4
1 sh 16
9063700

TITLE:

VICTORIAN SCHOOL BOOKS; A STUDY OF THE CHANGING SOCIAL CONTENT AND USE OF SCHOOL BOOKS IN VICTORIA, 1848-1948, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO SCHOOL READERS.

DESMOND ROBERT GIBBS, B.A., M.ED.

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of Melbourne.

March, 1987.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
Acknowledgements.	v
Illustrations.	vi
Declaration	vii
ABSTRACT	viii
INTRODUCTION	1
PART I THE IRISH MONOPOLY, 1848-1877.	14
Chapter 1. The adoption of the Irish Readers.	
Childers' Reports, 1851. Overseas sources and trade. Uniform supply of books. Shortage of supply. Inter-colonial trade and book depots. The sale of books. Footnotes.	42
Chapter 2. The contents of the Irish Readers	49
Theological view. The social structure. Domestic and vocational training. A view of the outside world. Notions of good and bad conduct. "Irishness" of the texts. "Britishness" of the texts. Australianisation of the texts. Footnotes	62
Chapter 3. The use of the Irish Readers.	65
Requests from the schools. Use in the schools. Footnotes.	76
Chapter 4. The study of grammar.	79
The background. The Irish National grammar books. The eighteenth-century model. English grammar. Sullivan's English grammar. Imported grammar books, 1850-1860. The choice of grammar books. School requisitions. Costs. Bonwick's grammars and others. Footnotes.	101

TABLE OF CONTENTS (continued)

PAGE

Chapter 5. Other subjects in the elementary curriculum. 105

The study of history.
Irish National Geography texts.
Bonwick's geographies.
Other geography texts
Other texts.
Footnotes. 114

SUMMARY PART 1. 117

PART II THE BRITISH PHASE, 1877-1896.

Chapter 6. Adoption of the "Royal Readers" 121
Contents of the "Royal Readers".
Inspectors' views.
The use made of the "Royal Readers".
New editions and alterations.
Footnotes. 145

Chapter 7. The study of grammar. 153
The importance of grammar.
Morell's Grammar of the English language.
Pearson and Strong's grammars.
Other local grammar publications.
Footnotes. 164

Chapter 8. Texts for other subjects. 167
Sutherland's History.
Sutherland's Geography.
Other geography texts.
Interest in the study of botany.
Health, morals and temperance.
Other texts.
Footnotes. 179

SUMMARY PART II. 182

TABLE OF CONTENTS (continued)

PART III THE NATIONAL PHASE, 1896-1948.

PAGE

Chapter 9. The production and contents of "School Papers". 186
Introduction.
The war theme in the "School Papers".
The British influence.
Elements of moral and social order.
An emerging Australian view.
Footnotes. 206

Chapter 10. The "Victorian Readers". 211
The introduction of the "Victorian Readers".
Selection criteria. Authorship.
Selection Committees.
Elements of religious observance. Class.
A general and practical view of the world.
Work ideals.
Elements of personal morality.
An Australian rural romantic dream?
The demise of the "Victorian Readers".
Footnotes. 238

Chapter 11. Other Australian Readers, primers and text-books. 244
Grammar books.
Readers and primers.
Citizenship Readers.
Other texts.
Footnotes. 253

SUMMARY PART III. 255

PART IV CONCLUSION. 258
ELILOGUE. 263
Abbreviations. 268
APPENDICES. 269
BIBLIOGRAPHY. 292

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.

I am indebted to a large number of people who helped me in the course of this study since 1981. I wish to thank the staff of the Mitchell Library, Sydney; the Baillieu Library at the University of Melbourne; the State Library of Victoria; the Public Records Office, Laverton; Miss Margaret Cameron, Chief Librarian of Deakin University for giving me access to the Geoffrey Prentice collection; Jan Wright of the Ministry of Education Library; Brian McKinlay, Wendy Williams and Olga Marion of the History Section of the Ministry; Ken Clark of the Central Register of the Ministry in Treasury Buildings who gave me access to the archives there.

I was fortunate, while visiting the United Kingdom on two occasions, to gain access to some of the nineteenth-century texts and sources at the British Museum and the Victoria and Albert Museum. I also spent some time at the library of Birmingham University where I read Joachim Goldstrom's thesis.

I am grateful for discussions and advice from Marion Amies, Neville Drummond, Guy Featherstone, Jim Lawry, Jim Fletcher (Sydney), and Carmel Macpherson.

I received helpful advice from Dr Martin Sullivan, Dr Ian Hansen and Dr Bob Petersen.

The Education Faculty Library at the University of Melbourne is well known for its superb library services and pleasant atmosphere. In addition, Olive Battersby and her library staff gave me ready access to their growing nineteenth-century collection of school books and allowed me to work there under privileged conditions. Also, special thanks are due to Mrs Gwen McDowall who helped me organise the illustrations for this thesis.

I would particularly wish to thank my own colleagues Geoff Hall, Stuart Browning and Sue Warner who not only taught me some of the finer points of word-processing, but gave me their time, encouragement and support during the process.

Finally, I wish to pay special thanks to my supervisor, Dr Stephen Murray-Smith, without whose encouragement and advice this thesis could not have been written. Like so many of his former students, I owe him a great deal.

ILLUSTRATIONS

	Facing page:
1. Dr Thomas Henry Braim, c.1865. (By courtesy of the Vestry, St. John's Church, Port Fairy, Victoria)	24
2. "Price list of the Irish National school books, maps and school requisites", 1858. (P.R.O.Vic., Series 61, 58/556)	32
3. Requisition for Irish National school books, 1855. (P.R.O.Vic., Series 61, 55/439)	40
4. Invoice, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, Dublin, 1855. (P.R.O.Vic.Series 61, unfiled)	49
5. James Bonwick, c. 1859 (From An octogenarian's reminiscences, London, 1902.)	98
6. Title page, Irish National Second reading book (Australian edition), 1879, And item : "The seasons in Great Britain and Ireland".	105
7. Reading stands, lectern, desk and bookshelves, c.1878. (From Illustrated catalogue of school and college furniture and educational apparatus, 1878)	135
8. Invoice, George Robertson, Melbourne, 1883. (P.R.O.Vic., Series 794, 83/17579)	145
9. Title pages of Morell's Graduated exercises and Sequel to Royal reader no. 2, 1877, and extracts.	155
10. The royal desks used for reading and writing, 1878, from Illustrated catalogue of school and college furniture, London, 1878.)	161
11. Title pages of various Australian publications, 1877, 1884, 1888 and 1891.	170
12. Extracts from Alexander Sutherland's History of Australia, (1877), pp. 74-75 and Baron Ferdinand von Mueller's Introduction to botanic teachings at the schools of Victoria, Melbourne, (1877), pp. 8-9.	174
13. The School paper for classes V and V1, Vol. 1, No. 1, September, 1898.	192
14. John A. Hartley, c. 1895. (From G.E.Saunders, "J.A.Hartley and the foundations of the public school system in South Australia", in Turney, C. (ed.), Pioneers of Australian education, vol. 2, facing p.150.)	200
15. The School paper for class 1V, No. 131, April, 1909.	206
16. Charles Richard Long, c. 1922. (From French, E.L. (ed.) Melbourne studies in education, 1963, facing p. 215.	218
17. Application form for a free grant of books and requisites, C.1928. (P.R.O.Vic., Series 794, 1928/6502)	249

I hereby declare that this thesis is less than 100,000 words in length, exclusive of diagrams, tables and appendices. This thesis contains no material previous submitted for examination at any university. Also, it contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

Signed ....Desmond Gibbs.....

Desmond Robert Gibbs.

ABSTRACT

The books from which Victorian children learned to read last century held a variety of implicit social and moral values. To many children in isolated, pioneering districts of Victoria, the secular Reader [1] was the principal source of information and ideas. The more advanced of the Irish and British Readers contained a huge variety of factual knowledge in combination with extracts from the best of English literature. Although these imported Readers underwent excisions, adaptations and revisions, the content remained essentially foreign to colonial Australia, with a pervading moral stance originating in the high-minded, intellectual and cultural traditions of Europe.

Throughout the nineteenth century, there was undue emphasis on the mechanical aspects of grammar in the elementary school curriculum. In the minds of Victorian educators, the study of grammar was firmly linked with the cultivation of high ideals and an intellectual understanding of life. In reality, the grammar books were sensible and straightforward, but badly used by the poorly-educated teachers. The popularity and cheapness of the Irish and British grammar books prevented the adoption of a number of locally-produced texts.

This thesis examines the changing content and use of school books during three distinct periods: the Irish

monopoly, 1848-1877, the British phase, 1877-1896 and a National phase, 1896-1948. During the first phases, there were impressive local text-book publications, reflecting a desire for more local, relevant knowledge for Australian school children and a developing independence from the Home country. Most failed to secure official patronage and had limited circulation. The more successful ones attempted to meet the needs of new curriculum programmes, emphasising local knowledge relevant to colonial children.

In 1896 Charles Long produced the monthly School papers which were eminently Australian and less literary than the Readers, but which continued to support conservative social values and the concepts of British imperialism. Long's Victorian readers from 1928 were set in the same mould of Victorian morality, but with an Australian theme: a rural romantic dream of the Australian bush. This series was to dominate Victorian schools for another thirty years. During this period many successful and impressive Australian text-books were written and adopted by the Education Department to meet the needs of a changing curriculum.

Centralised control of the school curriculum, from the formation of a Board of Examiners, coincided with a period of enormous colonial expansion and major administrative changes in colonial education. A 'uniform supply' of text-books gave some stability to the school curriculum, establishing set standards of work and a range of graded

reading material. The scantily-educated teachers depended on the books, and teaching involved excessive drill and learning by rote. The aim was not to entertain, but to develop skills in reading and writing. Inspectors' reports suggest that much depended on the manner in which the books were used, and there is evidence of successful teaching. The books were comprehensive and cheap, but there were problems of supply and distribution which went unresolved, despite brisk local trading and the establishment of book depositories. Isolated rural schools suffered most from inadequate resources and support.

The gradual Australianisation of texts and inclusion of items of quality Australian literature gave a sounder basis for learning and stronger cultural identity for young Australians. But even the best of the Australian texts maintained conservative assumptions on class, race, religion, work and morals. The selections from all the principal, nineteenth-century British and American writers suggest that the "cultural cringe" in Australia was alive and well throughout the period and that the curriculum was set to maintain the conservative social order, within the structure of a liberal education.

1. The word Reader, with a capital R, refers to books. I have not capitalized, however, in book titles or where the word is used in a quotation.

INTRODUCTION:

> The world has long ago settled that morality and virtue are what bring men peace at the last. 'Be virtuous', says the copy-book, ' and you will be happy'. Surely if a reputed virtue fails often in this respect it is only an insidious form of vice, and if a reputed vice brings no very serious mischief on a man's later years it is not so bad a vice as it is said to be. Unfortunately, though we are all of a mind about the main opinion that virtue is what tends to happiness, and vice what ends in sorrow, we are not so unanimous about the details - that is to say whether any given course ... has a tendency to happiness or the reverse.
>
> Samuel Butler, <u>The way of all flesh</u>, (Penguin, p. 112).

INTRODUCTION

The major histories of education in Australia have concentrated on the broad outlines of learning theory, the administrative developments, the problems associated with relations between the Church and State, and the growth of educational institutions.[1] More recently there has been much interest in some of the more comtemporary educational issues and their historical antecedents, such as the development of teacher trade-unionism, the role of women in schools and society, the social and economic factors of the Australian school systems and concerted biographical studies of Australian educationists.[2] There is also much interest in the workings of the nineteenth-century classroom and any attempts to gauge the effectiveness and nature of nineteenth-century educational assumptions and processes.

One of the chief sources of insight into the nineteenth-century classroom lies in the common school book, its content and use, which has been almost entirely neglected by educational historians in Australia. It is true that interest is developing in this area, and many of the books themselves are becoming collector's items. But it is more than twenty years since John Neitz' and Charles Carpenter's pioneering works in this field in America, and more than ten years since Joachim Goldstrom's and Valerie Chancellor's histories of British and Irish school books were published in England and Ireland.[3] Yet educational

historians in Australia have not taken their lead and applied some of those findings to the Australian scene. At most, scant reference is made to the various Irish and British imported books without much analysis of content or use or, indeed, examination of how it was that they were introduced and superseded. There is little, if any, reference in the literature to the many Australian domestic productions or to early Australian textbook writers.[4] Some of these works are well-known by title but not by contents. As this study proceeded, I became increasingly aware of the absence of supportive material and the amount of the primary source material, largely untouched. Clearly there is a need for rigorous analysis of the contents of many of these school books before they are lost forever. Indeed, some of the editions of the most common Readers are now no longer available.[5] We also need some systematic study of the origin and authorship of the material selected at various levels, the social, religious and political values inherent in those school books and papers actually used in the nineteenth-century schoolroom.[6] While it is true that there are many scholarly works on various eminent Victorians and on nineteenth-century politics, morality and society, it is still difficult for the biographer of the less eminent Victorian to come to terms with the formative influences of his subject. The search for the cultural roots of many of our forebears, as well as eminent and creative Australians

in post-Federation society, can be traced back to those formative influences of the home and the school. The common school book can give an insight into the personal response of the biographer's subject, particularly the cultural conditioning and moral stance prevalent at that time.

The importance of the imported school book into Australia, along with the later domestic productions, should not be underestimated as a factor in the development of an Australian bush culture. With the general lack of books and learning in the colonial bush setting, and as a chief factor in the rise of an educated working class, the common school book may, in time, be elevated to its rightful place as a significant source of social conditioning in this country. Certainly, it can be argued that, with some of the texts, much of the contents was irrelevant, tedious and reflected an essentially alien Anglo-Saxon culture and the high-minded intellectual traditions of the Home country and Europe. But in the course of this thesis we will discern a gradual and sensible "Australianisation" of the texts and the insertion of quality items of literature and general knowledge which, in turn, made possible a sound basis for learning in an otherwise educationally and culturally impoverished society.

This study will cover the hundred year period from 1848 in the colony of Victoria which, in 1901, became one of the six federated States of Australia. Some comparative reference will be made to the practices and policies of the

other Australian States on this matter, in order to highlight the differences between them and to supply a lead for further analysis and research. The few attempts made towards a national text-book buying policy and for inter-colonial co-operation and sharing resources will be discussed, along with notions of inter-colonial rivalry at that time.

There are four main areas of concern in this thesis. The first is to establish which books were used and at what time. Particular reference will be made to the school Readers used over the hundred year period. The books for other subjects at the elementary school level will be estimated for contents and style and their importance in the school curriculum. Where an author secured the patronage of a controlling body, his work automatically received wide circulation by being placed on a free list to schools. The patronage, however, was on extremely pragmatic lines and many new works were rejected, not because of their standard, but because the material was outside the prescribed programme of instruction. The successful authors were those who perceived a widely-felt need and timed well their submissions to a Board of Examiners or had the backing of publishers and men of influence. Whilst it may well be necessary to discern the networks of power and vested interests as a factor in the adoption of school books, there is an even greater need to establish which texts were in

fact used, to what extent patronage was given and which titles had small print runs and limited circulation. By this means we can establish more accurately one of the features of the nineteenth-century colonial school room in Australia. Changes within the subject areas may be viewed from the books chosen for study at different times, as well as the use put to particular titles for the various levels of study, the development of new subjects within the curriculum and some estimate of the demands made upon both teachers and scholars, by way of standards of success and failure. The circulation figures for some of the more advanced books of the reading series, for instance, reveal just how much was expected by way of standard of work and the personal discipline of the successful scholars.

The second theme is to analyse the contents of the books and, where possible, to enquire into the biographical, professional, academic and class influences which shaped the minds of the authors. It is necessary to isolate some of the assumptions and value judgements inherent in the texts for an understanding of the Victorian mentality of the authors and the administrators of the education system. It is not the intention to judge them harshly and view their work in terms of points on the political spectrum. The intention is, rather, to isolate inherent features of the works, estimate the changes these underwent, the influence of pressure groups and the educational outcomes.[7] After all, the

socialization process itself underwent changes over the period of study, according to the prevailing moods, anxieties and fears of the times. The 'content analysis' approach will be avoided and, instead, the material will be perused for those obvious notions of maintaining social order through five prevalent factors : elements of religious observance, class structure, work ideals, personal morality and a general practical view of the world. Goldstrom's thesis, by this method, covered the period 1808 to 1870 for the enormous number of reading books available in England and Ireland. This thesis, while generally broader in scope, will be expanding his research on the Readers : whilst his conclusions about the Irish books may be used, the changes made to the Irish editions to suit the colony will be appraised, along with the introduction of British Readers and texts in the second half of the nineteenth century. Indeed, what happened after 1870 regarding the contents of the books was every bit as interesting as that which went before, since there were strong moves towards not only more Australian material to be included in the imported texts but a developing concern for a domestic production, be it Australian adaptations or a purely local product to suit the Australian youth and society. We shall see that it was not until 1930 that this issue was resolved for school reading books.

The third task is to analyse the bureaucratic and governmental attitudes and the pressure groups for changes to the policy on school books. As Goldstrom has remarked, changes were often sudden but were handled with great caution to avoid public outcry and undue political pressure from vested interests such as publishers, book sellers, holders of copyright, as well as that host of community power groups whose concern for the moral, religious and intellectual training for the young went unabated throughout the period. The political opportunism of the Board of Examiners, who controlled what books were used, written, revised or changed, will be demonstrated as a chief power-base of curriculum decision-making and in re-shaping the social content of the nineteenth-century colonial schoolroom.

The final theme of this thesis will involve the actual work and workings of the colonial schoolroom. An attempt will be made to estimate the use put to particular works as defined by the set programme of instruction, by the authors themselves and by the school masters. As well, the problems of supply and demand of the books and the various distribution problems will be discussed as part of that insight into those times. An attempt, although somewhat daunting and tentative, must be made to establish an insight into the style and psychology of the nineteenth-century classroom; it is the whole contention of this thesis that

this may be done to some effect by a close analysis of the textbooks used at the time. The social history of the nineteenth-century classroom has yet to be written and must include consideration of stern repressions and social conventions which, today, seem so irrelevant and inflexible. But it must be remembered that it was an age which produced, in Australia, the leaders of the post-federation period, the new generation of men and women whose contribution in the cause of an emerging nationhood was based firmly on that combination of altruism and self-interest, of argument and reason. The social values of the nineteenth-century schoolroom, while isolated for appraisal, must not be denigrated; they inspired many to advanced learning and a strong sense of social commitment and justice. Bertrand Russell held that the processes of patriotism and social conformity in nineteenth-century education fostered a blinding emotionalism in the young, an irrational humility and a lack of personal courage and intellectual judgement.8 Nevertheless, there is also evidence of enlightened attitudes which gave rise to the educational reforms which subsequently developed. The Childers' Reports, for example, highlight not only the abysmal failures but, perceptively, numerous examples of enlightened teaching and civilised attitudes in some well-organisd schools.

The methods of learning and teaching in colonial Victoria were generally unenlightened and, as amply

demonstrated throughout this thesis, involved excesses of factual rote-learning, which was burdensome, tedious and irrelevant to the less motivated. Many a fragile mind no doubt suffered on the way, just as many escaped the net and may well have been happier and better citizens as a result. What must be remembered in this discussion is that the prejudices of that age belonged to that age and not to the present. It can be established, nevertheless, by way of epilogue, that many of the problems facing the nineteenth-century educationists have a direct bearing on a number of contemporary educational issues.

FOOTNOTES

1. For example, to name but a few of the important works: Austin, A.G., Australian education, 1788-1900, Melbourne, Pitman, 1976. Dow, Gwyneth M., George Higginbotham: Church and State, Melbourne, 1964. Fogarty, Bro. R., Catholic education in Australia, 1806-1950, Melbourne University Press, 1959.

2.For example, Bessant, Bob and Spaul, A.D., Politics of schooling, Melbourne, Pitman, 1976. Selleck, R.J.W., Frank Tate: a biography, Melbourne University Press, 1982. Spaul, Andrew, Australian education in the Second World War, University of Queensland Press, 1982. Zainu'ddin, Ailsa, History of M.L.C., Melbourne, 1982.

3. Neitz, J.A., Old textbooks, New York, 1961. Carpenter, Charles, History of American school books, Philadelphia, 1963. Goldstrom, J.M., The social content of education, 1808-1870: a study of the working class school reader in England and Ireland, Shannon, Irish University Press, 1972. Chancellor, Vallerie E., History for their masters: opinion in the English history text book, 1800-1914, Bath, 1970.

4. See Austin, op. cit., p. 240 where, under the heading 'secular education', he briefly refers to the replacement of the Irish National Readers by the expurgated Nelson Royal Readers in 1876, and without much further comment on style, content or the use of either of the series.

5. For instance, there are broken sets of the various Readers used in Victoria at the State Library, the Education Faculty Library at the University of Melbourne and in the Ministry of Education Library. Some works not available in Melbourne or among the Deakin University nineteenth-century school book collection are available at the Mitchell Library, Sydney. Others are listed in the Catalogue of the British Museum.

6. The nearest approach came in Firth, S.G., "Social values in the New South Wales primary schools, 1800-1914 : an analysis of school texts", in Selleck, R.J.W., Melbourne Studies in Education, 1970, Melbourne University Press, 1970, pp. 123-159.
A good, recent example of this approach is in Cornelius, Donat J., "Perspectives of Asia as depicted in the School Paper, 1896-1925", M.Ed., University of Melbourne, 1986.

7. Apart from the Firth article, ibid., see Lippman, L., "The functions of racism in Australian educational literature", Paper presented at the Conference of the

Sociological Association of Australia and New Zealand, Canberra, May, 1979 and also her paper "Racism in children's and school textbooks", World Council of Churches Conference, Melbourne, October, 1978. The issue of racism is also raised in Noronha, L., "India in Australian textbooks", in Forum of Education, vol. XXV111, no. 1., March 1979, p. 18. The question of social values generally in printed material for schools is raised in Macpherson, Carmel R. "Values and school texts : problems associated with interpreting prejudice", (unpublished paper, 1980, lent to me by the author).

8. Bertrand Russell, Education and the social order, (London, 1932), p. 83, 88, 146.

PART I. THE IRISH MONOLOLY, 1848-1877.

Chapter 1. The adoption of the Irish series.

> "...our cricket-loving colonial youths will not devote their evenings to studies unless the way be made perfectly smooth and easy for them."
>
> Patrick Whyte to Benjamin Kane, 10 May 1864. Quoted in J.Alex Allan, The Old Model School, p. 155.

In an age long before radio and television, when newspapers were of enormous community and social importance and the printed word unrivalled, the ability to read was even more significant in the communication of a common culture at all class levels. Likewise, it was the common school book which had an enormous significance in the education of generations of children and in the communication of this common culture.

In controlling both the choice and supply of school books, the central government bureaucracy was able, in effect, to control the curriculum content of the schools and establish a "standardised" approach to the teaching. Since many of the teachers were poorly qualified, if indeed at all, these books provided suitable material at a very low cost. In discouraging the use of other texts, teachers were forced to rely on the authority and scope of the official series. Of course, this helped both teachers and pupils transferring between schools and had the desirable effect of keeping out of the hands of the poorly-trained teachers and their young charges those heavily value-laden texts and tracts put out by voluntary educational societies.

The adoption of the Irish National books did not come about easily in colonial Australia. It was only after much sectarian wrangling and misunderstanding that they were adopted and used throughout the colonies. Governor Richard Bourke decided, in the first instance, to adopt the whole Irish National system for the Colony of New South Wales. This was thwarted by severe clerical opposition and general misunderstanding of that system.[1] Bourke saw it as a liberal measure designed to supply a general and literary education to all the children of the colony and, at the same time, avoid unnecessary duplication of facilities under denominational administrations. Certainly the Irish system would allow the government more control in education, with one national system serving the whole country. However, the Protestants saw the Irish system as a "Romish plot" which would give the Catholics the upper hand. The Anglican Bishop of Australia, William Grant Broughton, fought the measure, fearing undue State influence in education and restriction of Anglican monopoly on government aid.

A few years later, in 1838, Sir George Gipps, Bourke's successor, attempted to introduce the British and Foreign Schools Society system. This was rejected by the Anglicans, had only the mild support of the Dissenters, but received the qualified approval of the Catholics who, by it, were given a separate grant from the other denominations. Finally, in 1848, a compromise solution was found under

Governor Charles Fitzroy, who set up two Boards of Commissioners : one for the denominations to administer all the established schools, including those in the Port Phillip District, and the other to set up new National Schools. Both groups of commissioners agreed, however, on one important point - the purchase of Irish school books.[2]

By 1848 the Irish books produced by the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland were generally well-regarded by all parties as essentially Christian in content but free of dogma.[3] They were considered the best of the cheap secular books. By this time they had flooded the British market, and were being exported to the various English-speaking colonies throughout the world. British publishers had accused the Irish Commissioners both of piracy of copyright and of selling at a loss to establish a monopoly.[4] By 1848 Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth's Committee of Council had begun its reduction of the retail prices of school books and its rationalization of sales and distribution throughout England. It is likely that Board members in New South Wales were familiar with Kay-Shuttleworth's Committee recommendations and saw the obvious advantages in obtaining a cheap and "uniform" supply of school books for the colony. The Regulations suggest that the teachers approved of the Irish books, but this was probably a ruse to get the books into circulation without too much protest. Teachers in the colony in 1848 would

probably not have known much about the Irish books or their origins.[5] They, themselves, were the products of that earlier religious style of education, using the traditional reading matter of the Bible, scriptural extracts and cheap pamphlets put out by the religious societies. But whether they liked them or, indeed, knew them, the Irish books were cheap and approved of by both Boards. Certainly, the correspondence to the Denominational School Board in Melbourne shows some vagueness on the part of teachers and local patrons who referred to the Irish National publications as "the Dublin school books", "the books patronised by the Board", "the secular works", or, quite simply, "the reading books". [6]

Rule nine of the 1848 Rules and regulations for Denominational Schools at Port Phillip stated : "a sufficiency of class-books, maps and school apparatus being unobtainable in the Colony, the Board will reserve one-tenth of the annual grant to be expended in obtaining them".[7] The class-books being referred to were "those published by or under the National Society in Ireland appearing to the Board to be generally approved of by the teachers in this district". Whilst not precluding the use of other educational works, such as McCulloch's, Chambers' or the S.P.C.K. series, which were already in use here and there in the colony, the Commissioners nevertheless agreed to import only the Irish books, thereby ensuring a measure of

uniformity as well as a measure of control of the work inside the classroom.

For the first few years of Board administration, the importing of books and actually getting them to the schools was a complicated and laborious process. First, the heads of each denomination were informed how much they were able to spend - one-tenth of their vote - which varied according to their annual estimates and was assessed by the number of schools they had in operation. They, in turn, calculated the needs of their schools.[8] The quantities required were ordered by the Board and, on arrival in Melbourne, were divided up and sent out by the denominations to their own schools.[9] This laborious method of distributing school books became impossible, however, with the discovery of gold and the huge influx of population to the District after 1850.[10] Thereafter, the denominations agreed that the Board should buy and distribute the books,[11] and the Board arranged to have them packed by denomination in Ireland, which ultimately helped speed up the process of distribution.[12] By 1853 a small book depository was set up by the Board for this purpose, to manage sales and distribution, on 10 per cent commission.[13] All requests and handling of cash went direct to Colin Campbell, the Secretary, who passed on the business to the agent, John Puller and Company, Melbourne.[14]

In setting up new schools, the National Board offered, in the first instance, a free supply of books, to be renewed

every four years.[15] This stock was to be kept at the school, never loaned or removed, and the school master or mistress was held responsible. There is evidence that George William Rusden handed out Irish books on his tour of the District in 1849 as agent for the National Board in Sydney.[16] It is interesting to note, however, that the National Board charged twice and three times the Irish prices, probably to off-set their free stock arrangements.[17]

The Childers' Reports, 1851.

In January 1851 Hugh Culling Eardly Childers, B.A., Cantab., a twenty-four year-old and newly-arrived colonist, was appointed inspector of Denominational schools.[18] For the next few months he visited and reported on some eighty schools of all types scattered throughout the colony.[19] These reports give us a unique insight into the state of schools and the colony at this time. They are very detailed, readable and highly perceptive and it is little wonder that Childers soon rose to high office.[20] To produce the reports Childers used forms drawn up in 1840 by the Privy Council Committee on education which contained 109 questions, at least seven of which related to text-books and their use in the schools.[21] The reports allow us today to confirm Childers' own strong convictions of the wastage caused by denominational rivalry, especially in rural areas.[22] As

well, something of a pattern can be established relating to text-books and their use in the schools.

Of the sixty-seven schools where a definite answer was supplied as to which text-books were used in the school, fifty schools had some of the Irish series and approximately twenty schools had various readers and books in combination with parts of the Irish series.[23] Five schools depended largely on the Bible for reading and spelling, were generally without books, and depended on what the children were prepared to bring from home. Four schools were committed to McCulloch's reading books and a few schools had the S.P.C.K series. Some schools, such as the Church of England School in Geelong, had rejected the Irish books but repented this decision when they found they could obtain the Irish books cheaper and more readily.[24] Childers also noted the use of Moore's Sydney publications, and there is evidence of a range of grammar and geography texts.[25]

On the question of the uniformity of the books available in the schools Childers visited, of forty clear replies, twenty-seven were of uniform type, owned and kept by the school, and there were thirteen schools with mixed collections, usually owned and kept by the pupils themselves.

The outstanding feature that emerges from Childers' reports, however, concerns the shortage of supply of school books in all parts of the colony in 1851. This will be

examined in greater detail presently. Childers found that most schools had insufficient supplies. Of sixty-four replies, only nine schools were reported as having enough, with his comments ranging from "ample", "good supply", "enough, but much torn", "nearly enough", and "not quite sufficient". The majority of the schools, fifty-three of the sixty-four, were reported in terms ranging from "very few", "hardly any in the school","a great want of books" or "none". Likewise, Childers' findings on equipment - blackboard, maps, globes, etc. - show that only a few schools had anything worthy of praise, despite being well-organised in other respects. Many had nothing at all by way of equipment, other than what the pupils were able to bring themselves or the master able to improvise.

The Childers' Reports offer evidence on the background and calibre of the teachers in 1851.[26] Most were untrained[27], a few had attended lectures on education and had been private tutors, some were lay readers, and many had no background at all in education. Former occupations included policeman, upholsterer, farmer, printer, shop keeper, surveyor, pawnbroker's assistant. Despite this, there is some evidence of practical and well organised activities in the schools. Some schools had a school garden, others taught husbandry to the boys and housework to the girls. Many schools engaged in severe corporal punishment, with the strap, the cane or the whip. In the few schools

where there was no corporal punishment the children were kept in or given extra tasks.[28] Only in a few schools was the teacher reported as "much liked". Some of the teachers were reported as very clever and suited to the work, others had attributes of perseverance, fairness, intelligence and discipline. Only a few teachers were severely criticised with comments such as "no great powers", "informed but rather severe", "amiable, but doubtful powers of teaching", "not a well-disposed man" and "a foolish, shy man who did nothing but giggle". Most were praised in terms such as "very highly spoken of", "capable and industrious", "kind and well-informed", "painstaking and very sincere", "persevering and well-liked", "motherly and capable" and "excellent and of the highest character".

Finally, on the question of the proficiency of the classes he inspected, Childers' comments range from "good" to "tolerable" where he saw evidence of children being taught to read, write and know a little geography, arithmetic and grammar. Where he found reasonable work being done, he was able to comment on most other aspects favourably, on the sufficient supply of books and apparatus, the uniformity of books and the calibre of masters. He spoke in glowing terms of the good schools such as the Victoria High School, with its Greek and algebra, and the Independent School in Collins Street where there were big classes in

geography and history, grammar, Latin and smaller classes in geometry, algebra and Greek.29

In the worst schools, Childers' comments included expressions such as:"a horrible hovel, thatched, no windows", "wretched education - only two out of twenty-five could read or write".30 In one school, which he described as made of bark and rough boards and with a master who "reads pretty well, but I noticed errors in spelling even the children's names", there were only nine copies of the Fourth book of lessons and about twenty spelling books for sixty-three children with an average attendance of about thirty-seven. His report on this particular school included: "He is much respected by the Irish farmers about... this school will improve. I explained to the master the rules of the Board. The school will be large. There are children of all denominations".31

A uniform supply of books.

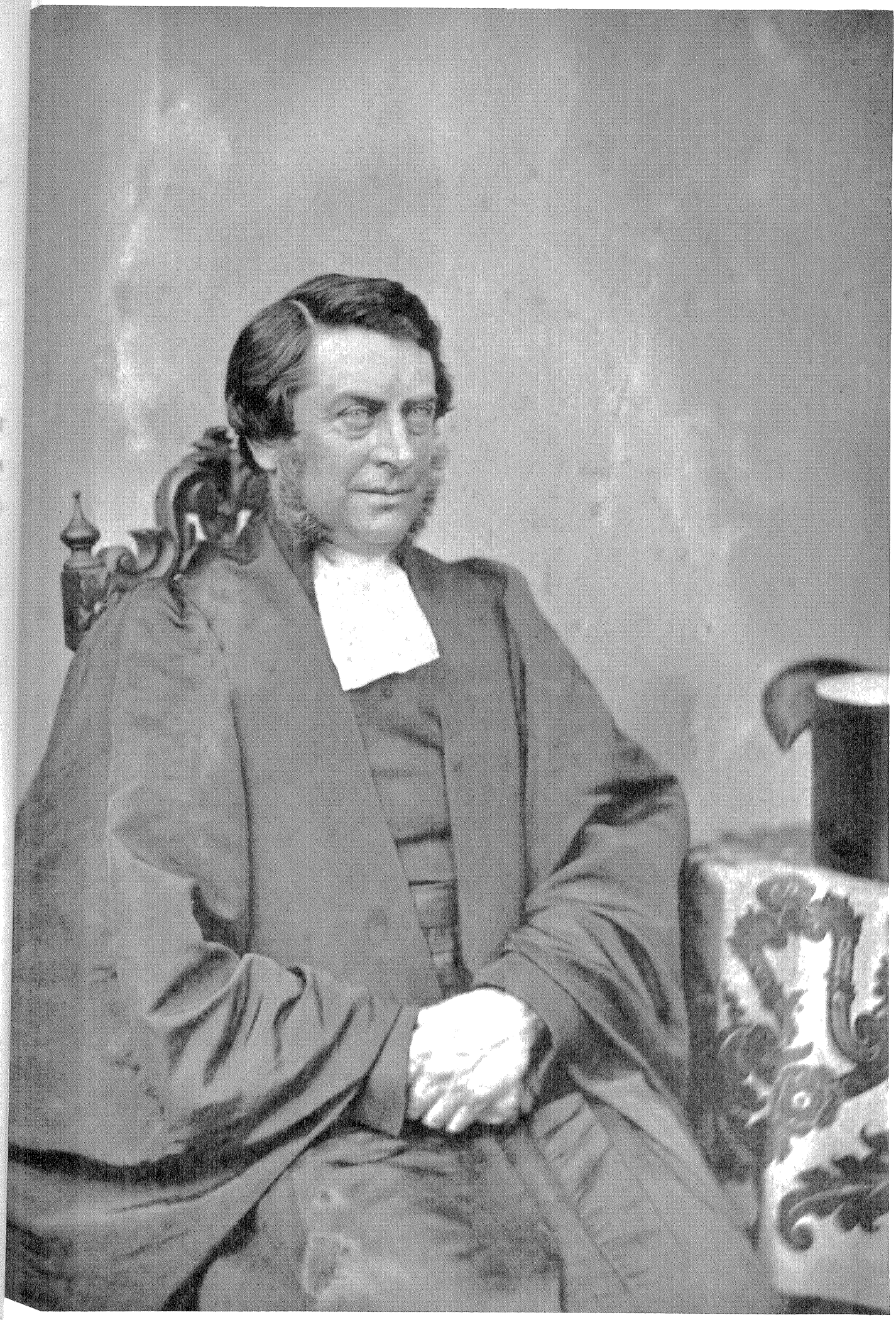
It was generally agreed by both Boards that there should be a uniform supply of books from the outset. In 1852 the Denominational Board invited reply from managers and patrons of schools on this question and whether schools should have graded supplies and keep the books at the school rather than distribute them to the children. Dr Thomas Braim wrote from Belfast :

> I would greatly prefer seeing books provided by the Board and kept in the school - the master and

> mistress being responsible for them. By this means alone I think you can preserve books and keep them uniform. If, beyond those supplied by the Board, the master thought it advisable that each child that learn at home at night to the extent of a single book, he might invoice each parent to supply his child with it. The destruction of books taken out of school is very great and parents in many cases would rather their children be without them than that they should purchase them. The work of education, I believe, won't be extended by allowing the books to be removed from the school.[32]

Thomas Henry Braim, (1814-1891) was typical of many hard-working clergymen who, in addition to their pastoral duties, established elementary schools and boarding schools under the control of the Denominational Schools Board. Braim's career as a schoolmaster is one of considerable interest and significance on the question of school books. As Headmaster of Sydney College,[33] 1842-45, he wrote the first classical school-book in Australia, Eutropii Historiae Romanae (Sydney, 1844). Because of a shortage of supply of similar texts from England, Braim prepared this seventy-page text for the junior classes of the College as the first of a series of locally-produced classical texts. In the preface he stated :

> Necessity alone has urged me to bring before the Australian public this elementary classical compilation. I have on more occasions than one had classes of from 15 to 20 boys, without the ability to supply them with more than 2 or 3 books, and those frequently of different editions. The utility, therefore of this little manual, which can always be procured... must be obvious to all.[34]



He wrote it in the evening whilst supervising students' preparation, "surrounded by a great number of boys, whose constant buzz and frequent questions... may well serve as an apology for anything which speaks of hasty compilation." The preface concludes with a reference to Australia as "this remote country".35

Following closure of Sydney College in 1847 due to financial insecurity, Braim moved to Belfast (Port Fairy), Victoria, where, as Vicar and, later, Archdeacon of Portland (1849-1865), he established many small elementary schools in the area for the Denominational Schools Board and was a regular correspondent with that Board on educational matters.36 He also worked towards establishing a Church of England grammar school with the help of local funds.37

The Reverend Thomas Hastie was another such clerical gentleman working for the education of the young. He was even more definite on the question of children purchasing their own books. He wrote : "Children should purchase their books. Those in indigent circumstances might be supplied gratuitously, but every child should have its own book to take home for the preparation of lessons".38 Another manager, the Reverend H.H.P.Handfield of St. Peter's Church of England, Eastern Hill, emphasised both points :

> I think it is desirable that a stock of books should be kept at the school, which might be <u>sold</u> to the children cheaply. I prefer that to permitting them to take home books not belonging to themselves but to the school.

> There are books published by the British and Foreign Schools Society called "home books" which seem intended for this purpose... It is important that children should have books to take home with them. In fact, at the same time, children of the class who normally attend a Denominational School cannot be expected to provide themselves with many books.39

Overseas sources and trade with Victoria.

In the first instance, books came direct from the Irish Education Office, Dublin, and all matters were organised by the secretaries of education. As the volume of overseas trade increased, all international orders were handled by Her Majesty's Stationery Office, under a superintendent, first J.Wake, then R.R.W.Lingin and, finally, David McCulloch. Following the expiration of copyright on the Irish books on 20 March 1858 and the throwing open of the material to the book trade, both Boards in Victoria dealt thereafter with Alexander Thom and Sons, Printers and Publishers, of Abbey Street, Dublin.[40]

There were other sources of supply, however, particularly for publications other than the Irish, for maps and books for the Boards' own offices. Judge Pohlman arranged for the purchase of maps and books through an agent in London, J. and R. McCraken, who, in turn, received parcels from R. Elliott of Dublin.[41] Both Boards received catalogues from the numerous British publishing companies and book-sellers, notably Oliver and Boyd in Edinburgh,

Groombridge and Sons of Paternoster Row, London, and Whittaker and Company of Ave Maria Lane, London.42

In 1853 the National Board tried to purchase the Irish books at the cheaper Irish rate at which they were sold to "poor schools", that is, not National Schools. They sent copies of their Rules and Regulations to the Irish Commissioners, pointing out that they were really Nationlal Schools "conducted strictly under Lord Stanley's National system of education."[43] The Irish Commissioners, however, refused the application. They also refused to handle any other book requests, other than the Irish publications, and they suggested that they pass on any such orders to Groombridge and Son, or to a variety of other London book agents.[44]

It is interesting to note that in 1860 Richard Budd, then Secretary of the Denominational Board, wrote to Thom complaining of his prices and pointing out that the same books could be bought cheaper at Whittakers. He wrote :

> I have purchased in London a number of Sullivan's school books at a lower price than you charge for them, for example Introduction to Geography and History is charged in London invoice at 6d and in your invoice at 6 1/2d each. Unless you can invoice them at the London rate, please omit them.[45]

The shortage of supply of school books.

The shortage of supply of school books was one of the main problems facing not only educational administrators of the

two Boards but the teachers in the schools. As Judge Pohlman expressed it in his report to the Superintendent La Trobe in July 1850 :

> The teachers stated that the chief difficulty they had was the want of proper class books which the Board hope will almost immediately be removed by the steps they have taken to secure a continued supply from the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland.[46]

However, Judge Pohlman was not to know the effects of the huge influx of migrants, following the Victorian gold rushes in 1851.[47] The population quickly doubled in size, and, in the course of the decade, doubled yet again.[48] The shortage of text-books was one of the main results to be found in the schools, even considering the fact that the percentage of children of school age, actually attending both types of school during the decade, was as low as 2.5 per cent of the population in 1852 and still only 6.3 per cent by 1861. It was as well for both Boards that the actual attendance figures were so low, since neither system could cope as it was, and the schools were all in a pretty sorry state. The Boards resorted to borrowing and exchanging titles from each other's holdings and seeking supplies from various other sources, including the other colonies, local and British publishing houses, and book-sellers.

Loss or damage of school books at sea was one of the big problems. As Wills, Secretary of the National Board in Sydney, advised his Melbourne counterpart, Benjamin Kane :

> On the subject of books generally, I am to remark that the Board propose to send to England periodically for a small supply of these school-books, the invoice not to exceed say two hundred pounds (£200) worth, this procedure would obviate the inconvenience which might arise from a vessel making a long passage, or meeting with accidents, and would prevent the serious loss which the Board have invariably sustained by sending for large supplies at one time. Should the Melbourne Board see fit to adopt the same practice, any temporary loan of books could be recriprocated by the two Boards with much advantage to each.[49]

Damage to cargo was not infrequent and Colin Campbell complained several times to McCulloch of the damage to books in transit from H.M.Stationery Office, Dublin :

> I regret to say that four cases were found to be completely damaged by soakage of water, which had penetrated into the tin cases - it was however impossible to ascertain when and in what way the damage occured, and the loss could not be recovered from the ship. I must therefore beg you to have the tin made more sturdy, and carefully soldered, and to ship books in vessels which can be depended on for dryness and careful storage, as the loss of books for Public Schools in this Colony is a serious inconvenience.[50]

Over the period 1852-1862 more than £1,000,000 was spent by the government on education, of which approximately £340,000 went to the National Board and £800,000 to the Denominational Board.[51] With their amount the National Board set up some 180 schools which catered for approximately 10,000 pupils by 1860, and spent approximately £6,000 on imported books. The Denominational Board, on the other hand, had set up some 400 schools which, by 1860 were able to provide for over 20,000 pupils, and had spent only £8,500 on

imported books.[52] It would seem that the Denominational Board was rather more involved in the provision of school accomodation in the colony and, consequently, had less funds available to allow a ready supply of school books. The National Board, unhampered by the demands of the various denominations, was generally better able to supply books and apparatus to their schools. The statistics reflect their greater capacity as book importers and their willingness and ability to supply their schools with books. With approximately one-third of the government grant, and one-third the number of children in attendance by the latter part of the decade, the National Board had, nevertheless, imported one-third more of the total imports from Ireland than its opposition.[53]

This, however, is not to denigrate the efforts of the Denominational Board. They were not as well placed as the National Board in 1851, with ten times the attendance figures and fifteen new schools to the National Board's three, and only twice the government vote for funds.[54] In 1853 the Boards received £35,000 each, yet, again, the Denominational Board set up thirty-six new schools to sixteen of the National Board and catered for six times the number of children in attendance. The government vote for 1854 had increased to £65,000 for each Board, by which time the National Board had 42 schools, with 1172 pupils in attendance, and the Denominational Board 213 schools with

9239 pupils in attendance. In that year there were twenty-five new National Schools and eighty-eight new Denomonational schools established. Throughout the decade, however, the National Board's book orders were bigger, even although they had one-fifth the number of schools earlier in the decade and one-third the number later.

It is obvious from the statistics that the early rule of spending one-tenth of the government funding on school books and apparatus was disregarded from the outset. The funding for new schools made this impossible. So, too, were the arrangements for free books under the National Board, and both Boards sold books to the schools at cost, either by cash on delivery or by bank order, as with the Denominational Schools, or by deducting the costs from teachers' salaries, as was mostly the case with the National schools.[55] But certainly both Boards recognised the importance of maintaining a good supply of books to the schools, knowing the poor physical conditions which existed and that most of their teachers were untrained, often inexperienced and in need of suitable texts to guide them in their efforts to reduce the high illiteracy rates of the colony.[56] Orders had to be placed months in advance. In December 1852 Kane was able to boast :

> The Board have now in hand books to the value of £195 (being the residue of the £300 worth first received from Sydney and which received 65 per cent damage). An additional supply to the value of £300 may be immediately expected from Sydney and a

> further requisition for £500 worth was sent home on the 22 September last per "Australian".[57]

But the demand for school books was so consistent and inadequately met that both Boards pressed for supplementary estimates to obtain advanced supplies. This was approved by the Colonial Secretary and the sum of £500 was arranged by the Auditor General in 1853.[58]

In addition to a general shortage of books, there is evidence of inequalities of distribution. Remote schools were the hardest hit, of course, being the last to hear of the arrival of fresh supplies from Ireland and the last to receive any left-overs. For example, the Reverend Mr Russell from his parsonage on the Wannon by Branxholme wrote to the Denominational Board on three occasions in 1859 complaining, among other things, of the carriage exceeding the price paid for the books.[59] He urged the Board to establish a depot at Portland to serve the Western District. Alternatively, he urged :"Surely the Masters and Clergy at Portland and Warrnambool might be trusted with a supply for the use of the district".[60] So, too, did the Reverend W. Singleton complain of the inadequate supply of books to country areas. He wrote :

> Frequently there is only one torn book for four or five pupils, even in the first book of lessons... When a supply does arrive from Europe or from Sydney, the Melbourne neighbouring schools get supplied, whilst the masters in the bush, who have to await the opportunity of carriers, being late, have the list required reduced, first at the Board

PRICE LIST

OF

IRISH NATIONAL SCHOOL BOOKS,

MAPS AND SCHOOL REQUISITES,

FOR THE USE OF

COLONIAL SCHOOLS.

No. of copies.	Irish National School Books.	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
	First Book of Lessons, 18mo, paper cover, @	0	0½			
	Second Book of Lessons, 18mo, cloth,	0	3			
	Sequel to Second Book, No. 1, 18mo, cloth,	0	3			
	Sequel to ditto, No. 2, 18mo, cloth,	0	3			
	Third Book of Lessons, 12mo, cloth,	0	6			
	Fourth Book of Lessons, 12mo, cloth,	0	7			
	Supplement to Fourth Book, 12mo, cloth,	0	8			
	Fifth Book of Lessons, 12mo, cloth,	0	7			
	Reading Book for Female Schools, 12mo, cloth,	0	7			
	Biographical Sketches of British Poets, 12mo, cloth,	0	9			
	Selections from the British Poets, vol. 1, 12mo, cloth,	0	8			
	,, vol. 2, 12mo, cloth,	0	9			
	Introduction to the Art of Reading, 12mo cloth,	0	5			
	Epitome of Geography, 12mo, cloth,	0	10			
	Compendium of ditto, 18mo, cloth,	0	3			
	English Grammar, 18mo, cloth,	0	3			
	Key to ditto, 18mo, paper cover,	0	0½			
	First Book of Arithmetic, 18mo, cloth,	0	3			
	Key to ditto, 18mo, cloth,	0	3			
	Arithmetic in Theory and Practice, 12mo, cloth,	0	7			
	Key to ditto, 12mo, cloth,	1	6			
	Elements of Book-keeping, 12mo, cloth,	0	4			
	Key to ditto, 12mo, cloth,	0	3			
	Elements of Geometry, 12mo, cloth,	0	3			
	Mensuration, Gauging, Land Surveying, 12mo, cloth,	0	5			
	Appendix to ditto, 12mo, cloth,	0	4			
	Natural Philosophy, 8vo, cloth,	6	0			
	Scripture Lessons, Old Testament, No. 1, 12mo, cloth,	0	4			
	,, ,, No. 2, 12mo, cloth,	0	4			
	,, New Testament, No. 1, 12mo, cloth,	0	4			
	,, ,, No. 2, 12mo, cloth,	0	4			
	Sacred Poetry, 18mo, paper cover,	0	1			
	Agricultural Class Book, 12mo, cloth,	0	6			
	Farm Account Book, 4to, half-bound,	1	2			
	Treatise on Needlework, small 4to, half-bound,	1	7			

Large School-Room Maps, Coloured, Mounted on Canvas and Rollers.

	ft.	in.		ft.	in.		
The World,	6	8	by	3	6	13	6
Europe,	5	8	,,	4	4	9	6
Asia,	5	8	,,	4	4	9	6
Africa,	4	4	,,	5	8	9	6
America,	4	4	,,	5	8	9	6
England,	4	4	,,	5	8	9	6
Scotland,	5	4	,,	5	8	9	6
Ireland,	4	4	,,	5	8	9	6
British Isles,	7	4	,,	8	0	19	6
Ditto,	4	4	,,	5	8	9	6
Geological Map of British Isles,	4	4	,,	5	8	13	6
Australia,	5	8	,,	4	4	9	6
Pacific Ocean,	5	6	,,	4	5	9	6
United States,	5	8	,,	4	4	9	6
Canada,	5	8	,,	4	4	9	6
Palestine,	4	4	,,	5	8	9	6
Ancient World,	5	8	,,	4	4	9	6

The above Maps may be had Varnished at 2s. 6d. extra for each.

Johnston's School-Room Maps, Coloured, Mounted on Cloth and Rollers.

	m.	in.			
Chart of the World,	33	by	27	4	0
Eastern Hemisphere,	33	,,	27	4	0
Western Hemisphere,	33	,,	27	4	0
England,	33	,,	27	4	0
Scotland,	33	,,	27	4	0
Ireland,	33	,,	27	4	0
Europe,	33	,,	27	4	0
Asia,	33	,,	27	4	0
Africa,	33	,,	27	4	0
America,	33	,,	27	4	0
Canada, United States, and Mexico,	33	,,	27	4	0
Canaan and Palestine,	33	,,	27	4	0
Chronological Chart of Ancient History,	33	,,	27	4	0

The above Maps may be had Varnished at 1s. extra for each.

No. of copies.		s.	d.	£	s.	d.
	Professor Sullivan's Works.					
	Spelling Book Superseded, 18mo, cloth, @	0	11½			
	English Grammar, 18mo, cloth,	0	8½			
	Introduction to Geography and History, 18mo cloth,	0	8½			
	Geography Generalized, 12mo, cloth,	1	5			
	Literary Class Book, 12mo, cloth,	1	9			
	English Dictionary, 12mo, cloth,	2	6			
	Dictionary of Derivations,	1	5			
	KIRKWOOD'S ATLAS, 12 Maps, coloured,	1	0			
	DOWER'S ATLAS, coloured,	4	2			
	DAWES'S Hints on Secular Education,	1	10			
	HODGES'S Agricultural Chemistry,	2	6			
	WILSON'S Chemistry,	2	6			
	Easy Lessons on Reasoning,	1	3			
	Easy Lessons on Money Matters,	0	10			
	Lessons on Christian Evidences,	0	5			
	Lessons on Truth of Christianity,	0	3			
	YOUNG'S Infant School Manual,	2	6			
	Household Work for Female Servants,	1	3			
	PATTERSON'S First Steps to Zoology, Part I.,	1	3			
	Do. Sheets of Illustrations to do., No. I.,	0	10			
	Do. First Steps to Zoology, Part II.,	1	3			
	Do. Sheets of Illustrations to do., No. II.,	0	10			
	Do. Zoology for Schools, Parts I. and II.,	5	0			
	Dr. THOMSON'S Treatise on Arithmetic,	2	11			
	Do. Key to do.,	4	2			
	Do. Elements of Euclid, Part I.,	2	6			
	Do. do., Part II.,	2	1			
	Do. Introduction to Algebra,	4	6			
	PROFESSOR M'GAULEY'S Algebra, 12mo, cloth,	1	8			
	Do. Lectures on Natural Philosophy,	6	0			
	HULLAH'S Manual,	5	0			
	Do. Songs for Schools, Nos. 1 and 2, each,	0	6			
	Do. Set of 10 Large Sheets,	7	6			
	Do. Exercises' Books, I. and II., each,	0	6			
	Slate, Ruled for Music,	0	6			
	Tuning Fork,	2	6			
	Arithmetical Table Book, per 100,	4	2			
	School Register,	3	0			
	School Report Book,	3	0			
	Class Rolls, per quire,	2	0			
	Instructions for Filling Class Rolls, per do.	1	6			
	General Lesson, per do.	2	0			
	Do. Mounted on Pasteboard, each,	0	6			
	Ten Commandments, per quire,	2	0			
	Do. Mounted on Pasteboard, each,	0	6			

Tablet Lessons, and Copy Lines.

Tablet Lessons, Spelling and Reading, 33 Sheets,	1	0	
,, Ditto, Mounted on 17 Pasteboards,	6	6	
,, Arithmetic, 60 Sheets,	2	0	
,, Ditto, Mounted on 30 Pasteboards,	11	6	
Copy Lines, all the Gradations, 6 Sheets,	1	1	
Ditto, mounted on Pasteboard,	4	0	

School Stationery.

Plain Copy Books, Pott folio, 12 sheets, per dozen,	3	0	
Ditto, Pott 4to, 16 sheets, per dozen,	2	0	
Ditto, Foolscap folio, 12 sheets, per doz.,	3	6	
Ditto, Foolscap 4to, 16 sheets, per doz.,	2	6	
W. and R. Chambers' Progressive Copy Books, Nos. 1 to 15, per dozen,	4	9	
Swan's Copy Books, with engraved headings in large, round, and small hand, Pott 4to, per dozen,	1	11	
Ditto, Foolscap 4to, per dozen,	2	6	
Ditto, Large Post 4to, per dozen,	4	0	
Pott Copy Paper, ruled small or large hand, per ream,	6	0	
Ditto, ditto, ditto, per ream,	7	0	
Quills, per 1,000, 6s. 9d., 8s., 9s., 11s. 6d., and 14s			
Slates, unframed, large, per dozen,	2	6	
Do. do. small, ruled, per dozen,	2	0	
Slate Pencils, per 1,000,	2	6	
Slate Pencil Holders, per 100,	1	3	
Ink Wells, per dozen,	2	0	
Ink Powders, per dozen,	2	9	
Black Lead Pencils, per dozen,	1	0	

ALEXANDER THOM & SONS, PRINTERS AND PUBLISHERS.

