any assessment of Broughton's educational policies in relation to

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<sup>78</sup> C.M.H. Clark, *A History of Australia, New South Wales and Van Dieman's Land 1822-1838*, Vol. ii, Melbourne, 1968, p. 212.

<sup>79</sup> see p. 14.

<sup>80</sup> Shaw, op. cit., p. 30.

<sup>81</sup> Braga, op. cit., p. 33.

<sup>82</sup> Johnstone, op. cit., p. 28. Johnstone claims board and tuition at the Australian College in 1833 ranged from £25 to £40, depending on the house in which the boys boarded.

<sup>83</sup> C. Mooney, 'Anglican attempts to found one good Grammar School in the town of Sydney' *Journal of Educational Administration and History*, 27:2, 1995, p. 127.

the establishment of The King's School. Perhaps though, the true and lasting nature of what Broughton was proposing is better found in the foregoing analysis of his beliefs with regards to the church and education. There we find a sincere desire to glorify God and to bring Him the honour which Broughton believed, He alone deserved. We find a distaste for ungodliness and a genuine love for behaviour that reflected the loving nature of a God, willing to sacrifice His own Son for the sins of mankind. We see an honest and forthright commitment to an institution that Broughton believed God would use to bring about His holy purposes in an unholy world. And we see a rational approach to raising children of parents whose faith and commitment, whilst not always genuine, often paid lip-service to that same faith to which Broughton was unwaveringly committed. It is in these beliefs that we find the true motivations for establishment of The King's School.

## Chapter 3

# Sydney Church of England Grammar School

As we shall see, significant change occurred in relation to the operation of education within New South Wales during the period separating the establishment of The King's School and Sydney Church of England Grammar School.<sup>1</sup> While the impact of these changes had an impact upon Shore, particularly in terms of providing motivation for its foundation, few significant differences can be noted when comparing the type of school established with the one established by Broughton. While Shore's founder may not have agreed with every aspect of Broughton's understanding of theological matters, it will be demonstrated that his understanding of religious education was much in agreement with that of his forebear.

In 1880, with the passing of the Public Instruction Act, the system of state and denominational schools working alongside one another as separate entities came to an end. While the Church of England Bishop, Frederic Barker, saw this as a decisive defeat for the cause of denominational schools, he was able to acknowledge in his final public comment on education as Bishop, at the 1880 synod, that there had indeed been a significant shift in opinion.<sup>2</sup> Support for Barker in the area of denominational schooling had declined significantly during the 1870s. Seemingly more and more clergy were wondering if the demands necessary to keep denominational schools open were worth the effort. Between 1867 and 1878 the number of Church of England schools dropped from 161 to 71 and the percentage of total school attendance contributed by these schools fell from 20% to 8%.<sup>3</sup>

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1 For convenience, all further passing references to the Sydney Church of England Grammar School will use the nickname Shore, considered "practically official" even in 1951 when E.R. Holme wrote the first history of the school.

2 P.D. Davis, 'Bishop Barker and the decline of denominationalism', in *Pioneers of Australian Education*, ed. C. Turney, Sydney University Press, Sydney, 1969, p. 152.

3 *ibid.*, p. 148.

The opinion of many within the church was that there was little to distinguish the denominational school from the public school, due in no small part to Barker's efforts to maintain religious education within the public schools.<sup>4</sup> The synod of 1879 provided an opportunity for such dissenting views to be expressed. On behalf of the clergy Canon Moreton stated that it was his 'solemn conviction that the Public school did afford every facility for training up their children as members of the Church of England, as did its sister school, the Denominational.'<sup>5</sup> A lay member, Sir George Dibbs, was less conciliatory in stating that '[i]f the clergy wished for the assistance of the laity they must face the inevitable doom of the denominational schools'.<sup>6</sup> Despite Barker's best efforts then, by the 1880s, the burden for primary education in particular had been removed from the Church of England in Australia.

The arrival of Alfred Barry as Barker's replacement, in March 1884, ushered in a new era with regards to the relationship between the Church of England and the State. Barker had continued Broughton's fight for the maintenance of church exclusivity and privilege, and lost, and his episcopate can, in this sense, be seen as a bridge between Broughton and Barry. Alfred Barry made his position clear within months of arriving in Sydney, when, in his presidential address to his inaugural Synod on Australian soil, he stated:

Our position is widely different in many points from that of the Church at home. We have not, and ask not for, exclusive privilege or recognition from the State...<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> *ibid.*, p. 149. As an example of this, some 4679 visits to seventy seven public schools were made by Anglican clergy or lay representatives for the purpose of religious instruction during 1879. This compares with 41 visits to 5 schools by the Wesleyans, 102 visits to 6 schools by the Presbyterians, 271 visits to 4 schools by the Congregationalists, 4 visits to 2 schools by the Primitive Methodists and 303 visits to 2 schools by the Roman Catholics.

<sup>5</sup> *ibid.*, p. 148.

<sup>6</sup> Freeman's Journal 25 June 1879, in A.G. Austin, *Australian Education 1788-1900*, Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, Melbourne, 1961, p. 193.

