The University of Western Australia

Graduate School of Education

PhD Proposal

Candidate

Ian Melville

Title

An historical analysis of the structures established for the provision of Anglican schools in the Diocese of Perth, Western Australia between 1917-1992

Supervisor

Professor Tom O'Donoghue

ABSTRACT

Within the State of Western Australia, from its early years, education has been provided not only by the State, but also by religious denominations, particularly the Catholic Church, the Anglican Church and other Christian groups. This thesis is concerned with Anglican education in the State from the years 1917–92. The particular focus is on the structures established for the provision of Anglican education in the Diocese of Perth throughout the period.

The central argument of the thesis is as follows. During the period 1917–92, the structures established for the provision of Anglican education in the Diocese of Perth changed across four sub–periods: 1917–50, 1951–60, 1961–80 and 1981–92. During the first sub–period, provision was made under structures which allow for the schools which existed to be classified according to three 'types': 'religious–order schools', 'parish schools', and 'schools of the Council for Church of England Schools'. The first two types continued during the second sub–period and were joined by two new types, namely, 'Perth Diocesan Trustees' schools' and 'synod schools', while 'schools of the Council for Church of England Schools' ceased as a type. During the third sub–period 'synod schools' continued as a type, but the other three types ceased to exist. At the same time, one new type emerged, namely, 'schools of the Church of England Schools' Trust'. During the fourth sub–period there were also two types of schools within the Diocese, but the situation was not the same as in the previous sub–period because while 'synod schools' continued as a type, 'Perth Diocesan Trustees' schools' ceased to exist. Furthermore, a new type was established, namely 'schools of the Anglican Schools Commission'. This two–type structure for provision which was established during the sub–period 1981–92, is still that which exists to the present day for the provision of Anglican education within the Diocese of Perth.

As the structures for the provision of Anglican education changed through each sub–period, some existing schools changed in terms of their type, new schools came on the scene and were of one of the existing types, and only one school ever went out of existence. Also, during each sub–period, tensions existed between those who supported the notion of Anglican schools being almost exclusively for the better–off sections of the Anglican community and those who believed that Anglican education

should be available to all those Anglicans and non–Anglicans who wished to access it, regardless of wealth or status. In the first sub–period, 1917–50, the balance of favour was very much towards the former notion. Nevertheless, the view that Anglican schools should be accompanied by schools for the less well–off was occasionally voiced. Furthermore, while it was not a strong voice in this first sub–period, it became more and more amplified through each sub–period. Finally, the notion was expounded very loudly during the fourth sub–period. It was during this sub–period that pressure from Synod, which is where it had come from in previous stages, took on unprecedented momentum. The outcome was the establishment of the Anglican Schools Commission, with its commitment to low–fee schools, although a commitment by Synod to maintaining and expanding provision in the more exclusive Anglican schools also continued. In this way, the Anglican Church in Western Australia demonstrated that while in the interest of social justice it favoured the provision of access to Anglican schooling to a much wider spectrum of society than had hitherto been the case, it was not committed to the use of schooling in order to facilitate a radical reconstruction of society.

Within the State of Western Australia, from its early years, education has been provided not only by the State, but also by religious denominations, particularly the Catholic Church, the Anglican Church[1] and other Christian groups. The study proposed here is concerned with Anglican education in the State from the years 1917–92. The particular focus of the proposed study is on the structures established for the provision of Anglican education in the Diocese of Perth throughout the period.

The remainder of this proposal is in four parts. First, the establishment of the Church of England (the Anglican Church) in Western Australia and its class orientation are outlined. Secondly, the provision of education by the Anglican Church in Western Australia up to the end of the 19th Century is presented. Thirdly, an exposition is given of the existing historical literature relating to Anglican education in Western Australia. Fourthly, an overview is offered on the historical sources upon which this study is based.

---

[1] Within Australia, the Church of England was renamed the Anglican Church of Australia in 1981.

The Establishment of the Church of England in Western Australia and its Class Orientation

Anglicanism is a form of Christianity having its origins in England during the Reformation under the leadership of Henry VIII (1509–47) which created a distinctive English Church. Unlike other Reformation movements in Europe, Henry VIII's break from the Roman Catholic Church under Pope Clement VII, was personal and political rather than theological. While the King replaced the Pope as head of the Church in England, Anglican Christianity retained many basic mediaeval practices, including an Episcopal polity and a number of theological beliefs. Although the Archbishop of Canterbury remained the most senior English cleric, his role, which had previously included both spiritual and political matters, was now restricted to the former, in theory at least, although not always in practice. The English Reformation also produced a number of 'non–conformist' groups whose beliefs were much more biblically based than Anglicanism. Further, whereas 'non–conformist' groups reflected 'class' origins and occupation, Anglicanism attracted the 'middle classes', particularly during the first half of the 19th Century, the time at which Western Australia was colonised.[2]

Letters patent issued by Queen Victoria on 11 January 1856, were important in both practical and symbolic terms for the colony of Western Australia, founded in 1829. As a result, the main settlement, Perth, had its status elevated to that of a city and the Diocese of Perth was established. Symbolically, the creation of both the City and Diocese concurrently gave the Anglican Church tacit recognition as being an integral part of the civil administration. While this situation was more apparent than real, the close connection between Government House and the Church of England has, nevertheless, been a dominant feature of the relationship between Church and State for much of the history of Western Australia. Just as the Church of England played an integral part in English national life, it was a quite natural extension that the early colonists accepted that it would play an equally important role in the development of Western Australia.

---

[2] E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1968), p. 437.

Following the establishment of the Anglican Church in Western Australia in 1829, a number of other religious denominations followed. The first Roman Catholic priest appointed was Rev. John Brady, who in 1843, was given oversight of the entire western colony with the title of Vicar–General of Perth. Brady became the first Roman Catholic Bishop of Perth in 1845. The Methodists, or Wesleyan Methodists as they were known at the time, arrived in 1830. The first of their clergymen to arrive, although not the first appointed, the Rev. J. Smithies, arrived in 1840. The next group to establish themselves were the Congregationalists, who although active from 1846 onwards, were without an ordained clergyman until the arrival of Rev. James Leonard in 1851. It was not until 1879, under the leadership of the Rev. David Shearer, who had a joint commission from the Established and Free Churches of Scotland to establish a place of worship in Perth, that the Presbyterian Church began to flourish. Three other groups established themselves in the early 1890s, namely, the Church of Christ (1890), the Salvation Army (1891) and the Baptist Church (1892). Then, in 1911, the Seventh Day Adventist Church was established in the State.

The first Anglican Bishop of Perth, the Rt. Rev. Mathew Blagden Hale[3], was ordained Bishop at Lambeth Palace, the official residence of the Archbishop of Canterbury, on 25 July 1857. Hale had spent nearly 10 years as an Archdeacon under Bishop Augustus Short in South Australia before accepting the leadership of the newly created Diocese of Perth. However, even though Western Australia had been part of the Bishopric of Calcutta from 1829 to 1836, part of the Bishopric of Australia under Bishop Broughton residing at Sydney from 1836 to 1847, and part of the Bishopric of Adelaide under Bishop Short between 1847 and 1856, it remained a foundling for nearly the first twenty years of its existence, with little or no supervision from external authority. Essentially, it was "Spiritually, as in other respects…derived from England".[4] This is made all the more clear from the instructions of the Colonial Secretary, Sir George Murray, who, in providing for the religious well–being of the colonists, emphasised the need to establish structures for

---

[3] See Appendix 1: 'The Diocese of Perth and Province of Western Australia Episcopal Oversight, Colonial Chaplains, Bishops and Archbishops: 1829 – 1992'.

[4] A. Burton, *Church Beginnings in the West* (Perth, Western Australia: Diocese of Perth, 1941), p. 5

the provision of religious observance "as far as may be compatible with the circumstances".[5]

On 1 January 1901, Western Australia became a State within the Commonwealth of Australia, occupying approximately one–third of the continent. By 1911, the religious affiliation of the total population of 282,114[6] was such that 93.5% professed some form of Christianity, with 41.1% Church of England, 21.5% Roman Catholic, 13.0% Methodist, 10.0% Presbyterian, 6.% undefined, with the remaining 8.0% being Baptist, Lutheran, Church of Christ and minor sects.[7]

By 1917, the year in which the main focus of this thesis commences, the religious landscape was dominated by Anglicans, Roman Catholics, Methodists and Presbyterians, in that order. At the end of the period, namely 1992, the order remained the same, but those professing Christianity and the percentages in each of the categories had declined, (as had the percentage of the total population professing some form of Christianity) from 93.5% to 73.58%. The overall change in the situation between 1911 and 1981 has been outlined as follows:

Table I

Religious Affiliation, Western Australia 1911 – 1981

	Number	1911 (%)	Number	1981 (%)
Church of England	109,435	41.10	375,800	29.51
Roman Catholic	56,616	21.50	316,300	24.84
Methodist	34,348	13.00	51,200	4.02
Presbyterian	26,678	10.00	32,000	2.52

Source: J.S. Battye, *The Cyclopedia of Western Australia*, Vol. II, 1911. p. 81; and *Western Australian Year Book* 1985, p. 135.

---

5 'Sir George Murray to Captain Stirling, Despatch No. 1, 30 December 1828', *Historical Records of Australia*, Series III, Vol. 6 (Canberra: Commonwealth Parliament, 1923), pp. 601–602.

6 *Western Australian Year Book 1985*, Australian Bureau of Statistics, Western Australian Office, Government Printer, Perth, No. 23, 1985, p. 135.

7 J.S. Battye, *The Cyclopedia of Western Australia*, Vol. II, First Published by Hussey & Gillingham Adelaide, 1911. Facsimile Edition (Perth, Western Australia: Hesperian Press, 1985), p. 81.

At the same time, the total number of those professing Christianity increased from 253,902 in 1911 to 956,582 in 1981, an increase of 702,697.

The relationship between the social status and religious affiliations of the different waves of settlers who arrived in Western Australia from the United Kingdom during the Crown Colony period (1829–90), is not straightforward. This is because the notion of class as a social and economic construct at that time is difficult to define due to its range of meanings and complexity. The tendency to classify British society into 'lower class', 'middle class', 'upper class', 'working class', and a number of sub–groups, originated between 1770 and 1840, resulting from the reorganisation of society during the Industrial Revolution. By 1840, 'middle' implied a hierarchy and, therefore, also implied the existence of a 'lower class'.[8] Over the next fifty years, the distinction between 'middle' and 'lower classes' became clearly codified. The 'lower' or 'working classes' came to be regarded as earning their living through the receipt of wages, whereas the 'middle classes' earned theirs through the receipt of salaries or fees. This resulted in areas of ambiguity, but the 'middle classes' pressed their claim of superiority over the 'lower classes', not only as an expression of relative social position, but also of social distinction.[9] What facilitated the operation of this process was that British society not only recognised the notion of class, but was also conscious of class as a formation and as a category. As R.H. Tawney, in his seminal study of the class system in British society in the 19th and early 20th century noted in this regard, "the fact creates the consciousness, not the consciousness the fact".[10]

The early colonists in Western Australia brought the British class system with them and they were keen to perpetuate it, particularly as it provided opportunities for the predominantly 'middle class' members to emulate English county society, where a country gentleman could enjoy a life of leisure maintained by inherited income doing

---

8 R. Williams, *Keywords* (London: Fontana, 1988), p. 65.

9 *Ibid.*

10 R.H. Tawney, *Equality* (London: Unwin, 1964), p. 58. For Tawney, class was "not merely of economic *métier*, but of social position, so that different groups have been distinguished from each other, not only like different professions, but the nature of the service they render, but in status, in influence and sometimes in consideration and respect".

things that generally pleased him.[11] Regarding the structure of early society in Western Australia, a visiting ship's captain, Nathaniel Ogle, commented:

> In point of society, the settlement of Western Australia stands pre–eminent. The higher order consists of families well–born and well–educated, and many of them men of rank in the army and navy. The elegancies of life are sedulously cultivated by them, and constitute a distinguished feature of their intercourse. [12]

Whether or not such a perception was accurate, there is no doubt that a considerable number of settlers believed themselves above any involvement in trade or service of any kind. From its inception, Western Australia, as Rich puts it, "was…distinguished by a large number of settlers who claimed origins in the upper echelons of British society and whose aspirations would have vastly amused Jane Austen".[13] Nevertheless, this perception had an impact on the provision of education in the Crown Colony "where pretentiousness, oligarchy and private schooling have long kept close company".[14]

As the Western Australian economy began to slow in the 1840s, the Registrar–General, G.F. Stone, complained that with nearly one–fourth of the landed proprietors being professional and educated men, the result was that it was "near impossible for any community to thrive with such an undue proportion of those whose habits and education are supposed to render them averse to manual labour.[15] The shortage of labour and the expectation of a suitable education for settlers' children caused Samuel Moore, a leading farmer in the 1840s, to complain that "a

---

11 J.F.C. Harrison, *Early Victorian Britain 1832–51* (Bungay: Fontana/Collins, 1979), pp 117–118. Unlike the Aristocracy who lived in country houses on a grand scale, the country gentry lived on estates of between 1,000 and 10,000 acres and undertook leadership at the local level, including the position of Justice of the Peace responsible to some degree, for the enforcement of law and order. Some of the gentry were knights and baronets, but most had no title beyond that of 'gentleman' who prospered from the rents of their tenant farmers. The hereditary system of primogeniture ensured that estates were passed down to the most eligible family member.