National School Book Depot, Wholesale Stationery Warehouse, and Account Book Manufactory,

87 AND 88, ABBEY-STREET, DUBLIN.

> office and afterwards at the bookseller, to one-sixth of the amount required.[61]

As the Reverend Dr Thomas Braim put it so neatly : "We are almost literally without a book and the master and mistress are greatly harassed and discouraged thereat".[62]

The inspectors' reports for this early period all give ample evidence of a shortage of supply of books in schools. Close scrutiny of some of these reports show not just a general shortage but a shortage of appropriate books. At the Collingwood Male National School in 1854, there were 44 boys with 13 using the First book, 11 on the Second book, 18 on the Third book, and 2 on the Fourth book.[63] Inspector Davitt reported : "nearly all kinds of books are wanted. For want of a sufficient supply, the teacher is obliged to adapt... the spelling book. The children are orderly and very healthy looking. The teacher seems to govern principally through moral agencies".

Some of the early National schools were reported as hopeless, with or without books. For instance, Davitt's description of the Emerald Hill Mixed National School gives us an idea of the school environment in which the Irish books were used.[64] Here there were 84 pupils, with 47 using the First book, 10 Second book, 17 Third book, 8 Fourth book. Two untrained teachers, one of whom was "defective and teachers according to the old system", taught in a tent 28 feet by 17 feet and "the flapping of the canvasing

necessitates so loud a tone that quiet discipline is out of the question. The accommodation is so imperfect that the children cannot be taught anything in the shape of industry. The objects of education cannot be obtained here. A remedy cannot be too soon applied".

It was considered, however, that some schools might become quite effective with a sufficient supply of books.[65]. For instance, at Miss Armstrong's school at Wyndham the teacher, a nineteen year-old daughter of the local publican, was trying to teach with a few slates and copy books. She had some twenty children who had been "running about almost wild for a long time previously". The report continues : "The teacher, herself, has forgotten a great deal of her learning, so that she is by no means likely to do well without a proper supply of books, which, I believe, with her painstaking and diligent disposition would render her a really efficient teacher in a higher sense of the term".

Oddly enough, the inspectors' reports for 1856 show that schools, generally, had sufficient books. Of the 41 schools inspected, only four were listed as requiring more books and thirteen were reported as having adequate supplies. This reflects the short life span of the cheap, mass-produced books, and indicates that the situation in the schools could vary from year to year. The 1856 Reports show the good effects of having a plentiful supply of books. For example, at the Portland National School, with 94 pupils

using McCulloch's series and in plentiful supply, the report states : "The majority read fairly and could spell the words in five classes. In the Fifth class eight boys were reading Chambers' History of the British Empire at page 288. Their acquaintance of the structure of the language and the rules of syntax were highly creditable..."[66]

In the forty or so schools visited by inspector Geary in 1863, however, there was still evidence of a great shortage of books and facilities. He commented that children went without books, some because of the extreme poverty of their parents' circumstances [67], others because of mismanagement at the school or the parsimonious attitude of the master or his managers or patrons.[68]

Inter-colonial bartering and book depositories.

Throughout this early period there was a brisk trading in books between the two Boards in Victoria, as well as recriprocation and mutual assistance between neighbouring colonies. This underlines the general shortage of supply as well as the uniform commitment to the Irish books made by the Australian colonies at this time. Large quantities of Irish books changed hands between the National Board offices in Sydney and Melbourne.[69] Also, a very large quantity was shipped from Hobart Town to the Denominational Board in Melbourne in 1855.[70] In this case, the load was a mistaken double order and Thomas Arnold wrote to Colin Campbell: "...

remembering that in a former letter you had asked whether we could spare any books to your Board and knowing besides that the demand for your numerous schools must be immensely greater than from ours, I suggested writing to you and was instructed to do so accordingly..." This order for some #400 worth included 500 copies of each of the readers, some 2,000 Scripture lessons, 600 Sacred poetry and lesser quantities of most of the other titles produced in Ireland. The Denominational Board agreed to take them, but could not afford them just then and sold them to the National Board.[71]

There are numerous instances on record of inter-Board lending and bartering for school books during this early period.[72] By 1853 the Denominational Board had appointed a book agent, John Puller and Company, Melbourne, who took 10 per cent commission per quarter.[73] All cash and requests went through the Board so that they could keep a watchful eye on which books were being used. By 1856 there was general approval of the idea of local book depositories. This had been done in Sydney, and the Board there also approved a large stationer, Jeremiah Moore, to sell and supply schools direct.[74] Some of the Sydney firms, notably Sands and Kenny, offered to sell large quantities, up to #1,000 worth, to the Melbourne Boards.[75] At the same time, several Melbourne firms were vying for a slice of the potentially lucrative local trade in school books.[76] Blundell and Company of Collins Street West agreed to cost a

local printing of the Irish series, but it worked out much cheaper to import them. As William Shaw of the Melbourne printing firm pointed out :

> I have looked over the various books of lessons you were pleased to submit, but after taking estimates for the binding, I find that they alone exceed the English list of the entire work - printing and paper - and I presume that it would be useless to offer an estimate. These books are printed in very large quantity, probably not less than 250,000 at a time, in Ireland, when labour is cheap and a great number of young people unemployed. On the whole, as we are at present situated, and in the absence of the requisites of special machinery I do not think that the works could be got up at less than three times the English cost. However, I beg to add that I do not think that this will very long be the case - I expect that the schools will justify an increased quantity being got up.77

Even importing them, Blundell's prices were double the English prices.[78] To throw open the sales of school books to the book trade would lead to a rise in costs of vital material to the schools, so the Boards looked towards the establishment of book depots which were to operate on 10 per cent to 20 per cent commission. The first of these for the National Board was in Geelong, Heath and Cordell, Stationery.[79] In Melbourne, however, the National Board set up its own book depository, although tenders were called in 1859.[80] These were shelved, however, because of the general uncertainty of the future looming over both Boards at that time. Certainly a large book depot was in operation throughout the 1860s [81], and it was decided to keep it going in 1869 after a move to allow George Robertson to handle the

sale of text-books to teachers.[82] By then, Benjamin Kane had worked out that the Board's own agency still ran at a small profit, including in his estimates both the management costs and the costs of packing and carriage. He stated :

> I have carefully considered this question and am of the opinion that taking into consideration the larger number of new books that will have to be added from time to time; the necessity of carefully watching the stock, so as to reduce books that are growing out of favour, a duty which we could not expect Mr Robertson to undertake with the same care as we can; and that we have excellent premises for our business; - that it would be inadvisable to make the transfer. Again, I doubt if Mr Robertson, with his large general business, would transact this special business so well as we can, and with the same satisfaction to the teachers.[83]

The sale of books to schools

As mentioned earlier,[84] arrangements for free stock varied from time to time but, generally speaking, the teachers had to buy the books from their own resources and sell them to their pupils. As soon as the general supply petered out, the regulation of free stock every four years was withdrawn and the onus fell back on the individual teacher.[85] For instance, as the Sydney office explained to the Denominational Board in Melbourne :

> The Board did contemplate supplying schools generally with these publications but with the erection of Victoria into a separate province, the Commissioners of National Schools there claimed half of the books in the Board's store in Sydney and thus frustrated the intention.[86]

The policy of having the schools buy and distribute the school books had precedent in the other colonies. Thomas Arnold, for instance, wrote to Richard Hale Budd, then Head master of the Melbourne Diocesan Grammar School at Eastern Hill: "I have recommended that they [Irish series] should be sold, instead of being distributed gratis; and have submitted for approval a set of rules to be observed in disposing them, of which, as soon as approved, I will send you a copy".[87] As the decade progressed, however, money became tighter and uncertainty prevailed over the future of both Boards. It was a confusing time both for the administrators and the teachers. As shown earlier, the teachers often bought the books themselves, either by deductions from their salaries,[88] or by cash on delivery or bank draft.[89] By and large, therefore, the availability of books in schools depended on the willingness and financial state of the individual teacher and his ability to handle money matters.

With the National Board, however, there are instances of free stock being distributed, along with circulars to schools on how to make up the deficiencies.[90] Inspectors were able to report on this and check the original invoices for the free stock which were to be kept at the school.[91] By 1861, nevertheless, the free stock of the National Board had been reduced to one set of books and three maps.[92] All other books had to be sold to the pupils at cost. Some additional

charges were allowed for the costs of carriage, so long as the Patrons were prepared to display these in the classroom and make available accounts to inspectors.[93]

There were some complaints of teachers selling books at a profit, particularly with books other that those purchased from the Boards.[94] The teachers risked heavy losses from children leaving without paying for books. Inspector Edward Parker of the Denominational Board hit upon a scheme to settle many of the problems relating to cost and supply of books. He wrote :

> The expense incurred often falls entirely on the teachers. I should strenuously recommend the general adoption of a regulation in force in the schools of the Church of England in and around Sandhurst; a fixed percentage, usually about 5%, is deducted from the income of the school and appropriated to the purchase of books, etc. By such a plan the liberally minded teacher might be saved some of the heavy expenses... and the parsimonious teacher would be compelled to keep up a sufficient supply of books.[95]

It is important to realise at this stage that in 1856 the Denominational Board allowed their schools to set up school libraries.[96] Richard Budd was particularly keen to see this happen and worked hard to insert clauses to this effect in the various education bills. For instance, clause 84 of the 1860 Bill read :

> It shall be lawful for the Managers of every such public school as aforesaid or the greater part of them to take such steps as they may judge expedient for the establishment, safekeeping and

[No]

Requisition for Irish National School Books.

Address, National Education Office Marlborough Street

16 day of May 1855.

DAVID M'CULLOCH, ESQ.,
Her Majesty's Stationery Office, Dublin,

SIR,—Please forward the following Works per First Class

to ——— Address as above, for which payment is herewith transmitted, by* Bank Post

Signature.

*Bank or Post Office Order payable in Dublin.

No. of Copies required.	Titles of Books.		Amount. £	s.	d.
	First Book of Lessons,	0s. 0½d.			
	Second do.,	0 3			
400	Sequel to the Second Book, No. 1,	0 3	5	"	"
400	Do. do., No. 2,	0 3	5	"	"
200	Third Book of Lessons,	0 6	5	"	"
200	Fourth do.,	0 7	5	16	8
150	Supplement to the Fourth Book,	0 8	5	"	"
200	Fifth Book of Lessons, (Boy's,)	0 7	5	16	8
150	Reading Book for Girls,	0 7	4	7	6
100	Biographical Sketches of British Poets.	0 9	3	15	"
100	Selections from the British Poets, Vol. 1,	0 8	3	6	8
100	Do. do., Vol. 2,	0 9	3	15	"
200	Introduction to the Art of Reading,	0 5	3	1	8
400	English Grammar,	0 3	5	"	"
40	Key to do.,	0 0½	"	1	8
400	First Arithmetic,	0 3	5	"	"
40	Key to do.,	0 3		10	"
200	Arithmetic in Theory and Practice,	0 7	2	18	4
100	Book-keeping,	0 4	1	13	4
10	Key to do.,	0 3	"	2	6
100	Epitome of Geographical Knowledge,	0 10	4	3	4
500	A Compendium of do.,	0 3	6	5	"
100	Elements of Geometry,	0 3	1	5	"
80	Mensuration,	0 5	1	10	4
25	Appendix to do.,	0 4	"	8	4
50	Scripture Lessons, (O. T.) No. I.	0 4		16	8
50	Do. ,, No. II.	0 4		16	8
50	Do. (N. T.) No. I.	0 4		16	8
50	Do. ,, No. II.	0 4		16	8
200	Sacred Poetry,	0 1		16	8
	Agricultural Class Book,	0 6			
	Farm Account Book,	1 2			
	Treatise on Needlework,	1 7			
	Total, £		82	3	4

No other Books than those contained in this List, are sold at this Office.

All Bank or Post Office Money Orders used to transmit the amount must be drawn on Dublin *only*, and made payable to DAVID M'CULLOCH, Esq.

When the parcel is to be forwarded by Carrier, he must call at this Office between ten and four o'clock, and produce an Order to receive it. It will be ready for delivery by the Storekeeper on the *second* day *after* the receipt of the application and amount.

> proper management of a library for the use of pupils of such school.97

Or again, clause 27 of the 1862 Bill read :

> ... to procure and promote the establishment of school libraries for general reading... to provide... suitable plans of school houses with the proper furniture and appendages and to collect and to diffuse useful information on the subject of education generally among the people of Victoria.98

From July 1856 money for school libraries was available on a two-thirds subsidy and, of course, the Board was swamped by requests from all parts of Victoria.99 The rules, however, were repealed in 1859.100 But for this three-year "scramble" for school libraries, there is nothing of note on record for the next thirty years.101

FOOTNOTES, CHAPTER 1.

1. For this and following see A.G.Austin, Australian education, 1788-1900, pp. 34-50.

2. Ibid., p. 61.

3. Goldstrom, J.M., The social content of education, 1808-1870, p. 131 ff.

4. Ibid., p. 134.

5. Ibid., p. 131. It was not until the middle of the 1850s that there was wide circulation of these books and, therefore, only few teachers in the colony would have learned from the Irish books themselves.

6. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 61, 48/26.

7. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 62, v.1, p. 59.

8. Ibid., pp. 157-8.

9. Heads of denominations were able to inform the Board of the books held in their schools, eg. P.R.O.(Vic.) Series 61, 49/13, but could not be sure of their condition or the accuracy of their information. For the first two book orders by denominations, see P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 62, v.1., pp. 125-8 and p. 195.

10. Edward Sweetman, A history of state education in Victoria, pp. 28-37, for a summary of the effects of the gold rushes on the schools.

11. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 61, 51/158 and 51/161.

12. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 62, v.1, pp. 194-9.

13. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 61, 53/73.

14. Ibid., 53/63. A.D.B entry on Campbell by G. Quaife, v.3, pp. 343-4.

15. 1849 Regulations and directions, pp. 17-18.

16. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 65, p.54.

17. 1849 Regulations and directions, loc. cit.

18. A.D.B. entry on Childers by H.L.Hall, v. 3, pp. 390-1.

19. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 885, v.1.

20. Childers was appointed Auditor-general (1852), Member of the Legislative Assembly (1856) and Agent-general for Victoria (1857). He returned to England in 1858 and began a long and distinguished parliamentary career with appointment as Chancellor of the Exchequer (1882) and Home Secretary (1886).

21. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 885, v.1, p.1.

22. Edward Sweetman, The educational activities in Victoria of the Rt. Hon. H.C.E.Childers, pp. 23-44 for the final report.

23. Synopsis of replies to question 71 of the Reports.

24. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 885, v.1, p.122.

25. The only reference to Moore of Sydney comes from the Roman Catholic Bishop who, in 1849, wrote to the Board expressing his regret that the books published by Messrs Moore, Sydney, had not met the approval of the Board (Series 61, 49/15). The register for Series 61 mentions " the Sydney reprints of McCulloch's reading books" but the actual letter is missing from the files.

26. The report form included the question 60 - "Has he been at a training school?"; question 61 : "When did he first teach and where ?; question 67 : "Give his apparent character and abilities".

27. Of 87 cited, 10 had training, 9 were partly trained and 62 were untrained.

28. Question 95 : "What punishments?"; one-third used the cane or severe corporal punishment and one-third had little or no punishments.

29. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 885, v.1, p.237.

30. Ibid., p. 154 (R.C. School, Mount Moriac).

31. Ibid., p. 59 (R.C.School, Boroondara - "Centre of Elgar's Survey").

32. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 61, 52/82.

33. Sydney College Annual Report, The Sydnenian : Sydney Grammar School, The Centenary, 1957, pp. 23-32. Prior to this Braim was Headmaster of the Episcopalian Grammar School, Hobart Town, V.D.L. Sydney College closed in 1847 due to financial insecurity. The building was used by Sydney University and sold to that university in 1853. They, in turn, sold the building to the Governors of Sydney Grammar School in 1856, and the north and south wings were added to form the existing structure today.

34. Braim, Thomas Henry, Eutropii Historiae Romanae, (Sydney, 1844), preface.

35. Ibid.

36. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 61, 52/82, 52/123, 53/194, 53/474, and 54/439

37. Ibid, 54/535 and 57/637.

38. Ibid., 52/84.

39. Ibid., 52/83.

40. Ibid., 58/961, 58/1127.

41. Ibid., 52/179. See the Pohlman entry in A.D.B. by Suzanne Mellor, v. 5, p. 449.

42. Ibid., 53/346, 54/621, 60/2453, 61/1924, to cite a few examples.

43. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 878, 53/15, 53/884.

44. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 880, 55/1621, 56/406.

45. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 62, 60/2564.

46. Ibid., v.1, p. 160.

47. Sweetman, (History), op. cit., Chapter 4. Also P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 62, p. 130, 55/207, Campbell to Arnold, on the effects of the gold rushes.

48. See Appendices 7 and 8 for this and following. The attendance figures do not include private schools which satisfied some of the demand.

49. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 880, correspondence from Board Committees of Education, 1851-1862, 52/741. Also A.D.B. entry on Kane by A.M.Badcock, v. 5, p.1.

50. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 62, v.9, p. 260.

51. First report of the Board of Education, 1862-3, p. 8. Also, the annual allocations are listed in V.& R, v.1, p.46.

52. See Appendices 1 and 4 for the purchases by both Boards, 1852-1862, column 4.

53. See Appendix 1 showing purchases by the National Board in Victoria, 1852-1862.

54. For this and following, see Appendix 4, purchases by the Denominational Board in Victoria, 1852-1862.

55. This will be discussed at greater length under the heading "Sale of books to schools", including footnotes 88 and 89 of this chapter.

56. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 884, School Circular Book, p. 227 - circulars to patrons, 6 October 1859, in praise of a good supply of school-books in schools.

57. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 880, 52/288, from a bundle marked Correspondence from Board Committees, 1851-1862.

58. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 61, 53/114, 53/116. Also 53/210.

59. Ibid., 59/256, 59/982 and 59/2902. For the Reverend F.T.C.Russell's obituary notices see Australian biographical pamphlets, vol. 1, State Library of Victoria, which includes extensive reports from Argus, March 1876, Warrnambool Standard, 4 April, 1876, and Church of England Messenger, 13 April, 1876.

60. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 61, 59/982.

61. Ibid., 56/1291.

62 Ibid., 52/123.

63. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 1406, v.1, 54/568 for this and following point.

64. Ibid., 54/571 for this and following quotation.

65. Ibid., 55/227 for this and following quotations.

66. Ibid., 56/1949.

67. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 904, eg. the R.C. School, Epsom, p.1138.

68. Ibid., eg. p. 1276.

69. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 61, 52/140, 52/178, 53/262, 53/304, 54/136.

70. Ibid., 55/161 for this and following quotation. Also, for a complete list of the books sent see Series 880, 55/1577.

71. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 880, 55/1599. See also Series 61, 55/212, Kane to Campbell on his willingness to take all but the Scripture lessons, "of which we have plenty".

72. For example P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 61, 52/38, 53/262, 53/304, 56/1046, 58/2409. Also Series 880, 58/1427, 1471 and 1323, which show the National Board, Sydney, wanting to exchange Irish readers for Scripture lesson books.

73. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 61, 53/63.

74. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 880, 58/1471.

75. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 878, 58/1836, p. 7; 58/3842, p. 27; 59/219. Also Series 880, 56/1011.

76. Particularly Cook and Co., Bourke Street West, Blundell and Co. of Collins Street West and George Robertson of Collins Street East. Files showing this local interest in the trade of school books include Series 880, file unnumbered between 55/270 and 55/202, 57/1799. Also Series 61, 54/621 and 56/462.

77. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 880, 56/1312.

78. Ibid., 57/1799.

79. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 61, 56/1015.

80. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 880, letter, unnumbered, dated 15 March 1859, Box 65. The actual terms of the tender included: 1. to take all books. 2. to give quarterly returns to the Board showing the amount sold, amount received and stock in hand. 3. To give a security of £1,000. 4. To arrange own insurance. 5. to supply proper cases for transport.

81. There is a problem associated with the files at P.R.O.(Vic.) for this period, with low "hit rate" from the registers for the files in the Series 903 (Inwards correspondence, 1862-72.) Work on these files produced an average of two relevant files for each year of material.

82. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 892, Case no. 348, 69/20496 and bundle. Robertson expected, on his part, an average advance of 10 per cent, with dutiable goods being admitted duty-free. Also, as he put it, "I would expect to be protected from any loss that might arise through the withdrawal of any books or requisites from your list".

83. Ibid., Kane worked out that on an expenditure of £6,232/12/9' during 18 months, the gain to the Board was £119/3/10'. Compared with Robertson's terms, the Board would save £331.0.0 per annum.

84. See earlier under heading "Shortage of supply of books", paragraph 4.

85. 1849 Regulations and directions, op. cit., p. 5, no. 9, that free stock was available every three years.

86. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 61, 54/136.

87. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 930, letter 10281, p.7, dated 15 July 1852.

88. For examples among many, see P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 65, p.24 and p.101.

89. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 888, Circular 58/1, Rule 17. There are instances where the D.S.B. deducted from salaries, too, eg. Series 61, 57/1853.

90. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 884, p.138 and p. 281.

91. Ibid., p. 295 - sample of the inspector's report form, which included the question no. 18 : "Is the gratuitous set of books granted by the Commissioners entire and correct as per invoice and is the invoice preserved in the report book?

92. Ibid., p. 303.

93. Ibid.

94. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 880, miscellaneous and unfiled, box 66, dated July 1862.

95. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 930, Parker to Budd, dated 21 December 1857, p. 7.

96. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 61, 58.899. Also Series 888, for clause 14.

97. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 930 for Budd's annotated copy.

98. Ibid.

99. Appendix 12 for list of these submissions over the three-year period. See Curry, Norman G., "The work of the Denominational and National Boards of Education in Victoria, 1850-1862 with special reference to their work on the gole fields", M.Ed., University of Melbourne, 1965. Curry does not mention Budd's enthusiasm for school libraries or his work for these in draft legislation. The detailed submissions from the schools indicate the prevailing attitudes towards books and learning at that time and the episode is one which presents the Denominational Board in a favourable light.

100. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 888, 59/1. Also Vic. Govt. Gaz., no. 56, 12 April 1859 - Rules 14 and 17 are not listed and Rule 35 states "all former rules and regulations issued previous to this date are hereby repealed".

101. Appendix 12.

Chapter 2. The contents of the Irish Readers.

> I am quite sure that the books read at school have an immense deal to do with developing the intellectual instincts of youth and with the shaping of them for more refined grooves of thought.
>
> Mr James Hingston, Chancery Lane, Melbourne, 1878. P.R.O. (Vic.), Series 794, 78/35878.

The Irish Readers were secular Readers, but written from a purely Christian point of view. Their authors included the Catholic archbishop of Dublin, the Anglican archbishop of Ireland and the Reverend James Carlyle, an ex-moderator of the Presbyterian Synod of Ulster. The books included general religious teaching, as distinct from dogmatic or polemic theology. The contents of the Irish Readers reflected the prevailing social and political attitudes of the authors. As J.M.Goldstrom has amply demonstrated,[1] these Irish books differ from their predecessors by including material about the world, discoveries in science and a variety of aspects of daily living, in order to make the reader more informed about the outside world, his place in the order of things and how to lead a productive and happy life. It is in this way that the series may be termed secular. They were decidedly secular in comparison with the religious texts which were strongly biblical in tone and language.

Theological content

Goldstrom's analysis of the Irish Readers underestimates the theological content and social ethics pervading the

No. of Requisition,_____

INVOICE.

PRICES FROM 4th JULY, 1853.

Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 6, Upper Merrion-street,
Dublin, 4 April 1855

Invoice of Irish National School Books purchased by J. Lamprell Esq. Commissariat
4th day of April 1855 Schools Office Melbourne

No. of Copies.	Titles of Books.		Amount. £	s.	d.
2000	First Book of Lessons,	0s. ½d.	0	5	–
1600	Second do.	0 3	20	–	–
340	Sequel to the Second Book, No., 1,	0 3	4	5	–
340	Sequel to the Second Book, No. 2,	0 3	4	5	–
	Third Book of Lessons,	0 6			
	Fourth do.	0 7			
	Supplement to Fourth Book,	0 8			
	Fifth Book of Lessons, (Boys')	0 7			
	Reading Book for Girls,	0 7			
	Biographical Sketches of British Poets,	0 9			
	Selections from the British Poets, Vol. I.	0 8			
	Do. do., Vol. II.	0 9			
	Introduction to the Art of Reading,	0 5			
1000	English Grammar,	0 3	12	10	–
	Key to do.	0 0½			
1000	First Arithmetic,	0 3	12	10	–
	Key to do.	0 3			
	Arithmetic in Theory & Practice,	0 7			
	Book-keeping,	0 4			
	Key to do.	0 3			
	Epitome of Geographical Knowledge,	0 10			
	A Compendium of do.	0 3			
	Elements of Geometry,	0 3			
	Mensuration,	0 5			
	Appendix to do.	0 4			
	Scripture Lessons, (O. T.) No. I.	0 4			
	Do. „ No. II.	0 4			
	Do. (N. T.) No. I.	0 4			
	Do. „ No. II.	0 4			
	Sacred Poetry,	0 1			
200	Agricultural Class Book,	0 6	5	–	–
	Farm Account Book,	1 2			
48	Treatise on Needlework,	1 7	3	16	–
	Total,	£	68	11	–

No other Books than those contained in this List, are sold at this Office.

All Bank or Post Office Money Orders used to transmit the amount must be drawn on Dublin *only*, and made payable to DAVID M'CULLOCH, Esq.

When the parcel is to be forwarded by Carrier, he must call at this Office between ten and four o'clock, and produce an Order to receive it. It will be ready for delivery by the Storekeeper on the *second* day *after* the receipt of the application and amount.

texts.[2] To establish that only 24 per cent of the Fourth book of lessons contains "lessons of a religious nature" is to avoid the issue of the underlying Christian ethic of the whole series, as well as the incidental mention of God or religion in otherwise secular articles.[3] For instance, among the first sentences in the First book of lessons is: "to do ill is a sin".[4] Most of the lessons provide some sort of aphorism or moral advice, such as: "Scorn no man" (lesson 4), "you must not vaunt or boast your skill" (lesson 21), "a child of the dust should not be proud", "a good boy will not tell a lie", "sin is the cause of all our woe" (lesson 22). Towards the end of the first book we find statements on God's creation, Christ's redemption, and the book ends with the words: "I pray that I may not think bad thoughts; nor speak bad words, nor do bad deeds". Yet, despite these remarks, the book is secular in its advice to the child on a variety of meaningful and practical issues, on worldly matters, and on the immorality of throwing stones or the dangers of crossing the street. For Goldstrom's thesis the Irish books represent the first of the secular Readers. For this thesis, the Irish books represent the first of the imported Readers to colonial Australia and the most 'religious' of the school books used here. For that reason alone, they were abandoned in Victoria in 1877, although retained in the colony of New South Wales for a further twenty years.[5]

A perusal of the later books in the series goes further to emphasise the religious nature of the works. In the Second book of lessons at almost every opportunity mention is made of God's plan in the working of things, in the seasons, with nightfall, with shade, the harmony of nature with a divine will.[6] So, too, in the Third book of lessons, no opportunity is lost to stress the religious nature of life. This book includes thirty-six pages of Old Testament stories taken from Knight's Pictorial Bible.[7] The numerous factual articles on animals each ends with a scriptural reference to that animal.

By the Fourth book of lessons, both the language and the contents are sophisticated and the theological content very strong. This is especially so with the Newman articles which discuss, in fine language, notions of spiritual blindness, a cynical world without God, the beauty of creation as a reflection of God's image and the concept of supreme intelligence. On the latter Newman wrote :

> And so in the intellectual, moral, social and political world... His are the dictates of the moral sense, and the retributive reproaches of conscience. All that is good, all that is true, all that is beautiful, all that is beneficient, be it greater or small, be it perfect or fragmentary, natural as well as supernatural, moral as well as material, comes from Him.[8]

It is in the Fifth book of lessons, which is otherwise more scientifically oriented than the others of the series, that a creationist view of the world is presented - that the

creation took place 4000 years before Christ, that Adam died at the age of 930 years and that Noah sailed the Ark in the year 2347 BC.[9] As well, there is an ingenious attempt to reconcile the Bible and the recent geological discoveries. An extract by Carlyle On the divine origin of Holy Scriptures, included in the text under the heading On the deluge, concludes :"...a more careful reading of the narrative (of Genesis) will convince you that this work was merely putting it in order, and fitting it for being the habitation of man".[10]

Social structure

There is evidence also of social condescension in the Irish Readers, as in the statement on needlework which runs : "the practical knowledge... must be regarded as very useful for all females, but particularly those of the humbler classes, whether applied to domestic purposes, or a mode of procuring remunerative employment".[11] Society is viewed in hierarchical terms, that to be happy one must keep one's station in life, that there are "lower ranks" and "those of a more exalted station", and that the poor endure without murmuring.[12] Mechanical drudgery can be relieved through good reading, without questioning the circumstances or any viable alternatives.[13]

A more overt view on social structure emerges in Richard Whately's extracts on political economy.[14] These reflect a

decidedly conservative approach to various social and economic issues. For instance, Whately advised against trade unionism. He stated :

> Every man has a right, no doubt, to demand whatever wages he thinks fit, and to refuse to work for less; but it is most unjust and oppressive that he should prevent others from working for whatever wages they choose to accept... whenever men come to understand their own true interests, they will agree to resist all illegal combinations. They will resolve to act together firmly, not in resisting the law, or for seeking alterations in it, but in supporting the law, and resisting all who try to encroach on any other man's rights.[15]

In addition, Whately employed a facile argument for wealth, that without rich people there would be no one to beg of. He wrote :

> God has appointed each to his own trials, and his own duties; and He will judge you, not according to what you think you would have done in some different station, but according to what you <u>have</u> done, in that station in which He has placed you.[16]

He argued that the profit motive and capital investments benefit the public generally. Taxes allow governments to govern and protect property. Private property allows for price and wage controls.

Whately's summary of the British Constitution includes brief statements on parliamentary procedures, statute and common law and the jury system.[17] This support for the established order came at a time of great social, political and economic unrest in Britain. Whately's message to the children was a simple one - to accept their social

conditions no matter how bad they were, and to trust in God, in order to survive and be happy, even in adversity. These same notions appear elsewhere in the texts by the Irish Commissioners, for instance with Goldsmith's On the increased love of life with age, that man is prisoner of his own circumstances and that self-delusion leads to suicide.[18]

Domestic and vocational training.

Certain points may be added to Goldstrom's analysis under this heading. The work ethos is strong, particularly in the second and third books which are less literary.[19] In the Reading book for the use of female schools the submissive role of women is clearly defined, emphasising motherly compassion, gentleness, benevolence and skills in the "gentle arts".[20] Advice is given on the duties of a cook, on how to furnish a house, on the early training of children and the influence of Christianity on the female character. This book was aimed at training girls for motherhood and in a subordinate role to the male. At the same age, boys were expected to proceed to the Fifth book of lessons with its emphasis on science and technology.

The outside world.

The Irish Readers contain large quantities of geographical knowledge about Great Britain and the outside world. There is a definite attempt to involve children in other parts of the world, with instruction on geology, rivers, towns and

peoples. Altogether a British view of the world emerges, with stereotyped images of foreigners, a view inclined to be racist and condescending.[21] As Goldstrom points out, "the level of praise or condemnation accorded to foreigners is related to the degree to which they are Christian, freedom-loving, industrious, brave, sober, clean and honest".[22] As well, notions of white supremacy prevent any questioning of Europeans' rights to invade other territories, for instance with Papua. It reads: "they are as frightful in person as savage in their habits; and from their extreme ferocity, it must be difficult for Europeans to make a settlement".[23]

Notions of good and bad conduct

Notions of good and bad conduct appear as aphorisms, such as "a good boy will not tell a lie",[24] as fables, usually with the moral printed in italics, or in protracted advice in the form of anecdote or story. Brotherly and sisterly love is encouraged, as is charity to the poor, protection of domestic animals and birds, safety to others, bravery in battle, and so on.[25]

Two recurring themes in the Readers concern death and militarism. They are most prevalent in the Fourth book of lessons, and incidental elsewhere. We shall see, however, that these two themes are much stronger in the Nelson Royal Readers, where the two themes are linked and the

glorification of death becomes the symbol of nineteenth-century militarism. In the later Victorian secular Readers the Victorian preoccupation with death tends to overshadow other reality.[26]

'Irishness' of the texts

On the question of the 'Irishness' of the Irish Readers, Goldstrom stated: "Irish geography, history and folk-lore all but vanished in the later editions of the Readers".[27] This is to some extent true, and some of the Irish articles and religious items were replaced by Australian articles. However, there is still a significant element of Irishness, even in the Australian editions printed after 1875. The first and fifth books show little evidence of their country of origin. Others preserve a distinctly Irish flavour. There are interesting and quite detailed accounts of the monastic settlements at Glendalough, of the Giant's Causeway in County Antrim and the fisheries near Coleraine.[28] The Fourth book of lessons includes detailed articles on Irish coastal scenery and Irish industrial resources, as well as a scattering of Irish poems.[29] The Sixth book of lessons has twenty pages with illustrations on Irish antiquity, history, architecture and ten pages on the statistics of Ireland.[30] Poems, such as "The Irish maiden's song" (Bernard Barton), and "The lament of the Irish emigrant" (Lady Dufferin) no

doubt appealed to the many Irish immigrants to Australia throughout this period.[31]

'Britishness' of the texts.

Even allowing for the diminishing 'Irishness' of the texts, a strong British element pervades the series, both in language and context. This is so strong that it leads one to speculate on the levels of national and cultural identity experienced in Australia before Federation in 1901. References to "this country" in fact mean England, not Australia.[32] There is much reference to things peculiarly British, such as the squirrel, the nightingale, the herring, the oak, and so on.[33] Articles on the seasons are written from a British point of view. Some effort is occasionally made to draw in Australian references, for instance in an article on swans to include a paragraph on the Australian black swan, or to mention lemons grown in Queensland, New South Wales and South Australia in an article called Foreign fruit.[34] It is possible, of course, that there was no confusion in the minds of the young Australian scholars, with the school master ever ready to explain the features of the home country in an alien setting.

Australianisation of the texts.

The first positive move in the direction of Australianising texts came in 1851 with the excision of an offensive passage in the Fourth book of lessons (1846 edition) which had been

noted by Dr Gould, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Melbourne.[35] Judge Pohlman wrote to the Commissioners in Dublin, pointing out the passage which describes life in the Australian colonies :

> Nothing is so corrupting as bad company, and these convicts often lead astray the more respectable settlers and encourage them to be as bad as themselves. The children of such parents are not likely to be brought up to any good, and the consequence is, we are told, that it is quite a rare thing to meet with an honest, well-conducted man in the colony, and that robbery and murder, and all the most horrible crimes are constantly being committed. Surely all the beauty and fertility of the country cannot make up for such dreadful evils. It is better to live amongst the fiercest wild beasts than amongst wicked and hard-hearted men.[36]

In the next edition of the Fourth book, the passage had been changed to :

> It is certainly not an agreeable thing to live in a Penal Colony, but convicts are no longer sent to New South Wales; nor, indeed, were they ever sent to the more recently formed colonies of Victoria or South Australia... And if you emigrate with your parents to any of these settlements, you will find schools there quite as good as our own; and, in fact, the very same books are used in them that you are now reading, for large supplies of the National School Books are constantly sent for by the colonial authorities, and by the clergy of all denominations who are co-operating with them in promoting popular education.[37]

It is important to note that both passages are addressing Irish children on the life in the colonies. Later editions again begin to address the colonial children, as we shall see presently.

In the 1862 edition of the Third book of lessons we find another offensive article on Australia, excised in the next edition some years later. It describes Australian Aborigines in the following racist manner:

> It [Australia] is inhabited by a race of savages who are amongst the lowest and most degraded that are to be found in the world. One of the things that formerly prevented the settlers from going into the interior was the violent opposition they met from these savages, who came in great numbers, armed with their long spears, against those who were so courageous as to attempt to penetrate into the unknown parts of the country; but they are now more amicably disposed to the new comers.[38]

Special Australian editions of the Irish readers began appearing from 1872.[39] The title pages of these special editions include the words :"Revised and adapted for the use of schools in Australia, Tasmania and New Zealand", along with George Robertson's name in Melbourne, Sydney and Adelaide. It all sounds promising for a more indigenous product. However, they are the same British texts with a few Australian articles added. These, mostly on fauna and flora, were written by Mr Archibald Gilchrist, M.A., one of the inspectors of schools in Victoria. Gilchrist had visited Thom and Sons in Dublin and had supplied the material as early as 1871.[40]

Of these Australian editions, the Second book of lessons is the most convincingly Australian in tone, with the well-told story of children lost in the bush, with its elements of bravery, self-denial and endurance, and based on

the true story of children lost for eight days in the Horsham area and found with the help of black-trackers.[41] This book also has an item called "Black Thursday" about the 1851 bushfires, which manages to produce a distinctly Australian sense of reality.[42] Other Australian additions in the Second book of lessons fail in this, however. Mostly articles on natural science, they reflect the author's fascination, yet strangely aloof attitude, to the uniquely Australian species. The reader is advised on how to exploit the land, whether to hunt and kill, methods commonly used for killing, even to the point of explaining how to shoot lyre-birds, drown platypuses and trap emus. The values of the catches are explained, be it the eggs, feathers, oil or flesh.[43] All this reflects, presumably, man's dependence on the natural environment, at a time when there was no legislation against such exploitation. Advice is given against killing various predators, in order to keep even less desirable species at bay. The 'laughing jackass' ("a dingy looking bird"), the eagle-hawk and the magpie "are useful in killing reptiles and other vermin".[44]

The other Australian editions are even less impressive. The best include the thirteen-page entry on kangaroos, in the Third book, which contains lurid descriptions of the dangers of hunting them and the many uses of their furs, skin and flesh.[45] Also, the astronomical descriptions are written, refreshingly so, from an Australian point of

view.[46] Generally speaking, the piecemeal insertions of Australian material was considered satisfactory for some time and, as we shall see, similar articles were inserted into the Nelson Royal Readers during the 1870s and 1880s. By the 1890s we will see the emergence of uniquely Australian and locally-produced material for the schools.

FOOTNOTES. Chapter 2.

1. Goldstrom, J.M., The social content of education, 1808-1870, esp. pp. 63-6, on authors of the books, and pp. 84-9 on the influence of Richard Whately.

2. Ibid., pp. 67-71, pp. 120-124.

3. Ibid., p. 121.

4. First book of lessons, section 2, lesson 6.

5. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 794, 87/236, W.F. Thompson to Brown, Secretary of the Education Department, which includes Revised standards of proficiency, of the Department of Public Instruction, Sydney, October, 1884. Also, Public Instruction Act of 1880, pp. 41-50, showing the course of instruction for each level and stipulating the text-books to be used.

6. Second book of lessons, p. 140, p. 148, p. 154, p. 159.

7. Third book of lessons, pp. 251-301.

8. Fourth book of lessons, p. 404.

9. Fifth book of lessons, pp. 87-8.

10. Ibid., p. 33.

11. Curry, Norman G., "The work of the Denominational and National Boards of Education in Victoria, 1850-1862, with special reference to their work on the gold fields", M.Ed., University of Melbourne, 1965, p. 196.

12. For example, Fourth book of lessons, pp. 37-43.

13. Ibid., p.8.

14. Goldstrom, op. cit., p. 84..

15. Fourth book of lessons, p. 272.

16. Ibid., p. 280.

17. Ibid., pp. 315-325.

18. Ibid., pp. 75-8.

19. For example, Third book of lessons, Charles Mackay's "Daily work", p. 50; Henry Longfellow's "The village blacksmith", p. 82.

20. Reading book for the use of female schools, (Dublin, 1862).

21. For example, Fourth book of lessons, pp. 137-43 : "Great Britain produces more of them and of better quality than any other country".

22. Goldstrom, op. cit., p. 80.

23. Third book of lessons (1862 edition), p. 147 & p. 171.

24. First book of lessons,(1864 edition), lesson 22.

25. For example the stirring poem by Mrs Hermans, "Casabianca", pp. 98-100.

26. Section II of this thesis, on the themes in Nelson's Royal readers.

27. Goldstrom, op. cit., p. 66.

28. Third book of lessons, p. 177 & p. 182.

29. Fourth book of lessons, pp. 17 ff., pp. 216 ff.

30. Sixth book of lessons,, pp. 208-245 & pp. 143-54.

31. Third book of lessons, p. 125 & p. 234.

32. For example Second book of lessons, p. 73, re. cock-fighting.

33. Ibid., pp. 94-7, p. 100 and p. 118.

34. Ibid., p. 90 and p. 107..

35. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 62, v.1, pp. 194-9.

36. Fourth book of lessons, (1846 edition), p. 153. Also P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 61, Box 1, 6 Nov., 1851: from Irish Commissioners to Judge Pohlman, that a passage pointed out by the Board will be altered in the next edition.

37. Fourth book of lessons, (1862 edition), p. 153.

38. Third book of lessons, (1862 edition), p. 147

39. V.& R., p. 110.

40. Ibid., p. 294. See also P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 794, 82/32386 which indicates that the late Inspector General's copy of Index Geographicus was purchased from Mrs Gilchrist for 1 Guinea as a useful item for the Board of Examiners.

41. Second book of lessons, pp. 224-236.

42. Ibid., p. 236.

43. Ibid. p. 26, p. 33, p.64, p.67, for examples.

44. Ibid. p. 66.

45. Third book of lessons, pp. 22-34.

46. Ibid., pp. 1-19.

Chapter 3 The use of the Irish readers.

> The prospect of turning out so many thousands of children taught on precisely the same model - their horizon of school lore bounded by the Fourth or the Fifth book - is not very encouraging to the educational reformer.
> Editorial, Warrnambool Standard, 8 July 1873.

Requests from the schools

Scrutiny of school requisitions for the Irish books gives us a useful clue to the style of education in the classroom and the precarious state of many of the colony's schools during the first two decades of the Colony of Victoria.

Isolated schools were prepared to take anything they could get by way of reading material, maps or apparatus. For instance, the Church of England chaplain at Portland complained of a two-month delay, and still not receiving anything. He wrote :"In case the selection may not have been actually made, I beg to state that we most need the child's First book and uniform spelling books. We have geography books but no maps and if any have arrived from England I should be glad if you would cause some to be forwarded to me".[1] A year later, a Portland teacher expressed his anxiety to the Board over requests paid for in advance, not received seven weeks later. He wrote :

> The "Wave" has arrived here but they are not with her. Would you have the goodness to request the bookseller who supplied the Denominational schools with such articles to get them forwarded to me either by the "Wave" or any other vessel coming from Melbourne to Portland.[2]

Schools inland from Victorian ports were worse off again and some orders were delayed for four or five months.[3] Many inland schools depended on the celebrated Cobb and Co. coaches which were becoming more efficient, with stronger networks, as time went on.[4]

The increased populations in gold field schools exacerbated an already difficult situation so far as facilities and books were concerned. One desperate teacher in Sailor's Gully in 1856 wrote :

> My school has increased to such an extent, and there is so much to do, that I hardly know to what to turn my hand first. It is impossible for any one person to keep the whole school engaged at the same time. It may be my fault, but I think not. I have tried many plans, but none succeed so well as the monitorial and this does not prove satisfactory. I have tried to find a book on the art of teaching, but cannot succeed. I would be very much obliged if you would inform me. Please send me a duplicate requisition for books immediately.[5]

At Mount Ararat, with an estimated population of 50,000 during the peak of the gold rushes, and some 2,000 children of school age, the teacher of the National School requested 200 First book of lessons, up to 30 of each of the others in the series, 40 Scripture lessons, 1,000 slates and various ink stands and powders.[6] And, at the same time, the school at Linton's Diggings applied for a fairly comprehensive school library of some fifty titles, including Scott, Bunyan and Defoe.[7]

As we have seen, the early National Schools in the colony showed a willingness to supply each child with a Reader. The first requisitions from Bacchus Marsh National School in 1850, with 23 children on the books, included 24 First book, 12 Second book, 12 Second sequel, 6 Third book, as well as one English grammar, 6 First Arithmetic, 6 Introduction to geography and 6 Spelling-book superceded. They also wanted a needlework book with directions and samples for their Girls' Department.[8] Likewise, at the Colac National School, being set up at this time and with 25 pupils attending, the first order to Sydney was for 10 First book, 5 Second book, 12 Third book, 8 Fourth book, 6 English grammar and 6 First arithmetic.[9] Both of these examples emphasise the importance of the reading book as the prime source of cultural imput, other than what might have been supplied, however exiguously, by the master or mistress.

Teachers were very much under the control of their managers, and requisitions for books were usually placed to the Board by the school patrons and signed by them. A certain degree of trust between the teacher and his manager was necessary for an efficient school.[10] Some teachers, however, wrote direct to the Board, where their relations with their managers were not good or were severed. A case in point lies with Mrs Elizabeth Mary Carmichael, one of the early teachers with the Denominational School Board, at first posted to Geelong and then for several years to

Queenscliff.[11] There, as she put it, "the school is composed of people removed from the refined classes",[12] she was desperate for books, maps and apparatus and had little support or contact from her over-worked patron, the Archdeacon of Geelong. In 1854 she had "no other reading books than the second and third, besides the Scriptures"[13], at a time when discipline in the school was poor and there were protracted disputes with some of the parents. She wrote to the Board:

> My wish in setting down here admidst a set of children who, when I commenced the school, would get astride the forms with their spurs on their heels and begin to ride, was to civilize them and to make them Christian and useful members of society. Their parents can keep them in school much longer than if in town, therefore I have full scope to carry my intentions into effect, as far as <u>they</u> are concerned, but to make this school as I would wish I must entreat your Board to send me your aids in supplying me with such accessories as I may acquire.[14]

A year later she wrote to Colin Campbell of her urgent need for twelve copies of the <u>Fourth book of lessons</u>: "...some works suitable to keep up with the progress of the elder boys of this school". She continued:

> Since I opened the school, the first class which could partially read I have got them twice through the <u>Third book</u>, and am certain that if I put them through it a third time, I shall lose the attention which I am anxious to attract in their minds and which I think I have at last succeeded in doing. My first class... are beginning to be more enquiring on the subject of which they read, asking me some very original questions which I am at times happy to reply to. Now sir may I request your favour by enabling me to procure fresh books, the history of our own country above all. In fact

> one thing which it comes in your power to promote the great cause of education which I have so much at heart. I need all sorts of books - the people here will readily pay what is required, but my children must not stand still or by consequence go back because of the want of the necessary means of teaching. I also want poetry, printed sheets for young infants and a frame with balls for counting.[15]

Her long letter ends with the request for inspection, with the words: "... left as I am without any sort of supervision, except that of God..." There is nothing of the shrinking violet here and her assertive stance with the Board is impressive. Her request for Australian history is interesting, and would remain unfulfilled until the publication of Alexander Sutherland's History of Australia in 1877.[16]

It would seem, from the records, that most teachers were quite happy with the Irish books. Only one complaint was found, from the Reverend Mr Russell of Wannon, who clearly knew what other books were available at the time. He wrote:

> The reading book consists of scraps merely. The child learns from the the history of the mother country for instance and I think that it will be generally allowed that they are not most proper for the drawing out the intelligence of the children... I have marked the little hold the reading books employed have on the minds of the children, and I know that it is of the utmost consequence that they should carry with them from their schools more than a mere mechanical facility of reading and writing.[17]

Perceptive comments of this sort are few and one suspects that the majority of school masters were only too happy to

have anything by way of printed material which would assist in keeping their charges occupied and in order. The drive for literacy and cultured intellect shown in the Carmichael letter seems all the more unusual; it probably reflects her own drive and ability, and the sort of enthusiasm which comes from good teaching and from the good learning environment which she was trying to establish.

Use in schools

There is not a great deal of evidence on the actual use of the books in the schools. As Curry points out: "Though it is more difficult to establish what happened within the schools than what happened in Parliament or on the Boards of Education, it is important that an attempt should be made to investigate the real work of education during the period".[18] Some generalizations may appear from the maze of detail still available on public record. We will never know the precise way books were used or abused, or how much they were a source of inspiration to the individual or, alternatively, a source of frustration and tedium. The evidence suggests that the teachers were inclined to drill the reading until the pupils virtually knew the books by heart, with or without a correct understanding of the text. Although the series is well graded, it is important to recognise that from the Third book the standard of writing was advanced,

both in terms of sentence length, sophistication of style and 'readability'.

In the 1855 inspectors' reports there is sufficient evidence that the children were reading without understanding what they read or spelling without understanding the individual words.[19] Inspector Orlebar thought that the mistakes in the meaning of quite common words showed "that the children are not used to hear conversations of a higher character and the masters seem not to have been aware of the depth of this kind of ignorance and to have pushed the children forward to an injurious degree. The subjects of the books are not mastered."[20]

Close analysis of the 1855 reports show that, of the 500 children being inspected that year in the 18 schools visited, 29 per cent were using the First book, 24 per cent the Second book, 22 per cent the Third book, 19 per cent the Fourth book, and 6 per cent the Fifth book.[21] The reports for the years 1854 and 1856 show a similar spread, which confirms that all five parts of the Irish readers were used in the schools, and not just the first two or three Readers.[22] Curry suggested that few pupils ever reached the more advanced books,[23] and that the Irish books were more influential, generally, in the training of teachers.[24] Curry also argued that we cannot be sure that the text-books were actually used or that a particular method was adopted.[25] It is likely, nevertheless, that teaching methods from the

Readers involved a combination of individual, monitorial and collective teaching. The 1863 Inspectors' reports demonstrate that the teachers depended entirely on the books for grammar and arithmetic, but were prepared to add oral information to their reading lessons from the Readers. Some, however, conducted parsing and grammar exercises orally, independent of the book, and used the Reader more for set home tasks.[26]

The earliest criticism from parents on the question of reading books and methods came in 1859 from Avenel, and probably reflects a wide-spread custom of drilling a reading book until perfect fluency and intonation were established. The parent complained:

> ...that my children make no progress commensurate with the time they have been with him [teacher]. My oldest son (16) is now reading in the same book (the third) that he was reading five years ago at the Pentridge National School. My daughter (12) is reading the same second book of lessons, which she has been doing the last two years, till she is wearied with them. And he still refused to put her into any other.[27]

This same sort of criticism is suggested in an anecdote told by the inimitable Bryce Ross (1815-1870), then teaching at Wedderburn.[28] Ross was a regular correspondent with the Board, particularly enthusiastic about the art of calligraphy and the value of silkworms.[29] On the question of reading standards he wrote :

> It was but the last week - one of those scenes took place in the school that have (for the country) too often happened. In comes a "new girl" - found her age is 10. Smart, active-looking girl. "Well, what are you reading ? "Oh Sir Me and sister have just finished II book. "Well, read so and so - What ! Cannot read? In fact I found that she couldnt manage First book - who that First Book Class she goes on "Triton amongst the Minnows - Mother next day appeared - My child's put back How is this? I called her daughter stand up - Read XXX lesson 1st Book - said I - she tried but failed. William Mitchell (5 years) "Come here cried I and read XXX lesson in your 1st Book - he read it right off without a fail - and spelt every word of the book - the mother was satisfied. I have had dozens of such scenes.[30]

We know, also, from the records that, among other criteria, probationers had to be able to read "with fluency and due regard to emphasis and punctuation, any passage selected from the first four lesson books."[31] As well, a passage of dictation would be chosen from the first three lesson books.

Throughout the Irish phase, the combination of secular content and the serious religious tone of the Irish series of Readers is what appealed most to the Boards in the choice of these texts. The National Board, in particular, was keen to emphasise the religious tone in its schools, contradicting the common misunderstanding that it was a more secular-minded Board. For instance, paragraph 68 of the Draft copy of the 6th Annual Report in 1858 read:

> We think it most apparent to all unprejudiced persons that the National system imparts through its books, and permits the clergy of various denominations to impart, as much religious instruction as can be afforded under a combined

> system of education as we are gratified in being able to state that no charge of proselytism has ever been preferred against any of our teachers. It has long been known that the children in National schools are better instructed in religious subjects than those in the "British and Foreign Schools" where the Bible is used without note or comment.[32]

And it is not until 1873 that we find the first major complaint against the Irish series on religious grounds. Mr C. Pritchard of Castlemaine protested against his son being forced to learn a portion of the Second book of lessons. He wrote:

> I would urge upon you the necessity for an entirely new set of books for the schools, those now in use are quite unsuited to the Colony and by what means the best to be obtained, evidence of which I could easily furnish you with.[33]

Feelings on this case ran high. Pritchard's opponent, the child's teacher, H. Christophers, wrote:

> Eventually this urchin of humanity amidst all the other children appeared with the 2nd Book of the Irish Board and with the pages 37-47 cut out, explaining that it was all a pack of lies... I am an old radical from the days when I heard Wilberforce and Castlereagh speak in the House... therefore I have got a right to protest... that the book of the Irish Board... shall be unmutilated by any sectarian zealot or any dogmatic sceptic and be freely taught throughout the land, or is this tyranny of a pitiful, conceited few who have not the intellect or the intelligence to comprehend a God to grind us to powder and reduce us to beasts. Why should this other man have power over you to dictate the law to annihilate such time-honored books why it is as bad as the Inquisition and I trust my humble voice and feeble influence as a freedom loving citizen may be so good as this living despot. I am for general secular education and with a God and a protestant Christian. I hope to be found in that day.[34]

This question eventually became a major issue, as we shall see, and, by 1877, the Irish series was discarded in favour of another series of secular readers. The memos written on this correspondence sum up the paradox. One stated: "In my opinion the extract is one which having been objected to by a parent ought not to be used". The second memo stated: "The State is certainly not the institution to encourage Athelsm".[35] A point of pragmatism opposed a point of principle, and the problem took another four years to resolve.

There is one further clue as to the pattern of use of reading books in the schools during the Irish phase. It is supplied by Patrick Whyte, Headmaster of the Model School in Melbourne.[36] In 1870 he sent a memo to the Board objecting to an Inspector's report on his school. He wrote:

> The noise complained of is objectionable but it arises principally from the excessive number of trainees who have to be employed. It is the noise of work, not of disorder ... where a great number of sub-divisions are reading in the one room, a certain amount of noise is unavoidable... Now, when the reading is carried on simultaneously, we oblige the children to speak in a subdued tone; but when they come to read individually, we find it extremely difficult to make them speak up, so as to be heard by the whole class, so that it is a very nice matter to reconcile these two classes of exercises.[37]

This pattern of individual and collective reading appears to be the generally accepted source of instruction in the art of reading.

FOOTNOTES Chapter 3.

1. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 61, 52/39.

2. Ibid., 53/408.

3. Ibid., 57/2171.

4. Ibid., 57/2462

5. Ibid., 56/908.

6. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 880, Mount Ararat, Box 2, Bundle, disordered.

7. For a complete list of the requests see P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 61, 57/1247.

8. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 65, p. 24.

9. Ibid., p. 101.

10. Teacher disputes with managers and patrons abound on public record. The teacher was usually moved to another school, despite petitioning from parents and letters of protest. Later examples will be cited in Part 111 of this thesis, where disputes centered on books and contents of the Readers.

11. Ed. Dept.(Vic.), Teachers record book, Ref. 83/898 for a brief statement of her service record with the D.S.B.

12. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 61, 55/322.

13. Ibid., 54/702.

14. Ibid., 55/322

15. Ibid.

16. Section 3 of this thesis. Also, A.D.B. entries on Alexander and George Sutherland, vol. 6, pp. 222-3.

17. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 61, 59/256. Also 59/982.

18. Curry, Norman G., "The work of the Denominational and National Boards of Education in Victoria, 1850-1862, with special reference to their work on the gold fields", M.Ed., University of Melbourne, 1965 p. 136.

19. P.R.O.(Vic.) Series 1406, passim.

20. Ibid., v.1, 55/1368, Orlebar on Gisborne.

21. Ibid. Inspectors tabulated the number of pupils engaged in reading according to the particular books of the series. The figures come from adding the particulars as a percentage of the total number of children present, over the period of the reports.