<sup>7</sup> V & P of Session Two of the Sixth Synod of the Diocese of Sydney, 8 July - 15 July, 1884, p. 19.

There is a marked contrast between the position taken by Barry, and that adopted by Broughton, and it is significant, not only because of its ramifications for Church-State relations during the years to follow, but more importantly, from the perspective of this study, because of the role which Barry would play in the establishment of Shore. Whether or not Barry agreed with the nature of the relationship between the Church and the State is unclear. He was certainly aware, however, that the tide had turned against the Church.

### *Why was Shore established?*

While his stay in the diocese was relatively short, Alfred Barry was to leave an indelible mark in the form of educational progress. During his five year episcopate he was directly responsible for the foundation of Shore, St Andrew's Cathedral school and Moore College Grammar school, the first two of which survive to this day. He also oversaw the extension of St Paul's College within Sydney University and the removal of Moore Theological College from Liverpool to Newtown. Plans for the establishment of the Sydney Church of England Girls' Grammar School were also made during his episcopate.

It is of some significance that Barry's appointments prior to Sydney had all involved educational institutions. Having graduated from Trinity College, Cambridge with an MA in 1851, Barry was appointed as vice-principal of Trinity College, Glenalmond. In 1854 he was appointed as Headmaster of Leeds Grammar School at the age of twenty-eight. He stayed at Leeds for eight years and oversaw much organisational and curriculum reform. He also managed to convince the school governors to rebuild the school on a new site, so he had some experience of what it took to get a 'new' school established. From Leeds, he moved to Cheltenham College as Headmaster in 1862. His time there was characterised by change and innovation. His achievements were many and led to expanding enrolment and prestige.<sup>8</sup> Then in 1868, Barry was appointed Principal of King's College, London, the institution which had provided his

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<sup>8</sup> G. Sherington, *Shore - A History of Sydney Church of England Grammar School*, George Allen and Unwin Pty Ltd, North Sydney, 1983, p. 10.

own schooling. While there, Barry not only raised the general standard of teachers and students, he also brought about changes such as the introduction of applied science, evening lectures for working men and lectures for women which eventually led to the foundation of a women's department at the college in 1881.<sup>9</sup> Such innovations were not, however, to characterise the schools which he established whilst in Australia.

It follows, then, that education would be a major component of Barry's episcopate following his appointment as Bishop of Sydney in 1884. It has even been suggested that, given the circumstances of education in the colony after the Education Act of 1880, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Tait, appointed Barry because of his specialised knowledge with regards education.<sup>10</sup> Indeed, by establishing Shore, Barry could be seen to be easing the apprehensions of many within the church that it had abandoned its educational mission. The opinions cited in the introductory section of this chapter, should not be seen as representing the full scope of opinion with regards the church's perceived role in education.

It would be foolish to assume that Bishop Barker carried with him no supporters in favour of the church maintaining a dominant role in education. The battle which, as we have seen, was fought and lost, was a battle that dated from before the establishment of The King's School, and was a battle of great bitterness throughout the middle of the nineteenth century. An understanding of these events is crucial, then, for enlightening Barry's motivation for establishing Shore. Without this understanding, two key reasons for the school's foundations are lost; firstly, the desire to alleviate the concern of those within the Church of England who regretted the church's declining role in education, and secondly, the desire to offset, to some extent, the prominence in education that the Roman Catholics were able to maintain, and even expand, during this period.

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<sup>9</sup>     *ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>10</sup>    Colebrook, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

The 'dual system' of education, which was introduced under the Governorship of Charles Fitzroy in 1848, continued to operate until 1866 when the Public Schools Act was passed in the NSW Parliament. Under this bill, a single Council of Education replaced the dual boards. Denominational schools would continue to receive funding, but only if they had enrolments of at least thirty pupils; subjected themselves to the rule of the new Council; permitted Council appointed inspectors to enter the schools; undertook to give four hours of secular instruction per day; and accepted pupils of other denominations.<sup>11</sup>

While this bill was to some extent, intended to be seen as a compromise between the competing educational systems, there is no doubt that its implementation was the death knell for the denominational schools as they had existed up to that time. Following the first reading of the bill on the 6 September 1866, at a meeting of thirty leading clergy and laymen, Barker claimed that the bill would serve to destroy denominational schools and religious education<sup>12</sup>. Various meetings followed to protest against the bill, and petitions were signed. Despite such protest, the legislation was passed in Parliament with only five of forty-five members opposing it.<sup>13</sup>

Barker's chief concern was with the quality of religious education in whatever circumstances it may have been occurring. Following the establishment of the Council of Education, Barker set out to ensure that the religious education provisions of the Public Schools Act were put to good use and would, therefore, be retained. This course of action led him to a confrontation with the secularists, especially in the form of the Public School League with its slogan 'Free, Compulsory and Secular'. In opposition to this group, Barker established the Education Defence League whose chief aim was to maintain the compromise of 1866. Barker's group, with the initial assistance of

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11 Austin, op. cit., p. 118.

12 Davis, op. cit., p. 143.

13 Austin, op. cit., p. 120.

Parkes, was successful in staving off change during the course of the 1870s, and it was not until 1880 that significant change occurred.