12 N. Ogle, *The Colony of Western Australia* (London: James Fraser, 1839), p. 83.

13 P.J. Rich, 'Perth's The cloisters' as an icon of educational élitism: Romancing the stone', *Education Research and Perspectives*, Vol. 18, No. 1, June 1991. Jane Austen (1775–1817), a British novelist, was a shrewd observer of the life of middle–class families in early 19th century England.

14 *Ibid.*

15 *Census of Western Australia*, Perth, October 1848. Battye Library: Perth, Western Australia.

difficulty now arises: my children want education and I want pig feeders and shepherds".[16] There were those too in the Colony who complained that the type of education available to all should be based on intellect rather than class:

> …and although it may not, and probably will not, be in our day, yet the time will arrive when the world will be governed by the intellects of, and not, as now, by the titles of its inhabitants.[17]

The reality, however, was that the British concept of class and its implications regarding the education of the young in Western Australia remained until well into the 20th century, although it slowly began to decline with the foundation of the State Education Department in 1893.

Given the class structure of Western Australian society, it is not surprising that the pursuit of a classical education was regarded as desirable by the ranks of the well–to–do as an essential element in the preparation of their sons to take their rightful place in the upper echelons of colonial society.[18] There was also general agreement that religious instruction was an essential and integral part of secular education.[19] "Without education founded on religion", wrote an Anglican correspondent to the *Inquirer*, in 1841, "man would be of little more value than any other animal".[20]

The desire of the colonists of Western Australia to encourage more English clerics of the Established Church to come to Western Australia, provides not only an insight into their religious and social aspirations, but also the direction that the Church would take in providing education during the 19th century, and for the greater part of the 20th century. As has already been argued, many of the early colonists coming from 'middle–class' backgrounds, wished to establish a social structure similar to that which they had left behind them in Britain, and without which their outpost of Empire would have been incomplete. The Church of England clergy appointed to the Colony were from 'middle–class' backgrounds and their endeavours to promote

---

16 Samuel Moore, *Farm Journal*, 16 May 1867, Documents IV, 5. Battye Library: Perth, Western Australia.

17 *The Inquirer*, 10 January 1855.

18 *Perth Gazette*, 2 April 1836.

19 G. Best, *Mid–Victorian Britain 1851–70* (Bungay: Fontana/Collins, 1979), p. 208.

20 *Inquirer*, 14 July 1841.

educational activity mirrored their own. Their aspirations were consistent with the times in which they lived and the class to which they belonged.

The Church of England and the Provision of Education in Western Australia 1829 to 1900

From 1829 to 1900 much of the educational activity in Western Australia was concerned with the foundation of schools and with efforts to improve their quality. This period can be divided into two sub–periods: the Colonial Period from 1829 to 1890, and the years from 1890 to 1900, when the British Government granted Responsible Government to Western Australia. During the first sub–period, it was the will of the Colonial Office in London and the will of its representative, the Governor, which dominated educational decision–making. It was during the second sub–period that the State Education Department was established, which was eventually to lead to the provision of State schools in rural districts throughout Western Australia and the establishment of a State comprehensive secondary school system.

The origins of what eventually became the 'Western Australian State School System' can be traced back to 31 August 1847, when Governor Irwin appointed a 'Committee of Management of Colonial Schools'. The Committee's primary task was to arrest the drift of Protestant children into Catholic Schools through the establishment of Colonial Public Schools, which were to be unashamedly Church of England schools. The Colonial Chaplain, the Rev. J.B. Wittenoom, was appointed Chairman, a position which he held until his death in 1855. Several educational initiatives by the Catholic Church encouraged Governor Clarke (1846–47) to open all Western Australian government schools to all classes of children and religious denominations, regardless of gender. Amongst the Catholic Church's initiatives were the opening in Perth of a convent school by the Sisters of Mercy in 1846 and the establishment in the same year of a mission for Aborigines by Benedictine Monks at New Norcia, in the Victoria Plains north–west of Perth. Such initiatives prompted the reconstitution of the Committee of Management of Colonial Schools into a General Board of Education in September 1847. Its responsibilities were to include the spending of public moneys voted for educational purposes, the management of local boards of education and the drafting of regulations for public schools. Although these free public schools could not be used as an aid to any sect or persuasion, the dominant role of the Church of England in providing religious instruction to pupils was

recognised.[21] As the formation of the General Board of Education was intended as a bulwark against the Roman Catholic Church, Bishop Brady refused to let Catholic children attend government schools overseen by the Board.

Structures for the provision of education by the Church of England

During the period 1829 to 1900, the Church of England established structures for the provision of education in Western Australia based on a reconfiguration of the three–tier class system inherited from the United Kingdom. Those from the United Kingdom who regarded themselves as 'middle–class', assumed the position of the élite or colonial aristocracy. Those colonists who achieved wealth through trade adopted an aristocratic status "by assuming a lifestyle of privilege and comfort beyond the reach of ordinary people".[22] The remainder of the old 'working–class' became the burgeoning 'middle–class' consisting of all those who earned their income through trade. The new 'working–class' consisted of labourers (who, after 1850, included convicts) at the lowest end. Aboriginals were attached to this structure as an underclass whose integration into the culture and customs of colonial society as labourers and servants could only be achieved, it was believed, by the destruction of their way of life. Consequently, the sub–period was marked by the imposition of restrictive and paternalistic practices by both the Christian Churches and the government to 'civilize' the Aboriginal population. Although the Church of England endeavoured to improve the provision of education within each of the classes, most effort went into providing education for the élite, the group to which approximately twenty–five percent of the population belonged, including the colonial clergy. A broad overview of educational provision for each of the groups identified

---

21 General Board of Education, *Education Committee Minute Book*, 1847–1856. State Archives: Perth, Western Australia.

22 P.M. Brown, *The Merchant Princes of Fremantle, The Rise and Decline of a Colonial Élite 1870–1900* (Perth, Western Australia: The University of Western Australia Press, 1996), p. 127. See also: J. Gregory, 'Education and upward mobility in interwar Western Australia: The case of Perth Modern School', in J. Gregory (ed.), *Western Australia Between the Wars 1914–1939, Studies in Western Australian History*, Vol. XI, 1990, pp. 83–95. Gregory's study of the status of students attending Perth Modern School between World Wars I and II demonstrates that occupation was one way in which individuals were assigned to a particular class by themselves and by others. See also: J. Gregory, *The Manufacture of Middle class Suburbia* (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, The University of Western Australia), 1988, pp. 168–170.

will now be outlined, with particular emphasis in each case of the role played by the Church of England.

Educating Aboriginals

From the commencement of British settlement of Western Australia in 1829, Aboriginals were regarded as an underclass whose way of life was an anathema which could only be raised above its primitive state by the benefits of Christianity and adoption of British culture. It was not until 1840 that the first school for Aboriginal children was established by the Wesleyans (Methodists). They considered that such children were unsuitable for 'rigid scholastic methods' and so only a rudimentary education for two hours each day was provided.[23] Those who were considered old enough were expected to work with the settlers for a part of each day, the girls in domestic work, including sewing, and the boys in labouring and farming. The school eventually moved to Wanneroo and then to York, where it operated for another fourteen years. On being relocated it was known as the York Wesleyan Native Mission Farm School from 1850 until 1852. Its failure to attract enough interest resulted in it becoming a government institution in 1852 and being re–named Gerald Native Institution after its Patron, Governor Charles Fitzgerald (1848–55). This failed in less than a year because of absconding children and a lack of suitable staff. Once again, it changed its name to the York Benevolent Institution, languishing until 1864, when it finally closed.

Aboriginal education was intended to serve three purposes: First, the removal of children from the perceived barbarism of their parents; secondly, implanting the fear of God in them, including 'civilized' standards of morality and thirdly, training them as servants.[24] Between 1840 and 1900, Aboriginal Schools, Missions and Orphanages were established at Perth, Fremantle, Guildford, Albany, Moore River, New Norcia and Beagle Bay in the Kimberly Region of the North–West, catering for both full–blood and half–caste children. Most of these missions were under the control of the Roman Catholic Church and the Church of England.

---

23 D.H. Rankin, *The History of the Development of Education in Western Australia 1829–1923* (Perth, Western Australia: Carrolls, 1926), pp. 15–16.

24 *Ibid*., p. 94.

Both the attitude of the Church of England and its response to the problem of 'civilizing' 'native' and 'half–caste' children is exemplified by the actions of Archdeacon John Wollaston. He was appointed Archdeacon of Western Australia in 1849, a position which he held until his death in 1856. The education which Wollaston thought appropriate for indigenous children, including 'half–castes', was one in which they would be educated separately from the children of the colonial settlers. He recorded in his Journal between 23 and 26 May, 1842, his desire to establish, on a large scale, a school at Rottnest which was "already being used as an Island Prison for delinquent natives".[25] The plan provided for the removal of Aboriginal children from their parents and educating them in isolation with qualified teachers from England under the superintendence of the colonial clergy. Wollaston thought this was the only way to 'civilise' them:

> Our Church Societies wd *[sic]* surely support such a plan as this; the only one that I can see, wh *[sic]*will *effectually* remove the pitiable objects of it out of the reach of the baneful influence of Heathen customs, & (*the greatest obstacle*) the Evil example of the White people of the Common Sort, during their education.[26]

The plan was never implemented, but the notion of permanently removing Aboriginal children from their families to civilize them suggested despair beyond which there was no hope unless Aboriginal culture could be eradicated. This attitude was to prevail in Western Australia into the latter half of the 20th Century

A much smaller institution was established by Wollaston at Albany in 1852, the Albany Annesfield Home for Aboriginal Children,[27] administered by Amy Camfield,

---

25 G. Bolton, H. Vose and G. Jones (eds.) *The Wollaston Journals*, Vol. 1, 1840–1842 (Perth, Western Australia: The University of Western Australia Press, 1991), p. 222.

26 *Ibid.* Wollaston responded to an advertisement by the Western Australian Land Company in 1840, offering land at Australind on the understanding that he would be appointed a Colonial Chaplain. Although this appointment did not eventuate, the British Government offered him an official stipend of £100 per year. Governor Hutt refused to pay him until he had built a church. Consequently, St Mark's Picton was opened on 18 September, 1842, resulting principally from the work of Wollaston and his five sons. Governor Fitzgerald transferred Wollaston to Albany in 1848, where he established an orphanage in 1852. Wollaston was appointed Archdeacon of Western Australia in 1849 by Bishop August Short of Adelaide. He died on 3 May 1856, aged 65 years. In 1984, the Province of Western Australia elevated him to be a Local Saint and Hero.

27 The orphanage was renamed the Albany Camfield Home for Aboriginal Children in 1857.

wife of the government resident there. The orphanage at Albany was re–located to Perth in 1872 by Matthew Blagden Hale, the first Bishop of Perth, eventually merging with the Church of England orphanage at Middle Swan. The merger, under Hale's successor, Henry Hutton Parry (1877–93), finally brought to an end Wollaston's experiment in social engineering which he considered to be "the smallest return that can be made by a Christian Government to which God has given the lands of the heathen in possession".[28] This implied that if converting Aboriginals to Christianity failed, God had a right to withdraw the mandate of the colonisers who would presumably depart. Ownership of the land was not an issue because the British Government regarded it as *terra nullius*, predicated on the presumption of 'certain wild and unoccupied lands'[29] existing, to which they had a God–given right to occupy, not only to spread the blessings of civilization, but also to profit from it.[30]

Like Archdeacon Matthew Blagden Hale's isolated mission at Poonindie, near Port Lincoln in South Australia, established in 1850, it was Wollaston's intention to establish Christian villages of Western Australian natives. As at Poonindie, such aims could only be achieved by "isolation, industrial education, as well as the usual schooling; marriage, separate dwellings, hiring and service for wages; gradual and progressive moral improvement based upon Christian instruction, Christian workshop and Christian superintendence".[31] Wollaston's social experiment was unsuccessful. This was not of much concern to the colonists who had little regard for the fate of the native population.