22. The percentages for 1854 for books 1 to 5 were 35 per cent, 21 per cent, (Second book and Second Sequel), 24 per cent, 17 per cent, and 3 per cent. This covers 10 schools, with some 380 pupils, inspected by Davitt.
The percentage figures for 1856 for books 1 to 5 were 23 per cent, 31 per cent, 19 per cent, 21 per cent and 6 per cent by Inspector Walker and Orlebar for some 40 schools involving some 1,200 pupils.

23. Curry, op. cit., p. 192.

24. Ibid., p. 197.

25. Ibid., p. 181.

26. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 904, v.1,, for examples, p. 1138, p. 1194, p. 1416, p. 1463.

27. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 880, Box 2, 59/2093, dated 4th October, 1859.

28. Ed. Dept.(Vic.), Teachers record book, Ref. 83/1006, that he was born in Edinburgh in 1815, was Head teacher at Korong, 1857-61, and at the National School Wedderburn, 1861-65. See also Sullivan, Martin, "Bryce Ross", in Selleck, R.J.W. and Sullivan, Martin, (eds.) Not so eminent Victorians, Melbourne, 1984, pp. 42-61.

29. Bryce Ross on calligraphy, see P.R.O. (Vic.), Series 61, 59/2513, 60/1510.

30. Ibid., 59/2513.

31. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 884, p. 155. "Rules for probationers", circular, dated August 1858.

32. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 880, Miscellaneous, Box 65, 1859. The second sentence was omitted from the final report.

33. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 892, Case 442, 73/27379.

34. Ibid., 73/28711.

35. Ibid., 73/ 27379.

36. For details and photograph of Patrick Whyte, see J. Alex Allen, The old Model School: its history and romance, Melbourne, 1934, pp. 42-45. For the various names of the Model School over the years, see also p. 70, for a convenient summary.

37. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 892, Case 308, 70/10715. Also, see V.& R., which, without giving sources, points out that Inspector Gilchrist formalised the reading lesson into four parts: sample reading by the teacher, simultaneous reading by the class, individual reading and comprehension. It also suggests that Richard Budd condemned round-the-class reading as time-wasting. See pp. 109-10.

Chapter 4. The study of grammar.

> A few years ago theoretical educationists demanded demanded for popular schools the teaching of common things, and the rage was amusingly popular. But what more common thing, I ask, is there in human life, - and what more common want in human experience is there than in the power of language ? It is the vehicle which ennobles, gratifies, elevates. It knits together man with man at the present time, it links man with the history and thoughts of generations past, and from another world it bears the glad tidings of good things to come. Where but in his school is the child of the artisan to extend his vocabulary so that it shall be to him something more than the lowing of the cow or the bleating of the sheep, something more than the language of buying and selling, eating and drinking, till he dies ?
>
> Rev. Charles Henry Bromby, M.A., Principal of the Cheltenham Normal School and, later, Bishop of Tasmania.
> Principles and prospects of popular education. Address delivered to the Metropolitan Schoolmasters' Association, 18th January, 1862, Sir James Kay Shuttleworth in the Chair. p.8.

The background.

Roger Ascham, tutor to Queen Elizabeth 1, related:

> After learning declentions and conjugations, she never had a grammar book in her hand, and yet there was not a professor of either University that was equal to Her Majesty in Greek and Latin... All languages are gotten solely by imitation; and therefore, by translating and re-translating a classical author, neither the scholar in learning, nor the master in teaching, can err; whereas, to read the grammar alone by itself, is tedious for the master, hard for the scholar, cold and uncomfortable for them both.[1]

The study of language has a long and varied history. During the Irish phase of this study, it can be said that everyone connected with schools and education saw the study of English grammar as an essential part in the general course

of instruction, both at the elementary school level and beyond. The Denominational School Board and the National School Board included the study of grammar in their Rules and Regulations.[2] It was invariably listed as one of the subjects of instruction in the various circulars and prospectuses of newly established schools and training institutions.[3] The evidence shows that the study of grammar was taken very seriously indeed. It is our present task to establish why this was so, which books were used, how it was taught and how it related to the other subjects in the nineteent-century schoolroom. With these facts in mind, we may then be able to establish the value the subject had in improving the child's level of literacy and the understanding of the written and spoken word. As well, we may be able to develop a firmer notion of the importance of the individual grammar books in this scheme, in particular those used in the Colony of Victoria.

The methods of teaching English grammar were hotly debated throughout the century. Generally, it was felt that grammar should be taught systematically, vigorously and from the known to the unknown in a rigidly graded sequence. Although generally frowned upon, some grammar books expected pupils to memorize all the rules and the word lists supplied. Indeed, on this point, it can be seen that there was some inconsistency of approach by grammarians who

espoused the cause for more enlightened methods and, at the same time, expected considerable rote learning by pupils. Hyacinthe Lafargue, for instance, in her treatise The study of languages, wrote:

> In the same way as the father and mother teach their children to speak, so a teacher must follow this natural course and first teach words with which he can easily construe small sentences, etc. Thus the pupil will perceive his progress and when he has acquired a good stock of words and is familiar with the rules which govern them, he becomes confident and will express himself very easily. His own ideas will expand and he will be surprised to find in himself the power of acquiring a foreign language or several languages by the same method.[4]

Lafargue's system to develop and extend the mind relied, however, almost solely on the memorization of words in English, French, German, and Russian. The text consists of word lists in each language, each followed by an explanation of rules.

Not all grammarians or educationists would have agreed with Lafargue's methods. The Reverend Edward Thring of Uppingham School held to a much simpler approach, based on common sense. He wrote:

> Common grammar is nothing more than the seizing of the speech in ordinary use, bringing the common sense of the user to bear on what he uses, making him wield it intellectually, and frame his own rules as he goes on. In this way, Grammar may be made a very amusing lesson by a teacher who is quick and familiar with illustrating it. At all events it can be questioned out of very little children, without their having learnt it before from any book.[5]

For the more advanced pupils, Thring made a strong case against learning by rote. He stated:

> It is not possible to overrate the injury done to young minds by allowing them to use technical terms in any number, or the permanent confusion of mind that often results from doing so... every step must be conscious, for there is no time for rote work.[6]

Words had no mysterious power for Thring who argued that they should be merely seen as "thought bricks fitted into their place at the pleasure of the builder".

Several educationists in Australia published their views on these issues. For instance, the Reverend James Macgowan, writing from Adelaide in 1854, came out strongly against memorization in favour of an inductive method, where composition precedes grammatical rules. Spelling was to be acquired by copying and by writing to dictation.[7]

Then there was a Mrs Ponsonby, the Principal of Scotch College for Young Ladies, Eastern Hill, Melbourne, who published her case for the 'Scotch system' in 1861. In this, the study of grammar featured well indeed, for she saw that system as a means of teaching to rigorous intellectual principles: words would be analysed at every opportunity as a valuable mental exercise, and no opportunity would be lost to explain clearly and vigorously all meanings and derivations.

> It is primarily by the study of grammar and philosophy of our language that an acuteness of comprehension, a fund of thought, and an abundance of idea, are imparted to the young mind, which

> make instruction pleasing to the teacher as well as to the taught, and which a mere committal to memory of the tenses of a verb, or a long list of words from a vocabulary, can never accomplish.The extensive and correct knowledge acquired under the former method makes a strong and lasting impression on the mind... the art of teaching becomes elevated to the highest rank in the community.8

It would seem, then, that she was not alone in her views on the importance of the teaching of English grammar and, as we shall see, there was a long tradition backing these views which kept it in pride of place in the nineteenth-century school curriculum.

The Irish National grammar books.

The three most commonly found grammar books during this period in colonial Victoria, and, indeed, almost anywhere in the English-speaking world, were the small and very comprehensive texts published by the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland. The earliest of these, of unknown authorship, was entitled: An English grammar for use of schools, commonly known as English grammar.[9] At the same time there were two other popular grammar books by Dr Robert Sullivan, his English grammar and his Spelling-book superseded.[10]

The eighteenth-century model.

The three school grammars mentioned above all followed, in a simplified manner, the contents and style of Lindley

Murray's An English grammar, first published at Holdgate, near York, in 1795.[11] Murray's Grammar was popular and ran to some fifty editions over its first forty years. For its time it was innovative, avoiding "glaring and erroneous constructions" and "blending moral and useful observations". Murray's stated aim was "to contribute to the order and happiness of society, by guarding the innocence, and cherishing the virtue, of the rising generation".[12] Some editions of this grammar ran to over one thousand pages, often in two volumes, such was the length of the text. It might well be seen by present-day standards as a tedious and dreary work. In an address to young students Murray gave what amounts to a sermon on piety and virtue, the value of applied learning and the importance of "cultivating a pure and humble state of mind, and of cherishing habits of piety towards God, and benevolence to man".[13] Thus, by an intellectual process, Murray viewed grammatical expression of thought, with propriety and accuracy of speech and writing, as a process for the cultivation of an understanding of life. The grammatical process was directly linked with a divine purpose.

English grammar at this period followed the principles of Latin grammar, with its many inflexional changes and the concentration on the relations of words to each other in sentences, on syntax and on the principles of word formation. We shall see later how this approach to English

grammar changed dramatically during the nineteenth century with the popularisation of an analytic approach to the language. We shall see, too, that this grew from a recognition that "latinized English" was no longer, necessarily, good English and that the language was becoming less and less dependent on these inflexional systems.14

To a large extent, the three grammar books from the Irish National Board not only reflected this emphasis on inflexional changes but borrowed directly Murray's use of a larger type face for the rules and observations which were to be committed to memory. Consequently, all three of these grammars include listings of exceptions to rules, derivations, prefixes, affixes, Latin and Greek roots, set in a most comprehensive and detailed framework of rules and exercises. There are, however, significant differences between the grammars.

The Irish National Board's "An English grammar".

An English grammar for use in schools consists of one hundred and seventy-four pages of tightly-written text, between light-grey, thin cloth boards and, on the front cover, bold black print with "Irish National school books". The text is divided into the usual four sections : orthography, of some ten pages, etymology, of fifty pages, twenty pages of syntax and ten pages of prosody. In addition, there is an appendix of some fifty pages which

includes derivations, roots, composition, punctuation and style.

The preface to this little grammar book makes it quite clear that the general principles of grammar must be committed to memory and, only then, may the more advanced classes proceed with the study of the small print and be involved with the many illustrations, examples and exceptions listed in the text. It is interesting to note the many directions to teachers, which run in footnotes, instructing the teacher on method and citing further difficult examples, exceptions, explanations and variations.[15]

As mentioned earlier, the text is set out with some bold print so that the pupils may memorize a number of names and definitions. All sorts of terms are included, such as 'tripthong', 'dipthong', 'improper dipthong', 'polysyllable', and so on, each requiring a precise definition and an understanding of usage. The bulk of the text, on etymology, is well graded, straightforward and logically arranged. The examples are, for the most part, simple and to the point, although when sentences are supplied for parsing, there is a tendency towards moralistic and religious advice. At times the text is inclined to be discursive and tedious, in an attempt to cover too much at once. For instance, one of the examples supplied for the use of verbs :"Agesilaus being asked what he thought most proper

for boys to learn, answered, what they ought to do when they come to be men"; this manages to contain as many varieties of verbs as possible.[16]

In the section on general principles of parsing, the numerous examples supplied are often literary and poetic.[17] There is occasional reference to words of some cultural bias, perhaps quite unsuited to Australian-born youth. Indeed, one reference strikes a quaint note:

> 'Might' and 'may' are frequently confounded in Ireland. This is to be met with in old English books, but never now heard among educated people in England. Example :"Ye will not come unto me that ye might (may) have life".[18]

In what way, then, does this little grammar book, so cheap and popular as it was, differ from those of Dr Robert Sullivan ?

Sullivan's English grammar.

Sullivan's English grammar contains two hundred and sixteen pages of practical and common-sense advice, set between thick dark-green cloth boards with decorative embossings. The preface claims this grammar as a simplified and abridged version and divested of difficulties and complications. The parsing methods were designed to serve as an introduction to Lindley Murray's Grammar, and it was felt that the pupils should attempt to work from what they knew already, and from the simple to the complicated forms of the language. Certainly Sullivan's approach does seem more

practical and encouraging than that found in the Irish Board's An English Grammar. In one exercise on nouns, he suggested that the pupils rule up their slates with the heading 'nouns' and with further columns headed 'Proper nouns', 'common nouns', the latter divided into singular and plural. He pointed out :

> Such an exercise as this will be of great use to the pupils because it will teach them not only to think, but also to write and spell practically, and it will occasion very little trouble to the teacher. In fact, as the pupils will be fully occupied in hunting after and writing down the required words, they may be safely left to themselves, should another class demand the teacher's attention. This may be considered objectionable, and the pupil in such a case, it may be said, will be sure to copy from each other. We say that if they have been properly prepared for the exercise by the teacher, they will, when at a loss, learn, not copy, from each other, and there is nothing objectionable in that.[19]

This very reasonable approach is also reflected in his comments on verbs:

> The English verb has but two tenses - and why should the children not have the benefit of this simplicity? The complicated forms which are spread over so many pages of our grammars have really no foundation in the English language. Why then puzzle and perplex children with names and forms for mere nonentities? It will be quite time enough for them to learn these moods, and tenses, and voices, when they come to learn the languages in which they really exist.[20]

With copious footnotes, designed, presumably, for the teacher, Sullivan cites numerous exceptions, rarities and the like. His own commentaries and observations are blended in with those of other grammatical authorities. There is no

significant evidence of cultural or national bias except, perhaps, for an occasional reference to Dublin. The text does become highly literary in the parsing section and, amongst other samples of the kind, a large section of Milton's Paradise lost is parsed verbatim, for some seven pages.[21]

On syntax, Sullivan supplies twenty rules in bold type for memorization. Referring to each rule, he gives exercises of sentences to be corrected. There is a difficult section which he has headed "errors in grammar, promiscuously arranged, selected from our best poets and standard prose writers".[22]

It is important to recognise that in later editions of Sullivan's grammar there are sections on analysis, which he defined as "examining sentences for subject, verb and object and relating adjuncts". He wrote :

> In our opinion, this is the easiest and, as an intellectual exercise, it is certainly by far the most useful form of grammatical analysis. Instead of puzzling and perplexing the young scholars with difficult technicalities and metaphysical distinctions, it appeals at once to his reason and common sense; and, in this way, it leads him to find out for himself the principal and subordinate parts of a sentence, and the meaning and the drift of the whole.[23]

Sullivan maintained, however, that the highest authorities on 'analysis' took differing views which were inclined to confuse the issue and that the final decision would have to

depend, after all, on what constituted good English, as currently spoken.

Sullivan's Spelling-book superseded.

The third grammar book imported into the colony of Victoria in large numbers was Sullivan's Spelling-book superseded. By 1873 it had reached its one-hundred and sixty-sixth edition and claimed an unprecedented circulation of 719,000 copies, on a world basis, during the nine-year period from 1861.[24] The Spelling-book was much more than its name implies, however.It contains everything one would find in any small grammar, but with the emphasis on words, lists of exceptions to spelling rules, words with common word endings, words spelled and pronounced alike but differing in meaning or application. It contains lists of synonyms and synonymous terms, Latin and Greek words and phrases explained and listings of the methods for addressing "persons of every rank" in writing and speaking. And, again, Sullivan's approach seems reasonable and practical. In addressing teachers and parents he wrote :

> Teachers, instead of occupying the time of their pupils in the useless drudgery of committing to memory the uninteresting and endless columns of a dictionary or spelling-book, are strongly recommended to adopt the improved method of teaching orthography, namely by dictation. It is simply this: the teacher reads a sentence from a book, or dictates one composed by himself, to the pupils, who either write it down verbatim, or merely spell the words as they occur, as if they were writing them down.[25]

Imported grammar books, 1850 -1860.

How many grammar books were imported into the colony of Victoria over the ten year period for which these details are available ? Between 1852 and 1862 the Denominational School Board imported approximately 12,500 English grammar, 11,500 Sullivan's English grammar and 6,500 Spelling-book superseded. Each of these titles had an even spread of orders throughout that decade.[26] For the same period, the National Board imported 9,500 English grammar, 2,700 Sullivan's English grammar and 5,400 Spelling-book superseded and, in this case, there were no orders for Sullivan's English grammar before 1857. The numbers ordered reflect the demographic changes in the Colony, notably the impact of the gold rushes, as well as the fact that the Denominational School Board had, throughout that decade, four times the number of schools to administer and three times the number of scholars than their rival National School Board.[27] The Denominational School Board seemed to be more enthusiastic than the National Board on the importing of various grammar books although, in the final estimate, neither Board imported nearly enough books to cover the demand in the schools. There could well have been at least one Key to English grammar and up to three Sullivan's English dictionary in each of the 484 schools of the Denominational School Board. In addition this Board was

importing Morell's English grammar and his Graduated exercises as early as 1858.

The National Board, on the other hand, was more firmly committed to the supply of English grammar. It was in a position to supply up to eight copies of Key to English grammar, and just one copy of Sullivan's English dictionary, to each of its 181 schools in 1861. And this Board was much less inclined to import Sullivan's English grammar and, strangely, showed no evidence of ordering any of Morell's publications.

Comparing the number of books ordered with the number of pupils in any one year, we can discern a distinct shortage of texts, had there been full demand. In 1852 the Denominational School Board, with its 89 schools and 6,800 pupils on the rolls, and an average attendance of 3,800, imported a mere 500 English grammar, 50 Sullivan's and 50 Spelling-'books. By 1857 the Denominational School Board had imported 4,000 each of English grammar and Sullivan's English grammar, among other titles, for a school population which had grown remarkably to over 27,000 pupils on the rolls and over 17,500 average attendance. In 1860, with over 30,000 pupils and 20,000 average attendance, the Board imported only 1,500 English grammar, 4,000 Sullivan's English grammar and 1,500 Spelling-book superseded.

A similar picture can be shown for the efforts of the National Board over this period. Presumably the respective

book agents in Melbourne kept up their stocks when they could, even from sources other than McCulloch in Dublin and Whittaker in London. It is likely that the total numbers ordered monthly reflected something of the demand made by the schools. Generally, the figures lead one to suppose that there was either an extreme shortage of supply vis-a-vis the potential demand, or that the demand was reflected in the numbers of books actually ordered over the period. There may have been, of course, a brisk trade locally in second-hand books, despite the minimal cost of all three titles. The more advanced pupils were expected to have a grammar book of their own for the home exercises and learning. One copy might have been shared within a family, with ten or more children; certainly the colonial family was much larger than by today's standards. It is also possible that some schools were without grammar books and that the teacher improvised, or merely had his own copy. However, this is fairly unlikely, in view of the cost factors, which we will discuss shortly.

The choice of grammar book.

What estimate can be made of the use of particular grammar books in the early decades of the colony of Victoria?

The records clearly demonstrate the supremacy of the three titles mentioned so far. However, there is evidence of the popularity of several other titles, mostly in the

denominational schools. Schools, such as Scotch College, Melbourne, under the dynamic headmastership of Alexander Morrison, used Allan and Cornwell's Grammar and Composition in the second and third classes and Latham's and Morell's grammars in the fourth class.[28] The Reverend Mr Russell, from his parsonage on Wannon, preferred Thring's Child's grammar among his many criticisms of the books supplied to schools, but to no avail with the Denominational School Board.[29] Likewise, the patron of Camp Maldon wrote: "I find it impossible for the teacher to bring the pupils forward in grammar as long as Sullivan's is used", and urged the adoption of Lennie's English grammar. A memo on this letter states :"We have no books but the Irish series".[30]

In addition to this, we know that during this period some of the Gleig School Series were used in the Colony, which included a grammar book based on McLeod's Explanatory grammar.[31] Although both school boards were inclined to promote the Irish series only, for the convenience of ordering and for continuity of work in schools, nevertheless there was a variety of titles available through the many publishing houses of Paternoster Row and elsewhere. These houses sent their catalogues to the colonies in search of new markets. Hugh Childers, in 1858, included a wide range of grammar books, bought in multiples, in his large purchase of books in London for the Denominational School Board.[32] But these other grammar books were destined to be use as

textbooks for teachers' examinations and, as we shall see, were much more expensive.

School requisitions.

It is interesting to see what individual schools required by way of grammar books during this early period of the Colony. In March 1849 the Moderator of the Presbyterian Church reported on the number of books held in his three schools in Melbourne, Campbellfield and Portland. Each had ten copies of English grammar.[33] We know that the teacher at Bacchus Marsh School, with twenty-three children, wanted only six copies of English grammar and Spelling-book superseded in 1850.[34] Likewise, Colac National School, with twenty-five pupils, wanted only six copies of English grammar.[35] In 1853 Dr Thomas Braim was urgently requesting more books for his schools in the Belfast area and particularly mentioned the need for grammars and geographies.[36] The same year, Port Albert, a busy little town to the east of Melbourne, requested twelve copies of English grammar and twenty-seven copies of Sullivan's Spelling-book superseded.[37] In 1855 Beechworth School wanted two dozen English grammar and four dozen Spelling-book superseded.[38] In 1857 the St. James Training School, Melbourne, wanted three dozen English grammar for the Boys's Department and three dozen Sullivan's English grammar for the Girls' Department.[39] The Free Church School at Mount

Blowhard wanted fifteen Sullivan's grammar for some of its sixty pupils in 1859.[40] The Church of England School at Pleasant Creek, near Ararat, wanted twelve English grammar, two copies of the Key to English grammar and only two copies of Spelling-book superseded.[41] At nearby Mount Ararat, where there was purported to be some two thousand children of school age due to the latest gold rush, the request was made for ten copies of Sullivan's grammar in combination with large quantities of Irish National Readers.[42]

While it may be said that this sort of evidence is fairly insubstantial, it nevertheless helps build up a picture of the patterns of use of the grammar books in use in this early period of the Colony.

The cost of grammar books.

The cost factor was probably the single most important influence on the choice of titles of grammar books used in the Colony. Indeed, the cost of the three Irish grammars actually decreased with an increased circulation in an English-speaking world monopoly. The Commissioners of National Education in Sydney, in 1849, announced the titles and prices of the books furnished to schools. Here English grammar is priced at sixpence, the Key at threepence, Sullivan's grammar at one shilling and fourpence, his English dictionary at two shillings and sixpence and his Spelling-book superseded at eightpence.[43] Twenty years

later, the accepted prices were at half the 1849 Sydney prices, with the exception of Spelling-book superseded, which had increased to elevenpence.

In the 1860's Craik's English language sold for three shillings a copy, Latham's Handbook of the English language for six shillings, Trench's English past and present and On the study of words sold for three shillings and Roget's Thesaurus of English words sold at eight shillings per copy.[44] By this time the Irish grammars were selling at threepence and sixpence, Sullivan's dictionary sold for one shilling and tenpence and his dictionary of derivations for one shilling and sixpence. The new grammar, Morell's English grammar and analysis, could be bought for one shilling and sixpence, but, by the 1870s, increased to two shillings per copy.

James Bonwick's grammar books and other Australian publications.

James Bonwick, that tireless worker for the education of the Australian youth, included among his numerous publications several school grammars which received some acclaim and moderate success.

Bonwick's first grammar was published in Adelaide in 1851 and was entitled Grammar for Australian youth. In the preface he wrote:

> There are many teachers who yet complain of a want of simplicity and conciseness in those grammars,

> in which the subject is treated philosophically, and the want of method and information in those of a more familiar character. A humble attempt is here made to unite suitability of style and arrangement with the communication of sound knowledge.[45]

This work, and its later editions, had the same etymological and syntactical approach found in the Irish publications. It only had a short print run, perhaps one thousand copies, and was out of print the following year.It is notable, today, for its inclusion of a section of Aboriginal vocabulary, and Bonwick was a regular visitor to the native school in Adelaide.[46] Bonwick had hoped for a big circulation of this grammar, and he was in need of money to cover debts incurred with the opening of his new private school. He sent a copy to George Rusden, then Secretary to the Colonial Secretary, with a request that it be adopted in Victoria.[47] In 1856 he pressed again for republication. To Colin Campbell, Secretary to the Denominational School Board, he wrote:

> Will you give your sanction to the republication of a grammar revised and approved by the Inspectors and Secretary of the South Australian Board of Education, and I ask only for your name... The Sydney and Adelaide press sincerely spoke in its praise.[48]

A junior version of the work was brought out in 1857 and a second edition the following year. The grammar is really only a reissue of the etymological section of his 1851 publication.[49] Bonwick wrote in the preface:"The illustrations and exercises will bear upon subjects of moral training and information respecting our Australian home".[50]



The second edition, First grammar for young Australians, has more exercises added to certain lessons and Bonwick notes: "The little work is intended for junior classes and as a mother's help for children at home".[51] It had a small print run of five thousand copies. Thirty-seven pages long, it does not strike a particularly strong Australian note to the reader today. The text covers vowels and consonants, nine parts of speech, the singular and plural of nouns and proper nouns, gender and neuter, case, mood and various types of verbs. The whole is a very simple, straightforward and logical sequence, with plenty of examples of each point, along with instruction for pupils to make their own examples or to correct faulty sentences. He included the conjugation of verbs "by writing them out at length". Some of his examples are curious, nothing more. For example, on adjectives he uses the sentence; "the hyena laughs hideously". He based the use of various moods on the sentence: "Sally stitches her apron", which was not entirely appropriate to every colonial household.

Finally, in 1868, some ten years after the publication of Morell's English grammar and analysis, Bonwick published his Grammar for Australian youth, including a section on analysis after the Morell method.[52]

All told, it would seem that Bonwick's grammar books, with fairly limited circulation and specialising at a junior level, failed to have much influence on the teaching of

grammar in the Colony. His Grammar for young Australians was still available in 1867 at threepence, which was comparatively cheap, although still not as good value as any of the Irish grammars. And, unlike several of his other textbooks, Bonwick failed to secure the official patronage of either Board, which was the one sure way to secure a wide circulation and ultimate success.[53]

Bonwick, however, was not the only local author of grammar books during this early period of the Colony. Henry Thomas wrote his Elements of English grammar in 1841, dedicated to Sir John Franklin, the Lieutenant Governor of Van Diemen's Land.[54] Thirty-five pages long, simply put, it was designed for junior classes and is largely an adaptation of Grant and Lennie's Essentials of English grammar. Recognising his debt to Murray, Ash and Lennie, Thomas explained in the preface :

> Having for many years felt an interest in the welfare of a youth whom fortune frowned on, and thereby prevented his completing even an English education, I derived much pleasure from devoting my leisure hours to his assistance, for he was emulous and grateful... I have endeavoured to analyse the English language and adapt the definitions thereto.[55]

Another notable author of grammar books was Edward Walter Wickes of Adelaide, whose Brief outline runs quickly through the parts of speech and gives ten rules for the construction of sentences, each rule with a set of exercises.[56] His Spelling-book consists of thirty-six pages of graded word-lists, including a list of Adelaide place-names, and is a very junior work compared to Sullivan's or Butters' etymological spelling books.[57]

FOOTNOTES, CHAPTER 4.

1. Quoted in James Mcgowan, The science of instruction, or the laws of nature on the subject of teaching, (Adelaide, 1854), p. 9.

2. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 62, Letter books, D.S.B., Book 1, p.59, dated 13 December, 1848.

3. For example : P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 880, Box 50, 55/64b : Brochure of the National Model and Normal Schools, Eastern Hill, Melbourne.

4. Lafargue, H.,The study of languages: a system enabling the pupil to construe in the language he is learning, from the first lesson and study the theory of the grammar by practice, (Melbourne, 1858), p. 1.

5. Thring, Edward, On the principles of grammar, (Oxford, 1868),pp. v-vi.

6. Ibid.

7. Macgowan, loc. cit.

8. Mrs Ponsonby, Education. The Scotch system: What is it; with strictures on its adaptation to the education of young ladies, (Melbourne, 1861), p. 15.

9. An English grammar for the use of schools, printed and published by direction of the Commissioners of National Education, Ireland, (Dublin). I used an 1890 edition held at the Education Library, University of Melbourne, but sighted several earlier editions.

10. Robert Sullivan, An attempt to simplify English grammar, (Dublin). I used the 129th edition (1878) of his grammar, and the 45th edition (1856) of his Spelling-book superseded. I sighted several different editions of each.

11. Murray, Lindley, An English grammar, comprehending of the appropriate exercises and a key to the exercises, (York, 1819). Lindley Murray (1745 - 1826) was an American Quaker who retired in England and whose grammar books were being reprinted throughout the nineteenth-century English-speaking world. His Abridged English grammar went to 120 editions of 10,000 copies each. See D.N.B.

12. Ibid. Preface, p. 8ff for this and following quotation. The State Library of Victoria holds three editions: 4th (1819), 50th (1839) and another (1863).

13 Ibid., p. 335 (50th edition, 1839).

14. An early exponent of this was Miss C.F.Cornwallis, in her General principles of grammar, (London, 1847).

15. For example, An English grammar for the use of schools, p. 12 on the parts of speech, or p. 65, on the past conditional mood.

16. Ibid., p. 71.

17. Ibid., pp. 80-86.

18. Ibid., p. 66.

19. Sullivan's English grammar, p. 13.

20. Ibid., p. 19.

21. Ibid., pp. 145-151.

22. Ibid., p. 136.

23. Ibid., p. 159.

24. Sullivan's Spelling-book superseded. The 1873 edition supplies these details in the preface, p. vi.

25. Ibid., p. 9.

26. See appendices 3 and 6 for this and following.

27. See appendices 7 and 8. See also the statistical tables in Reports of the Commissioners of National Education for the Colony of Victoria for that period.

28. P.R.O (Vic.), Series 61, 57/2193 : printed circular "Proposed course of study", Scotch College, Eastern Hill, Melbourne, dated 29 September 1857.

29. Ibid. 59/256 and 59/982.

30. Ibid., 58/78.

31. Gleig School Series, The definition of the first and second parts of McLeod's explanatory grammar for home study, (Tasmania, 1861).

32. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 61, 58/1190 for a complete list of Childers' purchases.

33. Ibid., 49/13.

34. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 65, National Board, Sydney-Port Phillip, 1848-1851, Correspondence register, p. 24.

35. Ibid., p. 101.

36. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 61, 53/194.

37. Ibid., 53/380.

38. Ibid., 55/80.

39. Ibid., 57/435.

40. Ibid., 59/1052.

41. Ibid., 58/422.

42. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 880, Box 2, Mount Ararat, unnumbered file.

43. Regulations and directions to be attended in making application to the Commissioners of National Education for aid towards the building of school houses, or for the support of schools, (Sydney, 1849), pp. 17-18. There is a copy of this large document among the Budd Papers, P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 930, unnumbered and unfiled.

44. For these and following prices see P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 61, 60/116 - invoice from Whittaker and Company, London; see also 60/1229 - list of books bought from Whitaker and Company, and 60/2453.

45. Bonwick, James, Grammar for Australian youth, (Adelaide, 1851), p. iii.

46. Featherstone, Guy, "Life and times of James Bonwick", (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Melbourne, 1968), p.108. Bonwick was helped in this by Mathew Moorhouse (1812-1876), Treasurer of the North Adelaide Institute who had been Protector of Aborigines since 1839.

47. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 61, 51/168.

48. Ibid., 56/530.

49. Featherstone, op. cit., Part 11 of his thesis contains an annotated bibliography of Bonwick's works and editions. This clarifies the many changes of titles and editions as well as giving locations of holdings.

50. Bonwick, James, Grammar for young Australians, (Melbourne, 1857), p. 3.

51. Bonwick, James, First grammar for young Australians, (Melbounre, 1858), Preface.

52. Bonwick, James, Grammar for Australian youth, second part, (Melbourne, 1868)

53. The nearest he came was to have himself described on the title page as "Inspector of the Denominational Schools, Victoria".

54. Thomas, Henry, The elements of English grammar , (Hobart Town, 1841?)

55. Ibid., preface.

56. Wickes, E.W., A brief outline of English grammar, adapted for Australian beginners, also for the use of pupils who are able to devote only a short time to the study of grammar, 4th edition, (Adelaide, 1862).

57. Wickes, E.W., A spelling book; adapted for Australian beginners, (Adelaide, n.d.).

Chapter 5. Other subjects in primary education.

> Some sixty books roughly bound and covered in canvass were lent out to the monitors once a week. They were useful and entertaining little volumes.
> James Bonwick referring to the library at Borough Road in Octogenarians reminiscences, (London, 1902), p. 24.

> And Ireland! - that was known from the coast-line to Athlone,
> But little of the land that gave us birth;
> Save that Captain Cook was killed (and was very likely grilled)
> And 'our blacks are just the lowest race on earth'.
> Henry Lawson, "The old bark school".

The study of history.

The study of history and geography merged together in the minds of nineteenth-century educationists. History was not taught as a separate subject at the junior levels of the elementary school, except from what appeared in the Readers or at some of the bigger metropolitan schools. For instance, at Alexander Morrison's Scotch College, Eastern Hill, Melbourne, history lessons were conducted in the Second and Third Classes, using Gleig's History part 1 and Milner's History.[1] Also, historical facts often appeared in the geography texts.[2] Small, chronological works were also available, such as Facts and figures: chronology for schools, (Melbourne, 1867), where general tables and historical periods were used as a framework for principal events and the remarkable people of the centuries.

At the more advanced levels of the elementary schools, pupils studied Greek and Roman history and British history.[4]

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Publisher hopes that the SPECIAL EDITIONS of the READING BOOKS of the IRISH BOARD of NATIONAL EDUCATION, which have been revised and adapted for Schools in AUSTRALIA, TASMANIA, and NEW ZEALAND, will be appreciated, not only for cheapness, but also as being better suited than any other series for the use of Colonial youth.

The New Editions of the *Second*, *Third*, and *Fourth Reading Books* contain special Articles of interest to the Colonies, written expressly by gentlemen of Colonial experience; and these volumes have been revised under the superintendence of Mr. ARCHIBALD GILCHRIST, M.A., one of the Inspectors of Schools for Victoria. The *Fifth Reading Book* is now undergoing revision.

ALEX. THOM,
Printer and Publisher,

THE QUEEN'S PRINTING OFFICE,
87 & 88, *Abbey-street*, *Dublin*,
April, 1876.

Published under the Sanction of the Education Department, Victoria.

SECOND READING BOOK

OF THE



NEW EDITION, REVISED AND ADAPTED

FOR THE USE OF

SCHOOLS IN AUSTRALIA, TASMANIA, AND NEW ZEALAND,

BY ONE OF

HER MAJESTY'S INSPECTORS OF SCHOOLS, VICTORIA.

DUBLIN:
ALEXANDER THOM, PRINTER AND PUBLISHER,
87 & 88, ABBEY-STREET.
SOLD BY LONGMANS, GREEN, & CO.; SIMPKIN, MARSHALL, & CO.; HAMILTON, ADAMS, & CO.; TRÜBNER & CO.; W. KENT & CO.; F. WARNE & CO.; GROOMBRIDGE & SONS; and J. C. TACEY, LONDON
JOHN HEYWOOD, and ABEL HEYWOOD & SON, MANCHESTER.
PHILIP SON, & NEPHEW, LIVERPOOL; OLIVER & BOYD, EDINBURGH.
JOHN MENZIES & CO., EDINBURGH and GLASGOW.
For Australia and New Zealand:
GEORGE ROBERTSON, MELBOURNE, SYDNEY, AND ADELAIDE.
AND ALL BOOKSELLERS.

1879.

The Seasons in Great Britain and Ireland.

at-tain', *to reach to; to arrive at.*
as-sumes', *puts on.*
as'-pect, *look; appearance.*
blos'-som, *flower*
vig'-our, *strength.*
in-tense', *very great.*
a-bound', *to be in great plenty.*
suc-ceeds', *follows after.*
tem'-pests, *storms.*
sleet, *snow with rain.*



There are four seasons in the year: Spring, Summer, Autumn, and Winter. In Spring, the farmer ploughs and

sows his fields; the birds build their nests, lay eggs and hatch them; they had been silent in winter, but now they renew their cheerful songs; the fruit trees are in blossom; and all nature assumes a gay aspect.

In Summer, the weather gets very hot and sultry; the days are long, and for a week or two there is scarcely any darkness; there are thunder and lightning, and heavy showers; the trees are all covered with leaves, and while some kinds of fruit begin to ripen, other kinds are quite ready for eating; flowers abound in the gardens and fields; the corn of all sorts, that was sown in Spring, grows green and strong, and shoots into the air; plants attain the full vigour of their growth; and the country wears its richest garb.

Texts for candidates for classification included Knight's Popular history of England, Smith's History of Greece, History of Rome and Students' Gibbon and Liddell's History of Rome.[5] Typical examination questions included: "Write a short history of Rome from the commencement of the Punic War to the death of Pompey", "Briefly describe the chief events of the eighteenth century", "Write a short history of the Babylonish Empire".[6] It was not until 1877, with the publication of Sutherland's History of Australia, that we see a change in the study of history in the elementary schools of Victoria.[7]

Geography texts.

The teaching of geography during this first phase of Irish monoloiy in Victoria consisted mainly of finding places on maps and learning simple definitions of geographical terms and examples of each.[8]

The four books published and promoted by the Irish Commissioners were Epitome of geographical knowledge, designed for teachers, the Compendium of geographical knowledge, an abridged version designed for pupils, and two books by Dr Robert Sullivan: Geography generalised and Introduction to geography and history. The figures showing the importation of books over the period 1852-1862 indicate that Sullivan's Introduction was the most popular choice for teachers wishing to include geography in the curriculum.[9]

During these ten years, the National Board purchased four thousand copies of Sullivan's Introduction and almost as many Compendium. The Denominational School Board imported eighteen thousand Introduction and seven thousand Compendium. The Epitome was the least in demand, with one thousand copies ordered in all. Clearly, the Introduction was the principal geography text. It was written from an Irish point of view, including Irish place-names and people. In learning the points of the compass, we are given a northern hemisphere view with the sun to the south, which must have confused the issue for Australian children.[10]

In these Irish geography texts, the pupils were taught simple definitions of geographical terms such as gulfs, bays, straits, islands, isthmuses, capes, mountains, rivers, lakes, etc. This was followed by locating examples and learning the relationships between geographical features. Pupils were expected to learn political boundaries, naming bordering countries, capital cities and principal rivers. The world was usually divided into sections, with questions for examination. Sullivan's Introduction included two pages on Oceania and one page on Australia.

A quaint description of the Australian climate, enough to deter any intending migrant, appears in the Epitome which has the most about Australia of the four texts:

> In the summer months the heat in most parts of Australia is really intense; and when hot winds blow, it becomes altogether insupportable. The

> effects produced by these scorching winds upon the human frame are checked perspiration, a determination of blood to the head, feverish excitement, great exhaustion, and a difficulty of breathing, almost amounting to suffocation. It is during these periods that the dust is a real plague. Driven by the winds, it makes its way through the thick veils which are worn to keep it off the faces of those who are exposed to it; nor are even closed windows or doors a sufficient protection against its all pervading articles.[11]

This impresses the fact that Sullivan's geography texts were essentially written for Irish and British school children, and probably not from first-hand knowledge.

Another popular imported geography text was James Cornwell's Geography for beginners. It was entirely factual and written from a British point of view, including a map of London. The book gave curious numerical and comparative values such as "Snowdon is ten times as high as St. Paul's", "The Volga is ten times as long as the Thames, and its greatest lake is the size of Yorkshire", and "The population of the entire British Empire is one-fifth that of the whole world".[12] Cornwell's other main geography book, A school geography,[13] contained more than three hundred pages of physical and political geography, with an etymological emphasis. There are three pages on Australia and only one page on New Zealand. Under the heading 'Oceania', and the sub-heading 'British colonies', Sydney is called "a handsome town" and "the greatest wool port in the world". Melbourne, on the other hand, is described as "the ugliest, worst-built, richest and dearest town on the globe".

Referring to the profits from the gold rushes, Cornwell stated: "The colonists of the continent of Australia are in a remarkably flourishing condition".[14] A later edition includes maps and eight pages on Australia, with the comment "it is difficult to keep pace with the rapid growth of some of our colonies."[15]

To overcome this problem of unsuitable material and make the subject more relevant, there were several early attempts to introduce the study of Australian geography into the schools.

Bonwick's Geographies.

The most successful attempt to introduce Australian geography into the curriculum came from the redoubtable James Bonwick. His Geography of Australia and New Zealand (1855) referred to "this wonderful part of the globe", and included five maps of the Australian colonies. In this book he gave a general description of the continent and included chapters on the Aborigines, Australian natural history, botany and climate.[16] His description of the Aborigines is sympathetic, almost loving, and it is highly informative on the effects of European diseases. The information probably came from his visits to the native school in Adelaide and his contact with Mathew Moorhouse (1812-1876), Protector of Aborigines in South Australia since 1839. Certainly, he wrote with insight: "The Aborigines have lost heart, and

declare that they do not care, because they have now no country."[17]

Of the numerous school books written by James Bonwick, his geography texts were the most popular. His Geography for young Australians went to nine editions, selling over sixty thousand copies.[18] As a descriptive geography, the text is encyclopaedic, and contained two sizes of type-face, with the comment: "that part of each country which may be considered to require being committed to memory has been printed in larger type".[19] Despite this, Bonwick was concerned to involve the pupils. He used the Pestalozzian method of starting from the nearest and familiar surroundings and moving to the lesser known parts. He invited his young readers to imagine they were sailing down from one country to another, and he suggested practical, outdoor activities for geology, astronomy and studies of latitude and longitude.[20]

Other geography texts.

Other early attempts to introduce more Australian geography into the schools included the Reverend W.B.Boyce's A brief grammar of modern geography for the use of schools (Sydney, 1849). This was written for the Wesleyan Committee of Education and has 108 pages of the usual world facts, but with a whole section on Australasia and the colonies.[21] A similar approach is found in J.Jones' Australian geography

for the use of schools (Sydney, 1857), an encyclopaedic work, where the preface advised: "Two big maps are available from the compiler at the library, St. James' Church."[22]

Two important works appeared in 1861: a junior work by Henry Venables, an Inspector of schools in the Western District of Victoria, and a more advanced work by A.Ireland, Headmaster of Chalmer's School, Hobart Town, Tasmania. Henry Pares Venables (1830-1890),[23] in his Outline of the geography of Victoria, for the use of schools (Melbourne, 1861), described the basic geographical features of eight regions of Victoria. It is a simple, straightforward text, if somewhat tedious, but at least the facts were more relevant to colonial children. In the same way, Ireland's Geography and history of Oceania (Hobart Town, 1861) is impressive for its local content. Ireland lamented the lack of local geography in schools: "While the youth of these colonies are being made familiar with the geography of other countries, it is to be regretted that they remain in comparative ignorance of their own."[24] But, unlike Bonwick, Ireland's treatment of the Aborigines is unsympathetic, referring to them as "hideously ugly" and to the "inherent idleness and the restless longings after the wild and wandering life of the bush".[25] Later, Ireland produced an abridged version for the junior classes and an advanced book for teachers.[26]

Other texts.

It is interesting to see that the National Board imported large numbers of Sacred poetry, Scripture lessons and Lessons on the truth of Christianity, while the Denominational School Board imported none of these at all.[27] Lessons on the truth of Christianity was designed as an appendix to Fourth book of lessons. It contained 140 pages, divided into eighteen chapters and is non-sectarian, discussing, logocally and rationally, many aspects of Christian belief, such as prophecies, miracles, evidences, and the effects of religious knowledge. It included objectionable passages, however, about the Jewish religion.[28]

Also among the publications of the Irish Commissioners was the popular Agricultural class book. Some seven hundred copies were purchased by the Denominational School Board and 620 copies by the National Board over the ten year period, allowing more than two copies to every school in the colony.[29] It was a substantial work, written to give advice for managing small farms or a kitchen garden. The preface noted: "the marked inattention to habits of tidiness and cleanliness, so lamentably apparent in the Irish peasantry".[30] The conclusion praised the concept of living thriftily on five acres and becoming very comfortable. As for a certain John Doran, the options were made clear: "But for the kindness of his landlord, he (John Doran) must have

either gone to America or sunk to the condition of a common labourer."[31] Nevertheless, the book gave comprehensive advice on pruning, reaping, milking, harvesting, making butter, producing honey and saving costs, generally.

It should also be remembered that a variety of sectarian books and pamphlets were promoted in Australia by the many religious societies in England and elsewhere. Included among these was The primer, published by the Catholic Council of Education. It was moralistic and didactic. For example, in the section on consonants 'ch', as in 'church', a contrived passage reads:

> Let us go and see the large church. Its bells chime for Mass. How sweet the chant sounds. A good child likes to go to church; for there he prays to God. If Charles is a good child, I will teach him to serve at Mass. Oh, I shall like that so much! Then try to be a good boy, that I may not have to chide you.[32]

Certainly, the Irish monopoly of school books helped keep out of Australia much of the sectarian material of the religious societies and reduced the use of the Bible as an unsuitable source of reading material in the elementary schools of Victoria.

FOOTNOTES, CHAPTER 5.

1. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 61, 57/2193, Alexander Morrison's prospectus, Scotch College, Eastern Hill, Melbourne, 29 September, 1857. For A.D.B. entry on Morrison by E.L.French, see v. 5, p. 295.

2. Examples: Epitome of geographical knowledge (Dublin, 1862); Ireland, A., Geography and history of Oceania, (Hobart Town, 1861).

3. Facts and figures; chronology for schools (Melbourne, 1867), in Victorian pamphlets, State Library of Victoria, vol. 72.

4. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 61, 57/2193.

5. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 61, 59/1194, Book requisition, St. James Training School, and 59/1452, Book requisition, East Bellarine Church of England School.

6. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 884, pp. 284-5, Questions proposed to candidates for classification according to the rules of the Commissioners of National Education for the Colony of Victoria, September 1859 and 1860.

7. Chapter 8 of this thesis, heading "Sutherland's History".

8. Similar findings in Fletcher, J.J. "Teaching geography in National schools of New South Wales, 1848-1866", in Melbourne Studies in Edcuation, 1973, pp. 192-224.

9. See Appendices 3 and 6. Fletcher's figures were proportionately similar, Fletcher, op. cit., p. 198.

10. Sullivan, R., Introduction to geography and history, 68th edition, (Dublin, 1865), pp. 20-21. Also Fletcher, op. cit., pp. 199-200.

11. Epitome of geographical knowledge, ancient and modern, compiled for the use of teachers and advanced classes, (Dublin, 1862), p. 516.

12. Cornwell, James, Geography for beginners, 49th edition, 1882.. Australia is treated in half page, p. 94.

13. Cornwell, James, A school geography, 34th ed., 1863.

14. Ibid., p. 315.

15. Preface of Cornwell, 45th ed., 1869, p. iv.

16. Bonwick, James, Geography of Australia and New Zealand (Melbourne, 1855). Featherstone, Guy, "The life and times of James Bonwick", 2 vols., M.A., University of Melbourne, 1968. Guy Featherstone's extensive bibliography of Bonwick's printed works and the Bonwick transcripts, vol. 2 of his thesis, traces the maze of publication data and gives locations of copies.

17. Ibid., p. 196. Re. Moorhouse, see Featherstone, op. cit., p. 108. Moorhouse helped Bonwick compile the brief Aboriginal vocabulary in his Grammar. Featherstone cites evidence that Bonwick was advised and encouraged by the explorer Charles Sturt (1795-1869), p. 97, the inventor John Ridley (1806-1887), p.98, and the geologist Alfred Selwyn (1824-1902), p. 132. According to his Octogenarian's reminiscences, p. 159, Bonwick's geological sections was so valuable that he was elected F.R.G.S. in 1865.

18. Featherstone, op. cit., vol 2., especially items 8, 10, 11, 28, 30, 31. Also items 52, 67, 72, 79, 82, 84, 93, 126.

19. Bonwick, James, Geography for young Australians, 9th ed., (Melbourne, 1875), p. iii.

20. Featherstone refers unfairly to Bonwick's "easy superficiality". The books were, in fact, written for school children. He is also unduely harsh in his A.D.B. entry on Bonwick, v.3, pp.190-92, where he refers to him as an "a competent and industrious amateur", "unimaginative", and "breadth but no depth". Featherstone discusses the influences of Pestalozzi (1746-1827) and De Fellenberg (1771-1844) and the ideal of social regeneration and the development of innate qualities of the individual, with attention to objects rather than abstract concepts, pp.37-8, pp.41-2. For details on Bonwick's educational works on botany, astronomy, Bible stories and history, see Featherstone's bibliography, item 15 Reader for Australian youth (Adelaide, 1852); item 36, Early days of Melbourne (Melbourne, 1857); item 41, Bible stories for young Australians (Melbourne, 1857); item 44, How does a tree grow? or Botany for young Australians, (Melbourne, 1857) and item 70, Astronomy for young Australians (Melbourne, 1864).

21. Boyce, W.B., A brief grammar of modern geography, (Sydney, 1849).

22. Jones, J. Australian geography for the use of schools, (Sydney, 1857), preface.

23. Venables, Henry, Outline of the geography of Victoria, for the use of schools (Melbourne, 1861). See A.D.B. entry on Venables by Peter M.Cowan, v. 6, pp. 329-30.

24. Ireland, A., Geography and history of Oceania, comprising a detailed account of the australian colonies, and a brief sketch of Malaysia, Australasia and Polynesia, for the use of schools (Hobart Town, 1861), preface.

25. Ibid., pp. 59-60.

26. Ferguson entry, 10813a

27. Appendices 3 and 6 of this thesis.

28. Lessons on the truth of Christianity, for the use of schools (Dublin, 1853), pp. 123-41.

29. Agricultural class book; or how best to cultivate a small farm and garden: together with hints on domestic economy (Dublin, 1862). For the purchases, see appendices 3 and 6.

30. Ibid., preface.

31. Ibid, p. 314.

32. The primer (Adelaide, 1868), Section 1V, p. 18.

SUMMARY: PART 1 THE IRISH MONOPOLY, 1848-1877.

The first thirty years of education in colonial Victoria were dominated by a uniform supply of books produced by the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland. This directly affected the style and content of education for the period 1848-1877 and helped rationalise the educational processes within schools at times of major administrative re-structuring and expansion. Despite all the changes leading up to the Education Act of 1872, a curriculum had developed in the schools which was able to satisfy the educational and community demands of that time. This curriculum aimed at teaching the basic skills of reading, writing and arithmetic and helped develop practical, domestic and vocational skills as well as a variety of useful general knowledge.

The educational scene during this period was not all bad, as demonstrated by the preceptive Hugh Childers during his tour of schools in 1851. Many schools, however, operated under impossible conditions by today's standards and there was a constant shortage of funds and facilities. Although other books were available in Victorian schools, the Irish books promoted by the various boards of education were probably the best available at the time and certainly the cheapest. The problems of supply and distribution were complex and the isolated schools suffered most. In addition

to the source of books from Ireland, there was some inter-colonial trade and the establishment of book depositories to relieve the shortages of supply.

The Irish secular readers were religious in tone and included specific moral and ethical advice to the young. Articles by Richard Whately reflect a strongly conservative view of society and political economy. Children were exhorted to accept their station in life, to work hard for a clear conscience, and to praise God, in hope of eternal happiness in the next world. The welfare of the individual was firmly linked with the overall prosperity of the nation. The principles of free-enterprise and charity to the poor were united to support the existing social order.

The early editions contained much Irish geography, history and folk-lore. British elements also pervaded the series which may well have confused the young Australian scholars. Later editions began to address colonial children and some of the unsuitable material was replaced by factual articles on Australian fauna and flora.

Inspectors' reports comment on the use and abuse of the Irish books in the schools. Much depended on the manner in which the books were used. Certainly, the scantily-educated school teachers depended on them to hide their own inadequacy. Editors of the books invariably advised teachers on methods to adopt, but, in practice, this involved excessive drill and learning by rote.

The study of the grammar books used in schools during the Irish monopoly stage give us a clear insight into the nineteenth-century curriculum. Grammar was considered an essential part of the course of instruction. Correct speech and writing was linked, in the minds of educators, with the cultivation of high ideals and an intellectual understanding of life itself. In reality, most of the grammar books were sensible and straightforward, but they were badly used by poorly-educated teachers. Although there was a wide choice of texts, the Irish grammars were the cheapest and most used. The importance of grammar is reflected in the interest in locally-published examples by James Bonwick and others. Interest in this and in various new subjects in the primary school curriculum, can be seen in the publication of several school texts and the burgeoning book trade. Their failure to secure Board patronage, however, condemned these works to smaller print-runs and limited circulation, due to the entrenched Irish monopoly.

PART II. THE BRITISH PHASE, 1877-1896.

Chapter 6. The adoption of Nelson's Royal Readers.

> It is too painfully apparent that but few of our youths leave school with a taste contracted for the ennobling pastime of intellectual pursuits. Much of their training will naturally lead to a repugnance for books; in vain knowledge unfolds her ample stores; a fool may lead the horse to water, but nine won't make him drink.
> J.B.A., Young Victoria: a contribution in aid of national education, Melbourne, 1871, p. 12.

> "I am quite sure that the books read at school have an immense deal to do with developing the intellectual instincts of youth and with the shaping of them for more refined grooves of thought".
> Johnson Hicks on class reading books.
> P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 794, 78/35878.

The Nelson series of Royal readers was adopted officially in the Colony of Victoria in 1877. After more than thirty years, the Irish Readers had become dated and had lost their appeal. With the passing of the Education Act in 1872, making education in the colony free, compulsory and secular, the dissatisfaction with the old Irish Readers grew and the search for a new, up-to-date series of reading books was renewed. However, it took five years to introduce a new series and even longer to phase out the old series.

As early as 1869 there is evidence of interest in adopting a new reading book more suited to the colony and less antiquated in style. In 1869 Benjamin Kane, Secretary to the Board of Education in Victoria, wrote to Rev. E. Ryerson, Chief Superintendent of Education, Toronto, for advice on Ontario's supply of books and requisites at

discounted prices from London.[2] Ryerson circularized the London publishing firms who, in turn, stated their terms direct with the Victorian Board. Not only was there a "price war" existing between British publishing firms, especially on non-copyright material, but the enquiry revealed the huge quantity of printed material available to schools and the willingness of these firms to sell on an international market. Some of this material was placed on the Board's stock-lists, notably Laurie's graded reading series in six parts.[3] A comprehensive survey by the Board of the sales of books over an eighteen month period to December 1870 [4] shows that the Irish National books were still more in demand than any other series, despite the wide range of other titles available.[5]

By 1873 the demand grew for new reading books better suited to the secular clause 12 of the 1872 Act.[6] Although the Irish Readers were stipulated for use in the regulations,[7] there was uneasiness about use of religious matter and their suitability as an Australian secular reader. That same year, J.W.Stephen, the first Minister of Public Instruction, reported to Parliament the problem of choosing a school Reader in accordance with this secular provision.[8] He was worried about the possible bad effects of too sudden a change and the actual shortage of school texts in the colony. Consequently, the question was put aside and more books were ordered from Ireland in the hope that the

teachers would "carry out the provisions of the Act in good faith and ... avoid all cause of offence in the use of the books now in their hands".[9] Meanwhile, negotiations were under way with a number of British publishers for Australian editions of their reading books and for the terms of sale and delivery. The Irish Commissioners, too, offered a new classification of their Readers, including a completely new second and third book and with revisions elsewhere.[10] William Collins offered a Reader "with a distinct Australian appearance" which was to be officially adopted in New South Wales some years later.[11]

In 1876, Robert Ramsay, Stephen's successor, reported an urgent need for change, finding the Irish Readers obsolete, un-scientific and generally unsuitable for the colony, despite "many well-selected extracts".[12] Also, the Irish books were in short supply in the colony and the new editions offered in 1873 never appeared. In his report to Parliament for 1876 the Minister stated :

> The insufficiency of the Irish National Board's reading books for the requirements of this colony has long been recognised, and, after careful consideration and consultation with the heads of the principal grammar schools, it has been determined to substitute Nelson's reading books, with such alterations as may be required, for those hitherto in use, and negotiations with that object have been opened with the publishers.[13]

The introduction of the new reading series to schools was, predictably, a slow and painful one. The Education Department was vague with booksellers about the change-over

period [14] and they, in turn, were unwilling to order supplies direct for fear of receiving the wrong edition and being left with unwanted stock.[15] Some of the Nelson Readers eventually arrived in August 1877 [16] and were distributed free to State schools on the basis of one book for every three pupils. As a rule, this free stock remained the responsibility of the head teacher.[17] More books, if required, could be sold at cost by the various Boards of Advice and by the individual teacher.[18] Requests for the new Readers came from all over the colony, including isolated outposts such as the Latrobe Island lighthouse where the keeper had engaged the services of a teacher for his children.[19] Nevertheless, Irish books were still used in many schools [20] and as late as May 1880 the Department was still not in a position to satisfy the demand, as shown in the reply to the Benalla Board of Advice : "If the majority of the children are unable to provide books for themselves, the teacher should continue to use the books of the Irish National series of which a full supply can be granted."[21]

There were some significant points of criticism of the Royal readers over the next few years. They were more expensive than the Irish series.[22] The first shipments were entirely British, whereas the later editions of the Irish series at least contained the Gilchrist articles which gave some local content.[23] The new series remained very British, even allowing for the large number of excisions and

additions which were made in 1876 "to render them suitable for the colony".[24] These excisions included some religious references in the text and certain important points regarding the seasons and climate. As we shall see presently, only minor changes were made initially and it was several years before more local content was inserted.