The passing of the Public Instruction Act through the New South Wales Parliament in 1880, brought to an end the payment of financial assistance to church schools on the part of the government. As we have seen, Barker was able to acknowledge that a shift of opinion had taken place, however, it is likely that those associated with his Education Defence League would have been devastated by the passage of the bill. As could be expected, the majority of denominational schools disappeared over the years which followed, and the Church could be seen to have lost one of its chosen missions.<sup>14</sup> This in itself was sufficient motivation to promote the establishment of a school such as Shore, however, the vigorous example of the Roman Catholic denomination in maintaining their own schools provided further impetus.

The Catholic Archbishop, Roger Bede Vaughan, had undertaken an even more spirited campaign against the passage of the Public Instruction Act than had Barker. The nature of this campaign, and the reactions against it, provided the impetus alluded to above. During the last six months of 1879, an impassioned war of words broke out between the architect of the Act, Henry Parkes, and Vaughan. Vaughan had sensed that Parkes was set to move against the last vestiges of state aid to denominational schools and he was not prepared to let this 'Great Apostasy' of liberalism have its way unchecked. Through the means of five pastoral letters, and numerous public speeches, Vaughan raged against the imposition of a secular system of education. He warned all Catholic parents that they could not:

...without serious guilt, place their children in proximate danger of perversion...to do so is to set at defiance the teachings of the Catholic Church; and that, unless there be exceptional reasons...no confessor can absolve such parents as are willing to expose their children's

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<sup>14</sup> Colebrook, op. cit., p 149.

souls to the blighting influence of an alien creed or a secularist system.<sup>15</sup>

Vaughan's campaign provoked an outrage among the Protestant majority and the degree of sectarian bitterness that was engendered was perhaps unknown in Australia until that time. By the time Parkes' Public Instruction Bill came before the House early in 1880, Vaughan had so inflamed the Protestant majority that it passed through the House with only four members opposed to it.<sup>16</sup>

Perhaps in anticipation of the eventual passage of the Act, Vaughan had invited the Society of Jesus to establish schools within the Sydney diocese, and so it was that St Aloysius was established in 1879 and St Ignatius in 1880. He furthermore, encouraged the Marist Brothers to establish St Joseph's in 1883, as well as extending the number of parochial schools in the diocese following the removal of state financial aid after 1880.<sup>17</sup> The vigour and persistence of the Catholic church in pursuing denominational schooling may well have been a source of great embarrassment to those in the Church of England who regretted their own church's declining role in education. Adding this to the bitterness engendered by the debate leading up to the Public Instruction Act, it is clear that the establishment of a grammar school to rival those founded by the Catholic church would have provided an attractive opportunity to demonstrate they were still active in the field of education. To some extent, then, such supporters of denominational schooling found comfort in the appointment of Barry to the Bishopric, and his push for the foundation of a Church Grammar school.

Barry's appointment was a significant one for it was largely his energy and drive which brought about the foundation of Shore. Perhaps even more than

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<sup>15</sup> Archbishop. Vaughan, *Pastorals and Speeches on Education*, Sydney, Flanagan, 1880, in *Documents on the Establishment of Education in New South Wales 1789-1880*, ed. D.C. Griffiths, A.C.E.R. Research Series No. 70, Australian Council for Educational Research, Melbourne, 1957, p. 155.

<sup>16</sup> Austin, op. cit. p. 213.

<sup>17</sup> Colebrook, op. cit., p. 150.

was the case with Broughton and The King's School, any answer to the question as to why the school was established, must include the response that it was because the founder fought hard to establish it. His inaugural address at Synod in Sydney confirms the importance of education to Barry. Having urged Synod to look to the traditions of the church, Barry sought to apply his thinking with regards to these traditions by considering 'the question of the education of the people in the largest sense.'<sup>18</sup> Barry told synod that education was simply 'obedience to the law of God's providence [and] at this moment...the chief need of a community, rapidly growing in material resources and breaking up new ground in every direction.'<sup>19</sup> He encouraged the church to do whatever it could in the work of education, from the elementary schools, to the Grammar schools, and all the way to the University. The church's primary responsibility was to its own people, and Barry therefore encouraged synod to get behind the work of the Sunday Schools. It couldn't be left to Sunday instruction, however, for as Barry reminded Synod:

The Church had her Day schools; and I have never disguised my conviction...that the change...was a disastrous change...The dual system...is, I believe, far the best in practical working for the progress of education through the whole community...I regret...that our old schools...have been so largely given up. Those which remain to us I trust we shall endeavour to keep, at whatever sacrifice...<sup>20</sup>

Beyond these elementary day schools there were the higher schools. Barry believed the church should 'maintain these and extend them further.'<sup>21</sup> He cited The King's School, Parramatta as an example of such schools and added his belief that 'there is abundant room, without any interference of existing institutions, for such higher schools, as the old King's School at Parramatta was designed to be, and has been, only of the day school type.'<sup>22</sup> At his public

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18 V & P of Session Two of the Sixth Synod of the Diocese of Sydney, 8 July - 15 July, 1885, p. 23.

19 loc. cit.

20 ibid., p. 25.