'Civilizing' Aboriginals was seen as a God–given right by Christian missionaries. This 'right' extended to the education of young Aboriginals, which in the eyes of the most dominant religious groups, including Anglicans, Wesleyans and Catholics, could best be achieved by separating them permanently from the dark influences of

---

28 *The Wollaston Journals*, p. 222.

29 *Great Britain, CAP XXII*, George 11, IV Regis, 14 May 1829.

30 J.J. Brown, *Policies in Aboriginal Education in Western Australia 1829–1897* (Unpublished M.Ed. Thesis: The University of Western Australia, 1979), p. 10.

31 P. Brock, *Outback Ghettos; A History of Aboriginal Institutionalisation and Survival* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 25.

their families and their wandering tribes.[32] Although early Protestant missionaries attributed their lack of success to a lack of finance and personnel,[33] the considerable divergence between Aboriginal and British cultural practices relating, "to work, to the land, to religion and to material possessions"[34] resulted in a near impenetrable barrier to any meaningful understanding between the two cultures.

Educating the Lower Orders

The lack of urgency on the part of the Government to make provision for elementary education during the colonial period in Western Australia is reflective of the situation in England, from which most settlers came. The ill–treatment of children in England resulting from the Industrial Revolution and the recognition by the State of the necessity to regulate the working conditions of children and provide for their education resulted in 'The Factory Act of 1833'[35] and 'The Education Act of 1833'. The Factory Act restricted the working hours of all children in England up to eighteen years of age and The Education Act required children employed in cotton mills to attend school each day for two hours. Previously, the provision for the education of working class children in England was afforded by Sunday Schools, Dame Schools and 'ragged schools'[36] where reading, writing and arithmetic were taught. The Education Act provided for £20,000 per year to teach needy children alongside fee–paying students in existing schools. Although this was the beginning

---

32 Extracts from notes by Rev. George King in connection with his work in Western Australia 1841–1849. PR 7568. Battye Library: Perth, Western Australia.

33 S. Barley, 'Out of step: The failure of the early Protestant missions', in B. Reece and T Stannage (eds.), *European–Aboriginal Relations in Western Australia* (Perth, Western Australia: The University of Western Australia Press, 1984), p.26.

34 N. Green, 'Aborigines and White Settlers in the nineteenth century', in C.T. Stannage (ed.), *A New History of Western Australia* (Perth, Western Australia: The University of Western Australia Press, 1981), p. 72.

35 S.G. Checkland, *The Rise of Industrial Society in England 1815–1885* (London: Longman, 1964), pp. 246–251. The Factory Act 1833 applied to children up to eighteen years of age. Children under nine years could no longer be employed. Those between nine and thirteen were limited to 48 hours each week and not more than 9 hours each day. Children between thirteen and eighteen years were limited to 13 hours each day.

36 J. Cannon (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to British History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 787. Here he states that "ragged schools were elementary schools for street children pioneered at the beginning of the 19th Century by John Pounds, a Portsmouth cobbler, 'to chase away ignorance, to relieve distress, and to teach the Gospel'".

of state–funded education for English children, the notion of universal compulsory education tended to be considered to be an invasion of freedom of choice.

When the Swan River Colony was founded in 1829, the establishment of elementary schools as private ventures, or by Church bodies, was also reflective of the British origins of the settlers. These schools were to provide for the children of those settlers who, according to the Governor, Captain James Stirling (1829–39), were 'a majority of highly respectable and independent persons'.[37] The eventual provision of education for children of the 'working classes' was initiated only as a result of Roman Catholic initiatives in the Colony.

The founding of a boys' and girls' school in 1846 by the Roman Catholic Church was the catalyst for the establishment of the Committee of Management of Colonial Schools in 1847, which became the Board of Education in the same year. This laid the foundation for what was later to become the Western Australian State School System. It also constituted a structure for the provision of free education to all "to a certain degree of teaching" endorsed by the Church of England.[38]

The Colonial Chaplain, Rev. John Burdett Wittenoom, who was inaugural Chairman of the Board of Education from 1847 until his death in 1855, exercised an important role in limiting the influence of Roman Catholics in the provision of education in the colony through his promotion of the Colonial School System. At the Committee of Management's first meeting on 31 August 1847 access to the provision of religious instruction, a matter of considerable importance to the colonists, was determined:

> That the Public Free Schools are not to be viewed as an <u>aid</u> to <u>any</u> sect or persuasion; and that any Established Church School that may be forced should not be viewed as more entitled to public aid than the Romanist, etc. That the principle of the "Colonial Schools" should be professedly to provide a Secular and Scriptural education for all; and also to instruct those otherwise unprovided and attached to no persuasion in the principles of the Church of England, at

---

37 D. Adams, 'Superior boys' schools in a pioneering community: the Swan River Settlement, 1829–1855, *Early Days, Journal of the Royal Western Australian Historical Society*, Vol. VIII, Part V, 1981, p. 75.

38 General Board of Education, *Education Committee Minute Book*, 1847–1856.

> particular times, in a class which all scholars are at liberty, and compelled to attend.[39]

The foundation of the Board of Education left no doubt in the minds of Roman Catholics as to its purpose. While they believed that they had every right to found a school in every town in the Colony, a writer to the Inquirer in 1847, who identified himself as a 'Friend to Education' declared that the "opposition to the Roman Catholic Mission by the bigots in this colony has been exceedingly fierce and unmanly".[40] He had no hesitation in identifying the bigots, declaring that "these zealots ostensibly belong to the Church of England".[41] In a largely Protestant colony, the actions of the Roman Catholic Bishop Brady in both promoting Catholic education and continually demanding financial support from the government, created dislike for, and suspicion of, him. This antagonism between the Roman Catholics on one hand and the Protestants on the other (particularly the Church of England), who saw the development of the Roman Catholic educational structures as a threat to their existence, was a feature of the colonial period.

The arrival of the Rev. John Ramsdem Wollaston, a country vicar from West Wickham Cambridgeshire, at Australind, 160 kilometres south of Perth, on 13 May, 1841, increased the number of Anglican clergy in the colony to four. He established a school at Picton, a hamlet within the Australind settlement, where he built his first Church.[42] This school, St Mary's School, opened with an enrolment of 100 pupils. He commented as follows, that his undertaking was a most difficult one:

> There is a prospect of a daily school being established in connexion with the church – I have long had it in my thoughts, & have an excellent Master in my eye, who is willing to undertake it – but as I cannot yet tell whether it can be made worth his while) he havg [*sic*] an increasing family to support), I will say no more about it at present. There are many difficulties in the way, & greater than persons in England have any idea of.[43]

---

39 *Ibid*.

40 *The Inquirer*, 24 November 1847, p.1.

41 *Ibid*.

42 *The Wollaston Journals*, Vol. 1, 1840–1842. See Introduction by G. Bolton, p. xxi.

43 *Ibid*., p. 252.

Wollaston despaired of the ignorance of the colonists' children and regretted not having brought any elementary school books with him to further their education. With only 365 inhabitants at Australind in 1842, the small number of children who may have attended his school was widely spread throughout the settlement. At the first service in his new church, only 10 children between the ages of 5 and 14 were brought to him at the commencement of Sunday School.[44] The school failed to develop. The population of the settlement declined thereafter and Wollaston was transferred to Albany,[45] 403 kilometres south of Perth in 1848, where his next undertaking concerned the provision of education for Aboriginal children.

In 1879, the first Anglican Bishop of Perth discussed the possibility with the Governor of establishing a school on Rottnest Island to be conducted by a schoolmaster–catechist[46] to instruct the children on the island, both European and Aboriginal.[47] Lack of money and the unavailability of a suitable candidate were contributing factors to its non–establishment. Unlike Bishop Hale (1857–75) who had substantial means, his successor, Bishop Parry (1877–93), had little, having to rely upon the Church for his stipend. Lacking business acumen and physical strength, the Bishop's scholarly and idealistic temperament, combined with his lack of private means to aid "the work of a new diocese was a serious drawback throughout his administration".[48] From now on, the significant developments in the provision of Anglican education related to provision for children of the colonial élite. It was left to the government and the Roman Catholic Church to provide for the education of the lower orders.

---

44 *Ibid*.

45 Albany was known as Frederickstown from its foundation in 1826 until 1831.

46 A schoolmaster–catechist was a teacher skilled in the oral instruction of the Christian religion, in the form of questions and answers.

47 F. Moncrieff, 'Henry Hutton Parry', in F. Alexander (ed.), *Four Bishops and Their See*, (Perth, Western Australia: The University of Western Australia Press, 1957), p. 35.

48 *Ibid*., p. 46.

Educating the Colonial Élite

The involvement of the Anglican Church in the education of the colonial élite began with the appointment of the first Colonial Chaplain, the Rev. John Burdett Wittenoom, previously Headmaster of Magus College, Newark in England. He was educated at Winchester and later at Oxford University, where he obtained both a Bachelor of Arts and Master's Degree. From there he was appointed Rector at a church in Southampton, later returning to Oxford as a lecturer at Brasenose College. Wittenoom was appointed by the British Government to be "Chaplain to the Civil Establishment of the Colony of Western Australia", a position which he held between 1829 until his death on 23 January 1855.[49] His prior involvement in educational matters in England was a significant feature of his work in Western Australia.

Wittenoom held a privileged position in colonial society. His appointment as Chaplain to the infant colony brought with it a stipend of £250, paid for by the British Government.[50] In 1830, the year of his arrival, he was the only ordained minister in the Colony. His civil role was confirmed by his appointment as a Justice of the Peace by Governor Stirling on 23 April 1830. Wittenoom represented both church and state, giving him a high degree of official status in both the civil and religious community. As Colonial Chaplain, any decision in which he was involved, or pronouncement he made regarding education, was regarded as legitimate.[51] One of his schools, Wittenoom's Private Seminary (school) commenced in March 1833, at the parsonage located on the corner of the Esplanade and Barrack Street in Perth. Apart from the period 1838 to 1840, this school existed for some twenty years. Wittenoom also established a similar school at Pinjarra, located on the banks of the

---

49 *Letter, Colonial Secretary to Surveyor General*, 30 June 1830, quoted in C. L. M. Hawtrey, *The Availing Struggle: A Record of the Planting and Development of the Church of England in Western Australia* 1929–1947 (Perth, Western Australia: Diocese of Perth, 1949), p. 20.

50 R.E. Cranfield, *The Wittenoom Family in Western Australia* (Perth, Western Australia, Cranfield, n.d.), pp. 8–9. Wittenoom's salary was increased to £350 per annum in 1831, to defray expenses associated with his long hours of work and travelling. It also included 2/6 per week for his horse.

51 D. Hilliard, 'Anglicanism', in S.L. Goldberg and F.B. Smith (eds.), *Australian Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp 15–32. Hilliard's view is that when comparing itself to other religions, the Church of England in Australia adopted an 'assumption of automatic superiority', a position which persisted until the mid 20th Century.

Murray River some eighty–six kilometres south of Perth on the South Western Highway.[52] Both schools emphasised the teaching of English and the classics, and were typical of 'rectory' or 'parsonage schools' in England. Wittenoom's 'rectory school' in Perth merged with the 'colonial elementary school' in 1838 to become the 'Classical and English School' conducted under his supervision in the newly constructed Court House.[53] A small subsidy from the government enabled him to operate the school with about 40 pupils. The subsequent withdrawal of the subsidy by the Governor resulted in the reopening of the 'rectory school' in 1840, which continued until the early 1850s.[54] The fate of the Pinjarra school is unknown. Given the ephemeral nature of most colonial schools, it probably closed through lack of pupils.

Wittenoom had previous experience in the difficulties arising from maintaining enrolments with a distinctly classical curriculum while Headmaster at Newark. His response was to introduce a shorter 'English' curriculum. He then took this model to Western Australia.[55] With small numbers, a diversity of interests and a degree of financial stringency, it was a model which in time gained currency with the formation of the General Board of Education in 1847, in which Wittenoom played a pivotal role.

The involvement of the Anglican Church in collegiate education began with Bishop Hale's School (1858–72), which ultimately failed. The term 'collegiate education' was used at the time to denote "a voluntary association (collegium), or society of scholars, otherwise formed, for the purpose of study and instruction".[56] While on his way to England from Adelaide in 1856 for his enthronement as Bishop of Perth, Hale took the opportunity to enquire into the spiritual and pastoral needs of the colony at

---

52 R.E. Cranfield, *The Wittenoom Family in Western Australia*, p. 9.

53 *Perth Gazette*, 1836. The Court House located in Stirling Gardens adjacent to the current Supreme Court was completed in 1837.

54 F.D. Adams, 'Superior schools in a pioneering community: the Swan River Settlement, 1829–1855', p. 84.

55 *Schools Enquiry Commission*, British Parliamentary Papers 1868, p. 404.