By 1878 the Minister was able to report to Parliament that the new reading books were being supplied first to schools where at least two-thirds of the scholars were willing to provide their own books.[25] Seventy schools had been supplied with one-third free stock and another one-hundred schools had adopted the series independently. By 1881 the Irish National Readers were officially struck off the Department's lists.[26] Despite the finding of the Royal Commission on Education in 1884, the free supply of books to schools was continued, and credit was given to the teachers for their tact and good sense in encouraging parents to pay for their children's books, thereby avoiding any unpleasant means-testing.[27]

Contents of the "Royal readers".

The Royal readers were primarily concerned with imparting a wide variety of factual knowledge and introducing school children to certain accepted social values. No doubt they were instrumental in widening the cultural and intellectual horizons of children in colonial Australia. They were

certainly not designed as a means of light entertainment for young Victorian children. To many of these children the Royal readers probably represented a wider view of the world which would not have been otherwise readily accessible, especially where teachers themselves were often poorly trained or even semi-literate. Referring to the working class school Reader, Goldstrom stated : "the scantily-educated teachers relied heavily on them", and they were therefore a significant force in defining the curriculum for the whole system.[28] The editors had realistic expectations and frequently advised teachers on methods to adopt. The preface of most editions stated : "The more young people read, they will read the more fluently, intelligently and gracefully ... young people cannot be expected to dwell long on any one subject, or even any one class of subjects".[29] Clearly, the aim was to develop reading skills, not just to entertain.

The books are full of information and vary in length from scarcely 100 pages to the last which is over 400 pages. They are well graded by age and interest levels, nicely presented and well illustrated, mostly fine etchings. The covers, hard cloth and sewn, differed in colour with each edition - tan for the first Austalian edition, then green, red and blue. Most of the editions carried the royal coat of arms, embossed on the front.[30]

On closer examination of the series we can isolate particular aims and themes. The first two books of the series each contained over fifty items, mostly anecdotal, about animals and children. They were sentimental and didactic in tone. Victorian social and cultural values were clearly at work here.[31] Children were portrayed as pious, loving and conforming readily to the adult will. The individual child, if deviating from this pattern, soon learnt the error of his ways. Brotherly and sisterly love, and peace and harmony among friends, were portrayed in unrealistic terms. Motherhood was sentimentalised, linking it with the notions of truth and honesty. A strong, puritanical work ethos was developed, along with exhortations to perserverance and determination. Charity and kindness to others were shown as rewards in themselves. God was shown as the creator and provider for both man and beast.[32] The editors made their position quite clear :

> The stories, simply as stories, are full of interest; but they also aim at silently inculcating right views of character and conduct. They hold up for admiration examples of Truthfulness, Honesty, Diligence, Perserverance, Humility, Kindness, etc., and they miss no opportunity of enforcing the two great branches of duty - duty to God and duty to our neighbour.[33]

It is interesting to compare the various editions. The second edition of Book 1 contains whole page writing exercises to be copied out and assimilated into the subconscious. This included aphorisms such as:

"All honest labour I will bless;
Let me not live in idleness."
"I would not kill the meanest thing,
That creeps about or flies on wing."
"I must not lie, I must not feign,
I must not take God's name in vain."
"I must not speak of others ill,
But ever bear to all good-will"[34]

In the third series there is an item in favour of temperance associations. When offered a taste of wine, the boy in the article replied :"No thank you, uncle, I would rather not taste. You know I am a Band of Hope Boy", explaining that they are children who have agreed not to drink beer or wine and only drink "clear, cold water, nice milk and sometimes a little tea or coffee."[35]

Later editions of Royal reader 2 show British patriotic entries such as "England and her Queen" where we read :

Then hurrah for merry England!
And may we still be seen
True to our own dear country
And loyal to our Queen.[36]

Moving on to the third and fourth books of the series, we find more emphasis on learning about foreign lands and life in various parts of the British Empire. There is also much greater emphasis on "useful knowledge" with simple encyclopaedic treatment of common things such as clothing, food, household materials, metals, etc.[37] Every item is followed by questions and word-lists as an aid to understanding, and there are frequent elliptical exercises which, presumably, were to be written out in full in the pupils' exercise books.

Many of the stories and anecdotes are interesting and well presented. The most successful are those with imaginative detail and direct speech. The adventures at sea include shark stories, catching giant whales, stories of ship wreck, of being adrift on a raft and of stormy seas. The wealth of stories from other lands include sailing in South America, Eskimo life in Alaska, a child lost in the snow in Switzerland, life in Lapland, Russia, beavers in North America, and the gruelling tale of the soldier lost in the forests of Ceylon and being tormented by hooded snakes, pythons, elephants, tigers, lions, bears and jackals.[38] Many of these stories have reference to real geographical features. The more tedious items are those with too much factual information on zoology, botany and marine biology, although often delightfully illustrated.[39]

One theme emerging in the third and fourth books concerns a macabre preoccupation with death. In the third book we find Edward Farmer's poem "Little Jim", where a mother weeps over her dying son and, with great grief, offers up a humble prayer; in Mrs Herman's poem "The child's first grief", the little sister mourns her brother's untimely death; in Wordsworth's "We are seven", the surviving sister visits the graves of of her brother and sister to sing to them and to eat her supper there; in "The better land" we are told that heaven, beyond the clouds and tomb, is free from sorrow and death.[40] Similarly, in the

fourth book, the poems by Tennyson, Mrs Hemans, Eliza Cook, Emily Taylor, and Walter Scott are explicitly on death and dying,[41] and several others highlight bravery and patriotism, such as Campbell's "Hohenlinden" and F.H.Doyle's "The loss of the Birkenhead".[42] Indeed, this morbid preoccupation with death develops even further in the two most advanced books of the series. The theme of death in war is portrayed as one of man's highest ideals.

The new Australian series in 1879 included the articles by David Blair, added as a separate section at the end of the third and fourth books.[43] They do nothing to change the overall British feeling of the books and follow the same fairly tedious and unimaginative pattern of factual information of so many of the items in the series.

The specific aim of the two most advanced books of the series was "to cultivate the love of reading by presenting interesting subjects treated in an attractive style".[44] In the preface to the sixth book, the editors stated : "It is worthy of notice that this volume is not a mere collection of literary fragments. Every subject taken up in it is treated with a degree of completeness which will at once satisfy the inquiring mind and stimulate its powers of thought."[45] Indeed, both books contain a wide range of topics, especially on history and geography. There are some delightful extracts from the best of English literature and presented in a lively and interesting way, with excellent

illustrations.[46] It can be fairly said that the editors met their stated objective, by including a good number of items which may well have excited the imaginations of the young reader. The basis was there, but the ultimate test rested in the manner in which the books were used.

Many of the entries in the fifth and sixth books of the series reflect not only the Victorian moral and religious attitudes but the educationist's desire for a literate and factually informed working class. The themes of death and the glorification of death in war are well represented in the poems by Tennyson, Wolfe, Napier, Campbell and Southey.[47] Famous deaths are brought to our attention : that of the famous soldier Sir John Moore, the Arctic explorer Sir John Franklin and of Napoleon at St. Helena.[48] There are frequent references to God, who guides and protects, is praised and whose vision after death is man's greatest achievement.[49] Most of this material has long since fallen out of favour. But there are, too, examples of the finest literature, including Tennyson's well known "The brook", his superb account of true love in "Lady Clare" and his optimistic poem "Ring out wild bells".[50] In the fifth book we find the charming narrative poems by Oliver Goldsmith, "The deserted village" and "The village blacksmith". Wordworth's "Grace Darling", set on rugged and isolated Lindisfarne Island, is not without excitment, as is Scott's "Young Lochinvar".[51]

Among the many factual items of historical or geographical emphasis, those by Charles Topp on the Australian topics, written into the 1886 edition, are of particular interest to us.[52] Disappointingly, they were written entirely from the British point of view and there is no hint of national identity or any sympathy with the Australian scene.

Inspectors' views

The inspectors of schools welcomed the new series of readers.[53] They all expressed concern about the poor state of literacy in the schools, with inadequate teaching and insufficient supply of suitable reading material. Thomas Brodribb, Inspector of the Western District and later Inspector General,[54] reporting an alarming lack of fluency and comprehension in reading, was one of the first to welcome a new series of books. He stated :

> In those numerous cases where, in the pupil's own home, there are neither books nor intellectual influences, the task is a hard one, but still it can be accomplished. It is probable that the proposed new reading books, being of a more interesting or distinctly literary character than the present ones (the Irish Board series), may make the comprehension of the lesson an easier task to the pupils; but the proper way to conquer the difficulty is by requiring the pupils in the earliest stages to understand and explain what they read.[55]

A year later Brodribb sounded even more enthusiastic when he stated : "From the adoption of the new reading books much good will result, as they are well graduated, very

interesting and full of information. The use of this excellent series will stimulate intelligence and create a taste for reading".[56] This view is echoed by Richard Philip of the Ballarat Inspectorate who, reporting on illiteracy in his schools, was not prepared to place the blame entirely on the Irish Readers. He stated :

> The chief remedy for this unsatisfactory state of the schools is said to be the substitution of books better suited to the children, those in use being of a "dryness so repulsive that the notion of regarding a book as a source of pleasure can never for one moment occur to the readers in class". I do not think that so much can be said against the books in use in the schools of the department... the efficacy of the teaching and the interest of the children in their work will depend a great deal more upon the manner in which the subject is treated ... I have no doubt, however, that the new series of books about to be introduced will be a change for the better, and will supply matter in which the present series is undoubtedly wanting.[57]

A Liberal Education.

The 1872 Education Act in Victoria was based on the liberal view which links the welfare of the individual with the overall prosperity of the nation. Of course, a liberal education must be based on sound primary instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic. This represented the ground-work or basic skills for any technical, scientific and professional knowledge in adult life.

In reality, by 1872, many schools were in a dreadful state of neglect and decay,[58] many teachers were untrained

systematically, with exemplar reading by the teacher, simultaneous and individual reading by the pupils and detailed explanations of the meaning of words and phrases as well as exmamination of the general subject matter of the passages read. They wanted to see the teachers using the blackboard to explain words and their pronunciation, as well as systematic questioning to establish the meanings of phrases and paragraphs, linking all this in with a study of phonetics, etymology and word derivations. Good reading was judged in terms of fluency and ease of understanding. Fluency and expressiveness in reading were seen as a means of fostering in the reader a taste for books and a general increase in literacy in the community. Many teachers made heavy work of the reading lesson, and the inspectors listed all the common pronunciation faults made by pupils and teachers alike.[63] Inspector Robert Craig, who often asked difficult comprehension questions, recalled a very good reading lesson given by a young lady teacher to a third class :

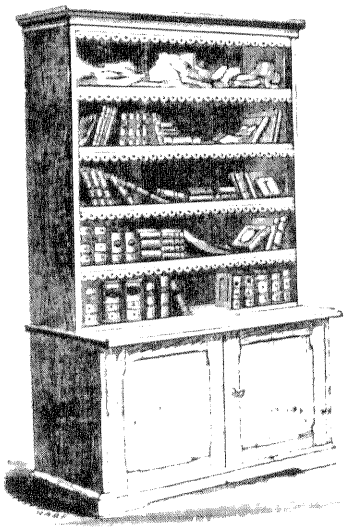
> Having got the children to find the page, she told them to keep their eyes on the place. She first read a passage herself, stopping now and then <u>before</u> a difficult word. The class was required to take up this word and pronounce it two or three times. When the passage had been gone through in this manner, she alone read it again with special regard to expressiveness, having requested the pupils to notice carefully at what places she paused where no stops appeared in the book. After reading it thus, she asked a pupil here and there at what place she had paused. Then one child after another, selected in unexpected order, was called

READING DESKS.

No. 142.

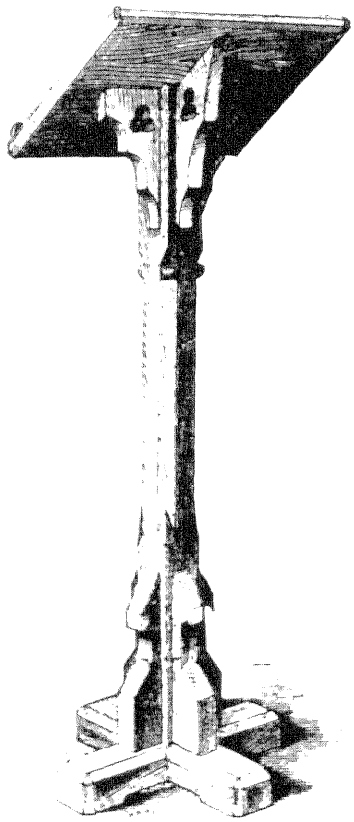


OPEN BOOK SHELVES.

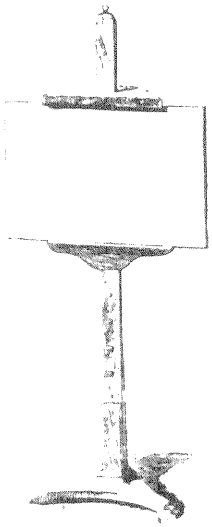


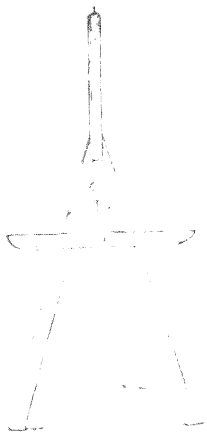
LECTERN.

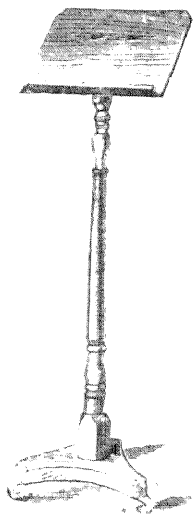
No 150.



LESSON AND READING STANDS.







> on to read the passage in the same manner. The rest of the lesson was similarly treated.[64]

Rhymes were leant by heart from the texts and recited in chorus. Inspector Alexander Stewart of Warrnambool commented : "I was quite struck with the intelligent manner in which the rhymes were recited by an infant class in one of the larger schools, and most fervently wished that such repetition of rhymes was the rule instead of being the exception."[65] But there was no guarantee that the children knew what they recited, as pointed out by Inspector Joseph Baldwin of Geelong :

> It is almost inconceivable what crude notions some of the little ones have as to the meaning of the pieces they have committed to memory. At a recent inspection, while hearing the children repeat "The Farm-yard", after the lines -
>
> "To the milkmaid, as she cometh,
> Poising on her head the pail,"
>
> I asked, "What was in the pail?" The answer was "poison". Then came the lines -
>
> "By the dun cow, meek and quiet,
> She has set her stool so low."
>
> In reply to the question, "What is a dun cow?" one said "A cow that you've done milking;" another, "A cow that's quite done for;" another, "A cow that's tired." Other answers equally ridiculous were given.[66]

Teaching children to read was made more difficult by large classes, reducing the chance of individual reading and encouraging the less-desirable "simultaneous" method. One inspector made the revealing comment :

> "There is nothing which a child abhors more than an uninteresting book. When I asked a 6th-class girl whether she ever reads her class-book at home for amusement, she usually smiles at the very absurdity of the question. The books are intended

> to provide material for reading practice, and also to convey useful information, but surely this information could be presented in an attractive form.[67]

One cannot help feeling that the inspectors sometimes confused the issues and indulged in intellectual point-scoring in their reports. Some of the comprehension questions they asked were either difficult or obscure. For instance :

> I have asked in several schools a question from the 11th verse of Southey's poem of "The Well of St. Keyne," page 158 of the 5th Royal Reader, after making the whole class read the whole poem down to that point :- "Why did the stranger stoop to the well and drink of the waters again?" Very few boys ever answered the question correctly, while very few girls failed. In one school with a large sixth class all the boys gave such answers as "Because he was hot and thirsty,""Because the water was cool,"&c.; while every girl showed in the unmistakeable manner that she fully comprehended the reason of his turning again to drink. This shows that Southey was true to nature when he made the Cornishman confess that his wife was wiser than he.[68]

Consequently, many schools failed to meet the pedantic requirements of the inspection system. The inspectors deplored the lack of questioning, the mechanical treatment and the lack of expressiveness in class reading. Inspector H. Shelton of Ararat reported :

> The simplest metaphor appears to present an insurmountable difficulty to an ordinary sixth class scholar. I have on several occasions selected from the Fifth Book as an exercise on comprehension Denham's lines on "The Thames and Windsor Forest", and have asked "Who is the sire?" in the following passage :-
>
> > "Thames, the most loved of all the ocean's sons,
> > By his old sire to his embraces runs,"
>
> meeting even here with more failures than passes. Again in this couplet -
>
> > "Visits the world, and in his flying towers
> > Brings home to us and makes both Indies ours,"
>
> in reply to the question, "What is meant by 'makes both Indies ours'?" the most I have generally been able to extract has been "East and West Indies."[69]

With pedantic questioning on topics far removed from the realities of colonial Australia, it is little wonder that many children became disenchanted with their schoolwork and it is probable that many abandoned the idea of reading for pleasure.

New editions and alterations

The Nelson Royal readers were frequently referred to as "godless" and "anti-religious" books. When the authorities first introduced them into Victorian schools, they were accused of having expunged all references to God from the books.[70] In reality, these "expurgated" Australian editions were anything but "godless" and had more references to religious matters than most of their secular counterparts.[71] The cause of these misunderstandings lay in the excisions and alterations made to the British editions in 1876,[72] in

order to avoid controversy and meet the secular terms of the 1872 Education Act in Victoria. A closer examination of these alterations, however, show a sensible willingness by the authorities to adapt the information to Australian conditions. For instance, a sentence :"The fields are dressed in a fresh robe of green ... birds sing among the trees and begin to get ready their nests for summer" was adapted to become :"The wattles on the river-banks are in flower ... parrots scream among the trees, and magpies pipe from the lofty gums."[73] The term 'religious' was substituted for 'Christian';[74] "the Great Reformer, John Wycliffe" was changed to "the celebrated John Wycliffe"[75] and a long article "Paul at Athens" was replaced by "Wonders of the cotton manufacture".[76] Among all the other changes, there is nothing particularly controversial and they were probably made on the basis of keeping the texts as neutral as possible and to avoid all possible objection from the variety of community interests.[77]

The first definite move towards adding Australian articles to the series was made in 1879. The Minister announced that the journalist David Blair (1820-1899) [78] had been invited to write lessons on colonial history, political economy, exploration and Australian natural resources.[79] The aim was to supplement the excessive amount of British history in the texts and "give the books a more distinctly Australian character".[80] The Minister stated :

> These lessons ... will invest the history of Australian discovery and settlement with the interest which properly attaches to the subject, serve to indicate some of the steps by which Victoria attained its present position, and explain its relation to the other Australian colonies and to the United Kingdom.

We can now only guess how quickly these lessons were included and how speedily the new editions were distributed.[81] Certainly there was continued criticism by inspectors for the lack of Australian content in the series. In 1881, for instance, Charles Topp, (1847-1932) [82] argued for an 'open' market to encourage competition among publishers which might, in turn, lead to the supply of articles on colonial topics. He stated :

> It is to be regretted that they [Royal readers] do not contain articles on the history and products of the various Australian colonies, accounts of their forms of government and descriptions of the indigenous flora and fauna of this great island".[83]

Several years later, Walter Gamble reported a need for teachers to have a choice in the selection of Readers which would open up the market for publishers. He concluded : "At present no such incentive exists, consequently we have only an emasculated edition of a mediocre series of Readers, originally compiled for British children".[84] Even with Charles Topp's Australian articles added to the Sixth book in 1886, there was little improvement in the series and educators began to look elsewhere for new titles.[85]

Members of the public were also prepared to criticise the school readers. J.A.Reid, for instance, strongly advocated Australian content with his idea of an Australian "Newspaper Reader".[86] He wrote : "Children in Australia hitherto have been instructed and exercised in books and subjects which - to say the least of - must be considerably less familiar to them, than to the children of the Mother-Country. Hence the necessity for a book treating on "Events of the Day" in the land we live in."[87] He wrote to the Minister, James Grant, "as a 'brither Scot' from the 'land o cakes'". Eventually, a copy of his Australian reader, presumably selected news cuttings, was sent to the Board of Examiners and rejected as uninteresting and dealing with controversial matters.[88]

The production of the new and enlarged Royal readers in 1886 coincided with the development of a new educational programme in Victoria which added a number of new subjects to the course of free instruction : History, Poetry, General and Moral lessons, Composition and Mental Arithmetic.[89] Educationists wanted a broader base, less cramming and more relevant content of learning to the colonies. In his report to Parliament in 1886 the Minister stated :

> This new programme, though extending the previous range of study, requires less of minor detail; and, while laying lighter burdens on the memory, is likely to arouse greater mental activity If the hopes concerning it are realised, it will discourage cramming, afford for the thinking

> powers a better training than hitherto, and impart much useful knowledge of common things.[90]

But at this stage teachers were still paid by their results, a system introduced into the colony in 1862 by which part of an annual salary was paid as a fixed amount and the remainder was calculated on the attendance and performance of the pupils.[91] There was little scope for enlightened teaching under this system with its rigid methods of examination and inspection. The Readers also failed to support the principles of the new programme. As one inspector explained in his report :

> There are many choice extracts included in the Reading Books, and it is well that pupils should commit to memory some of the best specimens. It is to be hoped that the thoughts enshrined in the poetry of the class-books will tend to promote a study, in after years, of the masterpieces of our national literature. It is to be regretted that the provision was not made, when the matter of the text-books was revised, for the insertion of some of our own Australian poetry. Among the poems of Gordon and Kendall, we have specimens that breathe a true Australian spirit, and it would have been well if, when the chapters on Australian fauna and flora were written, a few pages had been devoted to the gems of Australian song.[92]

Particular criticism was made of Royal reader 1 which was limited in vocabulary. Pupils were kept on it for up to two years in order to know the entire book perfectly.[93] Having learnt the whole by heart, they often failed to practise genuine reading skills and soon grew weary of the contents. In the absence of a range of graded reading material, there was less scope to develop fluency and

accuracy in reading, although some schools had developed small lending libraries of popular fiction.[94] Inspectors reported that the series was obsolete, of poor arrangement, dry and unsuitable. A.C.Curlewis even felt that the Australian history lessons should be re-written.[95]

It was this mounting criticism of the Royal readers which led to the important decision in 1890 to set up a purely Australian series of reading books.[96] The Minister, Charles Pearson, had arranged an inter-colonial conference with the heads of the various Education Departments, Inspectors General and other delegates.[97] It lasted three days and the main decision from it was for Victoria to adopt the South Australian Readers written by John A. Hartley (1844-1896).[98] These became known as The introductory reader, The Australian first primer and The second primer and worked on the phonic method of teaching reading in which the vocal sounds of particular combinations of letters are practised as part of sight recognition and word formation. Word-building was carried out separately, with cardboard alphabets mounted on racks.[99]

This decision did not ring the death knell for the Royal readers at all, since, from 1890, teachers were allowed to adopt any books they wanted for reading, so long as they were approved by the Education Department.[100] It was admitted that "even the best English series is not in every way suited to the particular needs of Australian children,

and the work of providing an Australian series of reading books is therefore being steadily proceeded with."[101] It is clear that the Royal readers were used throughout that decade and even into the first decade of the twentieth century.[102] However, with the production of the monthly School papers from 1896, the use of the Nelson Royal readers declined and a better, less bookish type of reading material was to dominate Victorian schools for the next thirty years.

FOOTNOTE, CHAPTER 6.

1. R.M.P.I., 1875-76, p. viii and 1877-78, p. xvi. The 23 clauses of the Education Act, 1872, are conveniently located in A.G.Austin, Select documents in Australian education, 1788-1900, pp. 235-41.

2. P.R.O. (Vic.), Series 892, Case 303, 69/20182

3. P.R.O. (Vic.), Series 892, Case 348, box 19 :"Proof copy of amended price lists", (4 pp. requisition form) unfiled. This includes Laurie's Standard primer and six graded readers and five Technical readers at comparable prices with the Irish series.

4. Ibid. "Statement showing the sales of books for the 18 months from July 1869 to the 31 December 1870 with the prices charged to the Board by Mr Robertson and the prices charged by the Board to teachers, also the gain or loss to the Board on the sale of each article and the total gain during the period".

5. For a clear statement on the range of other titles available, P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 892, Case 303, 69/20496

6. V.& R., p. 109 wrongly suggests a ground-swell against the Irish readers as early as 1866 and that the Nelson publications were being used by 1871. Certainly, teachers dissatisfied with the Irish were able to have Laurie's readers by 1870.

7. Regulations under the Education Act, 1872. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 794, 75/34021

8. R.M.P.I., 1st report, 1873, p. iii.

9. Ibid.

10. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 794, 73/22441. Negotiations by George Robertson for new Irish readers were discouraged by the Education Department.

11. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 794, 73/29529. For its use in N.S.W., see series 794, 87/17287, "Report on the system of public instruction in New South Wales", Kew, 4th June, 1887, by Thomas Brodribb, Assistant Inspector-General.

12. R.M.P.I., 1874-75, p. xii, sub-heading 'School books'.

13. R.M.P.I., 1875-76, p. viii. Nelson's terms of contract is registered at P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 794, 76/30668 but the

627

55 & 35 LITTLE COLLINS ST. W. 1, 3, 5 & 7 M'KILLOP STREET

MELBOURNE

June 5th 1880. 3

LONDON.

Education Dept

Bought of George Robertson

Importer of Books & Stationery,

MACHINE RULER, BOOKBINDER & ACCOUNT BOOK MANUFACTURER.

ENGRAVER & LITHOGRAPHER.

ERRORS OR OMISSIONS WILL NOT BE ALLOWED UNLESS NOTIFIED IMMEDIATELY ON RECEIPT OF GOODS. GOODS SENT TO ORDER CANNOT BE RETURNED. ALL GOODS IN TRANSIT AT PURCHASER'S RISK.

1	Sutherland's History of Australia	2	6
1	" Geog " "	1	
1	Smith's Gen "	1	6
1	Collin's Australia, Tasmania &c	1	6
1	Personal Care of Health	1	
1	Buchan's Health in the House		
1	Laing's Structure &c Human Body	1	
1	Angell's Elementary Mech.		
1	Thomson's Agr. Chem & Geology	1	
1	Keat's Ety. Dict.	1	
1	Vocabularies &c Rail Roads &c	7	
1	Balfour's Class Book of Botany		
1	State School Senior Rules		6
1	Js Arith.		4
1	" Book keeping		6
1	Health Laws of Vict.	1	
		1 5	10
10 o/o			2 4
		1 3	4

file is missing. Also 76/27782 on the supply of Nelson readers is missing. 76/44116 indicates that a complete set of the readers was sent to the Parliamentary Library in December 1876 and acknowledged. 77/31532 that a complete set was sent to each inspector.

14. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 794, 76/34263

15. Ibid., 77/410771

16. Ibid., 77/31532, that "a complete set be furnished to all the inspectors." Also, 77/35386 and 77/35387.

17. Ibid., 79/31952 and 80/17070

18. Ibid., 77/35387, 77/35386. Also, 77/17109 shows costs per dozen : Primer, 1/3d per doz.; No. 1, 2/6d per doz.; No.2, 5/9 per doz.; No.3, 10/- per doz.; No.4, 15/- per doz.; No.5 and no.6, 20/- per doz.

19. Ibid., 80/10772

20. Ibid., 77/46209

21. Ibid., 80/17070

22. For the costs of the Royal readers, see P.R.O. (Vic.), Series 794, 77/17109. Costs of Laurie's readers and Technical series can be found at 76/44117, Gemmell, Tuckett and Co.'s auction catalogue of school books and requisites, which consisted of unsaleable stock held by George Robertson, bookseller. For contemporary prices of the Irish books, see Series 892, no. 348, Box 18, dated December 1870.

23. See chapter 2, pp.

24. R.M.P.I., 1877-78, p. xvi

25. Ibid. One anomaly appears in the records : The Board of Advice of Rokewood, number 170, had supplied the whole of the scholars of three of its schools with the new series without assistance, and a late application was granted by the Minister. See P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 794, 77/35386.

26. R.M.P.I., 1881-82, p. xvii

27. Royal Commission on Education, 1884 See First Report, Minutes of evidence, 1882, p. 16, paragraphs 361-376 and p.49, paragraphs 1092-1101. For this recommendations of the Report, see p. 21. For response to the Report, see R.M.P.I., 1884-85, p. xi.

28. Goldstrom, op. cit., p. 2.

29. Royal reader, No. 3, p. iii.

30. The most complete collection of Nelson Royal readers is at the library of the Ministry of Education, Rialto Bldg., where there are multiple copies of several editions. This collection represents the combined holdings of the Special Services Library and Publications Branch, following amalgamation. Smaller, broken collections are held at the State Library of Victoria, the Melbourne College of Education and the in the 19th century collections at the library of the Faculty of Education, University of Melbourne and at Deakin University. There is a serious shortage of the earliest editions, important for comparative study, particularly Royal reader No. 1., the only copies of which are 1891, 1895 (second series) and an undated copy of the third series, all held at the Ministry Library.

31. Keeping in mind Goldstrom's reservations about "content analysis" approach, I decided, nevertheless, to survey each book systematically, cataloguing items by type, style and subject. Style analysis ranged from 'objective', 'descriptive', 'sentimental', 'didactic'. Subject categories included fairytale, fantasy, myth, fable, adventure, nature, about animals, about children, about other lands, patriotism, Empire, etc. Some thought was given to 'readability' and sentence length. I was also examining sexual, role-related characteristics and attitudes towards moral and racial issues. For my surveys of the other readers in this study, I prefered the "non-frequency" analysis which defined the main concerns of the book without quantitative classification. See Goldstrom, op. cit., pp. 6-7.

32. Royal reader, No. 1, "The little boy that liked to play", p. 51; "The little boatman", p.34; "Two white rabbits", p. 8; "A good little girl", p. 44; "Guess", p. 54; "The three kittens", p. 24; "Only a fly", p. 71 and "God is in heaven", p. 86.

33. Royal reader, No. 2, Second series, 1895, p. vi.

34. Ibid., passim.

35. Ibid., "Frank and his uncle", p. 68.

36. Ibid., M.A.Stodart, "England and her Queen"

37. Royal reader No. 3, p. 12, 19, 23, 29, 61, 75, 78, 106, 163, 173, for some of the best examples.

38. Ibid., p. 40, 120, 156, 198, 211, 213, pp. 142-5, pp.271-86, for some of the best examples.

39. Ibid., p. 169, 177, 257, 265, 268, for examples.

40. Ibid., p. 82, 47, 128, 259 and 270. For comments on Mrs Hermans, see Darton, F.J.H. Children's books in England: Five centuries of social life, (1970), p. 217 and p. 245.

41. Royal reader, No. 4, p. 114, 125, 135, 150, 167, 189.

42. Ibid., p. 258 and 261.

43. Royal reader, No. 3, pp. 287-308 and Royal reader, No 4, pp. 289-338.

44. Royal reader, No. 5, p. iii.

45. Royal reader, No. 6, p. iii.

46. Of the 120 prose items in Royal reader No. 6, most were written in an objective, descriptive style on historical or geographical topics. Of the 34 poems, 11 were about war, 18 touched on the theme of death, 5 on God, 6 on bravery, 8 on living. Of the 41 poems in Royal reader No.5, mostly descriptive poems designed for reading and recitation, 18 were on death and bravery, 16 on war, 17 had specific references to God. One-third of the prose passages were about other lands, written in an objective/descriptive style.

47. Royal reader, No 6, p. 18, 22, 48, 53, 100.

48. Ibid., p. 18, 218, 223.

49. Ibid., W.,E.Littlewood's "Nature", pp. 69-70; Burns' "Family worship", p. 141; Coleridge's "Hymn before sunrise", p. 224 and W.C.Bryant's "to a waterfowl", p. 258.

50. Royal reader, No 5, p. 20, 103 and 410.

51. Ibid., p. 41, 121, 177 and 191.

52. Royal reader, No. 6, p. 30, 41, 96, 205 and 269. Note the Blair articles on the founding of the various Australian colonies in Royal reader,No. 5, p. 44, 118, 193, 210, 373.
53. R.M.P.I., Inspectors' reports, passim.

54.A.D.B. entry on Brodribb by Anthony Delves, v.3, p.237 A brief biography of Brodribb in A.G.Austin, The Australian government school, 1830-1914, p. 347.

A photograph of Brodribb and an account of inspectors and inspection in Sweetman, op. cit., pp. 64-5.

55. R.M.P.I., 1876-77, p. 39.

56. R.M.P.I., 1877-78, p. 182.

57. R.M.P.I., 1876-77, p. 47.

58.This was especially true in pioneering areas or in schools which had suffered neglect because of declining enrolments. See, for examples P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 794, 73/3516 and 73/10695 which demonstrate the lack of facilities and the primitive state of the school house, constructed in bark and with earth floors. The plight of the small rural schools, and those many half-time schools, demonstrates the precarious nature of elementary education in country districts, despite the terms of the Education Act in 1872.

59. Biddington, R., "Politics in primary teacher-training in Victoria, 1850-1950", Ph.D., University of Melbourne, 1978.

60. The role of the Boards of Advice is not clear and a full study of their significance has yet to be undertaken. It is well beyond the scope of this study. Many Boards pressed for the "Lord's Prayer" and the "Ten Commandments" to be part of the curriculum, wanted military drill in all schools, and held strong view for temperance and against smoking. Some Boards were wanting more independence and enlarged powers. Some resisted any hint of religion in State schools. See P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 794, 87/16723 in bundle marked "Temperance lobby, 1876-1887" at 87/29155. Also Series 794, 79/40008, 81/7035, 87/35726, 87/42527, 88/3580597/30624, 98/11635, 99/7611, 99/28698. Reports, resolutions and conference notes of the Council of Boards of Advice can also be found in Series 794, 83/50818, 85/16266, 86/24452, 88/35805, and 00/37293. The overall impression is that they were a strong, conservative force, and a teacher's welfare and security of office often depended on how well he related with his patrons.

61. For example, Victorian exhibitions at the International Exhibition in Paris in 1881, see P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 794, 81/1281 and 81/25847; the Adelaide Jubilee International Exhibition, 1888; and files showing inter-colonial networks on educational matters : Series 794, 73/4076, 77/8138, 77/17109, 89/30876-7, 90/31183, and 98/37138.

62. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 794, 78/35878 (Johnson Hicks suggesting that certain letters in Argus be republished and used for class reading.)

63. For a good example, among many, R.M.P.I., 1876-77, Robert Craig, heading 'Reading', p.44.

64. R.M.P.I., 1879-80, Robert Craig, p. 190.

65. Ibid., p. 200.

66. R.M.P.I., 1875-76, p. 46.

67. R.M.P.I., 1889-90, John Dennant, p. 218.

68. R.M.P.I., 1879-80, Robert Cox, Castlemaine, p. 203.

69. R.M.P.I., 1875-76, H. Shelton, Ararat, p. 56.

70. R.M.P.I., 1890-91, p. 75, Summary and findings of Insp. Russell of Castlemaine. For the Board's denial of overt religious excisions see P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 794, 89/9277.

71. R.M.P.I., 1881-82, p. 196 for Charles Topp's summary and comparisons.

72. V.& P. Victorian Legislative Council, 1879-1880, "Alterations and omissions in books used in State Schools, 27th January, 1880."

73. Ibid., p. 1.

74. Ibid., p. 4.

75. Ibid., p. 6.

76. Ibid., p. 10.

77. R.M.P.I., 1873, p. iii. "The selection of the books for use in the schools is a subject of some difficulty. There are no books in existence quite unexceptionable to all classes of the community..."

78. A.D.B. entry on Blair by J.I.Roe, v. 3, pp. 179-80.

79. R.M.P.I., 1879-80, p. xvi

80. Ibid. for this and following quotation.

81. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 794, 80/46572 that Blair had prepared the lessons for the reading books in 1880 and that

the Board had rejected Blair's recommendation that his Almanac also be used in State schools.

82. A.D.B. entry on Topp by Peter Gill, v. 6, p. 289-90. See also Sweetman, op. cit., p. 96 for biographical detail and photograph.

83. R.M.P.I., 1881-82, p. 196.

84. R.M.P.I., 1885-86, p. 137.

85. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 794, 81/46342

86. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 794, 81/17770

87. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 794, 82/23915

88. Royal reader no. 6, passim.

89. R.M.P.I., 1886-87, p. xii. This new programme is not mentioned in Austin's writings. He was dubious about using the Reports of the Minister of Public Instruction in order to draw historical conclusions. He argued that there was great conformity in 'the system'. See his Australian education, op. cit., pp. 259-60. It seems reasonable to accept, nevertheless, that there were significant moves to reform and a sufficient ground-swell for new ideas within the Education Department at this time.

90. Ibid.

91. Austin, A.G.,Australian education, op. cit., pp.249-52 and Australian government school, op. cit., pp. 106-118. This pernicious system was abolished in England in 1896 and in Victoria after the Fink Commission, 1899-1900.

92. R.M.P.I., 1887-88, p. 162.

93. R.M.P.I., 1886-87, p. 169. (F.C.Eddy, Goulburn Valley District.)

94. R.M.P.I., 1885-86, p. 160 - Henry Rix of North Eastern Inspectorate, praising this development at Wodonga School.

95. R.M.P.I., 1888-89, p. 141 - Alfred Curlewis.

96. R.M.P.I., 1889-90, p. xxi. Brodribb was, by now, Inspector General, an important position in view of the frequent change of Ministers. The Reports indicate that he instigated this change and the move against the system of payment by results, especially after his visit to New South

Wales in 1887 which so impressed him. Brodribb's long and penetrating report on this visit can be found in R.M.P.I. for that year. The original hand-written one is at P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 794, 87/17287, (Box 666, "selected")

97. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 794, 89/30876, 30877 and 31691. There were preliminary conferences in Melbourne with the Minister, the Secretary, the Inspector General and the Principal of the Training College.

98. R.M.P.I., 1890-91, p. xi - Minister F.T.Sargood. See G.E.Saunders, "J.A.Hartley and the foundation of the public school system in South Australia" in Turney, C, (Ed.), Pioneers of Australian education, v. 2, pp. 149-92.

99. The most consistent advocate of the phonic method was Henry Rix of the Beechworth District. See R.M.P.I, 1890-91, p. 84-5.

100. R.M.P.I., 1890-91, p. xi "Some excellent series of reading books are now obtainable, and teachers are left free to adopt any of them which have been approved by the Department as suitable and sufficiently advanced for the several classes."

101. Ibid.

102. Many of the extant copies are dated in the 1890's. The most recent of the copies I examined were dated 1913 (No. 4) and 1912 (No. 6).

Chapter 7. The study of grammar.

> Amongst the signs and wonders of the modern educational crisis one may have noted some ignorant inclination to decry the formal study of language on the ground that it may fill space that should be occupied by carpentry or boot-making or straw-plaiting or some other pursuit in more obvious relation to daily bread.
>
> P.A.Barnett, Principal of the Borough Road Training College, London, in the preface to his edition of The new Morell, being a grammar of the English language, London, 1893).

The importance of grammar in the nineteenth-century curriculum.

In the latter part of the century, the philosophical basis for the study of grammar in schools developed further with the publications by three eminent English grammarians, Richard Morris,[1] Henry Sweet[2] and Edwin Abbott.[3] They argued that knowledge of grammar was the hallmark of the educated and would lead to the study of other languages and philology. Grammar remained high on the list of educational priorities and was essentially an intellectual process. As the Reverend Edwin Abbott stated : "The pupil's knowledge should be like a living body, not like a carpenter's work. It should grow altogether, not be put together in bits."[4] Grammarians emphasised that grammar changes with common usage and that language should follow logic and assume a linguistic psychology of its own.[5]

The Victorian school inspectors deplored the way grammar was taught, and the pass rate in the subject was consistently low.[6] Inspectors maintained that grammar lessons too often degenerated into rote learning, without the understanding or the development of the intelligence of the pupils.[7] As an intellectual process, the teaching of grammar was simply too difficult for most school children and many teachers. The reports claimed that teachers were not proficient themselves and that teaching methods were generally unsuccessful.[8] One inspector reported the complete absence of grammar teaching in country districts.[9] It seemed that the standard for examination for each class varied according to the individual inspector, until some general standards were set in 1863.[10] Inspector John Elkington spoke of the "sad blunderings" of schoolmasters and argued for oral lessons in grammar, prepared out of hours and preparatory to the next day's lessons He wrote :

> Grammatical notions have first to be presented to children's minds in a series of well-devised oral lessons, investing the subject with much interest and clearness. The book-work may be profitably kept in the background until the advanced class is reached.[11]

Morell's Grammar of the English language.

John Daniel Morell (1816-1991) adopted a method of logical analysis of sentences which showed that prose followed certain patterns of development, not only according to set rules of accidence and syntax.[12] His Grammar of the English

language (1857) was introduced into Victorian schools in 1858.[13] From that time on, grammar books invariably included sections with sentence analysis, and there was less stress on the rules and inflexions of words. Morell's grammar treated the different departments of the subject separately. His book provided larger type for the young scholars for a first reading of the book and small print with advanced detail for the second reading. The first two sections, on orthography and etymology, presented the usual facts, clearly and briefly. The section on syntax included the structure of sentences (primary, simple, complex) and the laws (principles, rules, punctuation, parsing tables). Some of the examples are didactic and several are taken from classical poets and writers. A separate series of graduated exercises accompanied the book.

Morell's grammar was a phenomenal success and ran to many editions.[14] It simplified and popularised the subject. As Morell had explained in his earlier book Essentials of English grammar (1854) :

> The whole use of grammar in the primary school arises from its being made an instrument of intellectual training.Unless this end be accomplished, the whole of the time and trouble employed in learning it had much better be spared, and devoted to other subjects.[15]

Morell emphasised that language is a natural product of the human mind and that grammar was merely a method of reducing it to particular laws. He pointed out that some aspects of

A SERIES

OF

GRADUATED EXERCISES

ADAPTED TO

MORELL'S GRAMMAR AND ANALYSIS

BY

J. D. MORELL, M.A., LL.D.

ONE OF HER MAJESTY'S INSPECTORS OF SCHOOLS

NEW EDITION

LONDON

LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.

The Royal School Series.

SEQUEL TO No. II.

"THE ROYAL READERS."

ILLUSTRATED.

LONDON:

T. NELSON AND SONS, PATERNOSTER ROW:

EDINBURGH; AND NEW YORK.

1877.

And a bold little run at the very last pinch
Put him into the wished-for spot.

"Bravo! bravo!" the king cried out;
"All honour to those who try:
The spider up there defied despair;—
He conquered, and why should not I?"

And Bruce of Scotland braced* his mind,
And gossips* tell the tale,
That he tried once more as he tried before,
And that time he did not fail.

Pay goodly heed, all ye who read,
And beware of saying, "I can't;"
'Tis a cowardly word, and apt to lead
To idleness, folly, and want.

ELIZA COOK.

QUESTIONS. In what state of mind did Bruce fling himself down? Why was he in despair? What did he cry? What happened at that moment? What did the spider try to do? How often did it try before it succeeded? What did the king cry out then? Did he try again? With what result? What is "I can't" apt to lead to?

PRONOUNCE *in syllables*:—

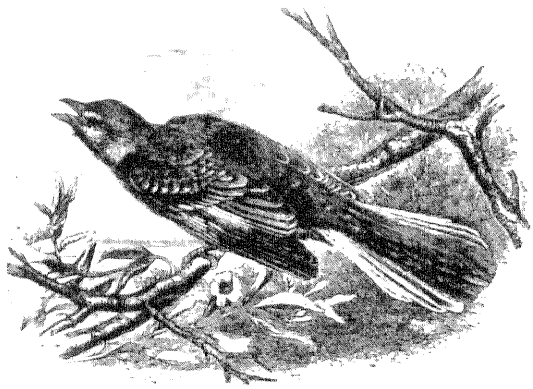
mon'arch	ceil'ing	quick'ly	stead'i-ly
be-gin'ning	en-deav'our	mount'ed	con'quered
de-spair'	com-plaint'	at-tempts'	de-fied'
mo'ment	del'i-cate	anx'ious	i'dle-ness

DICTATION:—

King Robert the Bruce, in the days of his adversity, flung himself down in despair in a lonely cave.

He had made up his mind to give up the struggle, when he noticed a spider fail six times to climb up its slender thread.

But it made a seventh attempt, and succeeded. Bruce resolved also to make another effort; and he delivered his country and recovered his throne.



THE MOCKING-BIRD.

An-i-ma'tion, liveliness; spirit
Ec-sta'sy, very great joy.
Fas-ci-na'tion, holding spell-bound
In-trep'id, fearless; bold
In-vet'er-ate, never failing; constant.
Ob-sti-nate, stubborn.

THE sweetest musician in the American forests is the mocking-bird. His voice is strong, and clear, and musical, and seems to fill the woods with a flood of delicious melody. He not only imitates the notes of the other birds, but the song from his throat is richer and more harmonious than when it is uttered by the original songster.

Full of animation, he seems inspired by his own music. He expands his wings and tail, and sweeps round and round in ecstasy. He mounts or falls, as his song rises or dies away; and pours forth such streams of song, that any one not seeing him, might fancy a chorus of birds were singing, instead of only one.

language remained open to interpretation.[16] As Professor Laurie explained :

> By the analysis of language, you introduce the young intellect to the analysis of its own thinking in its whole range. While engaged in this exercise the abstract powers are so involved in a concrete familiar to all, that the formal discipline is not made obtrusive and distasteful. A boy who is intelligently analysing language is analysing the processes of thought, and is a logician without knowing it.[17]

The Morell method of sentence analysis remains to this day the basis of grammar teaching. His book dominated the latter half of the nineteenth century, and a posthumous edition, The new Morell, was published in 1893, edited and revised by P.A.Barnett of the Borough Road Training College, London. It included roots, derivations, tables of measures and samples of examination papers. Barnett noted : "Since Mr Morell wrote, the science of philology has grown to maturity."[18]

Morell's publications were used in Victoria. Eight hundred copies of his grammar, and seven hundred and fifty copies of his graduated exercises, were imported by the Denominational Schools Board during the five years from 1857.[19] We also know that Morell's grammar was used at the St. James Training Institution in the 1860s and was acknowledged as a text used in Common Schools.[20] The regulations of the Education Department specifically refer to the use of Morell's sentence analysis. As Charles Long wrote in 1922 :

> Tens of thousands of copies of the book came to Victoria, and there are teachers today- the older generation, passing alas! rapidly away - who can yet repeat pages of Morell.[21]

Pearson and Strong's Grammar

In 1876 Charles Henry Pearson and Herbert Augustus Strong produced their Student's English grammar.[22] It was published by Samuel Mullen who was the official bookseller to the University of Melbourne and chief Melbourne literary agent at that time.[23] Strong had arrived from England four years earlier to take the Chair of Classical and Comparative Philology and Logic at the University of Melbourne.[24] Here he met Pearson who was lecturing in history and political economy. At the time of writing the grammars Pearson had become the stormy, but successful, first headmaster of Presbyterian Ladies' College. [25] Their collaboration and friendship continued after Strong's return to England in 1883 to take the Chair of Latin at University College, Liverpool.

This particular grammar was placed on the "free grant list" of the Education Department. Samuel Mullen printed one thousand copies and pressed the Department for its official patronage. In this he was unsuccessful.[26] The Department would only deal with their official book agent, George Robertson. Mullen and Robertson were rivals, but the latter was a bigger importer of books and had depots in three other capital cities.[27] It was Robertson who successfully

negotiated with the Department to have Pearson and Stong's grammar placed on the free list[28] and, shortly afterwards bought the one thousand copies from Mullen.[29]

The Student's English grammar was written for the upper classes of the elementary schools as an introduction to the study of comparative grammar. The authors wanted their grammar to be used widely, not just for students preparing for Matriculation examinations. Professor Strong wrote to the Department that he wanted his books "not to supersede but to take its place by the side of Morell".[30] The Board of Examiners, however, prefered the use of Morell and agreed that this new one could be used for Matriculation students.[31] Having received at least some sort of sanction for their book, the authors set about to write another, the Student's primer (1877).[32] This book was written for the lower classes of the elementary schools, hoping to secure a wider circulation. It was also approved by the Board on condition that it was used only as a supplement to the Irish grammars.

In light of the many rejections of locally-produced texts, the entry of Pearson and Strong's grammars to the Department's free list must have been due to the high status of the authors and their own strong connections with the educational establishment. As well, the Board of Examiners may have been influenced by the widely-held desire for more

locally-produced texts of quality, with the reputation of the University of Melbourne behind them.

The Student's English grammar consists of one hundred and fifty pages of grammatical rules, word-lists and parsed quotations. There is nothing particularly Australian in its content, excepting a few words such as 'kangaroo' and 'emu' and a few local place-names.[33] The grammar is simple and concise. The Student's primer is just a simpler and shorter version of the earlier book. It has the usual bold print for the rules to be committed to memory, but omits the word-lists of foreign plurals and the parsed quotations from Shakespeare, Tennyson and Milton.

It is not likely that either book had much impact, generally, although the Student's grammar had a second, enlarged edition in 1878 which acknowledged the helpful advice from a number of Melbourne educationists, notably George Morrison and Simon Elkington. Not everyone, however, approved of the publication. One rival grammarian, Aristides Andrew de Mornay, something of a fanatic on the subject, wrote :

> Their [Pearson and Strong's] book appeared in 1876 and, after a careful perusal of it, finding to my astonishment that it was more like a comic English grammar than a serious treatise, such as I expected, coming as it did from the highest source of learning in the country, I wrote to Mr Andrews, H.M. of Wesley College, Melbourne, asking him if he did not think it necessary to protest against the tyranny of the University in imposing so absurd a textbook on the High Schools and mentioning a few of the glaring absurdities which

> I found in it. Mr Andrews at once answered ... "it is a great blow to education in this colony that the treatise is forced upon school masters ... the writing is so loose, incorrect and slipshod that school boys smile at it. It is almost hopeless to teach from such a textbook.[34]

There may not be much substance to de Mornay's view, but there is no further reference to the book in book-lists or school publications. There is some evidence that both titles were removed from the free list in 1880, probably from lack of demand, with the comment by de Mornay : "now that the book [Pearson and Strong's] is withdrawn, the University cannot have any motive for opposing mine".[35] Whatever the fate of these two grammars, the significant feature is that they were written and published in the colony and secured, even for a short time, official patronage by the Education Department. At this time, there were several other publications of grammar books by local teachers, but they failed to secure patronage by the Department, thereby reducing their circulation.

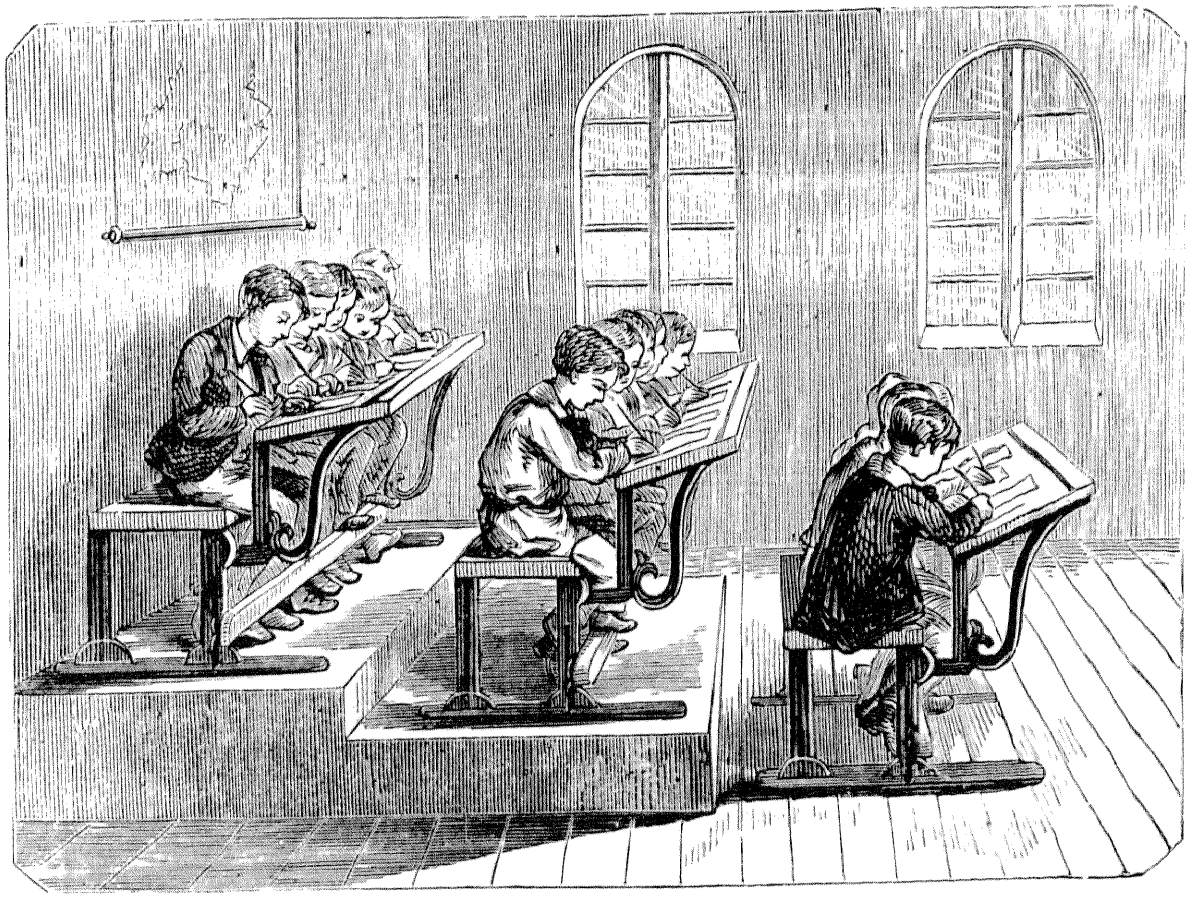
Other local productions

In 1871 there was the publication Grammar and Geography for the Second Classes of the Common Schools of Victoria. This was produced by A.J.Smith, bookseller and stationer of Swanston Street, but the authorship is unknown.[36] It consisted of thirty pages of very simple grammar lessons on nouns, adjectives and pronouns. The preface stated : "This little book is prepared for Second Classes, and it has been

felt that something more simple than Sullivan, Morell, etc., is needed for children of eight years of age. If it prove helpful to teachers and children, its object is secured."[37] Some of the exercises in this book were of a didactic and religious type. The text included statements such as "Gentle love in Christian heart doth help, hope and peace impart", "good conduct brings respect", "wisdom is better than riches", and "let your be lips of truth and hands of industry".[38]

During the 1880s there were four separate attempts by local teachers to publish their own grammar books. All four failed to secure the Department's patronage and, with small print runs of five-hundred or one thousand, were probably promoted and sold through the book trade.