21 ibid., p. 26.

22 loc. cit.

welcome, just days after his arrival in Sydney, the seeds for such plans were laid by Barry. Having told his audience that he was one who knew something, and felt a great deal, about the work of education, he shared with them his joy that in the colonies:

...the one chief anxiety is the acquisition of those things which belong not to the body, but to the mind; not to the mere utilitarian necessities of everyday life, but both to the higher interests of our humanity; the wider, the deeper, the higher education of the people...For all special knowledge there is but one good basis, that is the basis of a thorough liberal education.<sup>23</sup>

Barry clearly arrived in Sydney with an educational agenda. At the top of his priorities was the establishment of a Church Grammar school where such a liberal education would be forthcoming.

In 1883, the government selected a site on King St, between Castlereagh St and Elizabeth St for its newly planned boys' and girls' high schools. This site had been occupied by St James' Parish School, which had closed after sixty years continuous operation, following the cessation of state aid in 1882. It has been suggested that the site was occupied by Broughton's St James' Grammar School,<sup>24</sup> however, Broughton's school, which operated only from 1840 to 1857, was located in Phillip St. The Church of England was quite happy to surrender this site to the government. Its location within the city and opposite Sydney Grammar School across Hyde Park would have provided a difficult situation for the church to establish a new school, especially given that Sydney Grammar, under A.B. Weigall, had by 1883 'achieved an eminence in status in Sydney which was never to be approached at any time by any other single school.'<sup>25</sup> Far better from the church's view, to take the compensation payment of £33,209, and use it to establish a school in a more opportune location.

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<sup>23</sup> *Sydney Morning Herald*, April 7, 1884.

<sup>24</sup> S. Braga, A century of governance in Anglican boys' secondary schools in the Diocese of Sydney 1831-1931, MEd Admin Thesis, UNE, 1983, p. 53.

<sup>25</sup> Colebrook, op. cit., p. 154.

Colebrook has suggested, that even without Barry's influence after 1884, such a school would most likely have been of the grammar type, for The King's School, Parramatta, had endured a precarious existence in recent years and was not seen to be satisfying its objectives, having almost exclusively evolved into a boarding school for the sons of pastoralists.<sup>26</sup>

The compensation monies were held in trust until Barry's arrival in 1884. The money proved a windfall for it enabled Barry to carry out three of the educational undertakings of his episcopate alluded to above. The first of these was his desire to reform the training of the clergy. Barry wished to move the clergy training college, established at Liverpool by funds generated from the trust of Thomas Moore's estate, to a site in Sydney, close to St Paul's College at Sydney University. This would provide the college an association with the university, it would give the students greater access to the cathedral and the bishop and it would enable the establishment of evening classes similar to those Barry had established at King's College.<sup>27</sup> At about the same time, Barry was proposing to Synod that the monies be used:

...to found a great school of the highest character, having various departments for the needs of the various classes of the community - open, of course, to all, but under full religious teaching on the principles of the Church of England...I am confident that it will command...the confidence of those who value systematic religious teaching and devotion, as an integral part of the education of school, as well as the education of the home and the Church.<sup>28</sup>

The necessary act of parliament did not pass through both Legislatures until 27th August, 1886. When the compensation money was finally paid it had increased with interest to an amount of £44,317.<sup>29</sup> Of this, £10,000 was paid to the trustees of the estate of Thomas Moore to move Moore College to a site

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26 loc. cit.

27 Sherington, op. cit., p. 14.

28 V & P of Session Three of the Sixth Synod of the Diocese of Sydney, 21 July - 30 July, 1885, p. 24.

29 M.L. Loane, *A Centenary History of Moore Theological College*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1955, p. 80.

adjacent to Sydney University in Newtown; £31,163 was paid to the council of the Sydney Church of England Grammar School, which had been established in 1887 and charged with the responsibility of establishing the new grammar school; while £1,886 was paid to the council of The King's School at Parramatta. St James' church would be compensated for the loss of its site by the gift of adjacent land that was currently occupied by various diocesan organisations.<sup>30</sup> A further achievement this scheme enabled to be implemented was the establishment of a school at Liverpool of somewhat lesser standing than The King's School.<sup>31</sup>

Barry's involvement in these events was vital. He was the driving force behind the establishment of each institution and his relationship with Alexander Stuart, Premier of New South Wales from January 1883 to October 1885 and a key lay member of the Church of England, was a vital component in ensuring the smooth passage of the necessary act of Parliament. Cable has described Barry's handling of the affair as 'astute juggling',<sup>32</sup> while Archbishop Loane was perhaps less forgiving when he described Barry as 'a thorough-going opportunist'.<sup>33</sup> Whatever the perception with regards Barry's ethics, the situation remains that his vigour and astute judgment of the situation that presented itself to him on his arrival in Sydney, was the instigation necessary to bring to fruition his plans for the establishment of a new Grammar school in Sydney.

While Barry must be seen as the key instigator of Shore's establishment, Sydney's first Bishop, William Broughton, whose role in establishing The King's School was demonstrated to be so vital in the previous chapter, also had a part to play. Broughton's vision for institutions of higher learning included two King's Schools; one at Parramatta established essentially as a boarding

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30 loc. cit.