56 *The Shorter Oxford Dictionary on Historical Terms* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), Vol. 1, p. 367.

first hand. As a result, he was approached by the wealthier colonists to provide "advice and counsel with respect for the education of their sons".[57] Hale left for England in no doubt that he should establish a suitable school from which the sons of the leading colonists could benefit, and so "fit them for the performance of those high and important duties which at no distant period will devolve upon them".[58] On his return to Western Australia, the Bishop's school opened on Monday 28 June 1858, with an enrolment of twenty–two pupils.[59] The curriculum was essentially classical and the claim was that it was designed to give the boys an appreciation of their Christian heritage, and to enable them to think and express themselves clearly.[60] By 1863, enrolments had declined to 15 pupils. Despite a short–lived recovery in 1865, with an enrolment of 22 or 23 boys, the school was in serious decline.[61] Financial support was gained from the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (S.P.C.K) and the Bishop also made a personal contribution. Nevertheless, the school did not survive. The curriculum, based as it was on the classical English Grammar School, including a strong emphasis on sporting prowess, appealed to a small, influential, but declining sector of colonial society.

Essentially, Hale's school lacked relevance. While he was aware of the problem, he was unable to prevent its closure. Writing to his daughter Amy on 1 March, 1872, Hale gave his reasons for the decision:

> You will be sorry to hear that the collegiate school, after all the labour, anxiety and money I have spent on it, has come to an end. There is no such thing as convincing the people that education pays. Making their sons messengers on a sheep station pays, and that settles the question…But the parents won't use the school, so it's no use to keep it struggling on.[62]

---

57 *Letter, Bishop Hale to the West Australian Colonists* on the proposed College for boys, 24 May 1858, private possession, quoted in A. de Q Robin, 'Mathew Blagden Hale: Father of Secondary Education', in L. Fletcher (ed.), *Pioneers of Education in Western Australia* (Perth, Western Australia: The University of Western Australia Press, 1982), p. 42.

58 *Ibid*., p. 43.

59 *Inquirer*, 30 June 1858.

60 de Q Robin, *Mathew Blagden Hale: Father of Secondary Education*, p. 44.

61 *Letter, Bishop Hale to Amy*, 20 January 1865, Bishop Hale's Papers 1848–75. Battye Library: Perth, Western Australia, p. 346 and *Hale to Mary*, 24 April, 1865, ibid, pp. 364ff. Both Amy and Mary were Hale's daughters.

62 *Ibid*., p. 45.

Having struggled to endure over the last fourteen years, the closure of Hale's school was not unexpected. Although it occurred at a time when it appeared to be thriving, Hale decided to withdraw his support. The passage of the High School Act of 1876, gives some indication as to the reason.[63] During the debate on the Act in the Legislative Council, Walter Padbury, a staunch philanthropic Anglican and member of the Legislative Council for the Swan District from 1872 – 1878, explained to the Council that Hale would not permit the governors to support the school further. However, it may well have been that the governors had lost interest and were unwilling to contribute further to its continuing deficits.[64] What is clear is that Hale paid £400 to clear the debt of the school on its closure, a total personal contribution of more than £1,000. The school continued as a private venture until the passing of the High School Act in 1885.

During the period of the existence of Hale's School, Western Australia, a convict settlement since 1849, benefited from a steady increase in population from 4,622 in 1848 to 24,785 by 1870.[65] The influx in population stimulated farming, trade and industry in the long term, as well as educational endeavour, all of which had lasting economic benefit. With only one–third of the population residing in the Perth area, the end of transportation of convicts in 1868 restricted the growth in professional opportunities, particularly in legal and administrative positions to which the sons of the more wealthy colonists were attracted. The expansion of the pastoral industry also coincided with the end of transportation with its cheap labour, low prices for farm products and a decline in wheat farming. Settlers preferred their sons to work on the land to reduce labour costs rather than pay for schooling, which was of less immediate profitability. From 1829, the problems of maintaining schools had remained consistent:

> Indifference to education amongst the majority of the settlers, a chronic shortage of funds to promote schools, and the inability to

---

63 *Ibid*., p. 49.

64 *Ibid*.

65 *Western Australian Year Book*, No. 23 (Perth, Western Australia: Government of Western Australia, 1985), p. 135.

> find suitable teachers, had all beset the colony since its foundation.[66]

Parents who wished their sons to pursue a 'classical' education sent them to the eastern colonies, or to England.

The next school with Anglican affiliations to be opened in Western Australia was the High School. Grants by the Legislative Council to establish the High School enabled it to open in March in 1876. A grant of £700 was given for the first year, £600 for the second and £500 for the third, and thereafter a maximum of £500 or twice the amount received in private fees, a total contribution of £1,800 over a period of three years.[67] Religious education was prohibited at the High School as it was established by the Legislative Council as a secular institution. To deal with this situation, Bishop Parry opened the Bishop's Boys' College, a hostel, in January 1878, in the buildings of Bishop's College. Its purpose was to provide board and lodgings for boys attending the High School where they could be given religious instruction out–of–school hours. It was also to be used for theological students who would reside and be trained there. By 1880, this too had failed, as only seven boys and two theological students remained.[68] Thereafter, the Bishop gave the responsibility for the religious education of the boys to the staff of St George's (Anglican) Cathedral, with the theological students residing at Bishop's House. The hostel was leased by the Church of England Girls' School and College, established by Bishop Hale in 1879. It too was short–lived, closing on 31 December 1888, from a lack of financial support. Ownership of the property upon which the Bishop's school was built remained with the Diocese. Known as the 'Cloister's Trust', the objects of its founder remained dormant until the Diocese became involved in the acquisition of Charles Harper's Guildford Grammar School.

---

66 *Letter, Bishop Hale to the Western Australian Colonists on the proposed college for boys* 24 May 1858, private possession of A. deQ Robin, 'Mathew Blagden Hale: Father of Secondary Education', in L. Fletcher (ed.), *Pioneers of Education in Western Australia*, p. 42.

67 *Ibid*., p. 63.

68 J. Wickham, *Merging Streams*. Perth Diocesan Archives: Perth, Western Australia, unpublished typescript copy, 1993, p. 64. The draft was sent to the Archbishop of Perth, The Most Rev. P.F. Carnley, for comment. A response could not be found.

Hale's legacy was to make a lasting contribution to the provision of education by the Church of England in Western Australia. Historically, the 'Cloisters Trust', the property upon which Bishop Hale's school was built, resulted from an ordinance of the Legislative Council (No. 12) of 1863, which established the Perth Collegiate School as a body corporate, with the primary function being to raise funds for a school.[69] By the Anglican School Lands Act, 1896, Lots H1 and H7 were vested in "The Standing Committee of the Synod of the Western Australian Branch of the Church of England" for educational purposes consistent with the objects for which the school was originally established.[70] This land was vested in the Perth Diocesan Trustees by the Anglican Church of Australia Lands Act, 1914.

Hale also established a college for girls in 1860. Having bought a house to establish a boarding and day school for girls, no boarders were forthcoming and only eight or nine day–pupils enrolled. The Sweeting sisters, one of whom came from England especially to take up a teaching post at the school returned to England, the dual expense being borne by the Bishop. Although the school began a few months later as a day school, it too was short–lived, finally closing in 1866, because of financial difficulties. Despite the Bishop's philanthropy, his schools could not attract sufficient of the wealthier colonists' children for whom they were intended.

The impetus for the foundation of the Fremantle Grammar School for boys in 1882 came from the Vestry of St John's Church of England, Fremantle. A grant of land from the government, a subsidy from the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in England, and donations by gentlemen of Fremantle's mercantile community[71] enabled it to open debt–free on 12 April, 1882, with an initial enrolment of 29 pupils, which had increased to 40 by the end of the year.[72]

Before the school opened, the Church relinquished its control over the foundation by vesting its property, and the control and management of the school, in a Board of

---

69 D.K. Malcolm, *In Search of the Most Desirable Way to Constitute Schools*, 1984, A.S.C. Archives.

70 *Ibid.*

71 P.M. Brown, *The Merchant Princes of Fremantle*, pp. 128–129.

72 *The West Australian*, 29 December 1882.

Governors. The Rev. W. Glyn Watkins, Rector of St John's, was the inaugural Chairman. The school opened as a Public School espousing the rites and traditions of the Church of England:

> This is a Public School which aims at providing a sound education based on Religion. The religious teaching is in accordance with the doctrines of the Church of England, but no boy will be permitted to be present during the time allotted to religious instruction whose parents object to the same.[73]

It was a Public School in the same vein as an English Public School, "open to all, without distinction, who could afford to pay the fees".[74] It was intended to provide the sons of well–to–do mercantile Fremantle families with a superior education to prepare them for business, the professions, or life at sea through the study of navigation.[75] The school's first Headmaster, Henry Briggs, had been Headmaster of Mottram Grammar School in England for three years prior to his appointment in 1882. He was a graduate of St. Mark's College, Chelsea, where he achieved his initial teaching qualification. Briggs purchased the school in 1896, at which time its name was changed to Fremantle School. Following his appointment as the Member for the West Province on the resignation of Mr E.W. Davies in 1896, Briggs continued to operate the school until 1897, when he sold his interest in it. Within eighteen months, the school closed due to a lack of enrolments.

By 1900, all Anglican and Anglican–affiliated schools ceased to exist in the Diocese of Perth. In other words, there were no Anglican schools in the State of Western Australia at the beginning of the 20th century. Over the next seventeen years, however, three Anglican schools which have survived to the present day and which continue the tradition of élite Anglican schooling in the state, were established. It is to a consideration of the establishment of these three schools that the next chapter of this thesis, the first to be concerned with the years to which the thesis proper relates.

---

73 *Ibid.*

74 *Ibid.*

75 *Prospectus*, Fremantle Grammar School, 1882. Battye Library: Perth, Western Australia.

Literature Review

Neill's *Anglicanism*[76] is still regarded as a classic work on the history of the Anglican Church, particularly regarding the first half of the 20th century, although the approach is generally narrative, and his attitudes to theology and the Prayer Book would now be regarded as traditional. Moorman's, *A History of the Church in England* [77] also provides an historical overview of Christianity in Britain from the second century to the 1950s. Welsby's volume, *A History of the Church of England 1945–1980,*[78] provides a more contemporary approach to the writing of Anglican history, particularly its contribution to contemporary Anglican historiography. This body of parent literature constitutes the general background to the present study.

More specifically, this thesis contributes to the history of Anglicanism in Australia. Currently, no national history of the Church exists. There are, however, area–focussed studies such as Hilliard's[79] work on South Australian Anglicanism, *Godliness and Good Order: A History of the Anglican Church in South Australia,* and Judd and Cable's[80] volume, *Sydney Anglicans: A History of the Diocese.* Two significant books on the contemporary state of the Church in Australia also appeared in the 1990s. Bruce Kaye's *A Church Without Walls – Being Anglican in Australia,*[81] discusses contemporary issues in Church life from a theological standpoint. Tricia Blombery's *The Anglicans in Australia*[82] is concerned mainly with an analysis of the Anglican population in Australia demographically and geographically, using the 1991 Census.

---

76 S.C. Neill, *Anglicanism* (London: Mobray, 1958).

77 J.R.H. Moorman, *A History of the Church of England,* 3rd edition (London: Black, 1973).

78 P.A. Welsby, *A History of the Church of England 1945–1980* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984).

79 D. Hilliard, *Godliness and Good Order: A History of the Anglican Church in South Australia* (Adelaide, South Australia: Wakefield Press, 1986).

80 S. Judd and K. Cable, *Sydney Anglicans: A History of the Diocese* (Sydney, New South Wales: Anglican Information Office, 1987).

81 B. Kaye, *A Church without Walls – Being Anglican in Australia* (North Blackburn, Victoria: HarperCollins, 1995).

82 T. Blombery, *The Anglicans in Australia* (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1996).

At the specific level, this thesis contributes to the history of Anglicanism in Western Australia. Early general histories of Western Australia gave little attention to the contribution of the Church of England to Western Australian society. The first comprehensive history was written in 1897 by Kimberly, *History of West Australia: A Narrative of her Past Together with Biographies of her Leading Men*.[83] The work contains references to Churchmen within the overall context of secularism and material progress. Battye's, *Cyclopedia of Western Australian History*[84] (2 Volumes) covers the period 1828 to 1913 and includes sections on both 'Ecclesiastical' and 'Educational Affairs'. The former is considered on a denominational basis and is concerned mainly with governance and statistics, with greater attention being given to the Church of England than to any other denomination. The section on 'Educational Affairs' is concerned with educational provision by The University of Western Australia, denominational schools and the High School, the latter being an undenominational institution established by the legislature in 1876, and assisted by annual grants from the Government.