The least successful of these was Aristides de Mornay's English grammar.[39] It was rejected by the Board with the words: "The grammar of Mr de Mornay besides containing several indisputable errors puts forward some views that are of questionable value and that tend to increase the difficulty of the subject to the learner."[40] De Mornay, who had arrived in Victoria during the gold rushes and who had spend twenty years teaching in National and Departmental schools, may well have suffered the fate of a failed fanatic. He wrote : "The best years of my life were spent in finding out and correcting the errors which rendered all English grammars useless ... in this search after truth I



THE ROYAL DESKS IN USE FOR WRITING.



THE ROYAL DESKS IN USE FOR READING.

discovered several principles... this has enabled me to simplify some parts ... I alone have been successful."[41]

There was greater success in the publication of J.R.Ullyett's Programme grammar for the use in State Schools (1883).[42] It was simple, practical, with copious exercises, and avowedly less theoretical than most grammars. It was written to the standards established by the Education Department, and each section of the work comprised approximately one year's work. The exercises for parsing were selected from the Royal readers and the author omitted any analysis of sentences which was treated by Morell's text for the Sixth Classes. The appendix to the book included questions given by inspectors, as well as the rules for parsing at each class level. Teachers in State schools would have found this little book useful and it probably sold quite well because of its relevance to the local standards. However, the Board of Examiners reported it "not of merit enough to displace the books already on the Department's list", and could find no reason why it should be added.[43]

In 1883 John Rogers published his Grammar and logic in the nineteenth century as seen in a syntactical analysis of the English language.[44] Rogers pointed out to the Board of Examiners that "as an Australian work and the first of its kind, my book has some claim to practical recognition."[45] This book was innovative, emphasising that propositions consist only of a subject and predicate. He argued that

anything more than this is a fabrication of grammarians and logicians. He quoted Max Muller on the illogical nature of language, and that grammar and logic can be taught in half the time according to his system.

Rogers hoped his book would take the place of Morell's text in the Sixth Classes, it being more suitable, he felt, for scholars entering university. The Board, however, rejected the work as "only useful to persons studying critically."[46]

Probably the most successful of the four local publications was John Burston's New State School grammar.[47] His success lay in following closely the programme for instruction in State schools. His approach to the subject was simple and direct and he included examples of analysis, after the style of Morell, for the Fourth and Fifth Classes and full analysis and parsing and the rules of syntax for the Sixth Classes. Greek, Latin and Old English roots were included, along with rules of punctuation. The Board rejected the book, saying that it was unnecessary. Burston persisted, as he did with his Arithmetic book which ran to seven editions by 1886. Burston's success as a textbook writer demonstrates the growing capacity of the book trade in the Colony, and a developing assertiveness away from the Home Country. The "cult of self-improvement"[48] was alive and well in colonial Victoria, but it was still largely set in the British mould.

FOOTNOTES, CHAPTER 7.

1. Morris, Richard, English grammar primer (London, 1875). For a list of his main works see D.N.B. The B.M.Catalogue has 44 entries by Morris.

2. Sweet, Henry, A new English grammar; logical and historical, (London, 1892). Sweet was president of the Philological Society and wrote on Anglo-Saxon and phonetics.

3. Abbott, Edwin, "On the teaching of English grammar" in P.A.Barnett, Teaching and organization; with special reference to secondary schools, (London, 1903). See D.N.B. and B.M.Catalogue.

4. Barnett, op. cit., p. 135.

5. Jespersen, Jens, Otto Harry The philosophy of grammar, (London, 1924).

6. Board of Education, Third Report, 1864, p. 7. Table show the number of children presented in each subject and the number passed. Of the 26,274 candidates at the five levels that year, 2,824 (10.75%) passed grammar.

7. Board of Education, Eleventh Report, 1872 p. 24 (Gilchrist) and Tenth Report, 1871, p. 50 (Elkington).

8. Board of Education, Eighth Report, 1869, p. 66 (Elkington).

9. Board of Education, Second Report, 1863, p. 53 (Geary).

10. Ibid., (Inspector General).

11. Board of Education, Tenth Report, 1871, p. 50 (Elkington)

12. See D.N.B. and B.M.Catalogue. He was an H.M.Inspector, 1848-1876.

13. The D.S.B. ordered 100 copies in 1858 and 500 in 1859. See Appendix 6 for the total. See also E.L.French, "Secondary education in the Australian social order, 1788-1898", Ph.D., University of Melbourne, 1958, who noted the use of Morell at Scotch College, Melbourne, by 1859 and several other major private "secondary schools" during the 1860s. He discusses Prof. Charles Badham's opposition to the Morell method in New South Wales, pp. 346-9.

14. It had risen to 74,000 copies by 1863 and the D.N.B. remarks that "few educational works of that period had a larger circulation."

15. Morell, J.D., Essentials of English grammar and analysis, (London, 1854), preface.

16. Correspondence between Dr.Morell and Henry Edelman on grammar and analysis, (Melbourne, 1871).

17. Barnett, op. cit., p. 6.

18. Ibid., preface.

19. See Appendix 6. This was comparatively few considering that Board, for the same period, requested 11.000 Sullivan's grammar, 12,000 Irish grammars and 6,000 Sullivan's Spelling-book.

20. Correspondence between Dr. Morell and Henry Edelman on grammar and analysis, op. cit. Edleman worked at the St. James Training Institution, Prahran. He wrote : "As our institution is an establishement for training teachers for Common Schools, in which your esteemed work is used as a text, I feel assured I hardly need apologise for the trouble I am putting you."

21. Sweetman, op. cit., p. 128.

22. Pearson, Charles Henry and Strong, Herbert Augustus, The student's English grammar, (Melbourne, 1876).

23. A.D.B. entry on Samuel Mullen by J.P.Holroyd, v. 5, p.309.

24. A.D.B. entry on Herbert Strong by G.R.Manton, v. 6, p.209-210.

25. Fitzpatrick, Kathleen, P.L.C. Melbourne: the first century, 1875-1976, (Melbourne, 1975).

26. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 794, 77/26181 and 77/31713

27. A.D.B., on George Robertson by J.P.Holroyd, v. 6, pp.37-38.

28. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 794, 77/29149.

29. Ibid., 77/18301, 77/31713 and 77/31893

30. Ibid., 77/26180.

31. Ibid., 77/18301

32. Pearson, Charles Henry and Strong, Herbert Augustus, The student's primer, (Melbourne, 1877).

33. The student's grammar, op. cit., p. 12 and p. 17.

34. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 794, 80/11505. For further on de Mornay, see also 83/28180 and Teachers' record book, File, 83/989.

35. Ibid.

36. Grammar and geography for the Second Classes of the Common Schools of Victoria, (Melbourne, 1871).

37. Ibid., preface.

38. Ibid., p. 24.

39. de Mornay, Aristides Andrew, English grammar (n.d.). The Board would not examine unpublished material. I have not seen a copy and it is not listed in either Ferguson's bibliography or the M.L.Catalogue. See P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 794, 80/11505 and 83/28180.

40. Ibid.

41. ibid.,

42. Ullyett, John R. Programme grammar for use in State schools , (Melbourne, 1883). Teachers' record book, File, 83/898 on Ullyett. He was born 1851 and retired 1914 after working in some thirty rural schools in Victoria. Inspector Gamble described him as "one of the old school ... but not qualified for large classes in urban schools."

43. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 794, 83/471

44. Rogers, John William, Grammar and logic in the nineteenth century as seen in a syntactical analysis of the English language, (Melbourne, 1883).

45. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 794, 83/5897. 46. Ibid.

47. Burston, John James, New State school grammar, (Melbourne, 1886).

48. This expression is used by George Nadel in his Australia's colonial culture, chapter 13, pp. 152-60.

Chapter 8. Texts for other subjects

> A school which turns itself into a mere grinding institution to secure the greatest possible number of passes, sacrifices the future welfare of its scholars to its own temporary success. A thorougly intelligent course of study which opens up the mind and educates every faculty is, in reality, the object to be aimed at; and though the University examinations conduce in a very admirable way to that result, still they must be made subordinate to the more important objects of a teacher's work.
>
> Alexander Sutherland, M.A. in Carlton College. Report, honor list and prospectus, 1879-1880, p. 4.

Sutherland's history

In 1877, Alexander Sutherland[1] produced his History of Australia from 1606 to 1876. It was written for schools in collaboration with his brother George (1855-1905)[2] It sold more than 100,000 copies and remained the standard work for decades. It was used in the Third and Fourth Classes in New South Wales from 1884.[3] and was considered a more useful text than William Wilkin's Australasia.[4]

Sutherland's History included all the early discoveries of Australia, with De Quiros, the first, in 1606. Throughout this history, the style is light, chatty and graphic, as, for example, his description of the assassination attempt during the visit of Prince Alfred to Australia in 1868:

> As he entered the cities, flower-decked arches spanned the streets; crowds of people gathered by day and public building were brilliantly illumunated in his honour... For a day or two his life trembled in the balance and the colonists awaited the result with great excitement ... O'Farrell was tried and executed.[5]

Sutherland's descriptive interpretation of the past, if somewhat imaginative and journalistic, was designed to reflect national progress through the contribution of people and events in Australia. Sutherland traced the development of an ordered and lawful society, the extensions of the railways and the Land Acts, and the Anti-Transportation League, this last abolishing all sense of guilt about Australia's convict origins. The Eureka Stockade Affair was, for the Sutherland interpretation of history, a minor aberration. Nevertheless, the Sutherland approach was more palatable than the usual paragraphed chronology, as, for instance, Marcus Clarke's History of Australia and the Island of Tasmania for the use of schools (1877) with its dates and lists of governors for each colony.[6]

In keeping with the idea that history and geography were closely linked, George Sutherland wrote his Easy stories for Australian children; a junior reader of Australian history correlated with Geography.[7] The forty stories on exploration and settlement are appealing, simple and well-told, and included sympathetic treatment of the Aborigines, both in Tasmania and on the mainland.

Sutherland's geography

Alexander Sutherland's A new geography for Australian pupils was published in 1884 in four separate parts: Australia, Europe, Asia and Africa and America and the oceans. Each

part sold for one shilling, or the one volume for three shillings and sixpence. Of the 41 chapters, the first seven are on Australia, where there is still some emphasis on learning the names of rivers, capes, lakes and mountains. But the style of the book is entirely different to the usual geography text-book, consisting of that same light, chatty, descriptive approach. For example:

> Warrnambool lies half-a-mile from the coast, near Portland Bay. We land at a long jetty or pier, exposed to all the violent gales of the ocean. From the shore we climb a low hill, and see before us the pleasant little town, sheltered in a gentle hollow. The houses are not too close, as almost all of them are surrounded by pretty gardens and green orchards. The district round the city is famous for its potatoes, and you can generally see the bags of potatoes lying ready for shipment.[8]

Sutherland was dissatisfied with the usual method of teaching geography, which did little to develop the minds of the pupils. He wrote: "The object has been to carry the children in fancy all over the world, seeing as travellers would do all the leading features ... books of voyages and travels have been my main source of information". He brought the action to the present by using the present tense, as, for example:

> Here comes a herd of wild elephants crashing a way for their huge bodies through the tangled masses of creepers that bind the giant trunks into dense masses of vegetation. We had better not disturb that great thick-skinned rhinoceros who is making his bed on these densely clustering flowers of scarlet and gold, for his nose horn is sharp and he has an ugly look.[9]

There is still, however, some emphasis on map reading. Sutherland stated: "It is useless to read this book unless you have a map in front of you".[10] Sutherland favoured the State School junior atlas for Australasian children published by George Robertson. In an address to the Australian Literature Society in 1907, Sutherland's friend and close colleague Henry Gyles Turner (1831-1920)[11] stated the difference:

> In my school days the learning of geography was simply a feat of memory, aided, more or less, by ill-defined and often incorrect maps. We knew our lessons when we could reel off a long string of names of the towns, rivers and mountains or any specified country. Now, Mr Sutherland's book... purported to take you by the hand, to lead you round the world... pointing out all that was worth remembering... A few bright verbal touches, and, lo!, the mind's eye realises, in a panorama, the shape and aspect of the coast line, and the clustering hives of industry within its borders.[12]

In 1886, George Sutherland wrote his Geography of Australia and New Zealand which, unlike his brother's work, was very factual and included the old-fashioned bold type for memorization. Each colony was treated in terms of capes, peninsulas, straits, rivers and mountains. Some comparative views were offered, and general descriptions of places, with separate chapters for the towns of each colony. Although unimaginative, this book filled a new need, as stated :

> Australian teachers have experienced great inconvenience from the fact that, while all the descriptive geographies published in England give very full and accurate information with regard to the British Islands, they give very meagre accounts of the Australian Colonies. This little

INTRODUCTION

TO

BOTANIC TEACHINGS

AT

THE SCHOOLS OF VICTORIA,

THROUGH

REFERENCES TO LEADING NATIVE PLANTS;

BY

BARON FERD. VON MUELLER,
C.M.G., M. & PH.D., F.R.S.,
GOVERNMENT'S BOTANIST.

"KNOWLEDGE IS POWER."

MELBOURNE:
BY AUTHORITY: JOHN FERRES, GOVERNMENT PRINTER.
1877.

A

NEW GEOGRAPHY

FOR

Australian Pupils

BY

ALEXANDER SUTHERLAND, M.A.

PART III.—ASIA AND AFRICA

GEORGE ROBERTSON & COMPANY, LIMITED
MELBOURNE, SYDNEY, AND ADELAIDE
1884

MANUAL

OF

PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY

OF AUSTRALIA

BY

H. BERESFORD DE LA POER WALL, M.A.
F.R.G.S., F.G.S., F.R. MET. S., AND C.E.
Melbourne University
LIFE FELLOW OF THE ROYAL GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF IRELAND; LICENTIATE IN CIVIL ENGINEERING OF THE DUBLIN UNIVERSITY; LATE LECTURER IN MATHEMATICS AND NATURAL SCIENCE, TRINITY COLLEGE, MELBOURNE UNIVERSITY; HEAD MASTER OF THE HAMILTON AND WESTERN DISTRICT COLLEGE

SECOND EDITION, REVISED

GEORGE ROBERTSON AND COMPANY
MELBOURNE AND SYDNEY
MDCCCLXXXVIII

MANUAL

OF

HEALTH AND TEMPERANCE,

BY

T. BRODRIBB, M.A.,
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF SCHOOLS, VICTORIA;

WITH

APPENDIX ON INFECTIOUS DISEASES AND AMBULANCE WORK,

BY J. W. SPRINGTHORPE, M.A., M.D.,
Lecturer on Hygiene to the University of Melbourne, and Physician to the Melbourne Hospital.

Melbourne:
PRINTED FOR THE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT
BY ROBT. S. BRAIN, GOVERNMENT PRINTER.
1891.

> book is intended to fill the gap thus left, and to impart to Australian pupils a knowledge of the land they live in as complete as that which is required from pupils in the schools in England.[13]

Other geography texts

Two local geography texts were published during this period: A.Buckley's Outline of geography (1875) and James Smith's Outlines of general geography (1880), each claiming to meet the needs of the new programme in Victorian schools. They were highly factual world geographies, arranged with bold print for learning by heart. Nevertheless, they represented an improvement on Chambers' Standard geography (1870) and Standard physical geography (1871) which had much less Australian emphasis and were in common use in Victoria. But the more popular book at this time was Ireland's Geography and history of Oceania (1861).[14] Both Collin's Geography of Victoria (1876) and Wildey's Australia and Oceanic regions (1876) were rejected by the Board in favour of Ireland's geography book.[15] By 1881, however, Ireland's book was out of print and, on advice from Collin's Brothers, the official supplier, the Board chose George Sutherland's Geography as a replacement.[16]

The only other geography text published in Victoria during this period was H.Beresford de la Poer Wall's Manual of physical geography of Australia (1883).[17] This 200-page text with maps included detailed Australian geology, mineral explorations, flora and fauna and the natural resources of

each of the colonies. De la Poer Wall was a Fellow of the Royal Geological Society, a lecturer at Trinity College, University of Melbourne and, for eight years, headmaster of the Hamilton and Western District College.[18] His book was dedicated to Robert Ellery, whose 'planisphere' was used in State schools during this period for the teaching of elementary astronomy.[19]

Interest in the study of Botany

Interest in the inclusion of the study of botany in the elementary school curriculum can be found as early as 1876 with the illustrated work by Ferdinand von Mueller (1825-1896)[20] entitled Victorian school flora. More copies were required than anticipated, but the plates had been broken up.[21] In 1877 von Mueller wrote his Industrial plants of Victoria and sent fifty copies to the Education Department for use in schools.[22] He also secured ministerial approval for 1,500 copies each of his Select plants of Victoria and Native plants of Victoria to be sent to schools as teachers' manuals.[23] The year 1877 also saw the publication of his Introduction to botanic teachings at the schools of Victoria, a detailed work of more than 150 pages, designed specifically for elementary schools, to arouse an interest among young people in Australian native plants. Von Mueller wrote:

> The work would enable any child of average mental capacity, even without the aid of a teacher, to name and classify a large number of local indigenous plants, would encourage the formation of collections, would lead to reflecting observations and cheerful recreation without encroachment on the time needed at school for acquiring that first particular and general education more imperative for the practical daily requirements of subsequent life.[24]

This botanical work is beautifully illustrated with line drawings of specimens of eucalyptus trees, ferns, grasses, banksias and acacias. An appendix included von Mueller's original, brief order of plants indigenous to the colony of Victoria.[25] It was recommended for Science examinations for teachers from 1879.[26]

In 1878, William Guilfoyle [27], von Mueller's successor as Director of the Melbourne Botanic Gardens, wrote his First book of Australian botany, specifically designed as a junior class text. Guilfoyle attempted to simplify the technical terms. A second edition was brought out in 1884, following his ABC of botany (1880) which served as an introduction to his earlier work.[28] The Board of Examiners reported that Guilfoyle's works were too elementary to be used in science classes and they prefered J.D.Hooker's Botanical primer on English plants, since they sold at the same price.[29] Of course botany was not a subject of free instruction, and the Board would not recommend any texts in "extra subjects" at the elementary level. Over the next few years Guilfoyle pressed the Education Department for

alterations to the programme to include junior botany, but this failed to make any change.[30]

Health, morals and temperance

Hackwood's Notes of lessons on moral subjects (1856) was introduced into State schools in 1884.[31] This book was designed for use in all departments of the elementary school, the preface stating that teachers should be prepared to illustrate their lessons with suitable reference to Holy Scripture. The book was widely used in Victoria.[32] In it, we are presented with a systematic scheme for moral instruction on forty abstract themes, each as a weekly guide for the teacher and according to new regulations of the Education Act.[33] Hackwood made no bones about the purpose of his book: "The allusions, anecdotes, quotations, etc., herein contained are an earnest attempt to clothe with real human interest those great moral truths which must form the foundation of every true and noble character".[34]

Another important handbook for teachers in elementary schools during this period was Parkes' On personal care of health (1876), published by the Christian Knowledge Society and sold at one shilling.[35] The Education Department ordered 2,000 copies in 1886, to supply at least one for each school.[36]

In 1891 Thomas Brodbibb's Manual of health and temperance was placed on the free list, following numerous

miles, were forced to turn back, the water all the way being salt and unfit for drinking. For this reason they called this stream the Saltwater; but next morning they started again and tried the other branch. After pulling for about an hour and a half they reached a basin in the river, whose beauty filled them with exultation and delight. A rocky ledge over which the river flowed kept the water above it fresh; the soil was rich, and covered with splendid grass, and they instantly came to the conclusion to settle in this favoured spot. Next day they towed the vessel up, and landed where the Custom House now is. At night they slept beside the Falls, where the air was odoriferous with the sweet scent of the wattle trees just bursting into bloom.

They had not been on the river many days before Mr. Wedge—one of Batman's party—in crossing the country from Indented Head to the Yarra, was surprised to see the masts of a vessel rising amid the gum trees. On reaching the river bank, what was his surprise to find, in that lonely spot, a vessel almost embedded in the woods, and the rocks and glades echoing to the sound of hammer and saw and the encouraging shouts of the ploughmen! Wedge informed Fawkner's party that they were trespassers on land belonging to John Batman and Company. Captain Lancey, having heard the story of the purchase, declared that such a transaction could have no value. When Wedge was gone, the settlers laid their axes to the roots of the trees, and began to clear the land for extensive cultivation. A fortnight later Wedge brought round all his party from Indented Head in order to occupy what Batman had marked as the site for a village, and the two rival parties were encamped side by side where the western part of Collins-street now stands. A little later Fawkner arrived with further settlers and with a wooden house, which he

soon erected by the banks of the Yarra, the first regularly built house of Melbourne. He placed it by the side of the densely wooded stream, which was afterwards turned into Elizabeth-street. Great crowds of black and white cockatoos raised their incessant clamour at the first strokes of the axe; but soon the hillside was clear, and man had taken permanent possession of the spot.



EARLY MELBOURNE (FROM THE SOUTH).

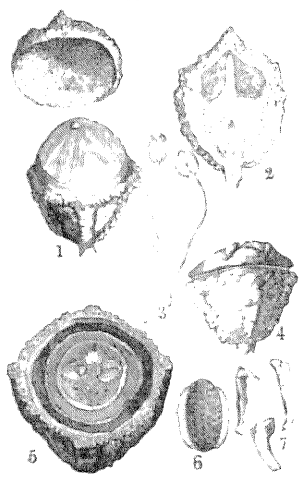
8. William Buckley.—Meanwhile a circumstance had happened which favoured Batman's party in no small degree. The men left at Indented Head were surprised one morning to see an extremely tall figure advancing towards them. His hair was thickly matted; his skin was brown, but not black, like that of the natives; he was almost naked, and he carried the ordinary arms of the aborigines. This was William Buckley, the only survivor

division of the genus or to a series of species, characterised by anthers developed on all stamens, consisting of two parallel cells, each opening by a longitudinal fissure.

To render the exact distinctions, by which the Blue Gum-tree can be separated from any other species, still more clear, next a botanic description of the tree will be given; such will be easily understood by reference to the accompanying woodcuts (Figs. I. and II.), and more readily still by comparison of any fresh flowering and fruiting branchlets.

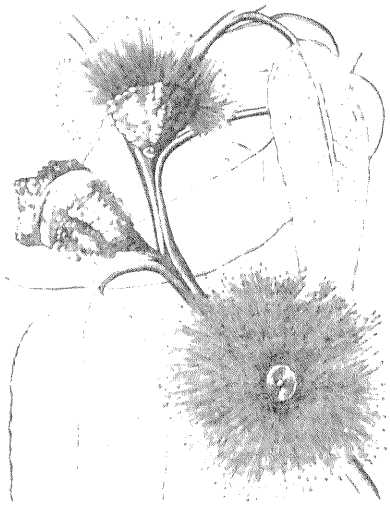
Blue Gum-tree (*Eucalyptus globulus*).—A very tall tree, glabrous in all its parts, of great celerity in growth; bark whitish or ashy-grey outside. Branchlets quadrangular towards the summit. Leaves of the young plant almost heart-shaped, opposite, nearly sessile, of a bluish-white hue; leaves of the more aged plant scattered, on conspicuous stalks, of thick consistence and vertical bearing, thus one of the edges turned upwards as in most Eucalypts (not like in most other kinds of trees the full surface turned to the zenith), shining and of equal green on both sides (and like in most other sorts of trees paler beneath), several inches and occasionally almost a foot long, nearly sickle-shaped-lanceolar, entire at the edge, rather prominently but not closely veined, with a marginal or longitudinal vein somewhat

FIG. II.



expectation; and it derives its name from two Greek words, alluding to the lid (Fig. II. 1), which covers the flowers before expansion. Several other species of Eucalyptus were described by Sir James Smith, before the E. globulus became known. The genus Eucalyptus comprises about 150 species, all Australian except a few from the Indian Islands and New Guinea, none extending to New Zealand and New Caledonia. Next to Acacia it is in Australia the genus richest in species. For grouping these numerous species together into systematic divisions, so as to facilitate the recognition of any of them, two methods are available. For one of these methods the nature of the bark can be adopted as affording a primary and often widely conspicuous characteristic; for the second method of arrangement the nature of the anthers (Fig. II. 3, top) can be chosen for systematic

FIG. I.



[illegible]. In the first case we have to place the Blue [illegible] with smooth barks, the outer cortical [illegible] scrolling and leaving the surface of the bark [illegible] the second case we have to refer this species to a

deputations to the Minister, Charles Pearson, from various temperance associations.[37] An amending Education Act in 1889 required that lessons be given in all State schools on health and temperance.

Brodribb's book is comprehensive and highly factual, stating all the obvious things about food, clothing, drink, dwellings, etc., and stressing the moral and social evils of intemperance. In keeping with contemporary social morality, excessive drinking is linked with mental instability and crime. This book dated very quickly, however, with his graphic accounts of fashion and social behaviour and, although a new edition appeared in 1900, its popularity declined.[38]

Other texts

Music.

There were several other important school texts written at this time and which were in popular use in State schools. The publication of Samuel McBurney's The Australian progressive songster towards the end of the 1890s did much to maintain musical aspects of the elementary school curriculum. This text was one of a long line of locally-written song books, including Walter Bonwick's Australian school song book (1871), J.C.Fisher's School song books (1876 and 1877), Thomas Camm's Australian school songs (1879) and Arthur T. Crook's State schoool music manual

(1881).[39] Dr McBurney (1847-1909)[40] was a "liberal minded musician", principal of the Geelong Ladies' College, and one-time Inspector of Music.[41] His book contained both staff and tonic solfa notations. In his Hints on infant and elementary music teaching (1892),[42] he advised teachers not to sing with the children, never to allow loud, coarse singing, to teach one thing at a time and to establish any theoretical framework after the singing process. McBurney's selection of songs included all the popular Scottish, English and Irish ballads and several Australian poems set to music.

Agriculture.

Throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century, there was interest in the study of agriculture in the elementary school curriculum. The Irish National Agricultural class book was superseded, in 1878, by W.Luplau's translation, The agricultural teacher, of Lacoppidan's Danish work. This text was supplied to all State schools as an alternative reading book.[43] Luplau's account of the Mettray colony in France suggested the importance of agricultural studies to industrial and reform schools.[44] His translation remained the standard work and was listed by the Department of Agriculture in their curriculum proposals in 1891.[45]

Book-keeping

Book-keeping was taught as an "extra subject" in the elementary school and the choice of text was left wholly to

the discretion of the teacher offering the subject.[46] W.J.Handcock, in the Journal of Bankers' Institute of Australasia, complained that business houses used different systems and that there were few text-books on the subject. He wrote: "This lack of uniformity makes it difficult to write a text-book on the subject that will be adopted".[47]

In 1877 James Dimelow, Principal of the Ballarat Commercial College, produced his Commercial Arithmetic made easy as a general guide for teachers.[48] This book, along with his Practical book-keeping made easy received favourable reviews on grounds of its simplicity and that it was a colonial work.[49] Dimelow pressed the Education Department for its adoption,[50] but the Board of Examiners rejected the offers, stating: "Commercial Arithmetic is not taught in State schools... a merchant does not require his servant to be a theorist but a practical expert".[51] Two other books on the subject of book-keeping were rejected for the same reasons: Nichol's Manual of book-keeping and J. Scouller's Practical book-keeping. [52]

Foreign language books.

During this period we find three foreign language publications, all by George Robertson of Melbourne.[53] Lilla Pignolet's Méthode de la lecture comprenant tous les sons français(1885) was dedicated to her pupils in Melbourne "as a mark of esteem and affection" and, in it, she attempted to reduce the common Australian pronunciation problems, "since the art of reading has been neglected here".[54] In 1872, we have Easy method to learn French without a master by Gustav Le Roy.[55] Finally, in 1886, A. Friederich wrote his Deutsch

verb-tabellen, or the accidence of the German language which required students to memorize verb tables and study examination questions given at the Melbourne University.[56]

Conclusion.

During the last decades of the nineteenth century in Victoria, there is evidence of a broadening curriculum in schools, as shown by the books which were published and which coincided with a flourishing, local book trade. Many teachers saw an opportunity to write text-books suitable for schools, but most failed in their efforts to secure the patronage of the Education Department. Despite this, many school texts were published, particularly by George Robertson. Teachers offering "extra subjects" relied on specialist texts for these classes.

The content of the more successful text-books suggests that there was a general desire for locally-written, Australian material. British texts no longer dominated, and there was a move away from 'cramming' and undue memorization, with a greater emphasis on descriptive and narrative detail. At the same time, knowledge of Australian geography, history and botany was greatly advanced by the writings of resident experts. These more relevant Australian curriculum materials were popularised in the schools as a result.

FOOTNOTES, CHAPTER 8.

1. A.D.B.entry on Alexander Sutherland by P.H.Northcott, v.6, p. 222.

2. A.D.B.entry on George Sutherland, by Suzanne G. Mellor, v.6, p. 223.

3. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 794, 87/236, W.F.Thompson to G.W. Brown.

4. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 794, 87/43080.

5. Alexander and George Sutherland, The history of Australia from 1606 to 1876 (1877), p. 160.

6. Marcus Clarke, History of australia and the Island of Tasmania (1877), 320pp.

7. George Sutherland, Easy stories for Australian children: a junior reader of Australian history, correlated with geography, n.d., 99 pp.

8. Alexander Sutherland, A new geography for Australian pupils (1884), p. 66.

9. Ibid., 2nd ed., 1887, p. 253

10. Ibid., p. 66.

11. A.D.B. entry by Iain McCalman, v.6, pp. 311-313.

12. "Alexander Sutherland, M.A., his life and work" - an address given to the Australian Literature Society, 14 November, 1907, in Australian biographical pamphlets, State Library of Victoria, v. 1.

13. George Sutherland, Geography of Australia and New Zealand (1886), preface.

14. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 794, 77/36596.

15. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 794, 77/44787 and 77/20923a

16. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 794, 81/29537, 81/40409 and 81/44477.

17. I used a second edition, 1888.

18. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 794, 83/13883. See Elise Robertson, A brief history of Hamilton District and Alexandra College, 1871-1971, for a photography and account of his work there, 1871-79 and 1884-95.

19. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 794, 82/47143, 82/23795 and 1906/8704.

20. A.D.B. entry on von Mueller by Deidre Morris, v.5, pp. 306-8.

21. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 794, 77/153.

22. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 794, 77/1159.

23. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 794, 79/19351 and 79/19685.

24. Mueller, Baron Ferdinand Jakob Heinrich von, Introduction to botanic teachings at the schools of Victoria, (1877), preface.

25. The book is reviewed in A.S., v.1, no. 1, p. 6.

26. Circular 79/5, P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 794, 90/7905, "Syllabus, Science examinations for teachers".

27. A.D.B., entry on Guilfoyle by Alan Gross, v. 4, pp.307-8.

28. Reviewed in A.S., v. 1, no. 1, p. 106. Pescott, R.T., W.R.Guilfoyle, 1840-1912, (Melbourne, 1974), P. 143, for Guilfoyle's published works.

29. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 794, 80/41765.

30 P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 794, 87/4818.

31. Hackwood, Frederick William, Notes of lessons on moral subjects, (1856).

32. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 794, 84/29822. The letter from Collins to the Education Department stated : "We have 66 dozen Hackwood notes landing this week and we have 250 copies more ordered from Glasgow to land here as soon as suggested by you".

33. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 794, 87/9165 - that two and half hours of "general lessons" per week, to include health and moral lessons for each class or combination of classes.

34. Hackwood, op. cit., Preface.

35. Edmund Alexander Parkes, On personal care of health (1876). Parkes, 1819-1876, was Professor of Hygiene at London University, see D.N.B., v. 15, pp. 294-6. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 794, 85/40760 - Brodribb's report that Parke's was the best, simplest and most easily obtained.

36. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 794, 86/7077.

37. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 794, bundle of docs. "Temperance lobby" at 87/29155 which included the Melbourne Total Abstinence Society, The Independent Order of Good Templars, and the Victorian United Victuallers' Association.

38. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 794, 1900/31447.

39. P.R.O.(Vic.)., Series 794, 83/33370, 81/28684, 79/43028. Also Robin Stevens, "Music in State-supported education in New South Wales and Victoria, 1848-1920", Ph.D. Univ. of Melbourne, 1978, pp. 99-111 and 138-9.

40. A.D.B., on McBurney by Robin Stevens, v. 5, p. 128.

41. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 794, 92/1365 and 99/24311.

42. Stevens, op. cit., passim.

43. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 794, 78/13842, 84/25140 and 85/15362. Charles Pearson was critical of Luplau's translation, claiming inaccuracies and alterations to the original, but the translator defended himself. 78/13842.

44. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 794, 78/26671.

45. P.R.O.(Vic.) Series 794, 91/7499. See also 98/3491 on a scheme for placing boys on the land; 1903/10024, deputation from the Victorian Chamber of Agriculture, and 1908/675, M.E.O'Brien's ms. of his State school text on agriculture.

46. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 794, 80/26895.

47. Ibid., 87/36840.

48. Ibid., 77/44053.

49. Ibid., 77/45480.

50. Ibid., 77/44946, 77/46227 and 83/7795.

51. Ibid., 78/12069.

52. Ibid., 79/26083 and 80/26895.

53. A.D.B. entry on Robertson by J.P.Holroyd, v. 6, p. 37.

54. Pignolet, Méthode de la lecture ... (1885), preface.

55. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 794, 78/28813. See also P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 7794, 00/30346 re. Edward Perier's Illustrated method of learning French.

SUMMARY : PART 2 THE BRITISH PHASE, 1877-1896.

The adoption of the Nelson Royal reader series in 1877 reflects a thoroughly British attitude towards educational issues in the Colony of Victoria. The Irish Readers had dated and their content no longer matched with the spirit of the Victorian Education Act, 1872, making education in the colony free, compulsory and secular. The first round of sensible excisions and adaptations branded the new books, unfairly, as "godless". In fact, the new series maintained the strong moral stance and the high-minded intellectual and cultural traditions of the Irish series.

All six books of the series contained numerous items, often sentimental and didactic in tone, reflecting social and cultural values. Moral and ethical concepts were promoted, overtly in the form of aphorisms to be learnt by heart or, more subtly, within the text. There is much emphasis placed on British patriotism, temperence, racism, work ethos and bravery at war. We noted an emerging theme concerning death which, in war, was considered man's highest ideal. Nevertheless, the new books were, on the whole, interesting, well-graded and delightfully illustrated. The aim of the series was not just to entertain children, but to develop the child's reading skills and present a huge variety of factual knowledge, in combination with extracts

from the best of English literature. This was in keeping with the principles of a liberal education.

Inspectors of schools made rigorous demands in reading lessons, praising exemplar reading by the teacher and simultaneous and individual reading by pupils. They posed difficult questions to gauge pupils' understanding of the texts. The teachers continued to depend on the texts as did their livelihood on the "results", tested from the readers. Consequently, many children were drilled in reading and developed a mechanical, unthinking attitude, being kept on the one book till perfect.

Australian editions were produced in 1879, with David Blair's articles, and, in 1881, with those by Charles Topp. These additions did nothing to change the essential Britishness of the series. There was growing dissatisfaction with the series which failed to meet the needs of the 'New Programme' in 1886, aiming for less cramming and a broader, more relevant curriculum. Following an inter-colonial conference on the issue of reading, the Victorian Department adopted John A. Hartley's South Australian Readers which worked on the phonic method. The Royal readers remained in general use well into the new century, but gradually declined with the production of the monthly School papers in 1896.

During the British phase, the philosophical basis for the study of grammar hardened. With the adoption of Morell's

grammar into Victorian schools, the emphasis was placed on sentence analysis, and there was less stress on inflexions of words, roots and derivations. Locally-produced grammar books in the 1870s failed to break the grasp Morell's books had on the school curriculum.

Throughout the British phase, however, we have noted some impressive local publications which gained increasing support within the 'New Programme', emphasising local knowledge relevant to colonial children. The most successful of these were works by Charles Pearson and Herbert Strong, John Burston, William Guilfoyle and Alexander and George Sutherland. Others tried and failed. The more successful ones demonstrate a growing intellectual assertiveness away from the Home country which was to develop greatly during the third, National Phase, 1896-1948.

PART III. THE NATIONAL PHASE, 1896-1948.

Chapter 9. The production of the "School paper".

> We should aim at making our artisans thinkers and not mere mechanical joiners and fitters; our agriculturalists observers, and not simply delvers; our orchardists savants in the life and diseases of trees and plants.
> Age, 25 January 1899, "Eye and hand training".

The introduction of the School papers as a key component of the school curriculum reflected both a desire for more Australian content in reading matter and a demand in the printing world for more local production. A resolution passed in the Victorian Legislative Assembly in 1895 must be seen as a turning point : it resolved that "in the opinion of this House, reading books, and, as far as possible, all other books used in state schools should be compiled and written in the colony".[1]

A precedent had already been established to some extent in Victoria with the production of a number of excellent school books such as Long's Science simplified, (1894), Brodribb's Health and temperance, (1891) and Burston's State school arithmetic, (1877). However, an even much stronger precedent had been established in South Australia with the work of J.A.Hartley [2] with his "Adelaide primers" and a monthly reading sheet, the Children's hour, both produced locally.[3] Clearly Victorian educationalists were seeking something similar to the Adelaide model.

At the same time, parliamentarians in Victoria deplored the fact that Sutherland's Geography had been sent to Scotland for printing at a time when the local printing industry was suffering from the Depression. They argued that the works should all be produced locally, which would be cheaper and better in the long-run for everyone, including the parents. The parliamentary debates on this matter reflect a strong desire for more Australian material. There was a move, also, for the flexible format of a monthly reading sheet. The Honorable Alexander Peacock, then Minister for Public Instruction in Victoria, expressed a desire for an Australian Reader to be shared by all colonies, as well as for some monthly reading material to stimulate children's interest in reading and give them something new to look forward to each month.[4]

In response to this debate, the Minister directed the Board of Education to produce a monthly reading sheet. Charles Long was appointed as editor, and the first issue of the Victorian School paper appeared in February 1896.

Charles Long was an excellent choice. He was very much a man of his times. He was ambitious, intelligent and hard-working and yet, in comparison with his close friend and colleague Frank Tate, he was shy, a slower thinker, whose naive idealism nevertheless allowed him to question the received educational wisdom of his time.[5] In a

comparatively short time he had built up a considerable reputation. In teacher politics, he was on the committee of the Victorian Male Teachers' Union formed in 1885 and wrote in favour of non-militant, "esprit de corps" attitudes for the teaching profession and, above all, for rigorous teacher training. In 1893 he travelled to South Australia to study teaching and reading methods used there. He was in favour of the phonic method of teaching reading in combination with the "look and say" methods, and he had made a special study of the Children's hour. He had spoken out against the prevailing practice of simultaneous and pattern reading. From a literary background, with an M.A. from the University of Melbourne in 1889, Long was appointed to the Inspectorate in 1890 and, shortly after, to the position of training-master to pupil teachers.[6] He was a close colleague of Frank Tate, the future Director. They had studied and lived together as students at the Training College and, just prior to his marriage in 1886, Long lived in the Tate household in East Melbourne.[7] Both Tate and Long had suffered from overwork and had, from time to time, each suffered bouts of extreme nervous tension. Long was troubled by defective eye sight and criticised for not involving himself with school cadets. But hard work and ambition won through and their careers together progressed despite retrenchments at the Training College and the general lack of career advancement for teachers at that time. They worked

together on setting up an educational museum at the Training College which contained teaching aids, books and samples of children's work. This project was designed expressly to help pupil-teachers pass their examinations, raise the standard of teaching in schools and to encourage young teachers to make their own aids, maps, models and diagrams, in order to involve their pupils in more meaningful, less bookish class work.

In 1894 both Tate and Long decided that the only way to hold on to their positions with the Education Department lay in offering to run special classes for pupil-teachers. Despite the turmoil of retrenchments and resignations, they managed to save their jobs in teacher training, although it nearly cost them their health. Long's task was to travel between the three country centres of Geelong, Ballarat and Bendigo and virtually use his own resources, with little support from the Education Department. It was at this time that he published his Science work simplified, emphasising the experimental side of the prescribed course for teacher training. John Burston, whom he met in Ballarat, suggested that Long's publication be placed beside his on the Department list for the use of teacher training, but the submission was rejected three months later by the Board.[8]

The aim of the School paper was to publish a variety of material to stimulate interest in reading. The Board wanted to include extracts from the classics, and well-known prose

and poetic works such as those reproduced in the Royal reader series, in combination with material which would develop interest in the home colony, in Australia and in the British Empire. The School paper was also to foster an interest in plants, birds and animals, and to supply information on the developments in science and technology. Above all, it aimed to be up-to-date and informative on current issues and events.[9] Indirectly, it promoted correct moral attitudes and, as we shall see, it became a vehicle for promoting conservative social values in the minds of the young readers.

Long's main tasks were to select and acknowledge material from a wide variety of sources, promote original material from teachers and other interested parties, adapt articles to an accepted standard for the various grade levels and provide vocabulary lists for difficult words and expressions. For the first three years, each issue was checked by the Inspector General, the Secretary and members of the Board of Examiners, "so as to keep out debatable material".[10] Thereafter, Long was given greater authority, which helped speed up printing and circulation following the numerous deputations from the News Agents Association who were those most inconvenienced by delays and the uncertainty of delivery dates.

The School papers were an immediate success. The standard of writing may have been too difficult at times for

the children of the Third Classes, but it was comparable to that in the third Royal reader. These simple reading sheets were easy to produce and sold cheaply.[11] They were well illustrated, contained a great variety of information, including literary extracts, original compositions, newspaper accounts of current events, notes, local news, anecdotes, puzzles and snippets of domestic advice. In the absence of anything better in many households, the articles on topical events and current issues were a source of interest and education for many families, especially in isolated rural communities and farms in pioneering districts. Indeed, Long hinted at this in one of the early issues :

> My dear children,
>
> In order to make the School paper somewhat like the paper your father gets to read, we shall every month tell you in simple words some of the news of the great world.
>
> We hope that you will be pleased with the "News and Notes" page, and that by carefully studying it and your other lessons, and by often reading aloud, you will be able, by-and-by, to entertain your parents and yourselves with the news from any paper that they may permit you to have.
>
> With best wishes to you,
>
> I am,
>
> Yours faithfully,
>
> The Editor.[12]

With personal touches like this, as well as the large number of original contributions from teachers on local matters of general interest, the School papers represented a major

change in what was presented in schools and were refreshingly Australian, varied and highly informative.[13] Subsequently, however, they became rather too anecdotal in character, and eventually there was a move back to the graded reading book for all levels. Nevertheless, for some thirty-four years the School papers constituted the main material officially supplied by the Education Department for reading lessons. [14]

After the success of the first issues for the Third Classes, a second series for Fourth Classes was issued. From these children were examined in poetry, reading, spelling, dictation and composition.[15] In September 1898 a third series, designed for the Fifth and Sixth Classes, was published. Long's work had so increased that he was relieved of his other duties as Training-master and offered an honorarium of £25 per annum above his salary. [16] The widespread use of the School papers was ratified by the inspectors at their annual conference in 1899, and the Nelson Royal readers were phased out of use. However, the inspectors advised that the School papers for the Fifth and Sixth Classes should be enlarged and that a supplementary history text be used. [17]

The contents of the "School papers"

The School papers reflect the conservative social views of their time, are predominantly British in tone and contents.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT, VICTORIA.

THE SCHOOL PAPER.

FOR CLASSES V. AND VI.

VOL. I., NO. 1.] MELBOURNE. [SEPTEMBER, 1898.

A VOICE FROM THE WEST.

Sen'ti-nel, soldier set to watch.
Loy'al-ly, faithfully.

Twain, two.
Main, ocean.



Reproduced from a design on a post card forwarded from America to the Australian Natives Association, and kindly brought under the notice of the Education Department by the President, Dr. Percy Salmon, M.L.A.

[Recently, the Chinese Government was forced to lease small portions of its territory, and give certain trading rights to some of the leading European nations. As all were not treated alike, great jealousy arose in connection with the concessions made. On more than one occasion, it seemed that Great Britain, in order to maintain her position, would be compelled to go to war. The people of the United States showed much sympathy for our country, and a disposition to support her claims if the need should arise.

In the following verses, the poet-laureate[1] embodies this expression of good-will, and replies on behalf of the British nation.

The kinship between the peoples of Great Britain and the United States having come to be more and more valued, has produced the desire, so evident during the last few months, for a closer political union between the two countries.]

What is the voice I hear
On the wind of the western sea?
Sentinel! listen from out Cape Clear,
And say what the voice may be.
"'Tis a proud, free people calling loud to a people proud and free.

"And it says to them, 'Kinsmen, hail!
We severe have been too long;
Now let us have done with a worn-out tale,
The tale an ancient wrong,[2]
And our friendship last long as love doth last, and be stronger than death is strong?'"

Answer them, sons of the self-same race,
And blood of the self-same clan,
Let us speak to each other, face to face,
And answer as man to man;
And loyally love and trust each other, as none but free men can.

Price 1d.

royalist in view and overtly support the military endeavours of the British during the Boer war and the First World War. However, we have to note the selection of Australian authors and the injection of much locally-produced material. The series was essentially non-literary, the poetry of the heavy, sentimental and didactic type, and the fiction limited to extracts from Robinson Crusoe and Alice in Wonderland.

It is evident that the School papers were a useful organ of communication between the Education Department, its teachers and the parents. Notes were included from time to time explaining the use of the series for examination purposes, the issue of new levels and the gradual replacement of the Royal readers.[18] Parents were advised on health matters such as contagious and infectious diseases, the evils of smoking and of drinking directly from taps.[19] The Director of Education, Frank Tate, used the series to explain aspects of education to parents and, as a matter of urgency in 1916, pressed all readers to join the Young Workers' Patriotic Guild in an impassioned, four-page open letter on the Nation's debt to those fighting in the War.[20] Long's regular use of newspaper extracts also tends to emphasise current community issues.[21] There is a desirable educational tone throughout, emphasising good English expression, sound treatment of vocabulary and general rules on spelling from Meiklejohn's Spelling book.[22]

The war theme in the "School papers".

The war theme strikes one of the strongest notes in the series. There is the usual group of war poems, the "Charge of the Light Brigade", "A soldier's prayer" and "Ye mariners of England". We find articles on the Royal Welsh Fusiliers, on the brave bugler Dunn who played on despite his wounds, accounts of the Crimean War, of bravery in battle, of the work of the Victorian Junior Cadet Corps.[23]

In 1900 there appeared a special series of articles on the Boer War, including vivid descriptions of battles, on people's personal experiences of the war and on the gallantry of particular contingents in South Africa.[24] One article, abridged from the Argus, described the Boers :

> These curious people are a whole century behind the times in their ideas upon most questions.They know little or nothing of what is going on in Europe and in the rest of the world. Their reckless defiance of Great Britain is really owing to their ignorance of the latter country's wealth and immense resources for carrying on war. They actually despise the British today and regard themselves as "chosen people" of these latter times.[25]

Clearly the editor was prepared to present material arrogantly justifying British imperialism. There was, of course, no putting forward of opposing points of view. We find accounts of the return of invalided soldiers to Australia and lists of Victorian officers who died in defence of the Empire. It is made quite clear that the Boer War was undertaken to maintain the integrity of the British

Empire and the honour of its flag. There is no evidence of the Editor's personal opinions but the extracts, especially those from British newspapers, demonstrate clearly the educators' willingness to propagate conservative social and political views.

In 1914, in precisely the same way, whole issues were devoted to the War, on its causes, on particular events and on individual contributions to the war effort.[26] There are several appeals to British girls and boys (ie. Australian children), to form patriotic leagues. There are accounts of patriotic meetings of teachers in Melbourne, special send-offs to enlisted teachers and advice on what children can do in wartime.[27]

In 1928 the School paper issued a special "Peace number" which greatly appealed to the various peace and disarmament movements.[28] H.B.Higgins, for instance, wrote to the editor, Gilbert Wallace: "I feel justified in sending you my hearty congratulations. It is to the young we must look for the spread of ideals. I propose to suggest...that the Pact for the outlawing of war should be hung up in the schoolrooms of Australia. Do you see any objection?"[29] Subsequently, Gilbert Wallace arranged for 1,500 copies to be printed on art paper, bound and sold to the general public, but the response was meagre and the remainder given to the World Disarmament Movement.

The British influence in the "School papers".

Throughout the whole series there is much interest in British royalty and British patriotic sentiment. We find articles on the girlhood of Queen Victoria, on Queen Victoria's sixtieth anniversary, descriptions of the Jubilee celebrations held in Melbourne and Australia's gift, by leading graziers, of 20,000 fat sheep and 500 fat bullocks to the Princess of Wales for her dinners to the poor as part of these celebrations. [30] We are presented with full-page photographs of the sons of the Governor General in 1901 and black-bordered issues in March on the death of Queen Victoria and in June 1910 for Edward V11. [31] From time to time there are Empire Day issues, emphasising monarchy and the motherland. [32]

The British flag is described and dissected and one has the impression that children were meant to know these details as part of their general knowledge. [33] To some extent, this emphasis reflects the tenuous national identity at Federation and a sense of colonial isolation and vulnerability. The strong cultural links are reflected in the passage on why the flag should be honoured, in the words of the Countess of Jersey :

> Well, boys, that flag is the symbol of our union, and it is also for you the symbol of hope. The present century is drawing to a close... and you boys will be the men of England. If you do your duty now, not only by winning your cricket and football matches, and gaining your school prizes, but in the varied spheres of your lives, then we

> hope that you can form one regiment in that great army which in war and in peace, will make our England triumphant in the future as it has been in the past. 34

As part of this process of national protection and British identity, flags were regularly hoisted over schools and patriotic allegiance sworn. On the 14 May 1901 after a telegraphic message from H.R.H.Duchess of Cornwall and York, there were simultaneous hoistings of the Union Jack and the singing of "God save the King", followed by three cheers for the "grand old flag", in an estimated 7,000 schools throughout the country. 35

Elements of moral and social order in the "School papers"

The editor and his advisers were pleased to include material supporting Christian social ethics and stalwart moral behaviour. This included excerpts from the Psalms, poetry such as Pope's "Dying Christian to his soul", Mrs Hemans' "The graves of a household" and the Rev Charles Wolfe's "The Burial of Sir John Moore",36 all of which appeared at one time or another in the earlier Readers. These were the "old favourites" of the earlier generations. In the poem "Be thorough boys", the reader is urged to "Act the Christian gentleman".37 There were distinct rules of social conduct listed, on the premise of "do unto others as you would have other do unto you", which included avoiding the use of bad language, being kind to animals, and being truthful, kind and gentle to others, particularly the old, weak or

afflicted. Courage, of course, was promoted in all things. In the story "The gallant middy" the mother advised her son:

> When you are on deck, by day or night,let the grandeur of the sea and sky make God seem near to you and drive all mean and evil thoughts away. Be true to God, and you will never be false to your duty or your fellow-men. I shall indeed be proud of my 'gallant middy' if he tries to live in God's fear and love. [38]

The gallant middy answered quietly, "I'll try, mother" and, after brave adventures, became an admiral of the British Navy. The School papers emphasise heroism and bravery, charity, obedience and hard work. Under the heading "why a boy should learn his lessons", the reader is told :

> The schoolboy who shirks his lessons may think he is doing a clever thing; but his father and mother and teacher know better. The lesson may be irksome and may need an amount of work that causes weariness and a strong desire to throw them aside; but they are necessary - very necessary - to any real success in life. A noble man was never made by softness and sloth. Everything that is worth having has to be struggled for. [39]

It is interesting to examine how Long managed to gather so much material. In one case a Lord Brassey of Park Lane forwarded a specimen lesson from the Moral Instruction League of London to the Minister, Peacock, with a laconic "what do you think of the enclosed?" [40] Peacock was so impressed that he told Long to publish it in the monthly paper and obtain others of the series. The series of lessons on 'courage' emphasised bravery in war from both sides, the endurance of explorers, the courage of the working man and

woman and those who work for the common good. The series concluded that learning makes you more able and with this hard work you become braver. 41

Certainly, the work ethos is strong throughout the series. An item on energy and perseverance stated :

> Remember, it is not always the brilliant genius who comes out ahead in the contest for life's best prizes; more often, it is the patient plodder, the man who works hard, who husbands his time and turns every moment to good account. "The longer I live," says Sir Thomas F. Buxton, "the more I am certain that the great difference between men, between the strong and powerful, the weak and insignificant, is energy - invincible determination - a purpose once fixed, and then death or victory. This quality will enable a man to do anything a man can do, and no two-legged creature can be a man without it." 42

These sentiments are probably held just as firmly today, in some circles, as they were then. They illuminate the essential toughness of the Victorian mind, the high personal ambition, and the ruthlessness which made for imperial domination. Educationalists promulgated these attitudes rather than calling for consideration for the rights of others, for meekness of soul or for the Christian policy of turning the other cheek. They valued, in other words, a tough and independent approach to social mobility and national development. What really counted in the affairs of the nation was the national survival, the desire to subjugate "uncivilized" peoples and to overcome the harsh economic realties of the day. Considerations of individual charity and personal integrity were secondary factors to the

greater cause of nationalism. History has since taught us that nationalism, and the emotional propaganda which went with it, led only to war.

An emerging Australian view in the "school papers"

Although the School papers were predominantly British in tone and express a royalist and militaristic view, there is, as noted, a strong and developing sense of Australian identity, certainly much stronger than that found in earlier reading books. This was partly helped by the fairly consistent contributions from teachers and local bodies connected with the state schools. There were accounts of excursions, school work, particularly nature-study and gardening, and the work of local industries, mostly accompanied by full-page photographs. [43] These articles tend to give the series an amateur flavour, but are clearly designed to interest children in a practical sort of way. They are shown how money is made, the danger of dynamite caps, how to treat snakebite, the nature of sharks, lyre birds, articles on first-aid, the work of Bushman's Corps and military drill. [44] The series also has some delightful accounts of local tourist spots, such as Wilson's Promontory and the Byaduk Caves, and the journey by train from Adelaide to Melbourne. [45] The reader is also treated to poetry by A.B.Paterson, and extracts from Ethyl Turner's Seven little Australians and Rusden's History of Australia. [46]



In keeping with the policy of presenting news and current affairs to the classroom, there is considerable emphasis on the coming of Australian Federation and the events leading up to it in 1901. They included a straightforward political profile of Edmund Barton, the leader of the Federal Convention. [47] There were several federation anthems and Australian patriotic songs, with words by J.Brunton Stephens, William Gay and the Rev. William Allen.[48] Not all submissions were published, however.[49]

It is probably fair to conclude that the producers of the School paper were aware of its shortcomings. When E.S.Emerson produced "The benign mother - a day in a Victorian bush school" in 1908, Long stated that it was worthy of inclusion in the Franco-British exhibition at Shepherd's Bush that year.[50] The article emphasised the Australian theme and was prepared to criticise the School papers along these lines :

> In the higher classes "The School Paper" is constantly used for the reading lesson, and although, from a broad Australian point of view, the paper is not all that it might be, still, in bringing before the scholars accurate illustrated accounts of Australian history, of the work of gallant explorers, of the life history of Australian birds, insects and animals, and in giving examples of the best work of Australia's best verse writers of the feminine school, it is not only an admirable aid to education , but is frequently a means of arousing enthralling interest and patriotic fervor. It is good to know that this school paper is used in Westralia and

> Tasmania also, for its tendency is not so much for the making of Australia for Australians, as for making of Australians for Australia : two very different matters. [51]

These shortcomings were eventually resolved, as we shall see, with Long's production of the Victorian school readers from 1928, when most of the British, royalist and militaristic elements were put to rest once and for all.