31 V & P of Session One of the Seventh Synod of the Diocese of Sydney, 27 July - 6 August, 1886, p. 20.

32 K.J. Cable, 'Barry, Alfred' in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, eds N.B. Nairn, G.R. Serle and R. Ward, Vol. 3., Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1969, p. 106

33 Loane, op. cit., p. 88.

school, the other, a day school in Sydney. The Sydney school did not survive even for one year, as its headmaster, the Reverend George Innes died on 5th September, 1832. Given that the number of pupils at The King's School Sydney had at no stage exceeded eight, Governor Bourke recommended that 'no further attempt should be made in Sydney until the system of education has had a longer trial at Parramatta.'<sup>34</sup> No further attempt was made to re-establish the Sydney version of the King's school.

Broughton's plans had not, however, been entirely forgotten. In his address to Synod in 1885, Barry suggested:

In the original scheme of education sketched out by Bishop Broughton there was not only a King's School at Parramatta, as a great boarding school, but a King's School in Sydney, to be a still larger day school. The time and opportunity are now come for the realisation of this latter part of the original plan.<sup>35</sup>

That this idea of carrying out the original wishes of Broughton was in the minds of the school founders, is further evidenced by the discussions which took place with regards the school's name. It was proposed at the initial school council meeting by Edward Knox, a lay member of the council, that the name of the school be the Sydney Church of England Grammar School. There was apparently some debate over this decision for the issue was deferred for two meetings. At the third meeting of the council, a motion was put by Knox suggesting his choice of name. The Reverend H.L. Jackson proposed an amendment to this motion along the lines that the school be known as 'the King's School Sydney'. This amendment was defeated and the Knox motion was carried.<sup>36</sup> Holme has suggested that the reason why Sydney Church of England Grammar School was chosen as a name was that to associate, by name, the new school with the older one at Parramatta may have led to the new school being considered as the inferior of the two institutions. Furthermore,

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<sup>34</sup> Bourke to Goderich, 23 November 1832, HRA, Vol.xvi, p. 660.

<sup>35</sup> V & P of Session Three of the Sixth Synod of the Diocese of Sydney, 21 July - 30 July, 1885, p. 24.

<sup>36</sup> Sherington, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

there was the desire, already canvassed, to associate the new school with that tradition of Public School in England, particularly associated with the name 'Grammar School'.<sup>37</sup> Nonetheless, the naming debate firmly links the new school with that original intention suggested by Broughton.

Finally, it should be noted that in his address at the opening of the school on the 4th May, 1889, Barry once again emphasised the link between Shore and The King's Schools. In referring to the 'original scheme of education sketched out by Bishop Broughton', Barry suggested that the opening of the new school was 'the realization of the latter part of the original plan.'<sup>38</sup> Clearly then, while the character of the new school was to be greatly influenced by its founding Bishop, the foundation of the school owed no small debt to the legacy of the first Bishop of Sydney.

### *What type of school was Shore to be?*

As described above, the payment of compensation monies by the government to the Church of England for the reclamation of land occupied by the St James' Parish School, enabled Barry to put into effect, his desire to see a quality church grammar school established in Sydney. The St James' School Compensation Trust Act which came into effect on 27 August, 1886, set out the requirement that a governing body, comprising an even mix of clergy and laymen, with the Bishop as *ex officio* President, be established to oversee the new school.<sup>39</sup> This body was duly elected at the Church of England Synod, 1887. At the first meeting of this council, on 20 October, 1887, Barry established the council's agenda. The tasks he set the council were to select a site, decide on a school name, choose an architect, draft a constitution and appoint a headmaster.<sup>40</sup> Each of these tasks was essentially logistical in nature and largely required the council to utilise their combined doctrinal ideologies and

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<sup>37</sup> E.R. Holme, *Shore: The Sydney Church of England Grammar School*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney. 1951, p. 61.

<sup>38</sup> *ibid.*, p. 64.

<sup>39</sup> St James' School Compensation Trust Act, Shore Archives, A94/244(b).

<sup>40</sup> Sherington, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

business acumen to enable Barry's dream for the school to take shape. The essential character of the school was already firmly established in Barry's mind and it is not unreasonable to suggest that the council of the day were happy to leave such 'philosophical' decisions to their denominational leader whose theological and educational experiences would most likely have surpassed those of each and every other council member. What type of school, then, did Barry wish to establish? The answer to this question lies in an examination of Barry's views about religious education.

Firstly, it must be established what Barry meant when he talked about religious education. His concern for education has already been amply demonstrated. Education, however, did not merely mean instruction about life. Barry classified all education as religious education, and while instruction in the simple, and not so simple matters of human existence were part of this endeavour, Barry was more concerned with the philosophy which underlay the instruction. It is plain that by religious education, he did not mean education about religion. He was clearly speaking of a particular manner or method of instruction, coupled with a philosophical belief system about the manner of learning and the nature of the one who would learn. He acknowledged that education could be irreligious (meaning anti-religious), but this would involve an underlying philosophy which ignored the primacy and sovereignty of God.