Battye also considers the State Education Department by providing an historical and statistical account covering the period 1894 to 1913. His later book, *Western Australia: A History From its Discovery to the Inauguration of the Commonwealth,*[85] is a narrative account covering the period 1829 to 1901. It omitted an historical review of religion as an area of particular interest. Similarly, Colebatch's centenary volume, *A Story of a Hundred Years: Western Australia 1829–1929,*[86] also excluded religion as a special subject. The few writings emanating from within the Anglican Church in the first half of the 20th Century tend to focus on chronicling events. Canon Patrick's, *A History of St George's Cathedral*, records the processes leading

---

83 W. B. Kimberly, *History of West Australia: A Narrative of her Past together with Biographies of her Leading Men* (Melbourne: Niven, 1897).

84 J. S. Battye, *Cyclopedia of Western Australian History*.

85 J. S. Battye, *Western Australia: A History from its Discovery to the Inauguration of the Commonwealth* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1924).

86 Sir Hal Colebatch (ed.), *A Story of a Hundred Years: Western Australia 1829*–1929 (Perth, Western Australia: Government Printer, 1929).

to the building of the new cathedral and its subsequent additions.[87] Canon Burton's *Church Beginnings in the West,*[88] was an attempt to redress errors which he believed he had found regarding the history of the Church in Western Australia from the foundation of the Colony to the end of Bishop Mathew Blagden Hale's episcopate in 1875.

By the end of the first half of the 20th century, developments in the writing of history resulted in the publication of three studies regarding the Church of England in Western Australia. Hawtrey's, *The Availing Struggle*[89] is presented as a record of "the planting and development of the Church of England in Western Australia" from 1829 to 1947. Written at the end of World War II, Hawtrey's work was a 'call–to–arms' to the 'faithful' to continue to support the Church, now that the scourge of war and the religious fervour which accompanied it, had begun to recede. To mark the centenary of the consecration of the first St George's Cathedral and the sixtieth anniversary of the new Cathedral, the Dean of Perth, Geoffrey Berwick (1947–1953), wrote a scholarly account of the development of the Cathedral's role from the foundation of the colony.[90] The third study was that edited by Alexander, *Four Bishops and Their See: Perth, Western Australia 1857–1957,*[91] written to mark the centenary of the Church in Western Australia. In addition to detailing conventional histories of the first four Bishops of Perth, it focussed on regional studies and on such matters as Church schools and Church–State relations.

Two works appeared in 1979 at the time of the State's sesquicentennial celebrations. Stannage's *The People of Perth*[92] does not deal specifically with religion, but it

---

87 W. Patrick, *A History of St George's Cathedral* (Perth, Western Australia: Diocese of Perth, 1924).

88 A. Burton, *Church Beginnings in the West* (Perth, Western Australia: Diocese of Perth, 1941).

89 C. L. M. Hawtrey, *The Availing Struggle: A Record of the Planting and Development of the Church of England in Western Australia* 1929–1947.

90 G. Berwick, *The Birth of a Cathedral: St George's Perth, Western Australia* (Perth, Western Australia: Government Printer, 1948).

91 F. Alexander (ed.), *Four Bishops and Their See: Perth, Western Australia 1857–1957* (Perth, Western Australia: The University of Western Australia Press, 1957).

92 C. T. Stannage, *The People of Perth* (Perth, Western Australia: Carroll's for Perth City Council, 1979).

permeates the whole work. Aveling's essay on religion in the *New History of Western Australia,*[93] 'Western Australian society: The religious aspect (1829–1895)' is concerned with what 'ordinary' men and women thought about God and his/her purposes for humankind. Tonkin's edited collection, *Religion and Society in Western Australia*[94] is concerned mainly with Anglican and Roman Catholic affairs, providing examples not only of social interaction but also of how each religious group responded to such issues as the Great Depression in the 1930s and to matters relating to religion and education. Williams's, *West Anglican Way: The Growth of the Anglican Church in Western Australia from its Early Beginnings,*[95] provided a brief, episodic and anecdotal account covering a wide range of issues.

Two publications appearing in the 1990s dealt with the life and work of two important Anglican clerics. The first, *The Wollaston Journals*, edited by Bolton and Vose, record the activities of John Ramsden Wollaston, who arrived in Western Australia in 1841 to take up the position of Colonial Chaplain. Holden's book, *Ritualist on a Tricycle,*[96] is an insightful and well–documented study of Frederick Goldsmith, the fourth Dean of Perth and first Bishop of Bunbury. Tonkin's, *Cathedral and Community* appeared at the beginning of the new millennium[97]. This is not only a history of the Cathedral but also a history of a worshipping community, of which the Cathedral was a focal point as the 'mother' church of the Diocese of Perth.

While building in a general way on the works considered to date, most specifically, this study will be a contribution to the history of Anglican education in Western

---

93 M. Aveling, 'Western Australian society: The religious aspect (1829–1895)' in C. T. Stannage (ed.), *A New History of Western Australia* (Perth, Western Australia: The University of Western Australia Press, 1981).

94 J. M. Tonkin (ed.), *Religion and Society in Western Australia: Studies in Western Australian History* IX (Perth, Western Australia: The University of Western Australia Press, 1987).

95 A. E. Williams, *West Anglican Way: The Growth of the Anglican Church in Western Australia from its Early Beginnings* (Perth, Western Australia: Diocese of Perth, 1989).

96 C. Holden, *Ritualist on a Tricycle: Frederick Goldsmith: Church, Nationalism and Society in Western Australia 1880–1920* (Perth, Western Australia: The University of Western Australia Press, 1997).

97 J.M. Tonkin, *Cathedral and Community – A History of St George's Cathedral Perth* (Perth, Western Australia: The University of Western Australia Press, 2001).

Australia. There is no history of Anglican education similar to Tannock's unpublished M.Ed. Thesis, *A History of Catholic Education in Western Australia, 1829–1929, with Special Reference to the Teaching Orders.*[98] Rather, historical accounts of Anglican schools in Western Australia have focussed mainly upon narrative, chronological accounts celebrating significant events, although more general works have also dealt with Anglican education in the State.

Mossenson's, *State Education in Western Australia 1829–1960,*[99] is mainly concerned with State education, but deals with Anglican education within the context of educational provision generally. This reflects the approach by Rankin in *The History of the Development of Education in Western Australia 1829–1923*.[100] Anglican education is also considered in Neal's edited volume, *Education in Western Australia*. This was written to celebrate the State's 150th anniversary celebrations, and covers a wide range of historical issues by Western Australian writers, including educational historians, regarding the provision of education from colonial times until 1979. Fletcher also edited, *Pioneers of Education in Western Australia,* dealing with eleven individuals from both the government and denominational sectors who made substantial contributions to the provision of education, including Anglican education. Riordan's, *Private Venture Schools in Western Australia Between 1829 and 1914: An Analysis of Their Contribution to Education*,[101] provides insights into Anglican schools which were previously private–venture schools, while Adam's study, *The Schools of the Public Schools' Association of Western Australia 1829–1929*,[102] is also helpful by way of further background.

---

98 P.D. Tannock, *A History of Catholic Education in Western Australia, 1829–1929, with Special Reference to the Teaching Orders* (Unpublished M.Ed. Thesis, The University of Western Australia, 1964).

99 D. Mossenson, *State Education in Western Australia 1829–1960* (Perth, Western Australia: The University of Western Australia Press, 1972).

100 D.H. Rankin, *The History of the Development of Education in Western Australia 1829–1923* (Perth, Western Australia: Carrolls, 1926).

101 N.A. Riordan, *Private Venture Schools in Western Australia Between 1829 and 1914: An Analysis of their contribution to Education* (Unpublished M.Ed. Thesis, The University of Western Australia, 1990).

102 F.D. Adams, *The Schools of the Public Schools Association of Western Australia and their Antecedents 1829–1929* (Unpublished PhD Thesis, The University of Western Australia, 1979).

There is also a collection of episodic accounts of issues relating to Anglican education in Western Australia, written during the second half of the 20th Century. White's article, 'The Council for Church of England Schools in Western Australia, 1917–1950'[103] provides significant insights into the working of the Council for Church of England Schools, particularly the role of the Trustees of the Diocese of Perth in the foundation, growth and demise of the Council. Two studies by Leinster–Mackay and Adams are also relevant, 'The education of the colonial gentleman – and lady and the independent schools of the twentieth century'.[104] The former examines the education of well–to–do children between 1829 and 1900, while the latter considers independent schools of the twentieth century. Cowan's article, 'Bishop Hale and secondary education'[105] gives a brief overview of Bishop Hale's contribution to the development of secondary education in Western Australia. Leinster–Mackay's, 'Australian variations on an English educational theme',[106] discusses the early history of private schools in Western Australia, particularly in comparison to their antecedents in England. An article by Leinster–Mackay and Hancock, 'Godliness, manliness and good learning: Victorian virtues and western Australian exemplars',[107] identifies the Victorian virtues which became firmly established in Western Australia in the late 1890s and the first two decades of the 20th century.

Overviews of the development of Church of England schools have been provided by Rolfe in 'The development of Church of England schools in Western Australia

---

103 M.A. White, 'The Council for Church of England Schools in Western Australia, 1917–1950', *Proceedings ANZHES, Annual Conference* (Perth, Western Australia, 1994), pp. 457–488.

104 D. Leinster–Mackay and D. Adams, 'The Education of the colonial gentleman – and lady' in W.D. Neal (ed.) *Education in Western Australia*, (Perth, Western Australia: The University of Western Australia Press, 1979), pp. 37–64. See also: D. Leinster–Mackay and D. Adams, 'The Independent schools of the twentieth Century', pp. 183–223.

105 E.D. Cowan, 'Bishop Hale and secondary education', *Early Days, Western Australian Historical Society, Journal and Proceedings*, Vol. 1, No. 7, 1930, pp. 1–11.

106 D. Leinster–Mackay, 'Western Australian variations on an English educational theme', *ANZHES Journal*, Vol. 7, No. 2, 1978, pp. 1–8.

107 D. Leinster–Mackay and G. Hancock, 'Godliness, manliness and good learning: Victorian virtues and Western Australian exemplars' in Murray Smith (ed), *Melbourne Studies in Education* (Melbourne, Australia, 1979), pp. 141–154.

1858–1958',[108] by Reynolds in *The Role of the Church in Secondary Education in Western Australia*[109] and by Neuman in *The History of Anglican Education in Western Australia*[110]. The history of The Church of England School's Trust 1961–1985 has been considered by Melville, in 'The Foundation of the Church of England Schools' Trust of Western Australia'.[111] Melville has also written a brief account of the foundation, growth, decline and demise of Kobeelya Church of England Girls' School in the Diocese of Bunbury.[112]

Published historical accounts of most of the Anglican schools in the Diocese of Perth, or associated with the Diocese are readily accessible. Five volumes have been written to recognise significant milestones in the history of Guildford Grammar School. Aikman and Honniball's, *The Chapel of SS. Mary and George, Guildford Grammar School,*[113] was written in honour of Cecil Henry Oliverson, whose single donation resulted in the construction of the school's majestic chapel. It is also a history of the school as it relates to the chapel. Wilfred Henn's, *A Life so Rich*,[114] is a biographical account of his father, the Rev. Canon P.U. Henn, with particular emphasis on the latter's headship of Guildford Grammar School. E.J. Merryweather's, *The First Half Century*,[115] is a narrative account of the school from its origins in 1896 until the retirement of Rev. R.E. Freeth, who was Headmaster

---

108 J.N. Rolfe, 'The development of Church of England schools in Western Australia 1858–1958', *Early Days, Western Australian Historical Society Journal and Proceedings*, Vol. 5, No 4, 1958, pp. 52–66.

109 P.A. Reynolds, *The Role of the Church in Secondary Education in Western Australia*, Perth, 1967. Battye Library, PR 5380: Perth, Western Australia, 1967.

110 E. Neuman, *The History of Anglican Education in Western Australia.* Battye Library, HS/PR 1829: Perth, Western Australia, 1968.

111 W.I. Melville, 'The foundation of the Church of England Schools' Trust of Western Australia', *W.A.I.E.R. Annual Research Forum*, University of Notre Dame, Fremantle, Western Australia, 1997.

112 W. I. Melville, *'The 1975 closure of Kobeelya Church of England Girls' School: its origins and outcomes', W.A.I.E.R. Annual Research Forum*, University of Notre Dame, Fremantle, Western Australia, 1998.

113 R.G. Aikman and J.H.M. Honniball, *The Chapel of SS. Mary and George, Guildford Grammar School* (Perth, Western Australia: Guildford Grammar School, 1962).

114 P.U. Henn, *A Life So Rich* (Perth, Western Australia: W.E. Henn, 1982).

115 E.J. Merryweather, *The First Half Century* (Perth, Western Australia: Guildford Grammar School, 1988).

from 1927 to 1949. Finally, White's centenary volume, Go *Forward – Guildford Grammar School 1896–1996,*[116] is a closely woven narrative providing a significant scholarly contribution to the literature of the school.