One remaining important feature in the School papers concerns the treatment of the Australian Aboriginal. In the School paper for Class 3 there are several articles by A.W.Howitt, including his delightful account of William Buckley - the "wild white man" of Port Phillip. [52] There is nothing in Howitt's accounts which could be construed as racist. Indeed he showed respect for tribal laws and customs. J.D.Hambrook's article "Merri-jig" mentioned sources of conflict between black and the squatter, and implied that the whites were invariably defensive. [53] In a much later article, Professor Baldwin Spencer wrote :

> There can be little doubt that, if we wish to gain as close an insight as we may into the early organization of mankind, the one chance which we have of doing so is to study the Australian Aboriginal while yet he remains amongst us ... If we allow them to pass away as they are doing ...then we are losing an opportunity that will never come again. [54]

Whilst there is nothing in the School papers which can be seen as essentially racist, the issues of racial tension or inequality of opportunity in Australia were not seen as suitable material to present to the more advanced students

for discussion or debate. Instead, the social conscience of the young was directed, after Federation, towards effective citizenship under a British flag. Australia was, in Long's own words, "a peaceful land, with a mother country able and willing to stretch out a protecting arm should the need arise". 55

Certainly Long's career with the Education Department was varied and always challenging. He was no shrinking violet. In 1899 he was appointed a member of the Royal Commission on technical education and was critical of some of the findings, refusing to sign some of the reports and, instead, submitting minority papers.[56] In 1901 he gave a major paper at the Federal Education Congress in Melbourne and was quick to interpret the "winds of change" in the mould of the New Education of Froebel and Herbart.[57]

Charles Long was assiduous and dedicated, but somewhat humourless, and he lacked the assertiveness, the charisma and the ambitious personal vision of Tate.[58] He had taught science with great success. He had helped organise the State School Teachers' Literary Society set up by Tate in 1892 and was a prominent member of Melbourne's Shakespeare Society, then one of the main meeting places for many of Melbourne's cultural and literary leaders. Like most educationalists of that period he saw literature as a powerful moral and intellectual force, but he was preoccupied with mainstream English writers of the past and there was less scope for

promoting Australian nationalist writers. This helps explain the strong British context of many of the School papers.

It is not easy to assess the long-term effectiveness of Charles Long without some thought to the social and political background and the constraints of his Victorian childhood and the confines of his personal vision and ambition. As editor of the School papers for thirty years, he was able to promote his own literary and historical interests and, obviously, worked within the constraints of accepted community and educational standards and in a manner which was both responsible and socially and politically expedient. True, the war propaganda of the School papers was strong but it was in keeping with the spirit of those times. It is interesting to note that in 1915 the Lady Teachers' Association met with Long to ask for "less war-like" material to appear in the issues, but, as Selleck comments, "the Paper was relatively mild in its anti-German articles and photogaphs ..."[59]

Long's photograph shows him as a cultured and relaxed person, at ease with himself and his circumstances. His overall contribution to the State's education system was in many ways just as vital as Tate's, and his influence was strong. His effectiveness as the Department's editor can be gauged by the fact that there was no one suitable to replace him when he retired in 1926 and this helped, as we shall see in the next chapter, the decision to publish a set of

Readers for which Long was called out of retirement. Tate's speech at Long's retirement at the Oriental Hotel in 1926 refers to him as "a fine lieutenant" and establishes clearly the closeness of their working relationship.[60] We shall see, in the course of the next chapter, how Long's Victorian readers infact developed along a somewhat different line to the material presented in the School papers. This new series was to dominate Victorian primary school educational practice for another generation.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT, VICTORIA.

THE SCHOOL PAPER.

FOR CLASS IV. (1909).

No. 131.] MELBOURNE. [APRIL, 1909.

THE FIRE AT ROSS'S FARM.

Squat'ter, now, a sheep farmer; formerly, one who grazed sheep over land for which he had no title.

Se-lect'-or, one who takes up a block of Crown land and by annual payments acquires a title for it.

Drouth (*ou* as *ow* in *now*), drought; long spell of dry weather.

Aisle (*ile*), side division of a church which is cut off from the central part by a row of pillars.

1. The squatter saw his pastures wide
Decrease as, one by one,
The farmers, moving to the west,
Selected on his run;
Selectors took the water up
And all the black soil round;
The best grass-land the squatter had
Was spoilt by Ross's ground.

2. One Christmas time, when months of drouth
Had parched the western creeks,
The bush-fires started in the north,
And travelled south for weeks.
At night, along the river side,
The scene was grand and strange—
The hill-fires looked like lighted streets
Of cities in the range.

3. The cattle-tracks between the trees
Were like long, dusky aisles:
And, on a sudden breeze, the fire
Would sweep along for miles;
Like sounds of distant musketry,
It crackled through the brakes;
And, o'er the flat of silver grass,
It hissed like angry snakes.

4. It leapt across the flowing streams,
And raced o'er pastures broad;
It climbed the trees, and lit the boughs,
And through the scrubs it roared.
The bees fell stifled in the smoke,
Or perished in their hives;
And, with the stock, the kangaroos
Went flying for their lives.

Mus'ket-ry, fire of muskets, firearms once carried by soldiers.

Sti'fled, smothered.

Run, tract of land over which sheep and cattle graze.

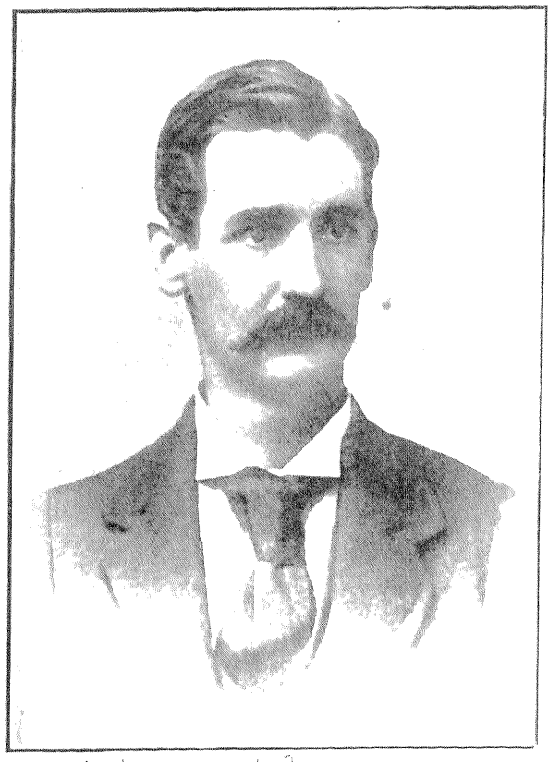
Reck'less, careless.

Nerved, braced.

Fiend'ish, specially cruel or wicked.

Grim'y, dirty.

5. The sun had set on Christmas Eve,
When, through the scrub-lands wide,
Young Robert Black came riding home
As only natives ride.



Henry Lawson

He galloped to the homestead door,
And gave the first alarm:
"The fire is past the granite spur
And close to Ross's farm.

Price 1d.

FOOTNOTES, CHAPTER 9.

1. Votes and proceedings (Legislative Assembly) Session 1895-6, Wednesday 7 August 1895, vol.1,p.80.
Also Parliamentary Debates (Victoria), vol.77, pp.1379-86.

2. G.E.Saunders, "J.A.Hartley and the foundation of the public school system in South Australia" in Pioneers of Australian education, vol.2, pp.149-192.

3. J.A.Hartley, First primer, Second primer, the Introductory reader, referred to as the "Adelaide readers" or "Adelaide primers". Hartley's Children's hour was first issued in March 1889 according to Sweetman, op. cit., p. 125, and in October 1891 according to Saunders, op. cit., p.173.

4. The South Australian Education Department had been firmly committed to the local production of classroom materials for some years. For example, Map of Australia and New Zealand, prepared for the use of teachers under the Education Department of South Australia, 1882. P.R.O. (Vic.), Series 794, 83/26235. For the parliamentary debates, see P.P.(Vic.) (Legislative Assembly), Session 1895-6, Wednesday 7 August 1895, vol. 1, p.80. Also, P.D., vol. 1XXV11, pp. 1379-1386.

5. For this and following see R.J.W.Selleck, Frank Tate: a biography, especially pp. 29, 47, 54-5, 71-2. For Long's activities in teacher politics, see A.S., September 1885, pp. 230-31 and November 1885, p. 266.

6. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 794, 90/48947 for Long's appointment as inspector.
See also "The recollections of Charles Long" in Melbourne Studies in Education, 1963, pp.210-279.

7. For this and following see Selleck, op. cit., passim. For the period before 1887 see "Recollections", op. cit.

8. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 794, 94/13556

9. Sweetman, op. cit., pp. 283-5.

10. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 794, 99/29543 for this and following point.

11. For each series, each item consisted of sixteen pages, printed on one sheet, with four folds, continuous pagination

and sent out uncut. The issues for Third Classes were sold for half a penny and for the higher classes for one penny. The same press was being used 74 years later for the first publication of Orbit and Meteor in 1968. See V. & R., p. 1067.

12. School paper, 111, vol. 1, no. 3, p. 46.

13. Ibid., no. 2, p. 32 listing 10 newspapers which had granted permission to the Education Department to use their columns. Much use was made of the Australasian for illustrations.

14. The Victorian Reader series, eight in number, began appearing in 1928. As well, the Education Department also produced a Reader of its own in 1901 to replace Royal reader no. 2, which, when published by George Robertson in 1907, was called The Victorian reading book.

15. School paper, 111, vol. 1, no. 5, p. 78.

16. P.R.O.(Vic.) Series 794, 98/11641.

17. Ibid. Unfiled and unnumbered. "Annual conference of Inspectors, 24-26 January 1899, 29pp. Twenty-two delegates in attendance. p.3.

18. For example, School Paper (Class 1V), vol.1, no.1, June 1897, p.1. and School Paper (Class 111), vol.1, no.10, November 1896, p.158.

19. School Paper (Classes V & V1) July 1904, p.96 (extract from Boys own paper) and School Paper (Class 1V), vol.11, no.19, February 1899, p.160.

20. School Paper (Classes V & V1), March 1916 and July 1917.

21. School Paper (Class 111), vol.1, no.2, p.32, that the proprietors of the Argus,Age,Herald,Evening News,Australasian, Leader Weekly Times,Sun,Ballarat Courier,Kyneton Guardian, all kindly granted permission to the Education Department to use extracts from their columns.

22. These were usually on the back page of most issues.

23. School Paper (Class 111), 1900, pp.40-1 and School Paper (class 1V), vol.1, no.2, July 1897, pp. 27-30; July 1900, p. 17 and pp. 27-8.

24. School Paper (Class 1V), 1900, p.94, p.115, p.126, pp.148-9 and School Paper (Classes V & V1), vol. 2, no. 16, February 1900.

25. Ibid., pp. 145-8.

26.School Paper (Grades V11 & V111), 1914, pp. 197 and passim.

27. School Paper (Grades V11 & V111), 1915, passim.

28. School paper, Special issue, November, 1928.

29. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 794, 1930/3347 for this and following point.

30. School Paper (Class 111), vol. 1, no. 6, July 1896, pp. 84-6; School Paper (Class V1), vol. 1, no. 1, June 1897, p. 14 and vol. 1, no. 2, July 1897, passim.

31. These appear in March 1901 and June 1910.

32. eg. Special Empire number, 1908.

33. School Paper (Class 111), vol. 1, no. 4, May 1896, p. 51 and School Paper (Class V1), vol. 1, no. 2, July 1897, p. 23.

34. School Paper (Class 1V), vol. 1, no. 7, December 1897, p. 111.

35. School Paper (Class 1V), vol. 3, no. 31, June 1901, p.144.

36. Psalms appeared regularly in School Paper (Class 1V). For these poems see School Paper (Class 1V) vol. 1, no. 6, p. 85; 1900, p. 148; vol.11, no. 22, pp. 166-7.

37. School Paper (Class 111), vol. 1, no. 6, July 1896, p.83.

38. School Paper (Class 111), vol. 1, no. 8, p. 123.

39. School Paper (Class 1V), vol. 2, no. 20, March 1899, pp. 143-4.

40. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 794, 98/26030. See A.D.B. entry on Brassey.

41. School paper (Class 1V), vol. 2, no. 15, pp. 58-9; no. 16, pp. 75-77; no. 17, pp. 88-90; no. 19, pp. 120-1 and no. 20, p. 136.

42. School Paper (Class 1V), vol. 1, no. 4, June 1897, p.54.

43. Good examples of this can be found in School Paper (Class 111), 1902, p. 147; School Paper (Class V & V1), 1902, p. 157.

44. School Paper (Class 111), vol. 1, no. 4, pp. 55-8 and vol. 1, no. 5, pp. 71-2; School Paper (Class 1V), vol. 1, no. 10, pp. 145-8 and pp. 155-6, vol. 11, no. 14, pp. 43-7.

45. For instance School Paper, (Class 111), vol. 1 no. 8, p. 125, p. 143 and School Paper (Class 1V), vol. 1, no. 6, pp. 82-5.

46. School Paper (Class 111), vol. 1, no. 3, pp. 40-1; School Paper (Class 1V), vol. 1, no. 4, pp. 56-7 and vol.1, no. 9, pp. 129-134.

47. School Paper (Class 1V), vol 1, no. 10, April 1898, pp. 157-8.

48. School Paper (Class 111), vol 1, no. 7, p. 97 and School Paper (Class 1V), vol. 1, no. 9, March 1898, p. 129 and vol 11, no. 21, p. 145.

49. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 794, 98/12252.

50. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 794, 08/6693, which is an eleven page printed document. Long's memo reads : "an interesting and comprehensive account of the work done in a good country school - worthy of the Franco-British exhibition at Shepherd's Bush".

51. Ibid., p. 6. See Appendix 13.

52. School Paper (Class 111), vol. 1, no. 2, p 18; vol. 1 no.3, pp. 44-6; vol. 1 no. 6, pp. 91-3. For biographical details on Alfred William Howitt (1830-1908), see W.E.H.Stanner's comprehensive A.D.B. entry, vol. 4, pp.432-5.

53. School Paper (Class 1V), vol. 1, no. 4, September 1897, pp. 57-9. Stammer's A.D.B. article, loc.cit., refers to Howitt's earlier hard line on social and racial attitudes and a later softening of attitude towards Australian Aboriginals. He points out that there was nothing in Howitt's writings which suggests that he agreed with his

father's condemnation of Europeans for their treatment of native peoples of Australia, as expressed in his Colonization and Christianity, (1838).

54. School Paper, (Class 1V) vol. 2, no. 20, June 1900, pp. 142-3.

55. Long's article "Our own land", School Paper (Class 111) vol. 74a, 18 May 1905, pp. 12-14.

56. Royal Commission on Education, V.P.P., 1899-1901, especially 1899 -1900, vol 4, pp. 1,5,6. See also Selleck, op. cit., pp.114-116.

57. Report of the Proceedings of the Federal Educational Congress, Melbourne, 1901. See also Selleck, op. cit., p.126.

58. For this and the following points, see Selleck, op.cit., passim.

59. Ibid., p. 216.

60. Education Gazette and Teachers' Aid, February 1926, p.51.

Chapter 10. The "Victorian readers".

> Books are and have always been subject to the whims of fashion, like a taste in millinery or ear-rings, but by degrees from among the mutable forms and popular fancies there emerges the incorruptible, even as when on southern beaches the dredged oysters rot away, and there glimmer the few rare pearls which are the ransom of a king.
>
> E.F.Benson, As we were, p. 330.

> "Don't let up on Lazy Tok - keep the old girl running!"
>
> M.Skipper of the Bulletin to W.Place, letter, 20 July 1956, Education History Section, Ministry of Education, (Rialto Building), Special case 1207.

The introduction of the "Victorian readers".

In July 1923 an important conference was held in the Director's room on the issue of standardization of school books.[1] This meeting included four senior representatives from the Education Office, four from the Head Teachers' Association, three from the Authorised News Agents' Association and five delegates from the School Committees' Association. The acting Director, Alfred Fussell, was in the chair. The Minister, Sir Alexander Peacock, opened the Conference and promptly withdrew. It was at this meeting that we first hear of the general desire for a class Reader which would effectively replace the monthly School papers. It was agreed that the aim of a good class Reader was to give children a fine taste for reading and to improve the child's outlook on life. In fact, the delegates wanted

something similar to the Royal readers, books which would physically last up to ten years and thereby serve a whole family. Although the School papers provided a variety of reading matter, they represented a continuous expenditure by parents for each child. The School papers had also become increasingly anecdotal, offering less scope for material of lasting literary value.

Earlier in 1923 there had been much controversy in the press over the increasing prices of school books, their poor distribution and the unnecessary variety of prescribed texts between schools.2 The Minister was frequently misquoted for his comment : "The profiteering that goes on is something damnable". A correspondent to the Age accused the Education Department of nepotism over school books - that the authors were invariably senior officers benefiting from royalties and that a strong monopoly had been established by Department officials for the Melbourne publishing firm of Whitcombe and Tombs. It appears that there was, in reality, an over-supply of some texts and shortage of others, especially in country areas. Generally, there was too great a choice, and confusion and expense for pupils moving from one school to another. Clearly, some degree of standardization was necessary.

Other pressure groups were lobbying for changes in the area of school books, notably the Womens' Section of the Victorian Country Party, which argued for fair prices and

distribution, and the Victorian State Teachers' Union, which wanted greater freedom for teachers in the choice of texts.[3] At the Teachers' Union's annual conference in 1923 the motion that books and prices be standardized, and that a set of graded Readers be supplied to state schools, was defeated on the basis that it would rob teachers of initiative in the selection of books they preferred.

Two years later the Argus published a report that the Minister intended to act on his Director's advice and publish graded text books so as to reduce costs for parents.[4] This announcement led to a flurry of speculation and correspondence from the publishers, anxious to offer their services. A memo in the files refers to the advantages of supplying graded Readers: "If such readers were available for use, the School papers could then be used for supplementary reading, and the serious difficulty that has always existed in the matter of grading them suitably throughout the year would be overcome".[5] This particular line of argument represents a point of compromise, effectively broadening the range of choice for teachers and, at the same time, preventing the total demise of the School papers.

One of the staunchest advocates for change was the Melbourne and Metropolitan State Schools Committees' Association which frequently wrote to the Minister and organised several deputations. Their conference in 1926

urged that there be one set of graded school texts for a period of at least five years and that a series of books on English literature, on similar lines to the Royal readers, be produced to replace the School papers. The Minister replied :"The preparation of a special reader for each of the grades has been under consideration for some time ... there have, however, been difficulties in the way of the introduction of such readers which have not yet been overcome."[6]

Consequently, Charles Long was brought out of retirement from January 1927 until June 1928 to work on the production of the Department's own Victorian readers.[7] He was the ideal choice for this, not only with his experience as editor of the School papers over thirty years but as an authority on the subject of reading. His book The aim and method of the reading lesson appeared in 1903 and was reprinted in 1912.[8] He had written short stories and narrative accounts for children based on national historical events, on bravery in wartime and courage in voyages of discovery and exploration. His avowed aim was "to instil a love of truth and just dealing and furnish noble ideals of life".[9] In his Aim and method in History and Civics (1909), he emphasised the importance to Australia of British solidarity. He saw the study of history as the study of nations. This nineteenth-century view emphasised patriotism and responsibilities of citizenship in a process of "great

events" in the life of man and society. In the preface to his Austral history series he wrote: "Should not those who, like myself, are native born, feel it to be a disgrace to them that the deeds of the heroes of exploration ... are being allowed to fade into forgetfulness?"[10] Long's deeply-felt Australian nationalism is expressed in this rhetoric.

In 1926 Long wrote a short article, "The problem of the Australian child's reading matter", which strongly advocated the need for choice literature, with a fair proportion by Australians. Although he had retired, he was prepared to espouse this latest cause, probably with something of an eye to the main chance for himself. He wrote : "The series of reading-books is needed to provide literature of power, not mere information ..." He even suggested that the problem could be attacked on a national basis, "to combat State jealousies and foster a national spirit".[11]

All eight books of the series were ready by 1930. Long remained a member of the fifteen-strong selection committee under J.R.Lyall, his successor, and, although the bulk of the responsibility was over by 1930, there followed a long period of negotiation over copyright and revisions.[12]

The Victorian readers sold at cost to the parents of State school children.[13] The prices ranged from 4d and 6d for the first two grades, 1/- for the Third Reader and 1/3d for all the others. Free books were supplied to those

parents who could not afford to pay, by arrangement with the individual school. The Department costed the whole exercise over the seven-year period, 1929-1934, at #56,000, with #48,000 revenue from sales. It took several years to recoup the initial printing and publication costs.[14]

Selection criteria for the "Victorian readers".

It is generally fair to conclude that the material presented in the Victorian readers has the same conservative social and ethical values as their nineteenth-century predecessors. Most of the contemporary Australian and American material does little to change the overall effect of a high literary and moral tone.

We can now only surmise how much Charles Long was fully responsible for the publications. With the constraints of the large selection committee, and a change of editor at mid-stage, the series took almost four years to complete. Long's influence can be most seen in the First book and Eighth Book which were the first to be published, in 1928 and 1929 respectively. Certainly the Eighth book set the pattern for the rest of the series; it reflects a high moral and literary tone in combination with a strong sense of Australian nationalism. Generally speaking, the series was an impressive, all-Australian production, wholly produced in Melbourne. The editor modestly stated in the preface that, "Though it was recognised that the local production of a

series of reading-books to compare favourably with those issued by leading British publishers would not be easy of accomplishment, yet it was believed that the effects of the use of such a series in the schools and in the pupils' homes would make the effort well worth while."[15] The books included many items of literary merit, both informative and interesting. The extracts are suitable and well-graded and cover several broad themes expressed in essays, short stories and poems.

The editor's avowed aim was to arouse the interest of the young readers in their own country first, and then to develop knowledge and understanding of various parts of the British Empire, Europe and the United States in order to "gain a knowledge of their rich heritage and acquire a well-founded pride of race".[16] The preface stated : "The inculcation of sound morality was always to be kept in view, and support given to the creation of a feeling against international strife and to the implanting of a desire for world-wide toleration."[17]

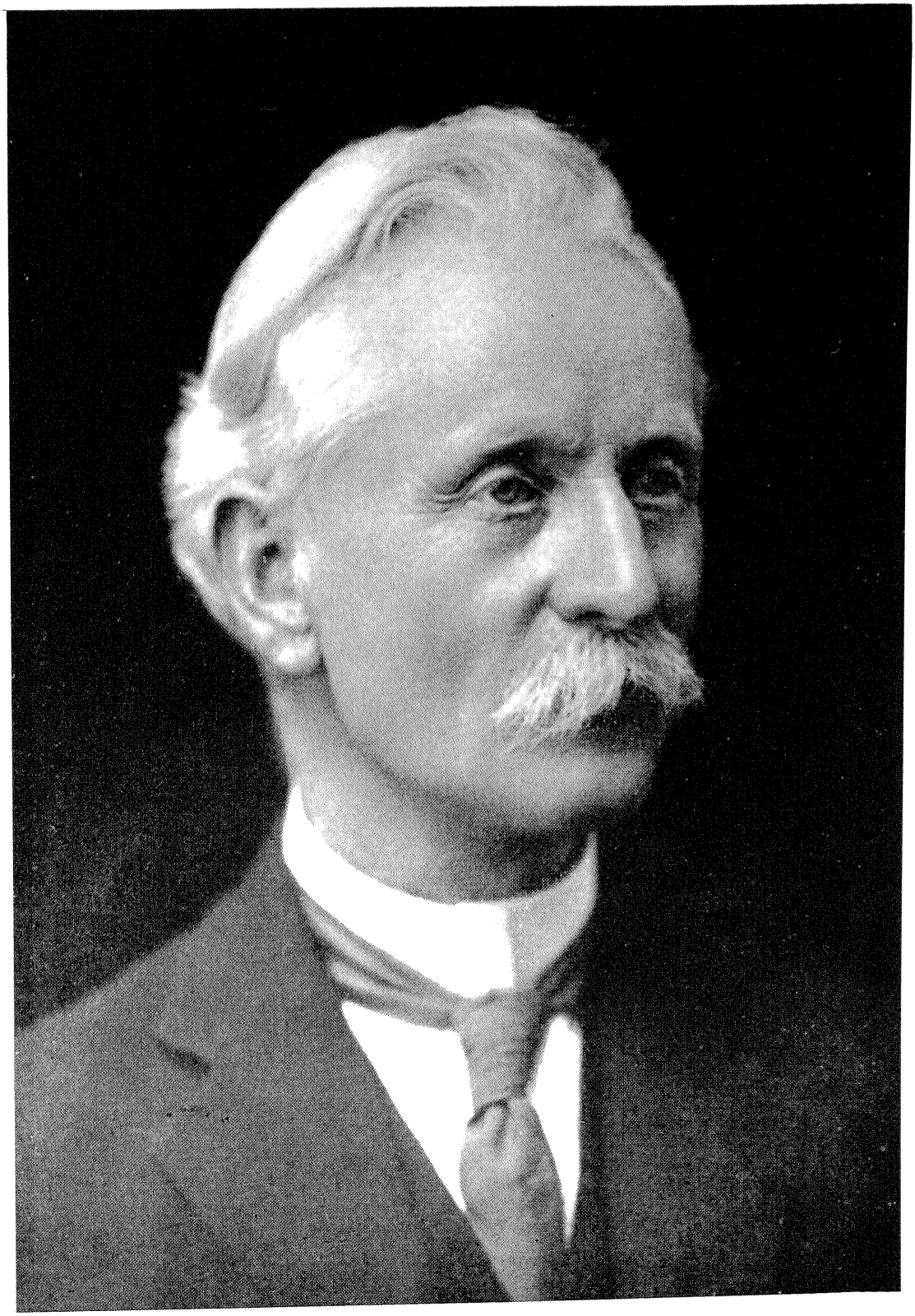
The first one-third of the book is, as promised, about Australia, including the history of early settlement, Aboriginal culture, pioneering bush life and steps towards Australian federation. Here we find charming and evocative descriptions of the Australian seasons by the poets Henry Kendall (1841-1882) and John Shaw Neilson (1872-1942).[18] Poems such as "The women of the West" by George Essex Evans

(1863-1909) illustrate the rigours of pioneering life in the Australian outback and the development of Australian national pride.[19] To further emphasise the Australian theme, the frontispiece reproduces the painting "The Pioneers" by Frederick McCubbin, commenting :"A picture that enshrines a complete record of our life and land."

It is our task to examine the series in terms of three main criteria : authorship, selection policy and literary merit. Then we will be in a better position to view the contents according to the five principal categories we have established.

Authorship

The series was aptly named the Victorian readers since the books contained a disappointingly high proportion of nineteenth-century British authors and a comparatively low proportion of living, Australian authors. In the Third book, for instance, of the 52 entries 39 are of known authorship, and over half of these are nineteenth-century British and American authors. There are six items of European origin and nine items of contemporary Australian authorship. Where the authorship is unknown, the items are invariably of the British, nineteenth-century model or based on European myth, fairytale or legend. These findings, however, are not to condemn the book. A number of items are sensitive and lack the heavy, Victorian moral tone found in earlier series. For



instance, the delightful nonsense poem "The owl and the pussy cat" by Edward Lear (1812-1888), and the perceptive anecdote in "The naughty boy" by John Keats (1795-1821), have certainly stood the test of time.[20] Likewise, we find the reflective verse of the London poet Christina Rossetti (1830-1894), the charming narrative poem "The fairies of Caldon Low" by Mary Howitt (1799-1888), the authentic "Walking to school" by Ethel Turner (1872-1958) and the evocative fantasy "The fairy man" by Mary Gilmore (1865-1962).[21]

The findings on authorship in the rest of the series are quite similar. In the Eighth book, 68 of the 85 known authors were deceased, 45 of them British. Only eight authors were contemporary writers and there was a total of 25 Australian authors represented. In the fourth and fifth books of the series we find marginally more Australian writers than British, but, even then, the majority were Victorian, not contemporary.[22] Certainly, as we shall examine in detail presently, all the important Australian authors are well represented, along with many who have since fallen out of fashion.

Selection Committees

The compilation of the Readers was the work of committees of teachers and inspectors. These included Professor L.Wigley of the University, Mr W. Wannan, M.A., of Essendon High

School, Mr Anton W. Vroland, the writer of grammar books, from Elsternwick State School, and a Miss Marshall from the Teachers' College, Carlton.[23] To some extent, the Committees were troubled by the copyright provisions of the materials chosen, and publishers' copyright departments were quick to make claims on anthologies of this sort.[24] In the first few years, the printing costs alone were more than twice the sales revenue. However, much of the material was either out of copyright or given free, and authors were given complimentary copies with the acknowledgement :"we are deeply indebted to the genius and generosity of the artists and authors ..."[25] Authors such as Mary Gilmore agreed to let their work go into the series without any charge.[26] In response to her offer the Director wrote: "Your generosity is characteristically Australian. A pleasing feature of our venture has been the readiness with which Australian authors almost without exception have come to our assistance in this way." The committee's task, however, was easier if the material was out of copyright, which may well account for the disproportionate amount of nineteenth-century material presented in the series.

There are several notable disputes on record over copyright with the Victorian readers. Jeannie (Mrs Aeneas) Gunn (1870-1961), author of A little black princess (1905) and We of the Never-Never (1908), resolved, after some impassioned letters to the Director of Education, to put her

correspondence to the Society of Authors in London, following the inclusion in the Fourth book of 12 lines headed "Bett-Bett and the stars".[27] Whilst the entry is harmless enough, she made no reference to the term 'savages' used in the notes at the back of the book. The question reads :"Children and savages personify things around them. Have you ever spoken to the wind, or the moon, or a tree, or a doll?"[28] The intentions of the question remain vague and the form in which it is put is clearly an indication of racism. The item was dropped in the second edition in 1940.

In 1932, the "Kipling affair" highlighted the whole issue of values in schoolbooks, and the control exerted by the educational bureaucracy and vested interests. Rudyard Kipling's literary agents in London objected to "mutilation" of the first two stanzas in his poem "The English flag". The offending lines went:

> Winds of the World give answer! They are whimpering to and fro -
> And what should they know of England, who only England know?
> The poor little street-bred people that vapour and fume and brag,
> They are lifting their heads in the stillness to yelp at the English flag.
>
> Must we borrow a clout from the Boer to plaster anew with dirt?
> An Irish liar's bandage or an English coward's shirt?
> We may not speak of England - her flags to sell or share
> What is the flag of England, Winds of the World declare.

The Editor decided to remove these lines for fear of arousing antagonism because of the "local and temporal allusions".[30] A memo suggested that the poem be deleted in future print-runs of the Seventh book and "look for works out of copyright of similar length". The Director, M.P.Hansen, wrote to Kipling in Sussex :"We were unwilling to deny the children the splendid inspiration and patriotic appeal of the poem".[31] Finally, the Melbourne evening newspaper, the Herald, ran an article claiming that the poem "Hiawatha" by Longfellow was was to be substituted for "The English flag", which, in turn, led to a protest by the Returned Soldiers' League.[33]

As further insight into the working of the Selection Committee, there is an interesting letter from a concerned parent in 1945, complaining that the celebrated "Hobyahs" in Second book, affect the nervous stability of children.[34] The editor, W.L.Williams, passed off the criticism and praised the article as " a little bit of absurdity with repetitive effect to make easy reading".

In reply to anti-Japanese sentiments in 1945 over the story in Fourth book entitled "Yoshi San and O Kitu", which portrays the Japanese as harmless and peace-loving, Williams wrote: "It might have appeared rather petty to have removed it during the war - apart from the expense of "scrapping" an otherwise satisfactory edition ... knowledge of children in

other lands is surely one of our best guarantees against the perpetuation of hatred, prejudice and war."35

Most of the Victorian readers were revised in 1940, but with few changes, mostly involving the removal of the more dated material. It was not until the 1950s that we have major changes in the school reading material and, as we shall examine, the Victorian readers fell from favour.

Elements of religious observance.

A number of extracts in each level of the series reflect the religious assumptions of their authors, some under-stated, others quite overt. One can only assume that the editors were willing to present religion to young readers in the same manner that they themselves were influenced when young.

The precept of prayer is established firmly in the first two books of the series with the items by Florence Hoatson and H.King Lewis.. One reads :

> I thank Thee for my happy home
> Dear Father up above,
> My mother and my father, too
> And everyone I love.[36]

Lesson 35 of the First book ends with the words :"We shall pray to God and thank Him for our happy day."[37] The Readers were meant to develop moral attitudes and not just to supply enjoyable reading material for the young, and the editors were consistent in their objectives even if we do not agree with their principles. Another prayer establishes that God loves all children and they should be happy. H.King Lewis's

"A tiny little bird" holds that God watches over all earthly matters.

Of the more advanced books of the series, only Books 3 and 5 emerge as quite secular. Even so, these contain items where the religious tone is only just below the surface, such as in Mrs C.F.Alexander's poem "Evening song" and in Robert Herrick's "To blossoms"[38]. Books 4 and 6 contain overt theological statements such as Coleridge's :

> He prayeth well, who loveth well
> Both man and bird and beast.
> He prayeth best, who loveth best
> All things both great and small;
> For the dear God who loveth us,
> He made and loveth all. [39]

Religious elements also appear in Australian verse, such as Andrew Barton Paterson's "Over the range", which ends with the words :

> Child, you are wise in your simple trust,
> For the wisest man knows no more than you.
> Ashes to ashes, dust to dust:
> Our views by a range are bounded, too;
> But we know that God hath this gift in store,
> That, when we come to the final change,
> We shall meet with our loved ones gone before
> To the beautiful country over the range. [40]

It is the last two books of the series which have the most references to God and religious observance, invariably found among the British nineteenth-century poetry and prose passages, much of which had already appeared in the Royal readers. 'Old faithfuls' by poets such as Mrs Felicia Dorothea Hemans (1793-1835) re-appear to praise the freedom

to worship God; John Bright (1811-1889) makes a strong Christian pacifist plea, and Mrs Cecil Francis Alexander (1818-1895) describes the burial of Moses.[41] Mrs Alexander, wife of the poet Archbishop of Armagh, was a prolific writer of children's hymns, including the famous "Once in Royal David's City", "There is a green hill" and "All things bright and beautiful". Most of her poetry, moral songs and hymns, of which she wrote some four hundred, had fallen out of fashion by the end of the nineteenth century. Indeed, all her best works were written when she was under twenty years old. These long-dead voices from the past are joined by Australian patriotic writers such as George Essex Evans (1863-1909) who defined God as "the hunger of the soul",[42] J.Brunton Stephens (1835-1902) and William Gay (1865-1897), who firmly linked the concept of God with emerging Australian nationalism and Federation.

Elements of class structure

There is an underlying assumption in the whole series of an hierarchical view of society, as encapsulated in the well-known lines by Mrs Alexander :

> The rich man at his castle,
> The poor man at his gate;
> God made them high and lowly
> And ordered their estate.

For example, the Scottish poet Charles MacKay (1814-1889) in his "Daily work" stresses the need for humble wealth with the words :

We have no quarrel with the great,
No feud with rank,
With mill, or bank,
No envy of a lord's estate.[43]

In accepting the existing social order and in pressing for the simple life, the poet is arguing the case for the innate dignity of the working class and the value of peace of mind in a turbulent, industrial society. This is, of course, a romantic and naive view, reflecting a conservative philosophy which, perhaps unwittingly, tolerates poverty and social injustice.

In "King Hilary and the beggar-man" by A.A.Milne (1882-1956) the young reader is urged to accept the social order and do things in style, even in adversity.[44] In "The three wishes" we are advised how, by a series of unwise choices, we must ultimately accept the status quo.[45] Poverty is shown as acceptable, as in "Mates", where two boys share the same pair of shoes in order to secure employment, and in "Rags and tatters", which tells of the exploits of two street urchins. [46] Certainly there is no evidence anywhere in the series of any questioning of the existing social order or its injustices. The extracts rather suggest that the individual comes to accept his lot in life, wherever he is placed.

A general and practical view of the world

There are other assumptions in the series which, taken together, tend to form a general view of the world for the

young reader. For instance, in C.E.W.Bean's view, Australian history began in 1788 with white settlement. Charles Edward Woodrow Bean (1879-1968), the celebrated Australian war historian, also wrote about the Aboriginals and their customs, about the simple morality of the Australian bush and the role of youth in post-war reconstruction. Meditating on an outback scene, he wrote :

> Those stones spoke of an age before the dawn of history. On the spot where we stood, we know that some one - some one in the blank, utter darkness before Australian history began, some human being belonging to a time of which no history will ever be written, nor yet even the bare outline of it ever be known - some woman in a long-forgotten camp must have knelt there and polished those flat stones with the grinding to powder of the fruit of the nardoo, the blackfellow's poor equivalent for flour.[47]

Elsewhere in the series, we find articles in praise of the British Empire and its civilizing influence, linked together with items stressing Australian nationalism and post-war reconstruction. This is particularly true of the last two books of the series, where we find long and detailed articles on the Anzacs and the Gallipoli campaign, and reflective war poetry by Mildred Huxley and Laurence Binyon (1869-1943).[48] Sir Henry Newbolt, in his article "Unlimited war", confesses that when he was young he loved war stories and the "team spirit" of war. But now he finds that modern wars were so much more devastating that young people should no longer have war stories but, rather, be inspired by the British heroes of exploration. He does not

mention, however, the ruthlessness and drive behind many of these enterprises, or the exploitation and jealousies they caused. Clearly, his vision replaced a militaristic view with one of Empire and personal power, in many ways just as devastating to the oppressed. The general view is based on a romantic and conservative approach to living in an idealised Australian rural society.

Work ideals

The first book of the series has the usual, old-fashioned sexual stereotypes, with boys shown fishing, carrying wood, shooting and wielding a pick, and girls playing with dolls and helping the mother in the kitchen. The ideal is one of co-operation and industry in the family circle for the general happiness of all concerned. Later in the series, the virtue in work as its own reward is shown in "Polly's garden", and in "The faithful worker" we are shown how the employer has a right to expect unquestioning allegiance even when the work is apparently meaningless.[49] Laziness is linked with obesity in "Lazy Tok", who got her just deserts in the end.[50] All the elements of the work ethos are present, but there is nothing too overt or contrived until the Eighth book. Here we find several items on the dignity of labour and the importance to society of honest and careful work. With quotations from Thomas Carlyle, we are reminded that national progress and ultimately the cultural

values of a nation depend on the dignity of labour.[51] There is no discussion of trade-unionism, political rights or freedom, poverty and exploitation, or educational inequality of opportunity.

Elements of personal morality

There are numerous items from each book of the series which amply demonstrate a particular moral view of the world. The reader is encouraged to apply this view for his own personal satisfaction and for the general good of society. In a curious article "I have a right", we find an argument against self-interest and in favour of charity and free enterprise. The article assumes that there is no room for trade-unionism or any collective bargaining in the interest of the working man.[52]

Qualities of courage and kindness to others are linked with personal happiness and the quest for a simple and quiet life. As the poet Adam Lindsay Gordon wrote :

> Question not, but live and labour
> Till yon goal be won,
> Helping every feeble neighbour,
> Seeking help from none;
> Life is mostly froth and bubble;
> Two things stand like stone -
> Kindness in another's trouble,
> Courage in your own.[53]

It was with similar courage that the prince gained the beautiful princess : "Prince! would you gain your heart's desire, Press boldly on through thorn and brier."[54] Then there is a more altruistic courage demonstrated in Robert

Blatchford's stirring saga "The men of Whitby" which concludes :

> And now, now comes the glorious moment. We are upon them; we shall save them. No; they are giving way, they will be lost, and we within a hundred yards of them. The crisis is bitter in its intensity. The coxswain of the Whitby boat, Henry Freeman, turns to his crew, and in his great, deep voice cries :"Now, my lads, give them a rousing cheer"; and, over the scream of the gale, and over the roar of the sea, and over the hiss of the brine, goes up the Viking's shout, the shout of victory![55]

The issue of personal courage is further pressed home in the intensely cruel story by Alphonse Daudet: "The white goat". The goat, knowing that death was inevitable, fought till the end. The story concludes :

> A pale gleam showed on the horizon. The hoarse crowing of a cock arose from the barnyard. "At last!" said the poor little goat, who had only awaited the dawn to die; and she stretched herself out on the ground in her pretty white coat all spotted with gore. Then the wolf fell upon her, and ate her up.[56]

Much later in the series, the young readers are reminded that Hope will enable them to triumph over Despair and Diffidence. In the editor's notes to an extract from Bunyan's Pilgrim's progress, the reader is advised: "Things are never so bad as they seem to be, and there is always a way out." As an exercise, the pupils are asked to write an essay entitled "Never despair!" and to illustrate it by stories of those who have won through.[57]

Overall, the moral tone of the series reflects, understandably, the conservative social values of the middle-class, white Anglo-Saxon with vested interests in a stable social and economic structure. In an item entitled : "The things of worth", we are told : "What matters in one's life is not how much pleasure we have, but how much service we give; not how ambition is gratified, but how Love is served."[58] Quoting Tennyson's "Oenone", the reader is advised:

> To live by law,
> Acting the law we live by without fear;
> And, because right is right, to follow right
> Were wisdom in the scorn of consequence.[59]

An Australian rural romantic dream ?

Many important Australian writers are represented in the series of Victorian readers. Four poems by Henry Kendall (1839-1882), one of the most popular Australian poets last century, are found in the three most advanced books.[60] This lyric poetry, with its strong and melodious melancholy, anticipates the attractive and lingering style of Henry Lawson and A.B.Paterson and their bush ballads of the 1890's. Although Kendall's delicate lyric poems have fallen from favour in recent times, they can still evoke a strong sense of the Australian bush and a genuine love of Nature.

Other bush balladists represented in the series include George Essex Evans (1863-1909) with, among others, "The women of the West" and "An Australian symphony", the most

frequently anthologised of his poetry.[61] The poems of Roderick Quinn (1867-1949), Sydney poet and journalist, are heavy and moralistic, but with a strong Australian patriotic appeal.[62] Likewise, James Brunton Stephens (1835-1902) is represented by several of his ballads of outback nationalism.[63] John Shaw Neilson (1872-1942) is included with his nostalgic "Old Granny Sullivan" and his sensitive "Heart of Spring".[64]

By far the best of the Australian poetry in the series comes from the pens of the three big names in Australian literature: Henry Lawson (1867-1922), Adam Lindsay Gordon (1833-1870) and and A.B.'Banjo' Paterson (1864-1941). Poems by Lawson include "The fire at Ross's farm", "The ballad of the drover" and "The lights of Cobb and Co".[65] Lawson's prose and poetry have an enduring quality, Australian humour and sharp irony which has enabled them to be absorbed into the Australian national consciousness. In the same way, the six Paterson ballads chosen for the series, and the five by Gordon, evoke the human drama of life in the bush, the courage and endurance of pioneer bush life and the plucky inventiveness of the bushman.[66] The horse is elevated, in true Victorian style, as man's faithful companion and noble steed, as in Paterson's "Clancy of the Overflow" and "The man from Snowy River", and Gordon's "The sick stock-rider".They form part of a rural romantic dream in

Australia which helped make the reality of an urban and industrialised society more bearable.

There are several Australian poets and writers who are less represented in the series than one might expect, notably C.J.Dennis (1876-1936), James Lister Cuthbertson (1851-1910) and Dorothea Mackellar (1885-1968). Mackellar's "My country", with its famous second stanza so often tediously recited in the schoolroom, appears in the Sixth book.[67] Her "In the droving days" appears in the Eighth book.[68] The only entry by Cuthbertson, who taught at Geelong Grammar School between 1875 and 1897, is his often anthologised "The Australian sunrise", from his Barwon ballads and school verses[69]

A number of the Australian entries are in prose form and ring a decidedly authentic note. This is particularly so with the items by Ethyl Turner (1872-1958), Ethel C. Pedley (1860-1898), Mary Grant Bruce (1878 -1958) and K. Langloh Parker (1855-1940). Pedley's "Dot and the kangaroo" is a perennial, with humanised animals and a delightful combination of fantasy and comedy.[70] K.Langloh Parker's tales of Aboriginal children and legendary tales remain an important and genuine source of native legends and stories.[71] Turner and Bruce are both still read and combine an authentic sense of childish mischief and rebellion with an Australian middle class ethos. Neither is particularly

well represented in the series although, with what does appear, there is no evidence of copyright problems.[72]

Items of quality literature in the "Victorian readers".

What, then, of the high moral and literary tone of the whole series? The Australian items were slotted in at different levels among the numerous literary and moral items from Britain and America. The series was designed to arouse interest and encourage intelligent reading. It would seem that the editors did not conceive any possible crisis in the cultural identity of young Australians. Their task was to present a variety of literary selections and general information in as lively a manner possible. There are excerpts from all the principal British poets as well as the lesser "schoolroom poets" such as Alfred Noyes ("The highwayman"), Mathew Arnold, ("The forsaken mermaid"), Thomas Campbell, ("Lord Ullin's daughter"), and Robert Southey, ("The Inchcape Rock"). Such items no doubt enlarged the cultural horizons of the new generations, but did not address questions of national identity and the place of the individual in a developing society. The "cultural cringe" was alive and well.

The demise of the "Victorian readers"

With the publication in 1947 of John and Betty, a new series of books was introduced into the schools and the Victorian readers were gradually phased out.[73] In September 1950 a

Revision Committee was set up to prepare new First and Second Grade Readers, published soon after as Playmates and Holidays, the former written by Betty D. Somerville and illustrated by Marjorie Howden.[74] The whole issue of reading in schools was hotly debated, and the Victorian readers were seen as old-fashioned and unattractive to children. By 1950 most Australian Education Departments had adopted up-to-date readers : Western Australia had adopted Schonell's Wide Range series; South Australia was using Longman's Boomerang series and New South Wales had produced its own up-to-date titles.[75] The Reader Revision Committee in Victoria, in its Interim Report in 1955, and in keeping with the general desire for change, pressed for increased size, more illustrations, more short stories and short explanatory notes.[76]

In fact, by 1954, revision of the whole primary school curriculum was well under way. The Education Department's publication, Courses of study for primary schools, stressed that there should be less emphasis on irrelevant factual knowledge and more emphasis on developing interest and reality in school work.[77] The immediate needs of the child became the goals of teaching. It stated :

> It is now recognised that, ultimately, the suitability of a course of study is judged by its operation in the schools, and that a course should be regarded not as static, but as adaptable, to provide for changes in content and methods made

> necessary by advances in educational thought and practice or changing world conditions.[78]

The report stressed the full participation of teachers who were to be free to organise learning materials, to be involved in seminars and group meetings and to submit their ideas to curriculum standing committees. As far as reading was concerned, the teacher was now given a free hand. The report stated : "Mere skill in reading, without the ability to assess values which true education gives, can result in a tendency towards unquestioning acceptance of what is read, and in the reading of unwholesome literature with a consequent lowering of moral tone and weakening of the aesthetic sense". Greater initiative was expected from the classroom teacher. The report concluded :

> He [teacher] must know how to leave the initiative with the children, how to encourage and direct, and how to do this unobtrusively so that the pupils will not react with passivity. He must also have the ability to enlist and encourage the sympathy of the parents, because children's interests are closely related to those of the home, and parental interest has an important effect on children's attitudes to school work.[79]

Consequently, greater freedom of choice in reading matter was available to schools and recommendations for English teaching included extensive lists of supplementary Readers. This meant that publishing companies were at last able to tap the school market for school Readers and children's books. In Grades 5 and 6 the Readers and School papers were to supply common reading material, to be used in class

lessons to develop the powers of comprehension and to foster appreciation of literature. The English teaching report concluded : "The readers are anthologies from which the teacher can make selections. Most of the reading by the pupils should be done from books other than these. The importance of a varied and well-stocked library cannot be over-emphasised."[80]

It is difficult to establish a date for the final demise of the Victorian readers. Two new books, High spirits and Roundabout were compiled by W.B.Russell and a special committee in 1959, but escalating printing costs delayed publication until 1963 and 1964 respectively.[81] These two anthologies replaced the Seventh book and the Eighth book. Among friends replaced the Third book in 1963 and Gather round took the place of the Fourth book in 1965. The Fifth book and the Sixth book were never replaced, as such, and a range of supplementary Readers was allowed.[82] There is evidence that the printing costs for all these books were at least twice the price charged to pupils. However, the Victorian Teachers' Union objected to any price increases and, eventually, the domestic production by the Department petered out.[83] Publishing houses took over the school market and prices increased enormously, quite independent of Union control.

FOOTNOTES, CHAPTER 10.

1. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 892, Case 1199, 1923/6217 "Notes of conference held in Director's room, 2 July 1923".

2. Ibid. This file contains newspaper cuttings including Age, 15 Feb., 19 Feb., 2 Mar., 6 Mar., 19 May and 4 July, for this and following.

3. Ibid., unnumbered and unfiled, in Box 103. The program, vol. 6, no. 5, March 1923, p. 103.

4. Ibid., 1926/3212 - Argus, 26 September 1925.

5. Ibid., Memo dated 30/9/1925.

6. Ibid.

7. A.B.D. entry on Charles Long by R.J.W.Selleck, vol. 10, pp. 133-4.

8. Long, Charles R. The aim and method of the reading lesson, 1903, reprinted 1912.

9. Long, Charles R. Stories of Australian exploration (Austral History series), 1903. Noble deeds of famous men and women, 1912. Stories of British worthies on sea and land, 1912 (Revised edition 1921).

10. Long, Charles R. Aim and method in History and Civics, 1909. The quotation is from the preface to his Stories of Australian exploration, 1903.

11. Long, Charles R., "The problem of the child's reading matter", Perth, 1926, in Education pamphlets, State Library of Victoria, vol. 134.

12. Education History Section, Ministry of Education (Rialto Building). Special case files 1207 "School readers", 1930-1969.

13.For this and following see P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 892, case 1199, file 30/2624 and 30/4014.

14.Education History Section, Ministry of Education (Rialto Building), Special case 1207. Unnumbered file headed "Statement regarding Departmental Readers from their inception in January 1929 to 30 November 1935".

15. Eighth book, Victorian reading-books series, Melbourne, 1928, p. vi.

16. Ibid., p. v.

17. Ibid., P. vi.

18. Ibid., Shaw Neilson's "Heart of Spring", p. 36 and Kendall's "September in Australia", p. 40.

19. Ibid. Evan's poems included in Eighth book are "An Australian symphony", p. 5; "The nation builders", p. 61; "The women of the West", p. 69; "A poet's song", p. 225.

20 Third book, Victorian reading-books series, Melbourne, 1930, p. 6 and p. 29. (Revised edition 1940, p.15 and p.82).

21. Ibid., Christina Rossetti's "Boats sail on the rivers", p. 80 (p. 77 in second edition); Mary Howitt's poem, p. 83 (omitted in second edition); Ethyl Turner's poem p. 9 (p. 23 in second edition) and Mary Gilmore's poem, p. 95 (omitted in second edition).

22. In Third book, 39 of 52 items of known authorship included 16 nineteenth-century British, 5 nineteenth-century American, 6 European, 9 contemporary Australian authors.
Fourth book, 35 of 59 items of known authorship included 15 British, 17 Australian and 3 American authors, over half of whom were of the nineteenth-century writers, mostly deceased.
Fifth book, 51 of 65 items of known authorship included 25 Australian, 23 British, 2 European and 1 American, but only one-fifth of whom were contemporary writers.
Sixth book, 62 of 81 items of known authorship included 19 Australian, 29 British, 10 European, 4 American, of whom more than two-thirds were nineteenth-century writers, mostly deceased.
Seventh book, 61 of 66 items of known authorship were nineteenth-century writers, including 10 Australians, 44 British, 2 European and 8 American writers.
Eithth book, 76 of 85 items of known authorship were nineteenth-century or earlier, including 25 Australian, 45 British, and 6 American.

23. Education History Section, Ministry of Education (Rialto Building), Special case 1207, op. cit., see list of the Committee members attached to draft letter, 18/12/30 by Director. There are several listings of the Committee members, in association with receipt of complimentary copies.

24. Ibid. See, for example, "Notes of copyright to non-copyright in 6th Book", which shows four-fifths of the book as non-copyright material. See also Special case 1207A "School readers and illustrations", (copyright material only, 1956-1966).

25. Ibid. Memo on unnumbered file - draft letter by the Director written on the back of complimentary copies of the 1st Book, dated 26/4/29.

26. Ibid., 1930/12337, dated 8/7/30, for this and following.

27. Fourth book, Victorian reading-books series, p. 6. For more on Gunn's work, see Niall, Brenda, Australia through the looking-glass: children's fiction, 1830-1980, pp. 207-9.

28. Ibid., p. 159.

29. Seventh book, Victorian reading books series, p. 113.

30. Education History Section, Ministry of Education, (Rialto Building), Special case 1207, op. cit., 31/232.

31. Ibid., unnumbered file dated 24.10/1930, found in chronological sequence.

32. "Hiawatha ousts the English flag" in Herald, 25 June 1932 which stated : "It is certain that they [the parents] desire their children to be imbued with the ideals of the British Empire."

33. Education History Section, Ministry of Education, (Rialto Building), Special case 1207, op. cit., unnumbered file dated 27/6/32.

34. Ibid., unnumbered file, letter dated 14/8/1945.

35. Ibid., unnumbered file, letter dated 17 Oct. 1945. See Cornelius, Donat J., op. cit., p. 148, which praises Long's use of articles on Asia in the School paper and that, despite some stereotyped items, these articles braodened the knowledge of his Australian Readers at a time when knowledge and interest in Asia was minimal.

36. Florence Hoatson's "Robin's song", First book, p. 80 and "Home prayers", p. 87. H. King Lewis, "A tiny little bird", First book, p. 80.

37. First book, p. 78.

38. C.F.Alexander's "Evening song", Third book, p. 125. Robert Herrick's "To blossoms", Fifth book, p. 179.

39. Sixth book,(2nd ed.) p. 18.

40.Fourth book, p. 114.

41. Heman's "The pilgrim fathers", Eighth book, p. 197. Bright's "What is war?", Eighth book, p. 88 and Alexander's "The burial of Moses", Seventh book, p. 49.

42. George Essex Evans, "A poet's song", Eighth book, p.225. J. Brunton Stephens, "Fulfilment", Eighth book, p.75 and William Gay, "Australian Federation - a plea", Eighth book, p. 74.

43. Eighth book, op. cit., p. 177.

44. Sixth book, pp. 23-6.

45. Third book, pp. 25-9.

46. Ibid., pp. 12-15 and pp. 104-9.

47. Eighth book, pp. 7-11.

48. Ibid., pp. 79-95, passim and pp. 215-20.

49. Third book, pp. 7-9 and pp. 123-4.

50 Third book (2nd ed.), pp. 26-31.

51. Eighth book, pp. 177-182, passim.

52. Fifth book, pp. 135-40.

53. "Two principles of action", in Eighth book, p. 155.

54. "Brier rose", in Third book, pp. 31-4.

55. Sixth book, pp. 27-32.

56. Ibid., pp. 98-101.

57. Seventh book, p. 227.

58. Ibid., p. 51.

59. Eighth book, p. 189.

60. "Bell birds", Sixth book, p. 59. "The warrigal", Seventh book, p. 74. "The last of his tribe", Eighth book, p. 11. "September in Australia", Ibid., p.40. See also A.B.D., entry on Kendall, vol 5., pp. 13-15.