The above view of education is to be found in Barry's address at the opening of Shore. Here he used a text from the sixth chapter of the gospel of John - 'It is written in the prophets they shall all be taught of God.'<sup>41</sup> Barry suggested that this text embodies the religious idea of education, as distinct from a body of knowledge which might be called sacred. All education must be a teaching by God, for all truth, righteousness and morality are found in God. At the same time, according to Barry, our own powers of reasoning, consciousness and

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<sup>41</sup> John 6:45 KJV.

imagination are gifts from God. In this lay the difference between 'the two great conceptions of education.'<sup>42</sup>

Barry had fleshed out these ideas in a series of sermons on 'Religious Education' in 1884, soon after his arrival in Sydney. They are particularly instructive in helping us understand, not only what Barry meant by religious education, but also what he believed to be the role of the state and the church in religious education. As his text for the first sermon, Barry took a passage from the third chapter of the Apostle Paul's letter to the Ephesians. Here Paul was telling the Ephesians that his desire for them was that they 'may be able to comprehend and to know the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge, that ye might be filled with all the fullness of God.'<sup>43</sup> Barry chose this text, because:

...in the principle of Religious Education, is involved the principle of Religion itself, and that the questions which it opens, are exactly those, on which rests the whole theory of Christian life.<sup>44</sup>

Barry went on to suggest that all of life was an education in learning to live in the perfection of the image of the creator. This was why religious men were invariably interested in education.

In dealing with the nature of religious education, Barry examined the source, the scope and the process of religious education. As seen from his address at Shore's opening, Barry believed God was the source of all things and, therefore, the source of religious education. The fundamental notion was that there was a 'supreme spiritual tie between every soul and God, on which the inner life of that soul depends, and to which, therefore, all other ties must be absolutely subordinate.'<sup>45</sup> It was this 'communion with God' which had first to be educated, and it was God himself, 'through the grace of the Holy Spirit', who would do the educating. What flowed from this thinking was not the

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<sup>42</sup> *Daily Telegraph* 6th May, 1889, recorded in *The Torch Bearer* No. 1. Vol. lxxiv, May 1964, p. 17.

<sup>43</sup> Ephesians 3:18-19 KJV.

<sup>44</sup> A. Barry, *Three Sermons on Religious Education*, Sydney, 1884, Sermon 1, p. 4.

<sup>45</sup> *ibid.*, p. 5.

promotion of religious lessons but rather 'a fundamental difference in the whole theory of Education and in the whole conception of a child's nature.'<sup>46</sup>

This understanding, while perhaps stated in somewhat different terms from that put forward by Broughton, was essentially in keeping with Broughton's model. The significant feature, from this study's perspective, however, was the sense in which it attempted to relate knowledge to God. As was the case with Broughton, Barry demonstrated an understanding of theology that suggests a unifying approach to knowledge, rather than the dichotomous approach which Broughton actually put into effect. As was the case at The King's School, however, this unifying approach, whereby all knowledge and therefore subject content would be taught from a Christian perspective, was not implemented at Shore. The separation of curriculum into secular and spiritual was already becoming a feature of Sydney Diocesan school education.

For Barry, the scope of religious education was a comprehensive one. It was the inner man which the Apostle Paul had described as being strengthened.<sup>47</sup> This Barry took to include all the faculties of intellect, conscience, imagination and the affections. Yet it was impossible to separate each aspect of the person; they are spoken of separately for convenience, but in reality they were united and interconnected. Barry stated that:

It is wholly impossible...to instruct the mind without negatively or positively affecting the heart, or to excite the imagination, without some influence over the moral being...how many there are who seem absolutely to forget this; treating the question, as if intellectual instruction, and the influence of him who gives it, could be kept entirely clear of all power over the moral being of a child, or as if God could be ignored one moment, and yet fully recognised the next!<sup>48</sup>

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46     *ibid.*, p. 6.

47     Ephesians 3:16 KJV.

48     Barry, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

This too would suggest the unifying approach alluded to above, however, there is no suggestion that anything other than a dichotomous approach was taken at Shore. Not only was there a failure to suggest the application of a Christian “mind-set” to the traditionally secular subjects, but the spiritual content was expressly contained within the confines of biblical instruction and chapel services. The above does suggest, however, that Barry’s intention was to employ staff who were Christians. To do anything else would have made the ideals expressed above impossible to achieve.

Finally, then, Barry dealt with the process of religious education. Based still on the passage from Ephesians, Barry described the method and order of religious education as faith, followed by love, followed by knowledge. Religious education taught the child ‘first to believe, then to love, and so to comprehend.’<sup>49</sup> As an example of this Barry described religious education with regards to nature whereby:

...it teaches him to believe in a God, who made all, and who sustains and loves all that he has made. It guides the soul through faith not only to obey, but to love Him. Only through that faith and love does it dare to promise that he shall know with any truth of knowledge, what Nature really is...<sup>50</sup>

Barry believed that a purely secular education, which would find such an order for education impossible to follow, must somehow have been inferior. If God was ignored, then the faith and love of a child must rest on ‘the weak and fallible teacher’, a ‘poor imperfect substitute’ for God.<sup>51</sup> Again Barry’s theory belies his practice. He appears to have suggested that education outside of the context of an understanding of who God is, is no education at all. In practice, however, students at Shore would have been led to an understanding that God had a place within their lives, but this was essentially irrelevant to their understanding of history or language or mathematics.