Canon Burton's, *Hale School, The Story of its Foundation and Early Years*[117], indicates that Hale School did not become an Anglican school until 1956. Tregonning's *Young Hearts Run Free – Hale School 1858–1988,*[118] is an in–house chronological history of the school. A short history of the school, *A History of Hale School from 1858 to the Present Day,*[119] was also written by Surman.

The only comprehensive history of Kobeelya Church of England Girls' School is Synott's edited volume, *Kobeelya, 1922–1982: Nemo Sibi Vivat.*[120] The first two decades of Perth College is recorded in *Perth College, Its Story*.[121] A history of the school, *Perth College: First Fifty Years,*[122] was written by Sr. Rosalie. A third history was written by Curtis, *The Sisters' Vision Continues: Perth College 1952–1977: A Continuation of the History of Perth College From the 50*th *to the 75*th *Year*.[123] May's volume, *Built on Faith: a Centenary History of Perth College,*[124] is a comprehensive chronological and narrative account of the Sisters' schools in Western Australia.

---

116 M.A. White, *Go Forward: Guildford Grammar School 1896–1996* (Perth, Western Australia: Guildford Grammar School, 1996).

117 A. Burton, *Hale School Perth*: The Story of its foundation and early years 1858–1900 (Perth, Western Australia: Diocese of Perth, n.d.).

118 Tregonning, K.G., *Young Hearts Run Free* (Perth, Western Australia: Hale School, 1993).

119 V.J. Surman, *A History of Hale School from 1858 to the Present Day* (Perth, Western Australia: Royal West Australian Historical Society, Lee Steere History Competition c1960).

120 F.I. Synott (ed.) *Kobeelya, 1922–1982: Nemo Sibi Vivat* (Albany, Western Australia: Kobeelya Historical Society, 1986).

121 Author Unknown, *Perth College: Its Story* (Perth, Western Australia: Perth College, 1922).

122 Sr Rosalie, *Perth College: First Fifty Years* (Perth, Western Australia: Perth College, 1951).

123 T.P. Curtis, *Perth College 195 –1977: A Continuation of the History of Perth College from the 50th to the 75th Year* (Perth, Western Australia: Perth College, 1979).

124 C. May, *Built on Faith, A History of Perth College* (Perth, The University of Western Australia Press, 2002),

St Hilda's did not become an Anglican school until 1930, although it did have an association with the Diocese when its owner, Miss Parnell, sold her school, known as the Girls' High School, to the West Australian Church Schools Company in 1927. Ann Carnley's centenary history of the school, *Treading Lightly in Their Steps – A Pictorial History of St Hilda's 1896–1996*[125], is the only published history of St Hilda's. St Mary's also has only one published history, *St Mary's Church of England Girls' School: History of the School 1921–1937*.[126] Currently, there are no published histories of Christ Church Grammar School, established in 1910, or of All Saints' College, established in 1981, or of any of the five schools of the Anglican Schools Commission, the first of which was established in 1986.

Overall then, it is clear that there is no comprehensive history regarding the provision of Anglican Education in Western Australia covering the period of this study from 1917 to 1992. Indeed, the approach taken to the writing of the history of Anglican Education from the settlement of Western Australia as a Crown Colony by the British Government in 1829, until the end of the period addressed in this thesis, has tended to be one of consideration of education within general histories of Western Australia and those of the Church of England. In addition, of the numerous articles written covering the period in this study, the approach has been one of addressing specific issues within limited timeframes. Furthermore, where histories of schools have been written to mark significant events, they have tended to assume that the schools were independent entities, having some connection with the Anglican Church. The proposal to undertake this study arose partly out of a recognition that the situation was much more complex.

The proposal to undertake a study of the provision of education in the Diocese of Perth during the period covered by this thesis was also influenced by cognisance of the changing attitudes and aspirations of Anglicans during the sub–periods. This is an aspect of the provision of education in the Diocese which has not been considered in any published works so far. Particularly significant was the movement from the early

---

125 A. Carnley, *Treading Lightly in Their Steps: A Pictorial History of St Hilda's 1896–1996* (Perth, Western Australia: St Hilda's Anglican School for Girls Inc., 1996).

126 E. Beatou, *St Mary's Church of England Girls' School: History of the School 1921–1937* (Perth, Western Australia: St Mary's G.E.G.S., 1981).

1980s, whereby ‘rank–and–file’ Anglicans at the Church’s Annual Synods began to press the Hierarchy to establish low–fee schools for the children of Anglicans who could not afford to send their children to the existing ‘collegiate’ Anglican schools. This movement was an integral part of a demand for social justice and inclusiveness throughout the Anglican Church in Australia. At the same time, however, the provision of education for less well–off Anglicans was not new, having been identified as a need within the Diocese early in the 20th century. However, it is likely that without ‘State Aid’, which resulted from an initiative of the Commonwealth Government in 1973, Anglican schools for the less well–off would not have emerged.

Historical Sources

Both primary and secondary sources form the basis of this thesis. Details regarding all schools in Western Australia from 1830 to 1880 are to be found in a collection of primary sources compiled by Rikkers.[127] His four volume work on educational provision in Western Australia contains extracts from State sources, including Year Books, Annual Reports, Colonial Secretaries' correspondence, 'Blue Books' (Colonial Book of Accounts), Almanacks, Newspapers, Circulars, Journals, Departmental Correspondence and the *Government Gazette*. The four volumes are arranged chronologically as follows: 1830 to 1871; 1872 to 1895; 1896 to 1945; and 1946 to 1980. Three volumes consisting of compilations of documents with commentaries have proved most useful, not only because of the scope of the material, but also because they indicated the whereabouts of sources from which additional information regarding schools in Western Australia were all the more readily identified, particularly within the Battye Library of Western Australia. The volumes include Haynes's et al. *Documents on Western Australian History 1830 to 1973,*[128] Miles's, *Non–Government Girls' Schooling in Western Australia 1900–1950: Selected Documents with Commentaries,*[129] and Adam's, *Non–Government Schooling in Western Australia: Selected Documents with Commentaries*.[130] Wickham's, *Merging Streams,* is also an excellent source of primary material.

Primary historical sources regarding existing Anglican schools were consulted at the archives of Guildford Grammar School, which has substantial archival material relating to the Council for Church of England Schools, at St Hilda's Anglican School for Girls, at St Mary's Church of England Girls' School, at Christ Church Grammar School and at Hale School. Documents relating to these schools were also examined

---

127 J. Rikkers, *Schools and Teachers 1830–1980*, 4 Volumes (Perth, Western Australia: The Education Department of Western Australia, 1984).

128 B.T. Haynes, G.E.B. Barrett, A. Brennan and L. Brennan, *Documents on Western Australian Education 1830–1973* (Perth, Western Australia: Claremont Teachers' College, 1976).

129 J.G. Miles, *Non–government Girls' Schooling in Western Australia 1900–1950. Selected Documents with Commentaries* (Perth, Western Australia: Committee for Research in the History of Education in Western Australia, Curtin University, 1987).

130 D. Adams, *Non–government Schooling in Western Australia: Selected Documents with Commentaries* (Perth, Western Australia: Faculty of Education, Western Australian Institute of Technology, 1984).

in the Battye Library. Records relating to All Saints' College, a school founded by The Church of England Schools' Trust, and files relating to schools of the Anglican Schools Commission (Inc.), were examined in the archives of the Commission.

The Diocesan Archives of the Anglican Church yielded sources relating to educational provision both within the Diocese and the Province of Western Australia. Diocesan Year books were also consulted. These record the Archbishop's Charge to Synod each year. The 'Charge' is a statement by the Archbishop regarding the performance of the Church in the previous year and a statement of future intent, including matters relating to educational provision.

The Battye Library, within the State Library of Western Australia, contains the papers of several significant Anglicans, both clerical and lay, as well as a number of significant Diocesan records. All of these were consulted. The records of The Church of England Schools' Trust 1961–85 were also consulted. These are maintained by the Anglican Schools Commission (Inc.). Other records maintained by the Commission which were reviewed, include those of the Diocesan Council's School Task Force (1981–82), the Interim Anglican Education Commission (1982–83), and the Anglican Education Commission (1983–85). The Anglican Schools Commission's (Inc.) records for the period 1985–92, were also useful. Private papers relating to the Anglican Schools' Trust which have been consulted include those of Mr Peter Henry Atkins. Papers of the inaugural Chairman of the Anglican Schools Commission (Inc.), Mr Peter Moyes, are held by the Commission and others are in his possession. These were all reviewed. Moyes also provided significant information during both formal and informal discussions regarding his life and work as Headmaster of Christ Church Grammar School and his involvement in Diocesan affairs, which eventually led to the formation of the Anglican Schools Commission (Inc.) in 1985 and his appointment as inaugural Chairman.

Structure of the Thesis

At this point in time a tentative structure for the proposed thesis can be outlined. The first chapter will consist of material covered in this proposal. Chapter 2 will provide a descriptive background by detailing developments in Anglican education in the Diocese of Perth in the years immediately prior to the point at which the main focus

of the work commences, namely the year 1917. Chapter 3 will be concerned with the provision of Anglican education for the sub–period 1917–1950, under the two main types of structures which existed. The chapter will be in two parts. Part One will be concerned with provision under the Council for Church of England Schools and with the schools that came under the Council. Part Two deals with provision in the other group of schools which existed at the time, namely, Perth College and St Mary's Church of England School for Girls. These schools provided education under their own individual structures.

Chapter 4 will take up the exposition from 1950, when the Council for Church of England Schools was disbanded. Within five years four categories of Anglican Schools can be discerned within the Diocese of Perth. First, there were schools overseen by Synod. A second category was that of the 'parish school'. A third category was that of the 'religious–order school'. A fourth category was that of 'schools controlled by the Trustees of the Perth Diocese'. The emphasis in the exposition on each type will be on changes in the structures for the provision of education, and the relationships between these changes and actual provision. At the end of this period only three types of Anglican school continued to exist, namely, 'religious–order schools', parish schools' and 'synod schools'. This situation changed with the establishment of the Church of England Schools' Trust. This matter will be considered in Chapter 5, which focuses on the sub–period 1961–80.

The Church of England Schools' Trust, which functioned until 1985, saw itself as constituting an overarching structure for maintaining existing provision and facilitating expansion of Anglican schooling of all types. This chapter will deal with the role of the Trust in this regard. It will be in four parts. Part One deals with the manner in which the Trust was organised and functioned. Part Two will consider the Trust's brief to establish new schools, a situation which led, however, to the establishment of only one new school and that being a school of an existing type, namely, a 'synod school'. Part Three, will deal with the extent to which such lack of involvement by the Trust in the provision of new schools, resulted from distractions including a number of existing Anglican schools using the Trust to finance their own expansion. Finally, Part Four of this chapter will consider the role of the Trust in the emergence in 1967 of four types of Anglican schools, once again. The new fourth

type of Anglican school introduced in that year was that of a ‘trust–controlled school’.

Chapter 6 will deal with the structures for the provision of Anglican education during the period 1981–92 in the light of the scenario outlined so far. It will be in three parts. First, the replacement of the Trust with a new organisation, the Anglican Schools Commission, will be considered. Secondly, the establishment of a number of low fee–paying schools for the less well–off by the Anglican Schools Commission will be outlined. Thirdly, provision of education under the existing ‘synod schools’ (which continued to operate quite independently of the Commission), will be examined. Overall, this means that by 1986, with the establishment of St. Mark’s Anglican Community School in Hillarys in the northern suburbs of Perth, there were now two types of Anglican schools in Perth, namely, ‘Anglican Schools Commission schools’ and ‘synod schools’. Finally, Chapter 7 will revisit the central argument of this thesis.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A Primary Sources

1. Archival Sources
2. Official Sources
3. Collected Documents
4. Government Publications
5. Statements and Speeches
6. School Magazines
7. Newspapers
8. Journals
9. Interviews

B. Secondary Sources

1 General Reference Works
2. Books
3. Parts of Books
4. Unpublished Manuscripts
5. Pamphlets
6. Articles and Monographs
7. Conference Papers
8. Unpublished Essays
9. Unpublished Theses
10. Internet Sources

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A PRIMARY SOURCES

1. ARCHIVAL SOURCES

1.1 ANGLICAN SCHOOLS COMMISSION

1.1.1 INTERIM ANGLICAN EDUCATION COMMISSION

Annual Reports, 1982-83.

Minutes, 1982-83.

Programme, Day of Reflection and Prayer, 23 July 1983.

Summary of Ideas Expressed at the Day of Reflection and Prayer for Low-Fee Anglican Schools, St. George's College, Perth, Western Australia, 23 July 1983.