61. "An Australian symphony", Eighth book, p. 5. "The women of the West", p. 69. "The nation builders", p. 61 and "A poet's song", p. 225.

62. "Spring song", Third book, p. 1. "The Australian", Fifth book, (2nd ed.), p. 192. "The house of the Commonwealth", Sixth book, p. 221.

63. "An Australian anthem", Seventh book, p. 1. "Night", p. 220. "Fulfilment", Eighth book, p. 75.

64. Fifth book, p. 32 and Eighth book, p. 36.

65. Fifth book, p. 19, p. 44, and Eighth book (2nd ed.), p. 204.

66. Paterson's "The old Australian ways", Fifth book, p.30 ; "The daylight is dying", p. 158; "Clancy of the Overflow", Sixth book, p. 108; "The man from Snowy River", Seventh book, p. 117; "Black swans", Eighth book, p. 47.
Gordon's "A dedication", Eighth book, p. 20; "The sick stock-rider", Eighth book (2nd ed.), p. 48; "Two principles of action", Eighth book, p. 155.

67. Sixth book, p. 1.

68. Eighth book, (2nd ed.), p. 66. See also p. 46 and Fifth book, (2nd ed.), p. 68.

69. Eighth book, p. 1 (both editions)

70. Third book,, p. 122 (p. 116 in 2nd ed.)

71. "The crane and the crow", Third book, p. 89; "How mussels were brought to the creeks", Fourth book,, p. 13; "How the sun was made", Fourth book, p. 124.
See also Marcie Muir, My bush book - K. Langloh Parker's 1890's story of outback station life, (1982).

72. Turner's "Walking to school", Third book, p. 28 and "The champion", Fifth book, p. 56.
Bruce's "A rescue", Fifth book, p. 78; "A love of the bush", Sixth book, p. 37.
and "The dream of Tommy Hurst", Sixth book, p. 43.

73. Ibid. See Interim Report of the Committee for revision of 1st and 2nd grade Readers, dated 24/4/47.

74. Ibid., 1951/1803.

75. Ibid. Bundle of unregistered letters dated April-June 1946, following the initial request 14 March. Also file dated 8/5/59.

76. Ibid. Typed document A, 55/415 (C. and R.) found in correspondence between dates 4/8/55 and 1/7/54.

77. Education Department - Courses of Study for Primary Schools, 1954.

78. Ibid., p. 3.

79. Ibid., p. 8.

80. Education Department - English Teaching Report, 1955, p. 33, re. Grades 5 and 6.

81. Education History Section, Ministry of Education, (Rialto Building), Special case 1207, op. cit., unnumbered file dated4/9/61.

82. Education Department - English teaching Report, op.cit.

83. Education History Section, Ministry of Education, (Rialto Building), Special case 1207, op. cit., - correspondence from the General Secretary of the Victorian Teachers' Union, D.P.Schubert, headed "Teachers' Associations", eg. 18 November 1966. See memos on prices to pupils, cf. printer's prices, dated 8/5/59.

Chapter 11. Other Australian Readers and text-books.

> It is of supreme importance to the State that the generally accepted principles of good citizenship and virtuous living ... should be instilled into the young citizens.
>
> Deputation for moral teaching in State Schools, led by Dr Strong, 1909. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 794, 09/12762.

> Every parcel destined for a school library contains a life of Queen Victoria, in memory of whom the League is founded. Historical romances, biographies of our great men, stories and adventures in distant parts of the Dominions are included in every parcel, while we also try to send a few books by such standard authors as Dickens, Scott and Thackeray... and, wherever possible, one in some way bearing on Nature Study, in which Victorian State School children are becoming so much interested.
>
> League of the Empire and Victoria League, First annual report, 1908-9, p. 10. Copy in P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 794, 09/12548.

Grammar books.

During the first half of the twentieth century in Victoria there were no less than four series of grammar books written for schools. The first of these, The rational grammars appeared in 1897, written by J.Reford Corr, headmaster of Methodist Ladies' College, 1894-1906.[1]

The first part of Corr's Rational grammars dealt with analysis of sentences and classification of words, attempting to establish that the verb and its adjuncts contain certain attributes and 'completions',ie. attributes. Corr gave simple examples stressing the importance of the verb in any one sentence. In part 2 of his series, Corr dealt with inflexion and style, giving numerous examples of

errors and misuse of words through tautology, redundancy, circumlocution and verbosity. There is nothing in the book which suggests it being an Australian text. Even his Swan school readers (1920), compiled for the Education Department of Western Australia, contained mostly British literature and history and only a few contributions from Australian literature, notably Dorothea Mackellar's "My country".[2]

Between 1903 and 1908 Anton Vroland wrote the first of his Austral grammars, a series which eventually contained five books.[3] Vroland was a teacher at Elsternwick Central School. His grammars included an inductive method, training pupils to make their own rules and definitions. Vroland's grammars coined several terms, such as 'whole verb', 'part verb', 'action verb', 'no-action verb', all designed to assist pupil understanding. He used excerpts from Australian literature for his examples and the exercises. His composition topics were sensible and tried to appeal to the interests and activities of the child. There was one serious lapse, unfortunately, with a racist comment: "A hundred years ago, no people lived in our state but blackfellows. The white man had not come and the blackfellow was king of the land".[4] But, unlike Corr's grammars, Vroland's grammars attempted to insert suitable Australian content and involve pupils in meaningful exercises.

In 1916 Professor Thomas George Tucker and his colleague R.S.Wallace produced their English grammar,

descriptive and historical.[5] In this they discussed the inherent difficulties in modern English, reducing the parsing of words to a reasoned basis and avoiding dogmatism by discussing the parts of speech in a philosophical way. In 1918 Tucker wrote An English grammar for higher standards and junior teachers with a key to the exercises.[6] In the preface, Tucker explained: "My aim throughout has been to avoid the dry categorical method, and to appeal to the reason of the students". Professor Tucker deplored the decline in grammatical standards. In his A first English grammar (1928) he stated:

> it is generally easy to tell from his bad grammar when a person is either not properly educated (illiterate) or else slovenly in mind or tongue. Such a person loses much of that respect which we should all like to have for our knowledge and intelligence.[6]

The fourth series of grammar books to appear were The national grammars (1931) written by Richard Lawson and James Elijah.[7] Lawson was Professor of Education at the University of Octago, New Zealand, and Elijah taught English at the Melbourne Teachers' College. In their series, which contained five books, they emphasised simpler terminology and attempted to have the pupils learn and work independently. The books were designed to suit the Dalton Plan, then in vogue. The grammar was reasonable and straightforward, and there was nothing especially Australian in content matter. This series was eventually superseded by

an English publication, Grammar at work (1947) by J.H.G.Grattan. Like some many of its predecessors, Grattan's book emphasised that grammar and language should be one and the same thing: "A proper study of words must also be a study of thought and feeling, and how we view our environment and order our daily lives".[8]

The old mechanical emphasis on grammar and the learning of set rules of language was gradually phased out over the one hundred year period of this thesis. We have noted some Australian publications which speeded up this process and made the study of language in the schools less tedious and more meaningful to the students. The new language exercises and compositions in the more enlightened publications gave scope for individual creative writing and meaningful oral communication.

Readers and primers

The first book consisted of lessons from Hartley's Primer and Introductory reader.[9] The first part of this book concentrated on the long sounds of certain diphthongs and on the vowels. Each section has a story of several paragraphs, with bold print for the words requiring phonetic practice. The second part of the book contained simple stories, in numbered paragraphs, based on a word list and designed for general reading practice. Much of the material is contrived and cluttered with domestic trivia. There is no hint of

Australian content and the black and white illustrations could well be English. There were several references to religious matter and the book included a prayer for the young readers to be kind, good and loving at all times.[10]

In 1907 Emmeline Pye (b. 1861), Infant Mistress at Central Brunswick, wrote her Federal readers in which she included a variety of phonetic sounds and simple stories of everyday experiences.[11] In the forword to The federal primer, Dr John Smyth praised the series and wrote:

> The aim of this little book is to give Australian children an Australian primer. Nothing is so dear to the child as the life which beats and throbs and moves and represents itself in myriad ways all around him. In the landscape of his fairy-land the gum and the wattle grow, the kookaburra and the kangaroo move and the men and women wear the clothes of the bush or the city. It is Australia the child loves; it is loyalty to her institutions which must beget the deeper loyalty to Empire and all mankind.[12]

This sort of nationalistic rhetoric, even given in a primer, demonstrates the strong and growing link between education and citizenship at the turn of the century. Pye's Federal readers were eventually adopted by the Education Department, but only after pressure from George Robertson over two years.[13] Pye's Federal primer was half the length of the Primer, but contained more graded material and a greater variety of sounds. The Board of Examiners recommended it as an equivalent to the older texts, provided some additional reading matter was added for reading practice. The Minister, however, agreed that Pye's works should be regarded as

supplementary only. Consequently her books were placed on the free list as teachers' reference material, joining the Primer and First Book, those adaptations of Hartley's Junior Readers.[14]

Citizenship readers

In 1906 Charles Long adapted Arnold-Forster's Citizenship reader (1886) which, over the last twenty years in England, had had thirty reprints or revised editions and ten special Scottish editions.[15] The Australian edition, The Citizen reader (1906), linked in with the prevailing national unity and pride, following Australian Federation in 1901. But despite the full-page photographs of notable Australians and Australian public buildings, the whole style and content of the book remained British. Australia was firmly linked with the British Empire with the same sort of political rhetoric included in the School papers at this time. The book ends with the note: "England expects every man will do his duty". The British flag is analysed in detail and reproduced on a full-page colour plate. The one other full-page colour plate was of HMS Edward V11 warship and torpedo destroyer, a detail which supports the cause of just wars and demonstrated the power of the British Empire.

As a supplementary Reader, the book enjoyed wide circulation, especially in schools which demanded more than the monthly School papers. The book included details of the

APPLICATION FOR A FREE GRANT OF BOOKS AND REQUISITES.

Before filling in columns 1, 2, and 3, Head Teachers are requested to carefully read the notes and directions below. Form should be fully completed before being forwarded to the District Inspector for his recommendation.

1.* No. previously supplied	2. No. on hand fit for use. (*See Direction 2.*)	3. No. applied for.	Name of Article.
			Mathematics.
			1 Teaching Number to Junior Classes, F. Hambleton (John Osborne)
			2 Surprise Land, Number Lessons for Infants, S. M. Baines (Macmillan & Co. Ltd.)
			3 Decimals and the Metric System (Blackie and Sons)
			4 New School Arithmetic, Pendlebury (G. Bell and Sons)
			5 Intermediate Arithmetic and Algebra, Vol. I., Ling and McLachlan (Macmillan and Co. Ltd.)
			6 Intermediate Arithmetic and Algebra, Vol. II., Ling and McLachlan (Macmillan and Co. Ltd.)
			7 Answers to Revision Papers in Intermediate Arithmetic and Algebra, Vol. I., Ling and McLachlan (Macmillan and Co. Ltd.)
			8 Answers to Revision Papers in Intermediate Arithmetic and Algebra, Vol. II., Ling and McLachlan (Macmillan and Co. Ltd.)
			9 Elementary Algebra, Baker and Bourne (G. Bell and Sons)
			10 Intermediate Geometry and Trigonometry, Vol. I., Ling and McLachlan (Macmillan and Co. Ltd.)
			11 Intermediate Geometry and Trigonometry, Vol. II., Ling and McLachlan (Macmillan and Co. Ltd.)
			Geography.
			12 The Intermediate Geography Text Book, A. V. G. James (The Specialty Press Pty. Ltd).
			Grammars.
			13 Little Lessons in the Use of Words, Grades II. and III. (Whitcombe and Tombs)
			14 The Austral Grammar, Grade IV. (Whitcombe and Tombs)
			15 The Austral Grammar, Grade V. (Whitcombe and Tombs)
			16 The Austral Grammar, Grade VI. (Whitcombe and Tombs)
			17 The Austral Grammar, Grades VII. and VIII. (Whitcombe and Tombs)
			18 Manual of English Grammar and Composition, Nesfield (Macmillan and Co. Ltd.)
			19 An English Grammar for Higher Standards, Part I., T. G. Tucker (Macmillan and Co. Ltd.)
			20 An English Grammar for Higher Standards, Parts II. and III., T. G. Tucker (Macmillan and Co. Ltd.)

1.* No. previously supplied.	2. No. on hand fit for use. (*See Direction 2.*)	3. No. applied for.	Name of Article.
			Physics and Chemistry.
			21 Handbook of Experiments for Intermediate Examination, R. G. Bienvenu (Brown, Prior, and Co. Pty. Ltd.)
			22 Introductory Physics, Gregory and Simmons (Macmillan and Co. Ltd.)
			23 Chemistry for Schools of Science, Parrish (Macmillan and Co. Ltd.)
			Histories.
			24 Simple Studies in British History, Part I., W. Gillies (Whitcombe and Tombs)
			25 Simple Studies in British History, Part II., W. Gillies (Whitcombe and Tombs)
			26 Stories in British History, Part I., W. Gillies (Whitcombe and Tombs)
			27 Stories in British History, Part II., W. Gillies (Whitcombe and Tombs)
			28 The Struggle for Freedom, W. Murdoch (Whitcombe and Tombs)
			29 Stories of Australian Exploration, C. R. Long (Whitcombe and Tombs)
			30 Short History of the English People, Green (Macmillan and Co. Ltd.)†
			31 History in Pictures, Part I., E. J. S. Lay (Macmillan and Co. Ltd.)
			32 History in Pictures, Part II., E. J. S. Lay (Macmillan and Co. Ltd.)
			Readers.
			33 First Steps at School, Miss Pye (Whitcombe and Tombs)
			34 The Federal Primer or Second Steps at School, Miss Pye (Robertson and Mullens Pty. Ltd.)
			35 The Primer (Government Printer)
			36 The First Book (Government Printer)
			37 Good Speech: An Introduction to English Phonetics, W. Ripman (J. M. Dent and Sons)
			38 English Sounds, W. Ripman (J. M. Dent and Sons)
			39 The Australian Citizen, W. Murdoch (Whitcombe and Tombs)
			40 The Citizen Reader, H. O. Arnold-Forster (Cassell and Co. Ltd.)
			41 Alcohol and Life, J. A. Hunter (Macmillan and Co. Ltd.)
			42 Manual of Health and Temperance, T. Beaumont (Government Printer)
			Agriculture, Horticulture, and Nature Study.
			43 An Australian Text Book of Agriculture, McLennan and Richardson (Whitcombe and Tombs)

APPLICATIONS FOR A FREE GRANT OF BOOKS AND REQUISITES—*continued.*

1.* No. previously supplied.	2. No. on hand fit for use. (*See* Direction 2.)	3. No. applied for.	Name of Article.
			Agriculture, Horticulture, and Nature Study—continued.
			44 The Australian Gardener, Brunning (F. H. Brunning and Co. Pty. Ltd.)
			45 First Studies in Insect Life in Australasia, W. Gillies (Whitcombe and Tombs)
			46 First Studies in Plant Life in Australasia, W. Gillies (Whitcombe and Tombs)
			47 An Australian Bird Book, Dr. Leach (Whitcombe and Tombs)
			48 Australian Nature Studies, Dr. Leach (Critchley Parker Pty. Ltd.)†
			49 Stories from Nature, J. A. Fletcher (Macmillan and Co. Ltd.)
			50 Nature and Adventure in Australia, J. A. Fletcher (Macmillan and Co. Ltd.)
			51 Nature in Farming, J. W. Paterson (Government Printer, Perth, W.A.)
			52 Weeds and Poison Plants of Victoria, A. J. Ewart (Government Printer)
			53 Handbook of Destructive Insects of Victoria, C. French (Government Printer)
			54 A Census of the Plants of Victoria, Field Naturalists' Club.
			55 The Trans-Australian Wonderland, A. G. Bolam (Modern Printing Co. Pty. Ltd.)
			Dictionary.
			56 A Modern Dictionary (Macmillan and Co. Ltd.)
			Needle-craft
			57 Manual of Dressmaking, Mrs. Storer (Robertson and Mullens Pty. Ltd.)
			58 Demonstration Frame for Sewing
			Music.
			59. A Royal Road to the Rudiments of Music, J. Alfred Johnstone & Co. (Allan Pty. Ltd.)
			Art.
			60 Geometrical Drawing for Art Students, I. H. Morris (Longmans, Green, and Co.)
			General.
			61 Handbook of Public Examinations, Melbourne University (Ford and Sons)
			62 The Principles and Technique of Teaching in Elementary Schools, J. W. Elijah (Whitcombe and Tombs)
			Maps.
			63 Map of Victoria
			64 Long's Exploration Map of Australia
			65 Map of Australasia, large size, physical
			66 Map of Australia, large size, physical
			67 Map of British Isles, large size, physical
			68 Map of Europe, large size, physical
			69 Map of the World, on Mercator's projection, large size, physical
			Requisites.
			70 Inkwells, porcelain, closed mouth, to fit 1¼-in. hole
			71 Slate cloth, on rollers, 46 inches x 36 inches

* Under this column the number supplied during the preceding two years should be stated.

† Supplied only to Schools having a Junior Teacher.

To avoid delay in dealing with Requisitions, the following directions must be strictly complied with:—

1. The Head Teacher of a School applying for a free Grant of Requisites must state on the Requisition that the Articles applied for are for use in the School, that they will on no account be taken out of the School-room without his special permission, and that he will hold himself responsible for the proper care and preservation of all the School Stock.—(See Declaration.) A record should always be kept of books lent to the Children, and they should be returned to School from time to time in order that it may be seen whether proper care is taken of them; they should always be called in when the Teacher leaves.

2. **The number on hand of Articles of the same kind as those applied for must always be stated;** thus, in applying for new Maps, a return must be given of all the Maps in use in the School; so also, in applying for Arithmetics, &c., of any particular kind, the number in each class must be shown.

3. Requisitions for Articles that cannot be sent by post should not be made more frequently than once a year.

Only such articles can be supplied as appear in this list.

principles of the legislature and administrative arrangements of the country, the meaning and value of freedom to the individual and the national duties of all British citizens. The historical background of the British Empire came with a variety of nineteenth-century prose and poetry, similar to the material found in Royal readers.

In 1912, however, a purely Australian text-book on citizenship was published called The Australian citizen.[16] It was written expressly for the use of schools by Walter Murdoch, Professor of English Literature in the University of Western Australia. Principal acknowledgements are given to Frank Tate, Alfred Deakin and Professor Ernest Scott. The book is entirely Australian in content, emphasising 'commonwealth' among British nations, the work of government in preventing poverty, in developing communications, industrial and wage regulations and in providing public health, education and public order. Unlike Arnold Forster's book which firmly rejected the principles of trade unionism, Murdoch demonstrated a particular social conscience of the political process. Despite the poor illustrations and binding, this book represents a fine example of relevant and reasonable Australian content in a school text-book, independent of the British mould.

Other texts.

Two popular reading books were written by Charles Long during this period: Stories of Australian exploration (1903)

and Stories of British worthies on sea and land (1912). Long's aim in the writing of these two books was: "to instil a love of truth and just dealing and furnish noble ideals of life".[17] Both books correlate geographical and historical narrative and attempt to develop Australian national consciousness and interest in his the past. Long wrote: "If history is to be read with appreciation after school years are past - and that is one of the main objects to be gained by including it in the curriculum - it must be read in connection with the oral lesson on the subject".[18] The actions of the past were to demonstrate a mode of behaviour for the young. For instance in a later edition of his British worthies, Long included a story on Albert Jacka who won the Victoria Cross. Long extolled Stanisforth Smith's Australian campaigns in the Great War, stating that a copy should be in every school in Australia.

The most popular geography text-book series early this century was Austral geography by J.W.Gregory.[19] The author was Professor of Geology in the University of Melbourne. He emphasised the importance of accurate information about other lands and "a sympathetic appreciation of the best qualities of other races".[20] He insisted on the need for accurate mental pictures of foreign places and avoiding all memorization. His books were well illustrated, with a strong injection of historical narrative.

Other new subjects of the elementary school curriculum used Australian text-books and materials. In cookery classes, for instance, Hariette Wicken's Kingswood cookery book (n.d.) and Annie Fawcett Story's Australian cookery book (1900) were written and published locally.[21] Australian copybooks were produced in 1900, decorated with Australian motifs and listing all six colonies on the cover.[22] Amongst the maze of curriculum material, a decidedly Australian emphasis was beginning to emerge, in keeping with the general demand for more relevant and meaningful education for the new generation of post-Federation Australia.

FOOTNOTES, CHAPTER 11.

1. Reviewed in A.S.(monthly grammar column). Copies are rare.

2. Copies are rare. I saw the fifth book of the series in Mitchell Library.

3. James H. Lawry, "Anton Vroland - his life and work", unpublished M.Ed. thesis Monash University, 1981.

4. Vroland, Anton, A first book of grammar and composition; studies and exercises in language for grade IV, (1924), p.32.

5. English grammar, descriptive and historical (1916), 193pp.

6. A first English grammar (1928), preface. Thomas George Tucker was Professor of Classical and Comparative Philology at the University of Melbourne, 1886-1921, and Wallace was Professor of English Language and Literature also at Melbourne. An exhibition, November 1986, at the Baillieu Library, entitled "A century of Tucker; the Melbourne classicist and his legacy", included letters, photographs and copies of his works.

7. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 794, 1928/6502, 1937/1565.

8. 1st Australian edition, 1947, with three parts.

9. For negotiations and royalties see P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 794, 90/2452, 7269, 27632, 28209 and 1900/1435.

10. Victoria - First book (1898), p. 59 and p. 61.

11. Pye's three books were First steps at school, The federal primer; or second steps at school and The federal infant readers

12. Pye, E. The federal primer; or first steps at school, preface. I used a revised edition, 1928.

13. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 794, 09/3918.

14. Ibid.

15. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 794, 88/5162 and 88/7820. Imprint of the Australian edition, The citizen reader (1906).

16. Murdoch, Walter, The Australian citizen (1912).

17. Long, Charles, Stories of British worthies on sea and land, including a brief narrative of the part played by the Australian Imperial Force in the Great War, (1921, revised edition), preface.

18. Long, Charles, Aim and method in history and civics (1909).

19. Gregory, J.W., Austral geographies (n.d.)

20. Ibid., preface.

21. For Harlette Wicken, see P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 794, 87/11804. For Mrs Story's book see P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 794, 99/27562 and 01/12337.

22. There is a fine example at P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 794, 00/28479. See also 80/26359, 1900/7560, 23152 and 26805.

SUMMARY : PART 3 THE NATIONAL PHASE, 1896-1948.

With the production of the "School papers" from 1896 and the Victorian readers from 1928, the emphasis was placed on more relevant and meaningful Australian content in the Victorian school curriculum. The editor of both these ventures, Charles Long, was an Australian-born idealist, one who espoused the cause of a liberal education and who supported conservative social values and British imperialism. He promoted his own literary and historical interests within the constraints of accepted community and educational standards.

The School papers had a wide circulation, with emphasis on current events and issues. Indirectly, the "Paper" promoted moral attitudes and conservative social values. The enormous variety of material promoted interest in reading at three levels of the school curriculum. But there was very little fiction included and the issues became increasingly anecdotal and amateurish. There is, nevertheless, an Australian view which emerges, despite the Paper's royalist and militaristic elements. Australian poetry was included along with numerous items on Australian geography and history.

From 1928, with the production of the Victorian readers, the Australian theme is emphasised, but still in combination with what was considered the best of British

literature. Much of the material dated from the nineteenth century and the series maintained the accepted moral and social values of that time. The series included strong religious elements, underlying assumptions about class, race, work ideals, militarism and a moral view of the world. The Australian poetry and prose all attest to a rural romantic dream of the Australian bush. In addition, there are selections from all the principal British poets which suggests that the "cultural cringe" was still alive and well.

During this National Phase, however, there were many successful Australian books written for schools. Hartley's adaptations (1891) were followed by Emmeline Pye's Primers (1907), and the First book (1920). The work of Thomas Brodribb, Annie Fawcett Story, Anton Vroland and James Elijah testify to a "coming of age" in Australian writing and publishing.

PART IV. CONCLUSION.

CONCLUSION.

> Qu'est-ce qu'un livre?
> Parce que sous un faible volume il possède un contenu intellectuel et formel de haute densité, parce qu'il passe aisément de main en main, parce qu'il peut être copié et multiplié à volonté, le livre est l'instrument le plus simple qui, à partir d'un point donné, soit capable de libérer toute une foule de sons, d'images, de sentiments, d'idées, d'éléments d'information en leur ouvrant les portes du temps et de l'espace, puis, joint à d'autres livres, de reconcentrer ces données difuses vers une multitude d'autres points épars à trouver les siècles et les continents en une infinité de combinations toutes différentes les une des autres.
>
> Robert Escarpit, Le littéraire et le social: éléments pour une sociologie de la littérature, (Flammarion, 1970), p. 274.

This study began some years ago in my search for background material and the childhood influences on John Thomas Lawton, (1878-1944), the subject of a biography. Lawton, Presbyterian clergyman, educationist and social reformer, attended an isolated, half-time, rural school in the Western District of Victoria in 1882. He was a product of the 1872 Education Act, precariously implemented, in his case, by community pressure from the neighbouring free selectors to open a school in the area. The school inventories, later sent to Melbourne, list many of the school books detailed in this thesis: the Royal readers, Hackwood's Moral lessons, Brodribb's Health and temperance, and so on. Lawton excelled scholastically and became a pupil-teacher. The books from which he learnt to read and which introduced specific moral and social values played a significant part in the formation

of his adult response. The promise and excitement of the printed word was all the more valuable to an ambitious youth in an isolated back-water of colonial Victoria. This was probably typical of many young people.

In the final analysis, the school books imported to Victoria in the latter half of the nineteenth century were a significant factor in the development of an Australian colonial culture. This culture was an adaptation of the British intellectual tradition, one with a sense of equality and individualism. Colonial children were subjected, more blatantly than today, to specific social and cultural values in the school curriculum. Items of quality literature, and material originating in the high moral and European intellectual tradition, were eventually blended with a developing Australian bush ethos. The education system promoted a British cultural identity which adapted naturally to local conditions. Included with the basic skills of reading, writing and arithmetic were domestic and vocational skills and general knowledge. Many of the items were sentimental and didactic in tone. The reading books, in particular, reflected the broad principles of a liberal education which linked the welfare of the individual with the overall prosperity of the nation. Their authors promoted nineteenth-century moral and ethical concepts, a religious view of life and conservative social values on class, race, work ethos and national pride. At the same time, the editors

presented a huge volume of factual, "useful" knowledge in combination with some of the best excerpts from English literature.

Educational theory last century was dominated by the ancient Greek view that speech and language were paramount to man's intellectual character and formed the basis of human moral codes and the concept of an immortal soul. The study of grammar was seen as an essential part of an elementary schooling, including learning the inflexions of words, roots and derivations. In reality, the Irish grammars, and those which followed later in the century, were sensible and straightforward, but often badly used by poorly educated teachers. Following the adoption of Morell's grammar, the emphasis shifted to sentence analysis, which is the basis of any grammar teaching today.

We can analyse the changing social content and use of school books in Victoria during three distinct periods: the Irish monopoly, 1848-1877, the British phase, 1877-1896 and an Australian national phase, 1896-1948. Significant changes were made to the books during each phase, and new books introduced, often the result of a revised curriculum or from community pressure groups reflecting the existing social tensions and the desire for new curriculum ideas to be inserted into the realm of public education.

The first phase was a period of unparalleled expansion, during which major administrative changes took place. All

educational boards, however, agreed to a "uniform supply" of school books imported direct from Ireland. In keeping with the demand for relevant and suitable information, appropriate excisions were made and later, Australian editions of these Readers began to address colonial children directly. But the books were essentially written for British and Irish children. Despite some local efforts to break the monopoly, the Irish books remained the cheapest and probably the best of the secular school books available at the time. The poorly-educated teachers depended on them and the school boards and the local patrons resisted any unnecessary change. Following the 1872 Education Act, however, educationists looked to England for something new and less dated.

In the second phase, we discern mainly British solutions to educational questions, not only with the adoption of the Nelson Royal readers and Morell's grammar books, but broadly across the curriculum, in history, geography, botany, and the elementary sciences. The Readers promoted British patriotism and Empire, the glory of death in war, the bravery and courage of explorers and adventurers and a whole range of social issues ranging from temperance, racism, class and work values. The Victorian's macarbre fascination with death emerges as one of the themes of the series. During this second phase, however, there were some

impressive Australian school publications and an expanding book trade.

The third phase included the local publication of the monthly School paper, various primers and Readers and, in 1928, the series The Victorian readers. A thorougly Australian theme emerges, but in combination with much nineteenth-century British and American material. Although Australian loyalties were still firmly linked with the British Empire, the federation of the Australian colonies in 1901 gave a sense of national identity and independence. Consequently, we find a number of Australian school publications and growing intellectual assertiveness for new, Australian solutions to the ever-changing educational scene.

EPILOGUE.

> Often in the history of Australian education the need for action has made reflection a luxury, then satisfaction with what has been achieved has made analysis seem unnecessary and criticism treacherous.
>
> R.J.W.Selleck, Frank Tate: a biography, (M.U.P, 1982), p. 94.

Two recent publications highlight the relevance of the subject of this thesis: Brian McKinlay's School days (1985) and the reprinting of the Victorian readers (1986). The five-thousand copies of each sold quickly and there is a popular demand for more. These nostalgic collections of Education Department publications highlight the enormous changes which have taken place in education over the last twenty years. The school texts and papers were produced cheaply by the central authority. This ensured a large measure of central control over the school curriculum. Today, however, individual schools, indeed individual teachers, may choose the reading books and texts in an open market, reflecting the reduced control exerted by the central bureaucracy and the increased powers of curriculum decision-making at the school level.

The concept of a "uniform supply" of books to is no longer applicable, and for the best reasons. The diversity and flexibility of choice in reading matter alone tends to encourage both reading skills and reading for interest and pleasure. Specialized resources encourage the most reluctant and difficult pupil. But over the last one-hundred years, a

certain uniformity had its advantages, particularly where the level of expertise of teachers was in doubt. Levels of reading difficulty for particular classes had already been clearly established. The standards achieved could be more readily assessed by individual teachers. The levels of achievement, and individual strengths and weaknesses, were able to be more easily monitored, allowing the more advanced students to move on to whatever wider reading material happened to be available. If a child had difficulties, word-recognition skills were developed through "look and say" and simple phonic exercises, much the same as today's methods. Much depended on the manner in which reading was taught and, as today, it was considered important to practise reading aloud with the parents and older students.

The present trend for schools to develop a policy of "reading across the curriculum" at both primary and secondary levels is commendable. Reading skills and the particular subject-matter are taught simultaneously. The old view that language and thought are related has re-emerged in a more palatable form. This tends to encourage more effective oral and written communication, the use of computers for creative writing and the learning of spelling as part of this process. The real test of language is whether children can expound their own ideas in their own language.

In future, major curriculum issues will have to be resolved at the school level, where conservative community pressures may still tend to hamper professional judgements. The new school curriculum committees have to decide if they want a basic, minimum education with a 'core curriculum', to suit all learners. They also have to decide what assessment techniques, if any, to employ, or whether they press for integrated studies and seminars, emphasising the broad principles of learning and with less factual knowledge. Decisions of this sort have to be made by the schools within the constraints of accepted curriculum guidelines. The present State-funded schools will not be able to produce skilled people without answers to some difficult educational questions. The teaching of skills for modern living does involve efficient study techniques, time management, the setting of goals and self motivation. Increased student participation in curriculum decision-making is, clearly, an important learning situation for those involved. But, generally speaking, there should be greater emphasis placed on serious, hard work and rigorous learning techniques, as well as the widening of educational opportunities for female students, if Australia is to avoid the waste of its tallented young and cope with industrial changes and the new technology.

The second question which emerges from this thesis, by way of epilogue, is whether schools should or should not

promote moral, social and political values in the classroom. We have seen how the school readers and papers helped define particular moral and social codes of behaviour, promoting a form of political consciousness for the young. As the material dated, new series were produced which met general community and educational standards. Changes to the content of the school curriculum, favouring more Australian material and promoting civic responsibility, followed in the wake of the emerging nationalism of the 1890s and the post-federation period. This material had an impact on an emerging Australian cultural identity.

In most cases, of course, values are determined principally by the child's home and family. The educational role of the school, particularly in senior classes, has always included attitudinal studies on broad social, moral and political issues. Measures to reduce the incidence of incest, child molesting and rape may now be taught in some primary schools. We live in a pluralistic society in which the traditional family unit is challenged by new life-styles and moral values. In short, the moral order changes. Victorian moral rectitude or paternalism may not cope adequately with the harsh reality of sexually transmitted diseases or the sensitive issues of invitro-fertilization or the status of frozen embryos. Issues of war, genocide, famine and racial intolerance all fall within the structure of our culture. Certainly, good teaching requires tolerance

and a sceptical outlook on the written word. The real power of the printed word is amply demonstrated by the burning of Athol Fugard's play Boesman and Lena in South Africa in 1984, [1] the conflict between China and Japan over a school history book which related China's role during the Second World War, [2] in the interpretation of history [3] and the banning, in Britain and elsewhere, of sex education books such as Jenny lives with Eric and Martin, Make it happy, Young, gay and proud, and The little blue book for girls.[4] Even the humble nursery rhyme can be accused of forming attitudes of violence and sexism. In reality, the cruelty, violence and racism in fables and fantasy represent a traditional entertainment value, nothing more. Children are capable of constructing their own moral worlds, especially if they have access to reasoned, adult discussion to remove any misunderstandings or prejudice.

The reality is that schools define the values they wish to promote as a result of conflicting standards and views. The values, loyalties and sense of 'corporate identity' tend to be as important as the acquisition of the basic skills and factual knowledge. Schools are not instruments of social change, as such, and tend to lag behind the current thinking which forms new attitudes. Their chief function is to preserve and encourage curiosity, analytical powers and imagination, promoting skills for modern living and powers of critical thinking.

1. "School book to be burned", Age, 22 June, 1984.

2. "Japanese bow to China's pressure on war history", in Weekend Australian, 11-12 October, 1982.

3. "Zimbabwe teachers black version of history", Age, 19 October, 1982.

4. "Gay library book upsets ministers", The Australian, 19 September, 1986. "Airing social and moral issues in the classroom", Age, 19 October, 1982.

ABBREVIATIONS.

A.D.B.....Australian dictionary of biography

A.S.....The Australian schoolmaster and literary review

B.M.....British Museum.

D.N.B.....Dictionary of national biography.

D.S.B.....Denominational School Board, Victoria.

N.B.....National Board, Victoria.

P.D.(VIC.)....Parliamentary Debates, Victoria.

P.P.(Vic.)....Parliamentary Papers, Victoria.

P.R.O.(Vic.)..Public Records Office, Victoria.

R.M.P.I.....Report of the Minister of Public Instruction.

S.P.C.K.....Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

V.& P.(Vic.)..Votes and Proceedings, Parliament of Victoria.

V.& R.....Vision and realization. (Blake, L.J. (ed.))

APPENDICES:

1. Book purchases by the National Board, Victoria, 1852-1862, extracted from P.R.O.(Vic.),Series 878.

2. Purchases of Irish National Readers by the National Board, 1852-62, extracted from P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 878.

3. National Board purchases by title (extracts).

4. Book purchases by the Denominational School Board, 1852-1862, extracted from P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 62.

5. Purchases of Irish National Readers by the Denominational School Board, 1852-1862, extracted from P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 62.

6. Denominational School Board purchases by title (extracts).

7. Statistics re. National Board, Victoria, 1851-62, extracted from Reports of the Commissioners of National Education for the Colony of Victoria.

8. Statistics re. Denominational School Board, Victoria, 1849-62, extracted from Reports of the Board of Education.

9. Index of Special Case Files used for this study, P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 892.

10. Holdings of registers and other Ed. Dept. files in vaults of the Treasury Building (Central Registry), Treasury Place, Melbourne.

11. Location list of Nelson Royal readers (Melbourne)

12. Submissions for school libraries, Victoria, 1856-1859, extracted from P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 61.

13. "The benign mother. A day in a Victorian bush school", by E.S.Emerson. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 794, 1908/6693, box 1022.

BOOK PURCHASES BY NATIONAL BOARD, VICTORIA, 1852-1862.

(P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 878, extracts)

File: APPENDIX 1 Page
Report: N.B.PURCHASES

YEAR	DATE	FILE	AMOUNT (#)	SOURCE
1852	May 14	52/64	100	N.B.SYDNEY
1852	Jul 3	52/130	200	N.B.SYDNEY
1853	Jan 8	53/15	100	McCULLOCH, DUBLIN
1854	Jan 8	54/34	245	McCULLOCH, DUBLIN
1854	Jan 8	54/37	300	McCULLOCH, DUBLIN
1854	May 26	54/449	600	McCULLOCH, DUBLIN
1854	May 30	54/458	N/A	N.B.SYDNEY
1855	Feb 13	55/406	215	BLUNDELL, MELBOURNE
1855	May 16	55/741	82	McCULLOCH, DUBLIN
1855	Dec 24	55/2641	370	HOBART ED. OFFICE
1856	May 24	56/1313	500	McCULLOCH, DUBLIN
1857	Jan 26	57/205	300	McCULLOCH, DUBLIN
1857	Jun 11	57/1550	N/A	N.B.SYDNEY
1857	Nov 11	57/3540	N/A	SANDS & KENNY, MELBOURNE
1858	Mar 15	58/829	200	ALEX. THOM, DUBLIN
1858	Dec 7	58/3842	N/A	SANDS & KENNY, MELBOURNE
1859	May 16	59/1597	285	ALEX. THOM, DUBLIN
1859	Jul 15	59/2434	200	ALEX. THOM, DUBLIN
1859	Oct 17	59/4160	300	ALEX. THOM, DUBLIN
1860	Jul 25	60/3289	214	ALEX. THOM, DUBLIN
1860	Oct 17	60/4061	295	ALEX. THOM, DUBLIN
1861	Feb 23	61/544	350	ALEX. THOM, DUBLIN
1861	Mar 25	61/665	100	ALEX. THOM, DUBLIN
1861	May 25	61/1263	100	ALEX. THOM, DUBLIN
1861	Jun 25	61/1609	100	ALEX. THIM, DUBLIN
1861	Jul 25	61/2104	150	ALEX. THOM, DUBLIN
1861	Aug 24	61/2277	100	ALEX. THOM, DUBLIN
1862	Jan 25	62/384	204	ALEX. THOM, DUBLIN
1862	Feb 22	62/725	99	ALEX. THOM, DUBLIN
1862	Mar 25	62/1359	200	ALEX. THOM, DUBLIN
1862	May 23	62/1985	149	ALEX. THOM, DUBLIN

PURCHASES OF IRISH NATIONAL BOOKS, NATIONAL BOARD, VICTORIA.

(P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 878, extracts.)

File: APPENDIX 2 Page
Report: N.B.PURCHASES

YEAR	1ST	2ND	2ND-s	3RD	4TH	4TH-s	5th	R.G.
1852	1000	480	250	250	160	40	40	-
1852	-	-	720	-	300	-	-	500
1854	2000	2000	500	400	200	200	200	200
1854	3000	2500	750	800	400	400	300	400
1855	10,000	5000	-	-	-	-	-	-
1855	-	-	800	200	200	150	200	150
1855	480	480	-	960	240	-	-	480
1857	-	-	-	450	200	200	200	200
1857	-	-	-	500	-	-	-	-
1857	-	-	600	400	400	-	400	-
1858	-	500	400	300	250	-	-	-
1858	10,200	10,472	4245	1255	2060	-	-	-
1859	-	-	-	1500	600	200	-	-
1860	3000	1000	-	500	-	-	100	-
1862	-	3000	1000	2000	600	500	-	-
1862	2000	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1862	-	-	-	1000	500	-	500	-
	31,680	25,432	9265	10,515	6110	1690	1940	1930

R.G. - Reading book for girls.

BOOK PURCHASES, NATIONAL BOARD, VICTORIA.

File: APPENDIX 3 Page
Report: N.B.PURCHASES

TITLE	TOTAL, 1852-62
An English grammar	9,500
Key to English grammar	1,210
Introduction to the art of reading	500
Sullivan's English dictionary	200
Sullivan's English grammar	2,800
Sullivan's spelling book superseded	5420
Sullivan's literary class book	200
Scripture lessons (Old Testament), No. 1	840
Scripture lessons (Old Testament), No. 2	840
Scripture lessons (New Testament), No. 1	1,100
Scripture lessons (New Testament), No. 2	1,100
Sacred poetry	2,800
Lessons on the truth of Christianity	1,200
Lessons on Christian evidences	120
Compendium of geographical knowledge	3,730
Epitome of geographical knowledge	600
Sullivan's intro. to geography and history	4,000
Sullivan's geography generalised	1,410
Kirkwood's atlas	750
Dower's atlas	96
Biographical sketches of eminent British poets	350
Selections from the British poets, vol. 1	200
Selections from the British poets, vol. 2	200
First book of Arithmetic	9,000
Key to first book of Arithmetic	400
Arithmetical table book	11,000
Arithmetic in theory and practice	800
Tate's Arithmetic	144
Tate's Algebra	30
Elements of Geometry	500
Mensuration	500
Agricultural class book	620
Book-keeping	1,470
Key to book-keeping	320
Chambers' British Empire	120
Lessons on reasoning	120
Dawes'suggestive hints (secular instruction)	20
Easy lessons on money matters	180

BOOK PURCHASES BY THE DENOMINATIONAL SCHOOL BOARD.

File: APPENDIX 4 Page
Report: D.S.B. PURCHASES

YEAR	DATE	FILE	COST £	SOURCE
1852	Feb 24	52/43	220	CROSS & KELLY, DUBLIN
1853	Jul 25	53/259	500	CROSS & KELLY, DUBLIN
1854	Mar 4	54/157	100	N.B.SYDNEY
1854	May 27	54/316	500	J. WAKE, DUBLIN
1854	Sep 28	54/607	150	J. WAKE, DUBLIN
1854	Sep 29	54/608	100	R.LINGIN, LONDON
1855	Jan 30	55/54	500	J. WAKE, DUBLIN
1856	Mar 8	56/252	400	McCULLOCH, DUBLIN
1856	Aug 26	56/974	400	McCULLOCH, DUBLIN
1857	Jan 27	57/104	735	McCULLOCH, DUBLIN
1857	May 27	V.1, p.26	750	McCULLOCH, DUBLIN
1857	Dec 17	57/2002	975	McCULLOCH, DUBLIN
1858	Oct 15	58/2234	236	ALEX. THOM, DUBLIN
1858	Dec 15	58/2817	317	ALEX. THOM, DUBLIN
1859	Mar 11	59/556	336	ALEX. THOM, DUBLIN
1859	May 13	59/1196	326	ALEX. THOM, DUBLIN
1860	Feb 15	60/584	294	ALEX. THOM, DUBLIN
1860	Apr 16	60/906	277	ALEX. THOM, DUBLIN
1860	May 16	60/1427	275	ALEX. THOM, DUBLIN
1860	Nov 22	60/3521	75	ALEX. THOM, DUBLIN
1861	Mar 25	61/963	50	ALEX. THOM, DUBLIN
1861	May 23	61/1767	50	ALEX. THOM, DUBLIN
1861	Jul 24	61/2564	75	ALEX. THOM, DUBLIN
1861	Nov 25	61/3936	50	ALEX. THOM, DUBLIN
1861	Jun 21	61/2097	65	ALEX. THOM, DUBLIN
1862	Jan 9	62/87	189	ALEX. THOM, DUBLIN
1862	Apr 25	62/1331	75	ALEX. THOM, DUBLIN
1862	Jun 21	-	62	ALEX. THOM, DUBLIN

DENOMINATIONAL SCHOOL BOARD PURCHASES OF IRISH NATIONAL BOOKS.

File: APPENDIX 5 Page
Report: D.S.B. PURCHASES

YEAR	1ST	2ND	2ND-s	3RD	4TH	4TH-s	5TH	R.G
1852	240	240	480	150	200	60	120	162
1853	2000	2000	1000	2000	1500	500	500	489
1854	1000	2000	800	500	200	-	-	-
1854	3000	2500	1000	2000	2000	1000	500	500
1854	3000	2000	1000	-	-	-	-	-
1855	-	2500	2000	2000	2000	1000	500	500
1856	3000	-	-	2000	1000	-	1000	-
1856	3000	2000	2000	-	-	-	-	-
1857	5000	3000	2000	2000	1000	-	1000	1000
1857	4720	3000	4000	3000	-	-	-	-
1857	9820	5000	8000	3000	-	-	-	-
1858	-	-	-	-	1000	-	-	-
1858	-	1000	1000	1000	1000	500	-	-
1859	2000	1000	-	1000	1000	1000	-	-
1859	1000	1000	1000	2000	1000	500	500	500
1860	2000	2000	-	1000	-	-	-	-
1860	2000	2000	-	1000	-	-	-	-
1860	-	1000	-	-	-	-	-	-
1861	2000	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1861	3000	1000	-	1000	-	-	-	-
1861	3000	1000	-	-	-	-	-	-
1861	1000	1000	-	-	-	-	-	-
1861	2000	2000	-	-	-	-	-	-
1862	4000	3000	1000	2000	4000	-	-	-
1862	3000	2000	-	-	-	-	-	-
1862	3000	1000	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	64,780	45,240	25,280	25,650	15,900	4,500	4,120	3,151

R.G. - Reading book for girls

BOOK PURCHASES BY THE DENOMINATIONAL SCHOOL BOARD.

File: APPENDIX 6 Page
Report: D.S.B. PURCHASES

TITLE	TOTAL, 1852-62
An English grammar	12,580
Key to English grammar	460
Introduction to the art of reading	410
Sullivan's English dictionary	1,162
Sullivan's English grammar	11,453
Sullivan's spelling book superseded	6,448
Sullivan's literary class book	550
Sullivan's dictionary of derivations	800
Sullivan's spelling and reading	650
Easy lessons on reasoning	650
Morell's English grammar and analysis	800
Morell's graduated exercises	750
Reading disentangled (sets)	110
Compendium of geographical knowledge	7,100
Epitome of geographical knowledge	450
Sullivan's intro. to geography and history	18,426
Sullivan's geography generalised	3,650
Kirkwood's atlas	1,150
Dower's atlas	90
Flemming's Atlas of outlone maps	90
Cornwall's Geography	650
Biographical sketches of eminent British poets	724
Selections from the British poets, vol. 1	850
Selections from the British poets, vol. 2	650
First book of Arithmetic	26,630
Key to the first book of Arithmetic	365
Arithmetical table book	49,500
Arithmetic (60 sheets) Tablet lessons	100
Arithmetic in theory and practice	1,650
Elements of Geometry	100
Thompson's Elements of Euclid, 1	668
Thompson's Elements of Euclid, 2	520
Thompson's Introduction to Algebra	370
Thompson's Treatise on Arithmetic	898
Thompson's Key	110
Barnard Smith's Arithmetic	200
De Morgan's Arithmetic	100
Agricultural class book	700
Book-keeping	1,948
Key to book-keeping	420
Easy lessons on money matters	570
Mechanics, hydrostatics, etc.	200
Electricity, galvinism, etc.	200
Farm account book	124
Hodges' agricultural chemistry	250
Household work for female students	300
Mensuration, gauging and land surveying	1,190
Treatise on needlework	496
Wilson's Chemistry	200
Patterson's Steps to zoology	250
Dawes' Suggestive hints (secular instruction)	450
McCauley's Natural philosophy	200
Hullah's Music manual	120
Maps (various)	270

STATISTICS - NATIONAL BOARD, VICTORIA.

File: APPENDIX 7 Page
Report: N.B.STATISTICS

YEAR	SCHOOLS	NEW SCHLS	ENROLMENT	A.A.	POP.	VOTE (#)
1851	6	-	342	-	-	-
1852	9	3	552	361	168,321	3,000
1853	27	16	1,753	908	222,436	35,000
1854	42	25	2969	1722	312.304	65,000
1855	58	16	3,532	2509	364,324	14,865
1856	81	23	4804	3553	397,560	21,299
1857	93	12	6092	4475	463,135	28,000
1858	140	47	8334	6281	504,519	30,000
1859	144	4	11,152	7416	530,262	32,500
1860	153	9	11,542	7320	537,847	37,434
1861	181	28	14,175	9713	541,800	37,426
1862	180	-	14,991	9632	555,744	35,000

STATISTICS - DENOMINATIONAL SCHOOL BOARD, VICTORIA.

File: APPENDIX 8 Page
Report: D.S.B.STATISTICS

YEAR	SCHOOLS	NEW SCHLS.	ENROLMENT	A.A.	% A. OF POP.	VOTE (#
1849	27	-	2,596	-	-	-
1850	54	27	3,870	-	-	-
1851	74	20	4,999	3,016	-	-
1852	89	15	6,836	3,874	2.5%	7,247
1853	125	36	9,517	5,788	3%	35,000
1854	213	88	14,364	9,239	3.5%	65,000
1855	300	93	17,711	11,856	3.9%	62,462
1856	370	70	21,267	14,044	4.4%	91,700
1857	463	93	29,423	19,424	4.8%	82,000
1858	453	-	30,550	20,173	5.2%	90,000
1859	452	-	31,947	21,140	5.4%	92,500
1860	505	53	34,781	22,704	5.6%	92,000
1861	484	-	37,467	24,244	6.3%	87,054
1862	-	-	-	-	-	90,000

APPENDIX 9.

Index of Special Case Files used for this study, Public Records Office, Victoria, Series 892.

CASE:	BOX:	NAME:
9A	1	Objections to the Rules and regulations.
42	4	Mixed instruction in Common Schools (Denoms.)
46	4	Re. Certificates of merit from Board inspectors.
50	4	re. Sixth Standard, from Board inspectors.
62	5	Handbook on Common Schools.
85	6	Annual report of the Model School.
89	6	On school organization, Belfast.
160	11	Schools closed, following section xx Act, 1863.
163	11	Scope of Budd's duties as Inspector General.
137	10	Annual prize distribution at Melbourne, 391 (1869)
144	10	Brodribb's appointment (1868-9).
213	13	re. Using Melbourne Public Library for exams 1868.
227	13	Secondary standards in certain subjects.
295	16	Schools with Classics, Maths, (Inspectors), 1871.
296	16	Educational needs of colony (Inspectors), 1871.
302	17	Mr Topp's appointment as inspector (1869-71).
303	17	Terms of publishers and booksellers, 1869-71.
304	17	Conference on exams, etc., with University staff.
308	17	Time-tables (Central).
339	19	Expenditure by Board on school books, 1866
341	19	Arrangements for singing and drawing lessons.
344	19	List of books for prize distributions, Central.
348	19	Proposal of Mr Robertson to handle sale of books.
442	27	Objection to religious teaching, Castlemaine, 1873
445	27	Books suggested for studies in Science.
727	47	Music compositions and books offered, 1880-94.
1061	79	Request to have school books published in Vic.
1114	89	Objection to certain books in school libraries.
1148	97	Libraries for State Schools (Vic. League), 1922-9.
1199	103	Cost of school books.
1276	114	Voluntary instruction in text books, 1880-1909.

The following Special Case files were listed in the Special Case Register at Treasury Building, unlisted at P.R.O.(Vic.) and subsequently found at the History Section of the Ministry, Rialto Building :

540	Publication of reading series to suit colony.
1207	School readers.
1347	Arithmetic texts.
1367	Permits to publish School Papers.
1374	Copyright on School Papers.

APPENDIX 10.

Holdings of registers and other Education Department files in the vaults of the Treasury Buildings, (Central Registry), Treasury Place, Melbourne:

1. REGISTERS :

1877-89
1883-91
1892-1913
1891-1913
1894-1901
1902-1912
1902-1913 - B-M
1914-1927 - B-M
1914-1927 - N-Z
1927-1936 - B-M
1933-1938 - A-Z
1928-1936 - N-Z
1937-1938 - A-N
1937-1938 - O-Z
1938-1943
1944-1947

2. OTHER VOLUMES :

CLASSIFIER'S MINUTE BOOKS (4)
EXAMINATIONS AND COOKERY, 1932-38
REGISTERED FILES : 1884-1915
REGISTERED FILES : 1916-1930
GIRLS' SCHOOLS, 1926-1947
HIGH SCHOOLS, 1938-1947
CONSOLIDATED GIRLS' SCHOOLS, 1947-1966
SPECIAL CASE REGISTER

APPENDIX 11

Location list (Melbourne), of Royal readers - Nelson's Royal School series.

1. Central Library, Ministry of Education, Victoria:

Royal reader, no. 2 - 1892
Royal reader, no. 3 - 1883, 1887, 1895 (2 copies), 1896.
Royal reader, no. 4 - 1888, 1892, 1896, 1897.
Royal reader, no. 5 - 1886, 1888, 1895, 1896 (5 copies), 1889 (3).
Royal reader, no. 6 - 1889 (3), 1890 (2), 1892 (4), 1895, 1912.

2. Publications Branch, Ministry of Education, Victoria:

Royal reader, no. 1 - 1981, 1895 (2nd series), nd. (3rd series)
Royal reader, no. 2 - 1878, 1895 (2nd series), 1900.
Royal reader, no. 3 - 1878, 1884, 1886, 1891, (2 copies), 1896.
Royal reader, no. 4 - 1877, 1880, 1887, 1891, 1892.
Royal reader, no. 5 - 1877, 1896 (Sequel).
Royal reader, no. 6 - 1885, 1896, 1897.

(With the move to the Rialto Building in 1986, these two collections may have been amalgamated.)

3. State Library of Victoria: (Call no. S 428.6 R81R)

Royal reader, no. 3 - 1877.
Royal reader, no. 4 - 1895, 1913.
Royal reader, no. 5 - 1895.
Royal reader, no. 6 - 1876, 1892.

4. Melbourne College of Education: (Call no. X 372.412)

Royal reader, no. 2 - 1897.
Royal reader, no. 3 - 1878.
Royal reader, no. 4 - 1895.
Royal reader, no. 5 - 1888.
Royal reader, no. 6 - [nd.]

APPENDIX 12.

Submissions for school libraries in Victoria, (D.S.B.), 1856-1859. (P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 61)

56/946 - Library and Night-school for Mt. Ararat diggings.
56/995 - Library for Sandhurst R.C.School.
56/602 - Geelong Teachers' Association library.
57/187 - Library for Collins Street School.
57/1247 - Library for Linton's Diggings.
57/1374 - Library for Carngham F.C.School.
57/1942 - Library for Carngham F.C.School.
57/1726 - Library for St. James School.
58/60 - Library for Buninyong.
58/196 - Library for Church of England Castlemaine.
58/233 - Rothwell Independent School library.
58/1060 - Libraries for Smyth's Creek and Black Head.
58/1385 - Libraries for St. John's and St. Mathew's, Melb.
58/2661 - Cremorne F.C.School, Richmond.
59/1916 - Prahran and South Melbourne F.C.School.
59/2026 - South Melbourne F.C.School library.

Other files on libraries for schools and use of libraries by teachers include :
1. P.R.O.(Vic.), Series 61 :
55/1034a - Geelong Teachers' Association library.
56/492 - D.S.B.library book purchases.
56/589 - Denominational School Teachers' Association.
56/899 - Libraries to schools, Clause 14.
56/1035 - Collingwood Teachers' Association library.
56/1169 - Library for D.S.B.office, Geelong.
56/1520 - Geelong Teachers' Association on subsidy.
57/864 - Use of D.S.B. office library, Melbourne.

2. P.R.O.(Vic.) Series 794 :
77/42941 - Ed. Dept. purchases books.
79/17732 - Chemistry books bought for the Ed. Dept.

81/35089 - Suggestions from Snadhurst re. libraries.
86/46934 - Books bought for the Department library.