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49     *ibid.*, p. 8.

50     *loc. cit.*

51     *ibid.*, p.9.

In the second sermon in his series, Barry described what he saw as the situation in New South Wales pertaining to the administration of religious education via the state. Barry then, in the third sermon, addressed the question of the role of the church. This role revolved around what he saw as a 'pastoral charge' within the twenty-first chapter of the Gospel of John where Jesus, speaking to the Apostle Peter, said 'feed my lambs.'<sup>52</sup> Based on two different translations of the word rendered as either 'feed' or 'tend', Barry suggested that Christian education involved:

...the ministration of truth and grace [and] the training of the soul by the authority, and for the kingdom, of Christ...The declaration of the whole truth committed to the Church, the free ministration of grace, through the power of prayer and the revelation of the Word of God, the plain unhesitating declaration of the authority of God in Christ over the soul - all these are part of the education which the Church of Christ has to give.<sup>53</sup>

Whereas the state was concerned with the education of children as far as it pertained to the intellectual and moral welfare of the community - 'a right training of its future citizens' - the church looked at children as individual and immortal souls to be trained for heaven - 'a member of the Catholic [ie. universal] Church'.<sup>54</sup> Barry's approach to those who would come under the care of the staff at Shore was to prepare them for an active role in the Church. His was an eternal perspective and the preparation of the 'souls' in the school's care involved significantly more than training them to be good citizens.

Barry's views with regards to religious education are of obvious significance to the foundational aims of Shore. While there was some recognition of the need for education about religion, in no sense can the public school system be seen to adopt a philosophy of education in harmony with that described above as Barry's approach. Barry clearly saw that the church's responsibility to its members must involve the church in sacrificially meeting the needs of the

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52 John 21: 14 KJV.

53 A. Barry, *Three Sermons on Religious Education*, Sydney, 1884, Sermon 3, p. 3.

54 *ibid.*, p. 5.

children in the public schools. This was not, however, what religious education was truly about, for:

In a school or church it was clear that [education] must be built upon the rock of God's eternal truth, and [education] must rely for its inner life upon His continual grace. Those had been the great principles of the great institutions of the past which have been the glory and strength of England. Those were the principles of this institution [ie. Shore].<sup>55</sup>

Those 'great institutions' had a significant contribution to make in determining the character of schooling which was to be established at Shore.

### *The English Public School Model*

Barry's role as founder of Shore was significant, not only because of his desire to implement his philosophy of religious education, but also because of his experience and faith in the English Public School system. An understanding of this model is necessary because much of what was established at Shore was put into practice because it was perceived to be part of an English Public School education. Much has been written of the English Public School model and its significance for education within not only England, but the colonies such as Australia. As Turney has stated, the tradition of these schools influenced a variety of educational institutions in Australia, from Protestant and Catholic secondary boys' schools, to non-state secondary girls' schools and even some State High Schools.<sup>56</sup> A clear definition of the model is difficult to find and the historical roots of the model are open to debate. One of the oldest of the still existing English Public Schools, Harrow, dates its own beginning from the consecration of St Mary's Church, Harrow-on-the-Hill, by St Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1094. Some historians, however, date the beginning of such schools from the time when St Augustine landed in Kent

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<sup>55</sup> *Daily Telegraph* 6th May, 1889, recorded in *The Torch Bearer* No. 1. Vol. lxxiv, May 1964, p. 18.

<sup>56</sup> C. Turney, 'The advent and adaptation of the Arnold Public School tradition in New South Wales', *Australian Journal of Education*, Vol 10., no. 1, 1966, p.133.

and established schools in his new See at Rochester and Canterbury during the period 598 to 650.<sup>57</sup>

According to Bean, a more realistic beginning for this style of school can be dated from the fifteenth century. During this time, schools were founded for the express purpose of teaching Latin in order that their students might be able to study at University. These schools were known as Grammar Schools because Latin was the only grammar known to the West in those days. The Grammar schools mainly taught the 'trivium' (triple curriculum) of the monks, - grammar, dialectic, and rhetoric, - leaving the 'quadrivium' (quadruple curriculum) - arithmetic, geometry, music and astronomy - to be studied later. Such schools had no class distinctions. They were free and at school, squire's son, farmer's son and labourer's son were together. Hence, in England, they came to be known as 'Public Schools'. This name was also applied because such schools were not privately owned.<sup>58</sup>

The particular model of Public School education followed by most schools established along Public School lines during the second half of the nineteenth century was that established by Thomas Arnold following his arrival at Rugby school in 1828. It was during Arnold's time at Rugby that the term Public School began to be attached only to those grammar schools that were big in numbers and reputation. Arnold's model was not radically different from that which had been operating within the Public Schools for hundreds of years. He did not seek to reform the school structures and nor did he desire an overhaul of the curriculum. He was not a man of originality, however, 'his strength was the strength of character and insight.'<sup>59</sup> The most important influence of Arnold was his belief that the main aim of a school was to produce 'Christian gentlemen', and the chief need of such a school was a healthy moral and religious atmosphere.<sup>60</sup> Arnold believed a number of factors were necessary in

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57 E.R. Holme, op. cit., p. 1.