Synod Motions 1983.

1.1.2 ANGLICAN EDUCATION COMMISSION

Annual Reports, 1983-85.

Minutes, 1983-85.

Minutes of the Sub Committee to examine the Whitfords Development Plan, 29 February 1984.

1.1.3 ANGLICAN SCHOOLS COMMISSION

GENERAL

Annual Reports, 1986-92.

Constitution, 1985.

Mandate and Terms of Reference.

Minutes, 1986-92.

1.1.3.2. CORRESPONDENCE

Harrold, R., Confidential 'Memorandum to Members of Diocesan Council and South of the River Anglican

School Board Members', *The nettle of the South of Perth Anglican School,* 13 December 1973.

Letter, Bishop Challen to Rectors in the Diocese of Perth, 12 November 1982.

Letter D.C. Seal to the Chairman A.S.C., 6 February 1984.

Letter D.K. Malcolm to P.M. Moyes, 11 April 1984.

Letter R.S. Powers to D.K. Malcolm, 20 April 1985.

Letter P.H. Atkins to D.K. Malcolm, 31 May 1985.

Letter C.B.H. Norman to D.K. Malcolm, 23 August 1985.

Letter J.E. Young to D.K. Malcolm, 2 September 1985.

Letter R.H. LaM Stowell to D.K. Malcolm, 23 October 1985.

Letter, G. Watkins to P. Moyes, 21 February 1989.

Letter, B. Williams to P. Moyes, 30 July 1990.

1.1.3.3. REPORTS

Anglican Schools Commission, 'Report of the 1991 and beyond planning meeting' and 'The Ultimate Position'.

'Discussion Paper, 1992 Onwards'.

Durston, B.H., *The Need for Additional Anglican Schools in Metropolitan Perth, Report to the Church of England Schools' Trust, 1980*.

Frederick Irwin Anglican Community School, *Principal's Report to Council*, April 1992.

Malcolm, D.K., *In Search of the Most Desirable Way to Constitute Schools*, 1984.

Notes of Meeting with St Mark's (Council) 23 March 1989.

Powers, R.S., Working Paper, 'Merger Anglican Schools' Trust/Anglican Education Commission prepared for the Board of Governors, Anglican Schools' Trust, 30 January 1985.

1.1.3.4. COUNCIL FOR CHURCH OF ENGLAND SCHOOLS

Annual Reports, 1917-50.

Minutes, 1917-50.

Statute and Regulations, 1918.

1.1.5. CHURCH OF ENGLAND SCHOOLS' TRUST

GENERAL

Annual Reports, 1961-85.

Minutes, 1961-85.

Constitution and Rules, 1961.

1.1.5.2 CORRESPONDENCE

C.E.S.T., *Memorandum*, H.B. Norman to Governors of C.E.ST., 20 December 1971.

Letter, Bishop Challen to Mr M.S. Gregg, 24 October 1983.

1.1.5.3 REPORTS

Constitution and Rules, South of Perth Church of England Schools Incorporated, Final Draft, October 1970.

1.2 ATKINS PAPERS

1.2.1 GENERAL

Kobeelya Church of England Girls' School, *Minutes of Sub-Committee of the School Council*, 1972-1973.

The Church of England Schools' Trust (C.E.S.T.), *Constitution and Rules*, 1961.

1.2.2 CORRESPONDENCE

Letter, W.S. Bastian to P.H. Atkins, 30 August 1961.

Letter, E.B. Anderson to Rt. Rev. R.E. Freeth, 6 October 1961.

Letter, W.S. Bastian to P.H. Atkins, 9 October 1961.

Letter, T. Macdonald to G. Malcolm, 8 November 1961.

Letter, P.H. Atkins to P.H. Atkins 10 August, 1962.

Letter, T. Macdonald to G. Malcolm, 29 August 1962.

Letter, W.E. Rischbieth to P.H. Atkins, 24 May 1967.

Letter, J.S. Yull to P.H. Atkins, 1 June 1967.

Letter, A.E. Blanckensee to P.H. Atkins, 9 February 1970.

Letter, E.C.F. Evans to G. Malcolm, 21 May 1970.

Letter J.B. Morrison to G Malcolm, 27 August, 1970.

Letter, M.S. Gregg to G. Malcolm, 31 August, 1970.

Memorandum, P.H. Atkins to I. Clairs, Undated c1970.

Letter, Archbishop Sambell to Brig. H. Norman, 8 September 1971.

Memorandum, H.B. Norman to All Governors, Church of England Schools' Trust, 20 December 1971.

Letter, J.S. Yull to P.H. Atkins, 26 January 1973.

Letter, Bishop Holland's to the South of the River School Council, 26 June 1973.

Memorandum, Bishop Holland to the Trust, 29 August 1973.

Letter, Diocesan Secretary (B. Houston) to Brig. H.B. Norman, 8 July, 1975.

1.2.3 REPORTS

Atkins, P.H., *A History of The Church of England Schools' Trust Inc*., Perth, Western Australia (typescript copy, n.d.).

Atkins, P.H., *A record of personal reflections on the occasion of the visit of Archbishop Geoffrey Sambell to the Trust*, 23 March 1970.

Atkins, P.H., *Church of England Schools' Trust (Inc*.) (typescript notes), 3 March 1970.

Atkins, P.H., *Draft Notice of Motion*. (handwritten, n.d.).

Atkins, Peter Henry, *St Mary's School Board of Governors 1955-1984*, edited transcript of an interview by Justine Coverdale. J.S. Battye Library Oral History Unit, 16 August 1994.

Cooper Brothers, Goyder and Co, *Report to The Church of England Schools' Trust Incorporated on the affairs of Kobeelya Church of England Girls' School*, 3 May 1967.

Malcolm, G., *Report to Diocesan Council*, The Church of England Schools' Trust Inc., 24 August 1965.

Minutes of a Meeting Held Between Representatives of the Perth Diocesan Trustees and Members of the Church of England Schools' Trust (Inc.) held in the office of the Archdeacon of Perth, 12 November 1962.

Mossenson, D., M. Bennett, and E. Styles, *Report on Kobeelya Church of England Girls' School* (Education Department, Perth, Western Australia, Dec. 1972).

Norman, H.B., *Report of Inspection of Kobeelya Church of England Girls' School, Unpublished Report, Church of England Schools' Trust*, May 1967.

Notes of a meeting between the Archbishop, the Headmasters, and Headmistresses and representative members of the School Councils, held at Bishop's House on Sunday 29 April 1973. (typescript notes).

Sub-Committee's Report of a Meeting with His Grace, The Archbishop, 5 January 1971.

1.3 BATTYE LIBRARY

Bishop's School Ledger, 1865-1872, MS. No 735A, p. 282.

Diocese of Perth, *Enquiry into Church Schools*, P.R. 3973, p. 9, 1949.

Diocese of Perth, *The Church of England Schools' Statute, 1950*, P.R. 3975.

Extracts from notes by Rev. George King in connection with his work in Western Australia 1841–1849. PR 7568.

General Board of Education, *Education Committee Minute Book*, 1847–1856.

Great Britain, CAP XXII, George 11, IV Regis, 14 May 1829.

M. Hale to Eliza Hale, 23 June 1863, MS No 2467A.

Letter, Bishop Hale to Amy, 20 January, 1865. Bishop Hale's Papers 1848-75.

Letter, Bishop Hale to Mary, 24 April, 1865. Bishop Hale's Papers 1848-75

Hale Copy of Diary, 14 May 1867, MS No. 309A.

Hale Copy of Diary, 25 December 1872, MS No. 309A.

Moore, Samuel, *Farm Journal*, 16 May 1867, Documents IV, 5.

Prospectus, Fremantle Grammar School, 1882.

Province of Western Australia, Diocese of Perth, *Statute and Regulations of the Council for Church of England Schools 1918*, P.R. 3978.

1.4 DIOCESAN ARCHIVES

1.4.1 GENERAL

Diocesan Council Minutes, 1901-91.

Proceedings of the Perth Diocesan Synod, November 1900-91.

Archbishop's Charges to the Synod of the Diocese of Perth, 1900-91.

Constitution Act of the Diocese of Perth, 1871.

1.4.2 CORRESPONDENCE

Memorandum, Bishop C.O.L. Riley to Premier James. Education Department File 379/1903, 18 Sept. 1903.

Letter, Charles Harper to Bishop Riley, 2 January 1909.

Letter, Riley to Henn, 5 April 1909.

Letter, W.J. McClemans to Bishop Riley, 21 May 1909.

Letter, Stewart Corr to Bishop Riley, 5 August 1909.

Letter, Percy U. Henn to Parish Clergy, December 1910.

Letter, Archbishops Prendiville and Moline, to Mr David Brand, Premier of Western Australia, 12 March 1983.

Memorandum, Bishop Challen to Archbishop Carnley, 18 October 1983.

'Memorandum to all Members Perth Diocesan Synod', *Synod Resolutions 1984*, 3 December 1984.

1.4.3 REPORTS

Diocese of Perth, *Synod Papers 1982*, Appendix 1 to Business Papers, Matters arising from previous Synod item 11.1, Synod 1981, 'Low-Cost Parent-Controlled Christian Schools', pp. 17-24.

Henn, P.U., *Report on taking over the Guildford Grammar School*, Handwritten note, 1910.

Henn, P.U., *Secondary Education in Church Boarding Schools – an Ideal and a Scheme.*

Henn, P.U., *Secondary Education in Church Boarding Schools, An Ideal and a Scheme*, Handwritten, n.d.

No. of boys in School. Handwritten notes regarding enrolments at Guildford at the end of Terms 1 to 4 inclusive in 1909; and Terms 1 and 2, 1910. The date given for the collection of data during Term 4 is 22 August 1910. The note is signed W.J. (W.J. McClemans).

Prospectus, Church of England Grammar School, 1910.

1.5 HENN PAPERS

1.5.1 CORRESPONDENCE

Letter, Rev. P.U. Henn to Major General Sir Talbot Hobbs, 12 January 1925.

Letter, Rev. P.U. Henn to Archbishop Riley, 21 October 1925.

Letter. Archbishop Riley to Rev. P.U. Henn, 3 December 1925.

1.6 MOYES PAPERS

1.6.1 CORRESPONDENCE

Letter, P.M. Moyes to P.F. Carnley, 23 November 1990.

1.6.2 REPORTS

John Wollaston Community School, 'Meeting of Parents', 26 January 1989.

'Notes on the opening of John Wollaston Anglican Community School', n.d.

Moyes, P.M., 'Introductory Statement on his appointment as Chairman of the Anglican Education Commission', Perth, Western Australia, 20 December 1983.

Tregonning, K.G., *South of the River School*, (typescript notes), 1978.

1.7 PERTH COLLEGE

Prospectuses, 1916-17.

'Sisters of the Church' *Our Work, April 1914-1945*.

Perth College, *Community of the Sisters of the Church, Annual Meetings of the Council Chapter, Mother Superior's Report, 1960*.

1.8 ST MARY'S ANGLICAN GIRLS SCHOOLS

Minutes of the Board of Governors, 1921-57.

Reports to Synod, 1922-56.

Church of England Girls' School: An Appeal 1924.

Letter to parents from the Vestry of St Mary's Colin Street, n.d.

Minutes of sub-committee Meeting on Boarders 15 November, 1949.

'Old Boys' File, n.d.

Prospectus, 1921, 1925, 1936.

2. OFFICIAL SOURCES

2.1 LEGISLATIVE

Church of England Schools Lands Amendment Act, 1896-1957, 6 Elizabeth II, XLI, No. 41 of 1957.

Parliament of Western Australia, The Hale School Act, No. 34, Assented to on 11 December, 1958.

Report of the Select Committee of the Legislative Council of Western Australia on the High School Amendment Bill, No. 44, Votes and Proceedings, 1912, A5.

Schools Enquiry Commission, British Parliamentary Papers 1868, p. 404.

'Sir George Murray to Captain Stirling, Despatch No. 1, 30 December 1828', *Historical Records of Australia*, Series III, Vol. 6 (Canberra: Commonwealth Parliament, 1923), pp. 601 - 602.

Western Australian Parliamentary Debates, (New Series) XXIX, 1350; 1907; XXXII, 1906.

2.2. EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

Annual Reports, 1893-1992

Education Circular, 1893-1992

E.D.F., 1342-52, V. Box, *Secondary Education*, 13/5/1954.

E.D.F., 460-59, *Notes on Conference*, 5/12/1958.

Rikkers, J., *Schools and Teachers 1830–1980*, 4 Volumes, (Perth, Western Australia: The Education Department of Western Australia, 1984).

2.2. GENERAL

Statistical Registers, Western Australia, 1960-77.

Australian Bureau of Statistics, March 1980.