90/31183 - Libraries in New Zealand's Normal Schools.
91/10278 - Library for Melbourne Head Teachers, 1891.
99/23398 - Department's journal subscriptions.
01/4280 - Dept. obtains Aust.ed. of Webster's dictionary.
01/30152 - Library reference books for teachers.
09/12548 - Books supplied by League of the Empire.

APPENDIX 13. "The benign mother. A day in a Victorian bush school", by E.S.Emerson.

A rough red stave in a God-writ song was the narrow, water-worn bush-track, and the birds knew the song and gloried in it, and the trees gave forth in accompaniment under the unseen hands of the wind until all the hillside was a living melody. Child voices joined in, and presently from a bend in the track, "three ha'pence for tuppence, three ha'pence for tuppence," came a lumbering old horse, urged into an unwonted canter. Three kiddies bestrode the ancient, and as they swung along they sang snatches of Kipling's "Recessional," to an old hymn-tune that lingers in the memory of all. As they drew near to me the foremost urchin suddenly reined-up. The result was disastrous, for the ancient propped, and two of the three kiddies were emplied out on the track. From the dust they called their brother many names that are not to be found in school books; but he, laughing, had slid down and was cutting a twig from a neigbouring tree. "A case-moth! A case-moth!" he cried. The others scrambled to their feet. "What sort, Teddy? What sort?" they asked, eagerly.

But Teddy had caught sight of me.

"Well, what will you do with that?" I asked.

"Take it to school, sir; teacher tells us all about them at school." The answer was spoken naturally and without any trace of shyness.

"Did you learn that hymn you were singing at school, too?"

"'Taint a hymn, sir. Its the 'Recessional'!" This proudly from the youngest.

But they had learned it at school, and when I had given them a leg-up and stood watching them urge the ancient down the hillside, I made up my mind that I would visit the school where the teacher told the scholars all about case-moths and taught them to sing the "Recessional"; and a morning or two later I did.

The school stands on the skirt of a thinly-clad Gippsland township, and is attended by from 40 to 50 children. Fronting it is a garden - a sloping half-acre set out into beds, many of which are reserved for flowering native plants and trees. School is not "in" yet, and a few of the early-comers are at work on the beds, which are dry and dusty from a long, hot spell. Little tots of six and seven years stroll up and watch the workers, or romp about on the grass plots in close proximity. Presently the master's voice is heard."Fall-in!" There is a gathering up of bags, a hasty shuffling of feet, the usual hurry-scurry of laggards, and in a few moments two motionless lines stand at attention. "Good morning girls! Good morning, boys!" says the master. A chorused "Good morning, Mr Morgan!" returns the salutation, and then the work of the day begins.

But do the scholars look upon it as work? Something over 30 years ago Herbert Spencer wrote: "She was at school where her memory was crammed with words and names and dates, and her reflective faculties scarcely in the slightest degree exercised."In those days, as many old State-school

boys well remember, to learn was, indeed, to work, and when fitting occasion offered, we wagged it conscientiously, even though we did have to "touch our toes" for it when we returned. I remember one boy - a dry-as-dust lawyer today - who sat next to me in a city school. He would work well for a month on end, and then the green fields and parks and the wharves would call to him, and the rules and tables, and endless kings and queens of history would goad him on until he started wagging. When the fit was over he would return and "take his licking like a toff." At last wagging became chronic with Joe, who was a corn-dealer's son, and it is possible that he would never have become a lawyer but for the fact that our teacher had been a riotous young rascal himself once. For it so happened that after a particularly long bout of truancy, Joe returned "sitting high", when dealing with, his trousers gave forth a dull sound and much dust. Then the teacher smiled - a reminiscent smile it seemed - and took Joe into a lavatory. Later her returned with a nice little pad of chaff dangling at the end of his cane. Joe had stitched it inside his unmentionables, and when the enormity of the offence and of the "waggings" had been properly brought home to him, we knew that Joe coundn't stand a licking any better than the rest of us - not on that part of his being, at any rate; and thereafter Joe reformed. But the cane is not used like that to-day - is not used at all in fact - and the dull routine of the rules and the endless kings and queens have been replaced by lessons that interest, while they teach and teach while they interest. Indeed, under Victoria's education system of to-day the teacher can make the school work practically a labour of love. Let me show you how.

The morning being bright, the children having returned the master's salutation, are put through some simple exercises and encouraged to take a few deep breathings. Then the lines are formed again. "Left turn! Quick march!" and the scholars file into the schoolhouse. This is a bright, breezy, brick building, about 20 x 30 feet in size, with windows on all sides but the east. There are no partitions, the one room serving for all classes. The children seat themselves at desks arranged in three tiers, the classes being graded from the V1 on the left to the infants' on the right. Then at 9.15am., hat and cloaks having been hung up and books neatly stowed away in the lockers, the children give their whole attention to the master. "Observation" - the keystone of the system - appropriately takes first place in the lessons of the day.

"Do you think it rained last night?" asks the master.

"No!", "Yes!" "a little!"

"You" - indicating one of the upper-class scholars - "go out and see."

Meanwhile, two scholars take the readings of the thermometer and barometer. These are written on the blackboard, and recorded in observation books. Then the rain-gauge is brought in.

"There were five points, sir!" the bearer announces. This, too, is recorded, and when the weather is done with the observation books bear neat entries such as:- Feb. 19: Ther., 70; bar., 29.83; sky, slightly clouded; weather, fair; wind, N.W.;rainfall, 5 points.

Then the master speaks again. "You observed something last night or this morning; please record it in your books." For a minute or two the pens scratch - there is very little slate writing in these days - and such items are written down as: "Last night there was a flock of swans which came from Western Port." "Aurora Australis was seen last night." And so on and so on until every pen is laid down.

Then the master speaks again: "Has anyone brought specimens?" A fern frond is handed out, classified and set aside for a later lesson; and a peculiar looking stick or grass insect is examined. This strange insect attracts much attention, and items connected with its life history are eagerly chronicled. At 9.25 the lesson finishes.

Whilst the younger classes settle to simple writing lessons and the older ones to spelling, let us look at one of these observation books. Here,opening one haphazard, we find under date April 19, 1907: "The mushrooms are coming up." That may be passed without comment, but to a town-bred man the next item gives a shock. April 29: "The Cape wattle is out." Surely the child must have been mistaken! With a shake of the head we pass on to May 14: "Heath is out in flower"; and from that to June 4: "The silver wattle is in bloom all along the creek." So the wattle - the fleecy, scented, silver wattle - is a winter bloomer, too, for all that our poets say. And if you doubt it there follows still another note. June 5: "The Cootamundra wattle (in the school garden) is in bloom." The blossoming dates of jonquils, snowdrops, lilies, and stocks follow. Then, Australian again. On June 14: "Baronia is out." "Why even the baronia is a mid-winter bloom," we cry; and so one child's observation knocks down all our castles of the spring. The flowers of our romance will require other verses written round them now. What a pity; they are so beautiful, some of those old songs. But perhaps this child him---, no, it is not him - herself will sing us the newer and truer song; for there will be born great singers of the children of to-day. That is life's promise of the spring. Howsoever that may be, these observation books of theirs some day will be priceless heirlooms of the nation, and the people of the future will have the heart of them written into almanacs, which, unless the phenomena of the earth change materially, shall be true prophets of Nature in her glorious temple of the South.

Now this is the work of the upper classes: but the little children have looked on, listened, perhaps questioned, and learned. The whole school has been interested, and from that time on it is the teacher's constant endeavor not to allow the interest to wane. The younger children commence a writing lesson, and it is of something they noticed themselves that they write. Meanwhile the upper classes are being exercised in spelling, a sixth-class scholar dictating to the fifth, a fifth to the fourth, and so on, the position of dictator being an honor

so eagerly competed for that errors are reduced to a minimum. Whilst these classes are thus employed, the master is doing what is, perhaps, his hardest work - making writing a pleasant occupation to the infant fingers which will persist in being "all thumbs." How does he accomplish it? Let us see. The system seizes upon the fact that a boy likes to whittle a stick, so, the while he cuts, it teaches him the inner mysteries of tree-growth - a lesson in reading, writing, and fruit-culture all in one. It knows that girls love to pick wild flowers and arrange them, so it encourages them to pick and to arrange, and at the same time teaches them the usefulness of the plant-life they have levied upon. Soi with infants and their writing. Little children love to build houses from blocks, so the master concludes that word-building under similar circumstances will be looked upon as a pleasure rather than as work. He talks about the sleepy old tabby cat purring on the hearth at home, and he transfers puss to the blackboard, and shows how "cat" is built up of letters, and how the letters are built up of strokes and curves. Then the little fingers are exercised in the making of the curves and the strokes, and, little by little the "c's" and the "a's" and the "t's" are brought to light, and at last, joy of joys, the kiddies join the letters, and make each one a "cat" of their own. He is very human, this master, and he knows that the kiddies will want to pat the cat, so he shows them how very east it is to pat the cat on the blackboard. Just another letter, so, and the word-building goes on again, and the cat is patted, and a rat is caught for it, and, maybe, it is taken from the hob, and put to sleep in a hat, or upon a mat. And so letter after letter the alphabet is brought in, and new words built, , each one with a living meaning, each one worked into a little story that, at last, the child having written, is encouraged to speak with proper emphasis. One of the smallest children falls asleep during the lesson, but the master is not discouraged. Here is an opportunity for one of the older girls. "Mary, little Tessie has fallen asleep." A girl rises from the upper forms, lifts the child gently, and takes her out to the playhouse at the rear of the school. There Tessie is left to sleep in peace; and so motherly instinct is fostered. It is all so natural.

And now the lesson in spelling being concluded, the master leaves the little ones to do a little word-building by themselves, and leads the other scholars to an appreciation of poetry. At least 150 lines of poetry are memorised by each class during the year, two to eight lines being learned daily. The verses chosen frequently fit in with the Nature study, and a casual glance at the school papers shows that Longfellow is the favorite author. However, Henry Kendall, J.B.O'Hara, and a few other southern singers find representation, and there would be more if Australian writers were not so idiomatically virile. One listens to these children repeating their "poetry", and remembers the "sing-song" of the old days. What has become of it? Simply this: learning by rote has been superseded by learning by reason. The sing-song has died in understanding. Give me insight and you give me interest. The children have

been made to handle, to write, talk, and reason about the subject-matter of the poem long before the poem is brought under their notice. To them it is an old friend speaking their own thoughts in purer, sweeter language, or suggesting new thoughts which help them to measure their own weakness. There is no talk of iambics, trochees, or pentameters; but the poems are full of living things, and the children are made natural enough not to be ashamed of saying "I love them."

So, and with such interest, the morning advances, and arithmetic is introduced. But it is not the dreary arithmetic of old. Down amongst the little kiddies two and two still make four, but the twos are not simply symbols. They are built up with counters, which every child may handle. And quite early the twos become quite significant with the pints that make the quarts; and the lesson shall interest as well as instruct, the pint measures and the quarts are filled and tested - the children do that themselves. But this teaching produces peculiar results at times: and a story is told of a boy whose home lessons included a sum: "If you had a gallon of beer, and were told that it contained eight pints, how would you prove it?" He could not prove it, he said the next morning. Dad got the beer at the hotel, but there were only seven pints in it, and mother would be better pleased it the teacher set the sum in water next time. Poor dad! "It's a chestnut!" you say. Well, let it pass. It is not often you track the chestnut to its parent tree. Now just as two is associated with pints, so three is associated with feet and yards, seven with days and weeks, and twelve with pence and shillings. And the foot rule is put into the hands of the young scholar and he is told to measure the tank at home, or the cowshed or the milkers' paddock, and the interest thus awakened is not allowed to flag until he has "worked out the contents", and can logically explain the whole process. And so with money computations. It is not a matter of #.s.d., but of cardboard coins. The scholars buy and sell, give and accept payment and change just as in every-day life. It is not merely a lesson in theory, but in practice. And the tables: the dreary columns of weights and measures have been edited until the scholars are asked to commit to memory only that which is likely to be of use to them in Australian life.

Despite the new interest constantly awakened in this work, the little kiddies soon tire, and are drafted out to play; but the older classes keep at it for a full hour. Then as in the shearing sheds, comes a ten minutes' smoke-o. Out in the sunshine and the shadows the kiddies revel in games. Here groups of girls are skipping, there others play at hide-and-seek. Tip-cat, alleys, and tops are "out," but cricket is "in," so the boys, being just boys, bowl and bat and squabble together, or line up for a lesson on the horizontal-bar, and spend their recess under the master's eye just as you see them in the accompanying picture.

After the spell, grammar and composition claim the scholars' attention. Of these twin studies the system says that it should be the teacher's aim to train children to see

things correctly, to have thoughts about what they see, and to express those thoughts clearly and adequately. So one of the written observations of the early morning is taken, broken up, analysed and shorn of its redundancies and errors. Then after the exposition the children are invited to talk the matter over with the master. Thus language, which is grammar and composition, is taught naturally. A lesson in reading concludes the morning's work, and from this, as from all other subjects, dull routine has been almost eliminated. For instance, the infants are not asked to learn the alphabet as in the old days, and many of them can read a series of small words intelligently long before they know that such a thing as the alphabet exists. In the higher classes "The School Paper" is constantly used for the reading lesson, and although, from a broad Australian point of view, the paper is not all that it might be, still, in bringing before the scholars accurate illustrated accounts of Australian history, of the work of gallant explorers, of the life history of Australian birds, insects and animals, and in giving examples of the best work of Australia's best verse writers of the feminine school, it is not only an admirable aid to education, but is frequently a means of arousing enthralling interest and patriotic fervor. It is good to know that this school paper is used in Westralia and Tasmania also, for its tendency is not so much for the making of Australia for Australians, as for the making of Australians for Australia: two very different matters.

But dinner hour has arrived, and the children file out to the latticed playhouse or camp, in the shade of neighbouring trees, to enjoy their meal.

Having dined, and long before the children re-assemble, the master escorts me to the school and shows me round. There, hanging from the middle rafter is a string of miniature flags - Nelson's renowned signal - England expects, etc. Its significance? Well, had it not been for Nelson's victories, Australia might not have been British. Years and years before Trafalgar, Charles de Broises had urged the French government to establish a colony in Australia on exactly the same lines as those finally adopted by Britain. Had it not been for Nelson's victories Cook's expedition might not have been, and La Perouse might never have left Botany Bay to sail south to the great Unknown which still keeps the secret of his disappearance. Australia owes much to Nelson, and so in this little coutry school his signal is kept flying above a picture of an old sea-dog that does not at all do him justice.

Numerous examples of freehand drawing and many maps - exhibition work done by the children at odd times - decorate the school walls. Drawing, outside that done in nature-study, is taught twice a week. It is a popular subject, and by its aid in other work scholars are enabled to express much which would otherwise call for lengthy compositions. A cupboard door swings open, and the treasures of the school library are exposed - Robinson Crusoe, Five weeks in a baloon, Tales of the early explorers, (in this 'the' stands for 'our' and 'our' for 'Australian'), First studies in insect life, works by Henty, books that both boys

and girls adore, even to David Copperfield and Ivanhoe - all of these are there, and the library is well-patronised. How were these books obtained? Oh, the master's many duties include the teaching of singing and the children responded so well that he fixed up a little entertainment for them, which they gave at the local hall. The parents and people of the district showed their appreciation by packing the hall at one shilling a head, and so the library grew.

Another treasure of the school is the department's first-class certificate for gardening, a sombre, stiff, inartistic-looking card which is hung conspicuously over the fireplace. Gardening is a great institution in the Victorian country schools, and lasdt season a Gippsland laddie grew equal to 80 bushels to the acre of maize on a little plot portioned to him. He won a substantial prize for it (#10, I think). But the garden at this school is devoted to flowers and trees, and every "arbor day" the State Nurseries are levied upon for indigenous additions. Through the window one can see a Cootamundra wattle, an Illawarra flame-tree, and a score other - "all Australian" trees and shrubs. Wednesday is gardening day, and not only are the beds kept trim, but simple botanic lessons are given, soil from the different beds weighed, parcelled up and sent for analysis, and practical experiments made in the use of fertilizers and the artificial growth of seeds. The master knows all about field, garden and orchard pests, too; and when the scholars have passed through his hands, it is their own fault if they are not useful at home, on the farm, or in the garden.

But dinner-time is over, and the children take their places again. The master is now assisted by a work-mistress, and during the afternoon he gives almost exclusive attention to the higher classes. Reading from the school paper first occupies attention, then geography. The paper has announced that morning that the French had had a brush with the Moors; there was also a note about an expedition to the South Pole. So, after the set lessons, the attention of the older scholars is drawn to these facts, and of the geography of Morocco and of Victoria Land is studied with a new interest. But the teaching of the little children attracts even more attention. They are learning the significance of capes, lakes, bays, rivers, mountains, etc. So a model of Southern Europe, in relief, is set before them. This model is built in a water-tight tray, and the children pour water into it until only the mountains and the land remain uncovered. Little streams trickle down for the rivers, and the lakes are thimblefuls of water, but in the bay toy ships might be floated. The children understand the lesson thoroughly. At other times sand-trays are used, and the children are allowed to build up a continent for themselves, and in this the system is really taking the kiddies' predilection for making mud pies and turning it to good account. But probably the favorite method for learning mercantile geography is to follow the wool-clip from the local stations in its travels across the world and back again; and that the young Australian is a Protectionist at heart is amply shown by the frequency of his question: "Would it not be better for us to make the cloth ourselves?" Now, if you will look at the

photograph numbered 5, you will see two quaint-looking instruments. The schoolmaster is the kind of man who, finding that the system under which he works lacks some practical method of imparting knowledge, sets about to invent a method for himself. One of these instruments in known as "Morgan's State School quadrant" and by its use advanced scholars are rapidly taught to find the altitude of neighbouring hills, of the sun, of any object, indeed, with vision. The other is a home-made tellurion, and it makes the phenomena of day and night and of the seasons so readily understandable to the little ones that they welcome the object-lessons the master gives them when using it as eagerly as a lantern show. In the teaching of geography, in addition to these instruments, the sand trays and innumerable maps, the master makes free use of his mineral case, seen to the right of the picture. This contains specimens of iron, tin, gold, silver, copper and other ores and washes from many parts of the Commonwealth, and is being added to week by week. Indeed, there are so many side issues dealt with in this study that it has become almost all-embracing in its range.

But the half-hour's sand is run, and the third R, writing claims attention. We'll skip that and the recess that follows, and, whilst the younger children still remain outside in the care of the work mistress, catch a glimpse, as in picture number 6, of the master talking history to the upper classes. It is not history as of old. There are no tables of kings and queens, no puzzling strings of dates, no pedigree of princes. The text-books are used, first: William Gillies' Simple Studies in English History and Walter Murdoch's The struggle for freedom. The authors are both Australian schoolmen. In the lower classes the study runs hand in hand with geography, and traces history from the present to the past. Early Australian events are dealt with exhaustively first, and the scope gradually widened until the whole of the British Empire has received attention. Gradually, too, the stories of the ancients - Alfred and the Saxons, William and the Normans, and such like - have been introduced, and by the time Gillies' Simple Studies are taken in hand, the scholars are ready for a connected course. To-day the master is talking to his most advanced scholars on the duties of citizenship. He takes for his text a passage from Walter Murdoch's book: "Now the laws are simply the written expression of the will of the majority, so that by loyal obedience to the laws we are showing ourselves worthy of the freedom for which our fathers fought; an opposition to law is opposition to freedom." So the master discourses, speaking to his scholars as friends, as fellow-Australians, and when he has finished he invites them to discuss the matter with him. "Any questions?" And a boy rises."You told us some time ago, sir, that some of King George's laws are still in force here. How can they be the expression of the will of the majority?" This leads to a charming talk about statesmen, statutes and Acts, which, concluded, another boy rises. He is the humorist of the school, and there is a merry twinkle in his eye as he quotes: "Opposition to law, sir, is opposition to freedom,"

and asks, "Did that count when Nelson clapped his telescope to his blind eye?" And in the best humor the master dashes off again, perhaps happy in the thought that Australia will not go far wrong while blessed with such scholars as these.

A spell of mental arithmetic concludes the day's work, and, home-lessons having been set and copied out, the children depart.

This is just an ordinary day's work, and several other subjects are included in the general curriculum. On Wednesday afternoon, for instance, the work mistress teaches the girls sewing, and during that time the boys receive a quarter-hour's instruction on the horizontal-bar, and are put through a simple course of drill. There is the nucleus of a cadet corps at the school, too, the master holding rank as lieutenant, and at certain times flaunting their uniforms proudly. The young cadets are instructed in military manoeuvres. Twice in each week special lessons are given in Nature work. So much had the effect of Nature-study been shown during the day's work, that I welcomed further information concerning it. Conspicuous in the school is an aquarium, and in this, from time to time, the larvae of mosquitoes and of frogs and of dragon flies are traced through their many interesting stages of development. The water mantis and the water beetles have also been studied, and their life-histories written up from actual observation. In the case above the aquarium, the eggs of spiders and of many different moths have been hatched, the young fed, and their development traced day by day, until the children talk about their habits as every-day topics of conversation. In still another branch of the study, ferns, wild flowers, leaves and seeds are made identifiable, even to the very young scholars, and with these the native birds and animals receive attention. Sometimes the classes are taken out to the neighbouring hills or into the shady gullies, and that the work there is appreciated is evidenced by the unique essays which have been written around it by the scholars.The very smallest children are attracted and interested by this study, and - but here is an impromptu composition on a frog, written beneath a pen and ink sketch of one of the "bull" species, by a little chap not quite eight years of age:

> The frog.
> The frog is rough on the back, and slippery. The frog can swim well, and it has big mussels and very strong bones. There are land frogs and water frogs. The frog in your throat is not a frog at all. Frogs are cold-blooded animals, and does not mined the cold. The frog on the front feet has four paws and on the back feet it has five feet.

With all its quaint errors, surely this is a great achievement for a kiddy not eight years old; yet there are as many essays as good and better in the observation books of his class.

Now let us see what Victoria demands of parents in this system of "free, secular and compulsory" education. Every child between the ages of 6 and 14 must be sent to school. Practically that is all, but every child must be clean. Very poor parents are not even expected to provide their children

with necessary books; the State lifs that burden from them gladlly, and in a way that can give no offence. Of the children it asks only cleanliness and good behavior. But to the studious, this educational system, in addition to being a kindly guardian and a painstaking teacher, is a very beneficent patron, for it offers, in return for diligent endeavor, good positions under its own wing, and many scholarships and exhibitions. In the near future, it is expected that advanced State scholars will be still more generously assisted, but at present they are offered 40 annual scholarships, giving facilities at the State Continuation School, etc., for obtaining any university diploma or degree, or for pursuing any science course in a technical school. These scholarships may carry with them a £26 yearly allowance for children forced to reside apart from their parents, and under other circumstances varying amounts. Thirty-four additional scholarships are offered annually for the study of mining and agriculture at the University, and these, too, may carry with them substantial allowances. Then there are "exhibitions" - 20 of an annual value of £40, tenable for three years, and 20 entitling "exhibitioners" to free tuition at the Melbourne University for four years. These exhibitions cover the same courses of study, and holders of them whose parents are not possessed of incomes not exceeding £250 a year may be granted additional allowances under varying conditions. All this, and more in other directions, in return for honest endeavor. And every child, whether of rich or poor parentage, has equal opportunity, in the school at any rate, of winning to distinction. Surely in every school in the State there should be a standing notice setting forth these inducements and for every class a lesson epitomising all the benefits showered upon scholars by this wonderful educational system, and showing it to be, what it truely is to them - alma mater - the Benign Mother.

****

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

This bibliography is arranged under the following headings:

1. MANUSCRIPT MATERIAL - Archives.

2. PUBLISHED MATERIAL - Contemporary sources:

   a. Official papers.

   b. Books and articles.

3. PUBLISHED MATERIAL - Secondary sources:

   a. Books and pamphlets.

   b. Journal and newspaper articles.

   c. Newspapers.

   d. Theses.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

. MANUSCRIPT MATERIAL - ARCHIVES.

Public Records Office (Victoria). Series 930 - Budd Papers.

Public Records Office (Victoria). Series relating to the Denominational Schools Board :

59 - Statistical registers, 1848-57. 1 vol.
60 - Registers of correspondence, 1841-61 7 vols.
61 - Correspondence inwards, 1848-62, 43 boxes.
62 - Letter books, 1848-62, 17 vols.
63 - Minute books, 1848-62, 2 vols.
64 - Seniority and staff list, 1848-81, 1 vol.
885 - Reports of inspectors, 1851-59
888 - Register of circulars, 1856-59, 1 vol.
889 - Register of correspondence, 1857-62, 8 vols.
890 - Register of rules and regulations, 1857-70.
891 - Agenda book, 1859-62, 1 vol.

Public Records Office (Victoria), Series relating to the National Schools Board.

65 - Letter book, 1849-51.
876 - Minute books, 1852-62, 3 vols.
877 - Letter book,(Benjamin Cane), 1852-62, 1 vol.
878 - Letter books, 1852-64, 24 vols.
879 - Indexes to inwards correspondence, 1852-62.
880 - Inwards correspondence, 1852-62, 73 boxes.
881 - Register of returns, 1853-62, 5 vols.
883 - Agenda book, 1859-62, 1 vol.
884 - Miscellaneous registers, 1855-62, 3 vols.
1406 - Inspector's reports, 1856-62, 7 vols.

Public Records Office (Victoria), Series relating to the Board of Education.

894 - Minute books, 1862-73, 4 vols.
895 - Register of inward correspondence, 1862-72.
903 - Inwards correspondence, 1862-72.
904 - Report by inspector, 1863, 1 vol.
906 - Register of schools correspondence, 1864-72.
909 - Records of Royal Commission, 1866, 2 vols.

Public Records Office (Victoria), Series relating to the Board of Education and Education Department.

892 - Special case files, 1853-1946. (Appendix 9.)

893 - Registers of correspondence, 1860-1930, 10v.
898 - Registers of correspondence 1862-81, 25v.
899 - Agenda book, 1862-72, 8 vols.
640 - Schools correspondence files, 1878-
794 - Registered correspondence (Central),1873-41.
795 - School building files, by school number.
915 - Register of correspondence, 1871-1947
1675 - Circular book, 1872-90.
10304 - Education Department photograph album.

Rossiter Family manuscripts, State Library of Victoria, La Trobe collection, MS.11281.

2. PUBLISHED MATERIAL - CONTEMPORARY SOURCES

(a) Official papers :

Victoria. Parliamentary debates (Vic.), vols. V111, XC, XC1, XC111, LXXV11

Victoria. Denominational Schools Board and other educational reports and bills, 1851-59.

Victoria. Report of the Commissioners of National Education, 1-9, 1852-1862, V.& P., (Legislative Council) to 1856 and thereafter P.P.(Vic.).

Victoria. Report of the state of public education in Victoria ... P.P. (Vic.), 1877-78. Vol. 3, C.H.Pearson.

Victoria. Report of the select committee of education, 1852, V.& P., (Legislative Council), 1852.

Victoria. Royal Commission on Education (Rogers-Templeton). P.P.,(Vic.), 1882-3, Vol.11.

Victoria. Votes and proceedings (Leglislative Assembly), 1895-6, vol. 1.

Victoria. Votes and proceedings (Legislative Council, 1851-2.

(b) Books and articles :

Abbott, Edwin, "On the teaching of English grammar" in Barnett, P.A. Teaching and organization, with special reference to secondary schools, London, 1903.

Agricultural class book; or how best to cultivate a small farm and garden: together with hints on domestic economy, Dublin, 1862.

Allan, J. Alex., The Old Model School : its history and romance, 1852 - 1904, Melbourne, 1934.

Armstrong, Robert, The narrative English grammar, London, 1870.

Arnold-Forster, H.O., The citizen reader for the use of schools London, 1886.

Australian biographical pamphlets, vol. 1, State Library of Victoria.

Biaggini, Ernest Gordon, English in Australia; taste and training in a modern community; a preliminary enquiry into the power of the adult to recognise good and logical English; with some reference to common ways of thinking, Melbourne, 1933.

Bonwick, James, First grammar for young Australians, Melbourne, 1858 (2nd ed.)

Bonwick, James, Geography for young Australians, Melbourne, 1875 (9th edition).

Bonwick, James, Geography of Australia and New Zealand Melbourne, 1855.

Bonwick, James, Grammar for young Australians, Melbourne, 1857.

Bonwick, James, An octogenarian's reminiscences, London, 1902.

Boyce, William Binnington, A brief grammar of modern geography for the use of schools, Sydney, 1849.

Braim, Thomas Henry, Eutropii historiae Romanae, Sydney, 1844.

Braim, Thomas Henry, History of New South Wales from its settlement to 1844, 2 vols., London, 1846.

Brodribb, Thomas, Manual of health and temperance, Melbourne, 1891.

Bromby, Charles Henry, Principles and prospects of popular education, London, 1861.

Buckley, A., Class-book of geography, Melbourne, 1888.

Buckley, A., Outlines of geography, arranged according to the programme of instruction adopted in Victorian State Schools, Melbourne, 1875.

Burgmann, E.H.,The education of an Australian, Sydney, 1944.

Burston, John J., Factors and numbers, how to find them, Melbourne, [1909].

Burston, John J., Milton parsed; a text book for students in training, candidates for certificates of competency and Matriculation students, and containing the parsing of the difficult words and phrases in Books 1, 2 and 4 of Milton's "Paradise lost", Melbourne, 1880.

Burston, John J., The new State School grammar, arranged to suit the requirements of the new programme of instruction issued to the State Schools of Victoria by the Education Department, Melbourne, 1886.

Burston, John J. Physics and general lessons for State Schools, Melbourne, 1892.

Burston, John J., State School Arithmetic, arranged to suit the requirements of the programme of instruction issued by the Education Department, Melbourne, 1880.

Burston, John J., The State School grammar, arranged to suit the requirements of the programme of instruction issued by the Education Department, Melbourne, 1876.

Carlton College, Nicholson Street, Fitzroy. Report, honor list and prospectus 1879-1880, Melbourne, Walker, 1879.

Catholic Council of Education, The primer, Adelaide, 1868.

Chamber's geographical reader - Standard V, London, 1883.

Chamber's standard geography, London, 1870.

Chamber's standard reading books, London, 1871.

The Christian Brothers, Second book of modern geography, Dublin, 1896 (31st ed.).

Clarke, Marcus, History of Australia and the Island of Tasmania, 1787-1870, for the use of schools, Melbourne, 1877.

Compendium of geographical knowledge, Dublin, 1862.

Cornwallis, C.F., "General principles of grammar" in Small books on great subjects, vol. 12, London, 1844.

Cornwell, James, Geography for beginners, London, 1882 (49th edition).

Cornwell, James, A school geography, London, 1863 (34th edition).

Corr, J. Reford, A rational grammar, part 1, dealing with analysis of sentences and classification of words, Melbourne, 1897.

Corr, J. Reford, A rational grammar, part 2, dealing with inflexion and style, Melbourne, 1898.

Corr, J.Reford, The Swan school readers, Perth, Education Department of Western Australia, 1920.

Correspondence between Dr. Morell (the grammarian) and Henry Edelman (author of the School History of Peter the Great, ec.), on grammar and analysis, Melbourne, 1871.

Craik, George L., Manual of English literature and history of the English language, London, 1862.

Craik, George L., Outlines of the history of the English language for the use of the junior classes in colleges and the higher classes in schools, London, 1864 (5th ed.).

Darton, Frederick Joseph Harvey, Children's books in England ; five centuries of social life, Cambridge, 1932.

Elijah, James, W. and Lawson, Richard, The national grammars ; lessons and exercises in grammar and composition for Grade 1V, V and V1, Melbourne, 1931.

Elijah, James W. and Richard Lawson, The national grammars ; containing 12 Merit Certificate and 5 Scholarship Examination sets for Grades V11 and V111, with advanced work for the use of High Schools and Technical Schools, specially written to comply with the requirements of the syllabus of work of the Victorian Education Department and for use under the Dalton Plan, Melbourne, 1931.

An English grammar for the use of schools, Dublin, 1890.

Epitome of geographical knowledge, ancient and modern, compiled for the use of teachers and advanced classes of the National Schools of Ireland, Dublin, 1862 (New edition).

Fifth book of lessons for the use of schools, Commissioners of National Education in Ireland, Dublin, 1862.

First book of lessons for the use of schools, Commissioners of National Education in Ireland, Dublin, 1864.

Fourth book of lessons for the use of schools, New edition, revised under the direction of Commissioners of National Education in Ireland, Dublin, 1871.

Friederich, A., Deutsche verb-tabellen, or the accidence of the German verb, systematically arranged and simplified, for the use of schools, private tuition and preparation for Matriculation, a practical aide-memoire, Melbourne, 1886.

Gleig's school series ; the definitions of the first and second parts of McLeod's explanatory grammar for home study, Tasmania, 1861. (New edition).

Grammar and geography for the second classes of the Common Schools of Victoria, Melbourne, 1871.

Grattan, J.H.G. and P. Gurrey, Grammar at work, 1-3, London, 1947 (First Australian edition).

Gregory, J.W. and Bothroyd, T.W. and Leach, J.A., Austral geography, n.d.

Guilfoyle, W.R. ABC of botany, Melbourne, 1880.

Guilfoyle, W.R., First book of Australian botany, Melbourne, 1878.

Hackwood, Frederick William, Notes of lessons on moral subjects: a handbook for teachers in elementary schools, London, 1856.

Hallwell, T., English grammar and composition, Dunedin, 1867.

Hearn, William E., Some observations on primary schools, being a paper read before the Philosophical Institute of Victoria on Thursday June 19th, 1856, Melbourne, 1856.

Ireland, A., The geography and history of Oceania, abridged, or a concise account of Australasia, Malaysia, Polynesia and Antarctica for the use of junior classes, Tasmania, 1861.

Ireland, A., Geography and history of Oceania, comprising a detailed account of the Australian colonies and a brief sketch of Malaysia, Australasia and Polynesia, for the use of schools, Hobart Town, 1861.

Jespersen, Jens Otto Harry, The philosophy of grammar, London, 1924.

Jones, J., Australian geography for the use of schools, Sydney, 1857.

José, Arthur W. A short history of Australia, Sydney, 1899.

José, A.W., and Carter, J.H., (eds.) The Australian encyclopedia, Melbourne, 1925.

Lafargue, Hyacinth, The study of languages ; a system enabling the pupil to construe in the language he is learning, from the first lesson, and study the theory of the grammar by practice, Melbourne, 1858.

Lang, John Dunmore, Substance of a lecture on the Public Schools Act and its Romish Recusants delivered in the Scots Church, Sydney. [1838].

Latham, Robert Gordon, The English language, 2 vols., London, 1855 (4th ed.).

Lennie, William, The principles of English grammar, comprising the substance of all the most approved English grammars extant, briefly defined, and neatly arranged; with copious exercises in parsing and syntax, Edinburgh, 1843 (23rd edition).

Lennie, William, The principles of English grammar, comprising the substance of all the most approved grammars extant, briefly defined and clearly arranged, with copious exercises ; a new edition critically revised and amended for the use of schools, and enlarged by a full explanation of the analysis of sentences, Melbourne, 1863.

Lessons on the truth of Christianity, being an appendix to the Fourth Book of Lessons, for the use of schools, Dublin, 1853.

Long, Charles Richard, "Aim and method in history and civics",(1909), in Education pamphlets, State Library of Victoria, vol.95.

Long, Charles Richard, (Adapter) The citizen reader for the use of schools, (Australian edition), London, 1906.

Long, Charles Richard, "The problem of the child's reading matter", Perth, 1926, in Education pamphlets, State Library of Victoria, vol. 134.

Long, Charles Richard, Stories of Australian exploration, (Austral History readers), Melbourne, 1903.

Long, Charles Richard, Stories of British worthies on sea and land, including a brief narrative of the part played by the Australian Imperial Force in the Great War, Melbourne, 1912 (Revised 1921).

McBurney, S. The Australian progressive songster, nos. 1 and 2 (combined) for junior and senior classes containing graded songs, rounds and exercises in staff notation, tonic solfa and numerals, with musical theory, Sydney, [1894?].

McBurney, S., Hints on infant and elementary music teaching, being notes of three lectures by S. McBurney, Mus. Doc., Melbourne, 1892.

Macgowan, James, The science of instruction or the laws of nature on the subject of teaching, Adelaide, 1854.

Meredith, L.A., Grandmamma's verse-book for young Australian, Hobart Town, 1878.

Morell, John David, The essentials of English grammar and analysis, London, 1854.

Morell, John David, A grammar of the English language, together with an exposition of the analysis of sentences, Edinburgh, 1863.

Morell, John David, The new Morell, being a grammar of the English language, together with an exposition of analysis of sentences based on the work of the late J.D.Morell, M.A., LL.D., re-written under the revision of P.A.Barnett, M.A., Principal of the Borough Road Training College, London, 1893.

Morris, Richard, Elementary lessons in historical English grammar, London, 1900 (Revised edition).

Morris, Rupert H., Rules for paraphrasing, London, 1871.

Mueller, Ferdinand von, Introduction to botanic teachings at the schools of Victoria through references to leading native plants, Melbourne, 1877.

Murdoch, Walter, The Australian citizen; an elementary account of civic rights and duties, Melbourne, 1912.

Murray, Lindley, English grammar, adapted to the different classes of learners with an appendix, rules and observations for assisting the more advanced students to write with perspicuity and accuracy, York, 1839 (50th ed.).

Murray, Lindley, An English grammar, comprehending of the appropriate exercises and a key to the exercises, 2 vols., York, 1819 (4th ed.)

Nayler, B.S., Commonsense observations on the existence of rules regarding the English language, or the pernicious effects of yielding blind obedience to the so called authorities ... instead of examining adnd judging for ourselves on all questions that are open to investigation, Melbourne, 1869.

Parkes, Edmund Alexander, On personal care of health, London, 1876.

Pearson, Charles Henry and Herbert A. Strong, The student's English grammar,Melbourne, 1876.

Pearson, Charles, "Should the Irish National scripture lessons be introduced into State Schools of Victoria : speech, July 25 1889", in Australian Catholic Truth Society, Vol 10, no.176, Melbourne, 1913.

Pearson, Charles Henry and Herbert A. Strong, The student's primer, being an introduction to the student's English grammar, Melbourne, 1877.

Pignolet, Lilia, Méthode de lecture comprenant tous les sons français, Melbourne, 1885.

Ponsonby, Mrs., Education. The Scotch system : what is it? With strictures on its adaptation to the education of young ladies, Melbourne, 1861.

Pye, Emmeline, The federal primer, or second steps at school, Melbourne, 1907.

Pye, Emmeline, The infant reader, Melbourne, [n.d.]

Rankin, D.H. The history of the development of education in Victoria, 1836-1936, 1939.

Reading book for the use of female schools, Commissioners of National Education in Ireland, Dublin, 1862.

"The recollections of Charles Richard Long", in French, E.L. (ed.), Melbourne Studies in education, 1963, Melbourne, 1964, pp. 210 - 279.

Reid, J. Arbuckle, The Australian reader: selections from leading journals on memorable historic events, with introductory remarks and notes, Melbourne, 1882.

Rogers, J.W.F., Grammar and logic in the 19th century as seen in a syntactical analysis of the English language, Melbourne, 1883.

The Royal readers, (The Royal School series, Thomas Nelson and Sons, in six books), London, [1870].

Rusden, George William, National education, Melbourne, 1853.

Scott, Ernest, A short history of Australia, Melbourne, 1947 (7th ed.)

Second reading book of the Commissioners of National Education, Ireland, for the use of schools in Australia, Tasmania, and New Zealand, by one of Her Majesty's inspectors of schools, Victoria, Dublin, 1879.

Shaw, A.G.L., The economic development of Australia, London, 1944.

Sixth book of lessons for the use of schools New edition, revised under the direction of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland, Dublin, 1876.

Skinner, Stephen, Educational essays or practical observations on the intellectual or moral training and scholastic discipline of youth, Melbourne, 1867.

Smith, James, Outlines of general geography arranged according to the programme of instruction issued by the Department of Education, Melbourne, 1880.

Sullivan, Robert, A dictionary of the English language for the use of schools, and for general reference; with the principles of pronunciation, orthography and etymology fully explained, and practically illustrated, to which are added a vocabulary of scripture proper names, accented and divided for pronunciation; and a concise classical dictionary, Dublin, 1857.

Sullivan, Robert, English grammar; an attempt to simplify English grammar, Dublin, 1878 (129th ed.).

Sullivan, Robert, An English grammar for the use of schools, Dublin, 1890.

Sullivan, Robert, Geography generalised, or an introduction to the study of geography on the principles of classification and comparison, with maps and illustrations, Dublin, 1874.

Sullivan, Robert, An introduction to geography and history, 68th edition, Dublin, 1865.

Sullivan, Robert, The spelling book superseded; or, a new and easy method of teaching the spelling, meaning, pronunciation, and etymology of all the difficult words in the English language; with exercises on verbal distinctions, Dublin, 1856, (45th ed.).

Sutherland, Alexander, History of Australia from 1606 to 1876, 3rd edition, 1879.

Sutherland, Alexander, A new geography for Australian pupils, Melbourne, George Robertson, 1887 (Second revised edition).

Sutherland, Alexander, A new geography for Australian pupils : part 3, Asia and Africa, Melbourne, 1884.

Sutherland, Alexander, Victoria and its metropolis, past and present, vol. 1, Melbourne, 1888.

Sutherland, George, Easy stories for Australian children; a junior reader of Australian history, correlated with Geography, [n.d.]

Sutherland, George, Geography of Australia and New Zealand, Melbourne, 1886.

Sutherland, George, Sixteen stories of Australian exploration and settlement, 4th ed., Melbourne, 1905?

Sweet, Henry, A new English grammar; logical and historical, Oxford, 1892.

Sweetman, E., Long, C.R. and Smyth, John, A history of state education in Victoria, Melbourne, 1922.

Sydney College, Annual reports (12 parts) and prospectus.

Third reading book of the Commissioners of National Education, Ireland, for the use of schools in Australia, Tasmania, and New Zealand, by one of Her Majesty's inspectors of schools, Victoria, Dublin, 1878.

Thomas, Henry, The elements of English grammar, Hobart Town, [1841].

Thring, Edward, Addresses, London, 1899.

Thring, Edward, Exercises in grammatical analysis, Oxford, 1868.

Thring, Edward, On the principles of grammar, Oxford, 1868.

Tucker, Thomas George, English grammar, descriptive and historical, Melbourne, 1916.

Tucker, Thomas George, An English grammar for higher standards and junior teachers, Parts 1-3., Melbourne, 1918.

Tucker, Thomas George, A first English grammar, Sydney, 1928.

Tucker, Thomas George, and Walter Murdoch, A new primer of English literature Melbourne, n.d.

Turner, Henry Gyles, "Alexander Sutherland, M.A., his life and work; an address to the Australian Literature Society, 14 November 1907", in

Australian biographical pamphlets, State Library of Victoria, vol. 1.

Ullyett, J.R., Programme grammar for use in State Schools, Melbourne, 1883.

Venables, Henry Pares, Outline of the geography of Victoria, for the use of schools, Melbourne, 1861.

Venables, Syllabus of parsing and analysis, prescribed for Pass Examination at Matriculation by the University of Melbourne, Melbourne, 1882.

Victoria, Reader, series :
The primer, 1891.
The first book, 1920.

The Victorian readers, series :
First book, 1928.
Second book, 1930.
Third book, 1931.
Fourth book, 1930.
Fifth book, 1931.
Sixth book, 1930.
Seventh book, 1930.
Eighth book, 1928.

Vroland, Anton William Rutherford, The Austral grammars; a second book of grammar and composition studies and exercises in language for Class 1V, Melbourne, [1909].

Vroland, Anton William Rutherford, The Austral grammars; a third book of grammar and composition studies and exercises in language for Class V1, Melbourne, [1912].

Vroland, Anton William Rutherford, The Austral grammars; a fourth book of grammar and composition studies and exercises in language for Grades 7 and 8, Melbourne, [1913].

Vroland, Anton William Rutherford, A first book of grammar and composition : studies and exercises in language for grade 1V, (New Austral grammar series), Melbourne, 1924.

Wall, H. Beresford de la Poer, M.A., Manual of physical geography of Australia, Melbourne, 1888.

Wickes, Edward Walter, A brief outline of English grammar adapted for Australian beginners, also for the use of pupils who are able to devote only a short time to the study of grammar, Adelaide, 1862 (4th ed.).

Wickes, Edward Walter, Catechism of rudiments of knowledge, especially adapted for Australian beginners in schools and families, Adelaide, 1861.

Wickes, Edward Walter, A spelling book, adapted for Australian beginners and intended to precede Butter's and other etymological spelling books, Adelaide, (n.d.).

3. PUBLISHED MATERIAL - SECONDARY SOURCES :

(a) Books and pamphlets.

Akenson, Donald H., The Irish education experiment: the national system of education in the nineteenth century, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970.

Altick, Richard D.,The English common reader : a social history of the mass reading public, 1800-1900, Chicago, Phoenix, 1963.

Amies, Marion, (Comp.), The education pamphlets collection, State Library of Victoria: an historical bibliography monograph, (Australia, 1788-1988, a bicentennial history), Kensington, N.S.W., University of New South Wales, 1981.

Austin, A.G., Australian education 1788-1900, Melbourne, Pitman, 1973 (3rd edition).

Austin, A.G. and Selleck, R.J.W., The Australian government school, 1830-1914 : select documents with commentary, Melbourne, Pitman, 1975.

Austin, A.G., Select documents in Australian education, 1788-1900, Melbourne, Pitman, 1963.

Bantock, G.H., Education, culture and the emotions: further essays in the theory of education, London, Faber and Faber, 1967.

Barcan, A., A short history of edcuation in New South Wales, Sydney, Reed, 1965.

Benson, E.F., As we were : a Victorian peep-show, London, Hogarth Press, 1985.

Bessant, B. and Spaull, A.D., Politics of schooling, Melbourne, Pitman, 1976.

Blake, L.J. (ed.), Vision and realisation, Melbourne, Government Printer, 1973 (3 vols.).

Burnswoods, Jan and Fletcher, Jim, Sydney and the bush; a pictorial history of education in New South Wales, N.S.W. Department of Education, 1980.

Carpenter, Charles, History of American schoolbooks, Philadelphia, 1963.

Chancellor, Valerie E., History for their masters; opinions in the English history textbook, 1800-1914. Bath, 1970.

Clark, C. Kitson, The making of Victorian England, London, 1962.

Clark, C.M.H., A history of Australia, vol. 4 : the earth abideth for ever, 1851 - 1888, Melbourne University Press, 1978.

Connell, R.W. and T.H.Irving, Class structure in Australian history : documents, narrative and argument, Melbourne, Longman-Cheshire, 1980.

Darton, F.J.H., Children's books in England: Five centuries of social life, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1970.

Dear, Kenneth E., "Payment by results and the status of teachers in Victoria, 1862-1872", in Melbourne studies in education, 1975, pp. 66-93. Melbourne University Press, 1975.

Denholm, David, The colonial Australians Penguin, 1979.

Department of Education and Science, Language; some suggestions for teachers of English and others in primary and secondary schools and in further education, (Education pamphlet no. 26), London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1954.

Docker, John, Australian cultural elites : intellectual traditions in Sydney and Melbourne, Sydney, Angus and Robertson, 1974.

Dow, Gwyneth M. George Higginbotham: Church and State, Melbourne, 1964.

Dugan, Michael and Szware, Josef, There goes the neighbourhood: Australia's migrant experience , London, Macmillan, 1984.

Ely, Jean, Reality and rhetoric : an alternative history of Australian education, Chippendale, N.S.W., Alternative Publishing Co-operative, 1978.

Escarpit, Robert, Le littéraire et le social: éléments pour une sociologie de la littérature, Rennes, Flammarion, 1970.

Featherstone, Guy, (ed.), The colonial child : papers presented at the 8th Biennial Conference of the Royal Historical Society of Victoria Melbourne, 12 - 13 October 1979, Melbourne, R.H.S.V., 1981.

Ferguson, John Alexander, Bibliography of Australia, Canberra, National Library of Australia, 1975 (facsimile edition).

Firth, S.G., "Social values in the New South Wales primary school, 1880 - 1914 : an analysis of school texts", in R.J.W.Selleck, (ed.), Melbourne studies in education, 1970, Melbourne University Press, 1970, pp. 123 - 59.

Fitzpatrick, Brian, The Australian commonwealth : A picture of the community, 1901-1955, Melbourne, F.W.Cheshire, 1956.

Fletcher, Brian H., Colonial Australia before 1850, Nelson, 1976.

Fletcher, J.J., "The teaching of geography in the National Schools of New South Wales, 1848-1866", in Melbourne studies in education, 1973, Melbourne University Press, 1973, pp.192-224.

Fogarty, Bro. R., Catholic education in Australia, 1806-1950, M.U.P., 1959.

Goldstrom, J.M., The social content of education 1808-1870 : a study of the working class school reader in England and Ireland, Shannon, Ireland, Irish University Press, 1972.

Goodwin, Ken, A history of Australian literature, London, Macmillan, 1986.

Grant, James and Serle, Geoffrey, The Melbourne scene, 1803-1956, Sydney, Hale and Iremonger, 1978.

Griffiths, D.C.(ed.), Documents on the establishment of education in New South Wales, 1789-1880, Melbourne, A.C.E.R., 1957.

Horne, Donald, The public culture : the triumph of industrialism, London, Pluto Press, 1986.

Howell, P.A., Thomas Arnold the younger in Van Dieman's Land, Sydney, Tasmanian Historical Research Association, 1964.

Hyams, B.K. and Bessant, B., Schools for the people?, Melbourne, Longman, 1972.

Lippman, Lorna, "The functions of racism in Australian educational literature, Paper presented at the Conference of the Sociological Association of Australia and New Zealand, Canberra, May, 1979.

Lippman, Lorna, "Racism in children's and school tetbooks", Paper presented to the World Council of Churches Conference, Melbourne, October, 1978.

McCrae, Hugh, (Ed.), Georgiana's journal; Melbourne, 1841-1865, Sydney, William Brooks, 1978.

McKinlay, Brian (ed.), School days : looking back on education in Victoria, Melbourne, Robert Anderson and Associates, 1985.

Macpherson, Carmel R., "Values and school texts: problems associated with interpreting prejudice" Paper, 1980, lent to me by the author.

Nadel, George, Australia's colonial culture : ideas, men and institutions in mid-nineteenth century Eastern Australia, Melbourne, F.W.Cheshire, 1957.

Neltz, J.A., Old textbooks, New York, 1961.

Niall, Brenda, Australia through the looking-glass: children's fiction, 1830-1980, Carlton, Vic., Melbourne University Press, 1984.

Noronah, I., "India in Australian textbooks", in Forum of Education, vol. XXV111, no. 8, Mar '79.

O'Farrell, Patrick, The Catholic Church in Australia, a short history, 1788-1967, Nelson, 1968.

Pescott, R.T.M., W.R.Guilfoyle, 1840-1912, the master of landscaping, Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1974.

Reading K-12 curriculum policy statement, Directorate of Studies, N.S.W. Department of Education, Government Printer, 1981.

Robertson, Elise, A brief history of Hamilton District and Alexandra College, 1871-1971, Melbourne, 1971.

Russell, Bertrand, Education and the social order, London, Unwin Books, 1967.

Saxby, H.M., A history of Australian children's literature, 1841-1941, Sydney, Wentworth, 1969.

Selleck, R.J.W., Frank Tate : a biography, Carlton, Vic., Melbourne University Press, 1982.

Simon, Sidney B., Values clarification; a handbook of practical strategies for teachers and students, New York, Hart Publishing Co., 1972.

Spaul, Andrew, Australian education in the Second World War University of Queensland Press, 1982.

Sullivan, Martin, "Bryce Ross", in Selleck, R.J.W. and Martin Sullivan, (eds.) Not so eminent Victorians, Carlton, Vic., Melbourne University Press, 1984.

Thwaites, Mary Florence, From primer to pleasure; an introduction to the history of children's books, from the invention of printing to 1900, with a chapter on some developments abroad, London, Library Association, 1963.

Tregenza, J.M., Professor of democracy : the life of Charles Henry Pearson, 1830-1894 : Oxford don and Australian radical, Melbourne University Press, 1968.

Turney, C. (ed.), Pioneers of Australian education: a study of the development of education in New South Wales in the nineteenth century, Sydney University Press, 1969.

Turney, C. (ed.), Pioneers of Australian education, volume 2 : studies of the development of education in the Australian colonies 1850-1900, Sydney University Press, 1972.

Wighton, Rosemary, Early Australian children's literature, Melbourne, Landsdown, 1963.

Zainu'ddin, Ailsa, History of Methodist Ladies' College Melbourne, 1982.

b) Journal and newspaper articles.

Austin, A.G.,"Educational history in Australia", in Melbourne History Journal, vol. 5, 1965.

Education Department, Victoria, The school paper for Class III, vol. 1, no. 1, February, 1896 -

Education Department, Victoria, The school paper for Class IV, vol. 1, no. 1, June, 1897 -

Education Department, Victoria, The school paper for Classes V and VI vol. 1, no. 1, September, 1898 -

Hartley, John A. "The Children's hour" in South Australian Collection, vol. 1, no. 1, March 1889 - December 1890.

Noronah, Llewellyn, "India in Australian textbooks", in Forum of Education, vol. xxxviii, no. 1, March 1979, pp. 11-19.

Pledger, P.J.,"Secularism in Victorian education, 1855-72", in Journal of Education, vol. 3, no. 1, pp. 24-5.

c) Newspapers.

The Australasian schoolmaster and literary review vol. 1, no. 6, December 17 1879.

Ballarat Star, 1877 78.

The Victorian schoolmaster, Vols. 1-6. The Victorian Teachers' Union, 1879.

(d) Theses.

Bannister, Helen, "The historiography of Australian education; the production and reception of four major texts, 1951-1978". Ph.D., University of Melbourne, 1985.

Biddington, R., "Policies in primary teacher training in Victoria, 1850-1950", Ph.D., University of Melbourne, 1978.

Cornelius, Donat J., "Perspectives of Asia as depicted in the School Paper, 1896-1925", M.Ed., University of Melbourne, 1986.

Curry, Norman G., "The work of the Denominational and National Boards of Education in Victoria, 1850-1862, with special reference to their work on the gold fields", M.Ed., University of Melbourne, 1965.

Featherstone, Guy, "The life and times of James Bonwick", 2 vols., M.A., University of Melbourne, 1968.

French, E.L., "Secondary education in the Australian social order, 1788-1898", Ph.D., University of Melbourne, 1958.

Goldstrom, J., "The changing social context of elementary education as reflected in school books in use in England: 1808-1870", Ph.D., Birmingham University, 1968.

Israel, Margaret L., "The concept of the term 'secular' in the legal provisions for public education in Victoria, 1872, with brief contrast to New South Wales, 1880.", M.Ed., University of Melbourne, 1976.

Lawry, H.James, "Anton Vroland - his life and work", M.Ed., Monash University, 1981.

Murray-Smith, Stephen, "A history of technical education in Australia", Ph.D.., University of Melbourne, 1966.

Pledger, P.J., "A critical study ofthe work of the Board of Education in Victoria, 1862-1872", M.Ed., University of Melbourne, 1959.

Stevens, Robin Sydney, "Music in state-supported education in New South Wales and Victoria, 1848-1920", Ph.D., University of Melbourne, 1978.

Synan, James Terence, "Collin Campbell : religion and education, 1852-1872", M.Ed., University of Melbourne, 1974.

Yandell, L.C., "The teaching of English grammar with particular reference to the schools of the Victorian Education Department", M.Ed., University of Melbourne, 1949.