58 C.E.W. Bean, 'The English Public School - and the Australian', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol. 36, Part IV, 1950, p. 212-217.

59 Turney, op.cit., p. 134.

60 *ibid.*, p. 135.

order to achieve these aims. The first was to have Christian teachers who by force of personality and example would influence the boys and establish a school tone. This tone would be reinforced by the school chapel which became the centre and inspiration of the school. Furthermore, the tone of the school community, Arnold believed, would be best established by entrusting as much of the school government and organisation as possible to the sixth form boys. Finally, sports and team games were encouraged, for Arnold recognised that they would not only further the physical development of the boys but would lead to the establishment of an *esprit de corps* within the school.<sup>61</sup>

That the model was adopted by Barry and the other founders of Shore has been an accepted part of the school's tradition. Holme, in his history of the school stated that it was 'another representative, out of England, of that famous type, peculiar to the English people, called the English Public School.'<sup>62</sup> His assessment is reinforced by Barry's claim in Synod that the school was to be 'the type of our English Public Schools, to train our boys of the upper and middle classes and to be feeders for the more advanced education of the colleges.'<sup>63</sup> Turney actually describes Barry as a 'disciple' of Arnold, who implemented his ideas and practices during his period as Headmaster at Cheltenham between 1862 and 1868.<sup>64</sup>

The organisational pattern of the school has been described as following 'that already established at most English Public schools'.<sup>65</sup> The school was divided into upper and lower divisions with the upper division being itself divided into classical and modern sides. The curriculum was based on the Public School model, with adaptations for the colonial situation, and subjects included English, classics, modern languages, mathematics, history, geography, chemistry and physics. The fees of fourteen to sixteen guineas for day boys and

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61 loc. cit.

62 Holme, op. cit., p. 1.

63 V & P of Session Three of the Sixth Synod of the Diocese of Sydney, 21 July - 30 July, 1885, p. 23.

64 Turney, op. cit., p. 135.

65 Sherington, op. cit., p. 34.

fifty to sixty guineas for borders, were said to compare favourably with similar schools in England.<sup>66</sup> There can be little doubt that the objectives of the English Public School, as then understood, were also part of the foundational aims of Shore.

### *Conclusion*

That Shore was as much the handiwork of Bishop Barry, as The King's School was the handiwork of Bishop Broughton, should not be doubted. While the detailed plan put forward by Broughton for the establishment of The King's School was not replicated by Barry, enough can be garnered from his writings on religious education to come to a reasonable understanding of his intentions in establishing Shore. The school was to be a centre for excellence in education. As with King's, it would prepare its boys for the rigours of a life which carried the burden of responsibility - be that the responsibility of business, government, the armed forces or the church. Yet more than that, however, for its primary role can perhaps best be seen in understanding Barry's conception of religious education. Given the church's teaching that each boy was a 'child of God and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven', the school's role can be seen to supplement that of the church in ensuring that the boys under their care were prepared for this God-given role. Ideally this would mean that the teaching was to bring a spiritual dimension to bear on the subject matter at hand. The division of secular lessons and sacred lessons was an artificial one, for if, as Barry believed, 'the nature to be trained [was] a divine and immortal one', the influences used to train the child could not, at any stage, exclude God.<sup>67</sup> Unfortunately, Barry's ideals in this regard do not appear to have been put into practice.

Many of the historical tensions which faced Broughton had been dealt with, even before Barry's episcopate began. Certainly, the unease surrounding the

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<sup>66</sup> *Church of England Guardian*, 27 July, 1887, quoted in loc. cit. Fees at the non-boarding Sydney Grammar in the early 1890s ranged between twelve and sixteen pounds, and were therefore comparable to those at Shore.

<sup>67</sup> Barry, op. cit., Sermon 1, p. 6.

appropriation of government monies for the foundation of The King's School was no longer an issue for Barry and the Church. There was, therefore, less pressure to ensure an even-handed approach to the children of the various denominations. There is nothing in the preliminary planning of the school, however, to suggest that anything other than an open enrolment policy was adopted. Compared with Broughton, Barry was much less concerned with educating children with regards the principles and doctrines of the Church of England. His perspective as far as religious education was concerned was a broader one, which saw his emphasis being placed on the education of children 'into Christ' rather than 'into the church'.

Unlike at the time of the establishment of the King's School, where the Church of England was seen as the leading denomination in terms of education, especially given its disputed, but unchallenged (in an official sense at least) position as the 'Established Church', the Church of England was now in a secondary position. The Catholic Church had accepted the challenge offered by the Education Act of 1880, and had committed themselves to the maintenance of their denominational schools. As seen above, this was not the case for the Church of England and their commitment to education had to some extent, waned during the latter half of the century. In some sense then, the establishment of Shore, could largely be seen as a recommitment by the Church of England to education within the colony.