Census of Western Australia, Perth, October, 1848. Battye Library: Perth, Western Australia.

Australian Bureau of Statistics, *Schools*. Catalogue No. 4221.0. Australia 1994.

Western Australian Year Book 1985, No. 23 (Western Australia: Australian Bureau of Statistics, Western Australian Office, 1985).

The Commonwealth Governments Economic Statement, 1988 resulted in the 'States Grants (Schools Assistance) Amendment Act 1988', No. 141, 1988.

3. COLLECTED DOCUMENTS

Adams, D., *Non-government Schooling in Western Australia: Selected Documents with Commentaries* (Perth, Western Australia: Faculty of Education, Western Australian Institute of Technology, 1984).

Haynes, B.T., Barrett, G.E.B., Brennan, A. and Brennan, L., *Documents on Western Australian Education 1830–1973* (Perth, Western Australia: Claremont Teachers' College, 1976).

Miles, J.G., *Non-government Girls' Schooling in Western Australia 1900–1950. Selected Documents with Commentaries* (Perth, Western Australia: Committee for Research in the History of Education in Western Australia, Curtin University, 1987).

4. GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

4.1 WESTERN AUSTRALIA

Committee of Inquiry into Education in Western Australia, K.E. Beazley (Chairman) *Education in Western Australia: report of the Committee of Inquiry appointed by the Minister for Education in Western Australia* (Perth, Western Australia: Government Printer, 1984).

Education Department of Western Australia, 'The Private and Denominational Schools' *Statistical Progress*, typescript, 1937.

Education Department of Western Australia, *Report on Secondary Education 1963* (T.L. Robertson), (Perth: Government Printer, 1963).

Education Department of Western Australia, *Review of Educational Standards in Lower-Secondary Schools in Western Australia*, (T.A. Priest), (Perth: Government Printer, 1981).

Education Department of Western Australia, *Secondary Education in Western Australia* (W.H. Dettman), (Perth: Government Printer, 1969.

Education Department of Western Australia, *The Secondary school curriculum: a review of developments in Western Australia 1958-1964'* (W.D. Neal), (Perth: Government Printer, 1964).

Metropolitan Regional Planning Authority, *The Corridor Plan for Perth*, Perth, Western Australia: Metropolitan Region Planning Authority, 1970.

Western Australia. Ministerial Working Party on School Certification and Tertiary Admissions Procedures, B. McGaw (Chairman), *Assessment in the upper secondary school in Western Australia: report on the Ministerial Working Party on School Certification and Tertiary Admissions Procedures* (Perth, Western Australia: Government Printer, 1984).

4.2 COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA

Australian Education Council, 'Statistical Annex', *National Report on Schooling in Australia* (Carlton, Victoria: Australian Education Council and Curriculum Corporation, 1993).

Commonwealth of Australia, *Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act*, 9 July 1900 (Taking in account alterations up to Act No. 84 of 1977) Office of Legislative Drafting, Attorney-General's Department, Canberra.

Dawkins, J., *The Impact of Commonwealth Initiatives on School Education*, Macarthur Lecture Series, University of Western Sydney, Macarthur, (Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, August 1990).

Karmel, P. (Chairman), *Schools in Australia*, Report of the Interim Committee for the Australian Schools Commission, May 1973.

5. STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

Australian Labor Party Leader Gough Whitlam, *Policy Speech*, Blacktown Civic Centre, Sydney, 13 November 1972.

Nestor, J., *Basic Consultation Requirement*, Official Statement of the Catholic Education Commission of Western Australia, 6 February 1976.

Williams, A.E., 'In Remembrance – John Septimus Roe', a Eulogy delivered by the President of the Royal Western Australian Historical Society on the occasion of the East Perth Memorial Service, 6 June 1976. A.S.C. Archives.

6. SCHOOL MAGAZINES

Almerta
Christ Church Chronicle
Myola
The Mitre
The Swan

7. NEWSPAPERS

7.1 NEWSPAPERS GENERAL

Inquirer
Perth Gazette
W.A. Times
The West Australian

7.2 NEWSPAPERS OF THE ANGLICAN DIOCESE OF PERTH

The *Anglican Messenger*
Western Australian Church News
Western Australian Church of England Magazine

8. JOURNALS

Bolton, G., Vose, H. and Jones, G. (eds.), *The Wollaston Journals*, Vol. 1, 1840–1842 (Perth, Western Australia: The University of Western Australia Press, 1991).

9. INTERVIEWS

Coverdale, J., (Ed.) *Transcript of an interview with P.H. Atkins, Chairman, St Mary's School Board of Governors 1955-1984*, OH 2577/7, 1994. (Battye Library: Perth, Western Australia).

Melville, W.I., *Transcript of an Interview with Mr P. M. Moyes*, 4 August 2004.

Melville, W.I., *Transcript of an interview with Mr P.H. Atkins*, 8 May, 2005.

Melville, W.I., *Transcript of an interview with P.H. Atkins*, 8 May, 1996.

Melville, W.I., *Transcript of an interview with Mrs J. Moyes*, 4 August 2004.

Melville, W.I., *Transcript of an interview with M.S. Gregg*, 7 October, 1997.

B. SECONDARY SOURCES

1 GENERAL REFERENCE WORKS

R. Williams, *Keywords* (London: Fontana, 1988).

The Shorter Oxford Dictionary on Historical Terms (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975).

The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary on Historical Principles, Vol. 2, Oxford University Press, 1973.

2. BOOKS

2.1 SCHOOL HISTORIES

Aikman R.G. and Honniball, J.H.M., *The Chapel of SS. Mary and George, Guildford Grammar School* (Perth, Western Australia: Guildford Grammar School, 1962).

Beatou, E., *St Mary's Church of England Girls' School: History of the School 1921–1937* (Perth, Western Australia: St Mary's G.E.G.S., 1981).

Burton, A., *Hale School Perth*: The Story of its foundation and early years 1858-1900, (Perth, Western Australia: Diocese of Perth, n.d.).

Carnley, A. *Treading Lightly in Their Steps: A Pictorial History of St Hilda's 1896-1996,* (Perth, Western Australia: St Hilda's Anglican School for Girls Inc., 1996).

Cowie, L. & E., *That One Idea: Nathaniel Woodard and his Schools* (Ellesmere: The Woodard Corporation, 1991*)*.

Curtis, T.P., *Perth College 1952 –1977: A Continuation of the History of Perth College from the 50th to the 75th Year* (Perth, Western Australia: Perth College, 1979).

Heeney, B., *Mission to the Middle Classes: The Woodard Schools 1848-1891* (London, S.P.C.K., 1969).

May, C., *Built on Faith, A History of Perth College* (Perth, The University of Western Australia Press, 2002).

Merryweather, E.J.,*The First Half Century* (Perth, Western Australia: Guildford Grammar School, 1988).

Rosalie, Sr., *Perth College: First Fifty Years* (Perth, Western Australia: Perth College, 1951).

Surman, V.J., *A History of Hale School from 1858 to the Present Day* (Perth, Western Australia: Royal West Australian Historical Society, Lee Steere History Competition c1960).

St. Mary's Church of England Girls' School, *History of the School 1921-1937* (Perth, St Mary's Church of England Girls' School, 1981).

Synott, F.I., (ed.) *Kobeelya, 1922–1982: Nemo sibi vivat* (Albany, Western Australia: Kobeelya Historical Society, 1986).

Tregonning, K.G., *Young Hearts Run Free* (Perth, Western Australia: Hale School, 1993).

Unknown Author, *Perth College: Its Story* (Perth, Western Australia: Perth College, 1922).

White, M.A., *Go Forward: Guildford Grammar School 1896–1996* (Perth, Western Australia: Guildford Grammar School, 1996).

National Council of Independent Schools, *School Governance in the Eighties*, Sydney, 1981.

Woodard, N., *The Scheme of Education of St. Nicolas College with Suggestions for the permanent constitution of that Society in a letter to the most Noble Marquis of Salisbury, D.C.L., Chancellor of the University of Oxford* (Oxford and London, James Parker and Co., 1869).

2.2 ANGLICAN CHURCH

Alexander, F. (ed.), *Four Bishops and Their See: Perth, Western Australia 1857-1957* (Perth, Western Australia: The University of Western Australia Press, 1957).

Berwick, G., *The Birth of a Cathedral: St George's Perth, Western Australia* (Perth, Western Australia: Government Printer, 1948).

Blombery, T., *The Anglicans in Australia* (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1996).

Burton, A., *Church Beginnings in the West* (Perth, Western Australia: Diocese of Perth, 1941).

Hawtrey, C.L.M., *The Availing Struggle 1829-1947* (Perth, Western Australia, C.L.M. Hawtrey, 1947).

Henn, W.E., *A Life So Rich* (Perth, Western Australia: Guildford Grammar School, 1982).

Hilliard, D., *Godliness and Good Order: A History of the Anglican Church in South Australia* (Adelaide, South Australia: Wakefield Press, 986).

C. Holden, *Ritualist on a Tricycle: Frederick Goldsmith: Church, Nationalism and Society in Western Australia 1880-1920* (Perth, Western Australia: The University of Western Australia Press, 1997).

Judd, S. and Cable, K., *Sydney Anglicans: A History of the Diocese* (Sydney, New South Wales: Anglican Information Office, 1987).

Kaye, B., *A Church without Walls – Being Anglican in Australia* (North Blackburn, Victoria: Harper Collins, 1995).

May, C., *Built on Faith, A History of Perth College* (Perth, The University of Western Australia Press, 2002),

Moorman, J.R.H., *A History of the Church of England*, 3rd edition (London: Black, 1973).

Neill, S.C., *Anglicanism* (London: Mobray, 1958).

Otter, J., *Nathaniel Woodard A Memoir of His Life* (London: John Lane the Bodley, 1925).

Patrick, W., *A History of St George's Cathedral* (Perth, Western Australia: Diocese of Perth, 1924).

Tonkin, J.M., *Cathedral and Community – A History of St George's Cathedral Perth* (Perth, Western Australia: The University of Western Australia Press, 2001).

W.E. Henn, *A Life So Rich* (Perth, Western Australia: Guildford Grammar School, 1982).

Welsby, P.A., *A History of the Church of England 1945–1980* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984).

Williams, A.E., *West Anglican Way: The Growth of the Anglican Church in Western Australia from its Early Beginnings* (Perth, Western Australia: Diocese of Perth, 1989).

2.3 GENERAL

Battye, J.S., *The Cyclopedia of Western Australia*, Vol. II, First Published by Hussey & Gillingham Adelaide, 1911. Facsimile Edition (Perth, Western Australia: Hesperian Press, 1985).

Battye, J.S., *Western Australia: A History from its Discovery to the Inauguration of the Commonwealth* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1924).

Best, G., *Mid-Victorian Britain 1851–70* (Bungay: Fontana/Collins, 1979).

Brock, P., *Outback Ghettos; A History of Aboriginal Institutionalisation and Survival* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

Brown, P.M., *The Merchant Princes of Fremantle, The Rise and Decline of a Colonial Élite 1870–1900* (Perth, Western Australia: The University of Western Australia Press, 1996).

Cannon, J. (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to British History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

Checkland, S.G., *The Rise of Industrial Society in England 1815-1885* (London: Longman, 1964).

Colebatch, Hal (ed.), *A Story of a Hundred Years: Western Australia 1829*-1929 (Perth, Western Australia: Government Printer, 1929).

Cranfield, R.E., *The Wittenoom Family in Western Australia* (Perth, Western Australia, Cranfield, n.d.).

Fletcher, (ed.), *Pioneers of Education in Western Australia* (Perth, Western Australia: The University of Western Australia Press, 1982).

Girouard, M., *The Return to Camelot, Chivalry and the English Gentleman* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981).

Harrison, J.F.C., *Early Victorian Britain 1832-51* (Bungay: Fontana/Collins, 1979.

Kimberly, W.B., *History of West Australia: A Narrative of her Past together with Biographies of her Leading Men* (Melbourne: Niven, 1897).

Lokan, J., (Ed.) *Describing Learning: Implementation of Curriculum Profiles in Australian Schools 1986-1996* (Melbourne, Australian Council for Educational Research, 1997).

Marginson, S., *Educating Australia* (Cambridge University Press, 1997).

Mossenson, D., *State Education in Western Australia 1829–1960* (Perth, Western Australia: The University of Western Australia Press, 1972).

Ogle, N., *The Colony of Western Australia* (London: James Fraser, 1839).

Rankin, D.H., *The History of the Development of Education in Western Australia 1829–1923* (Perth, Western Australia: Carrolls, 1926).

Stannage (ed.), *A New History of Western Australia* (Perth, Western Australia: The University of Western Australia Press, 1981).

Stannage, C.T., *The People of Perth* (Perth, Western Australia: Carroll's for Perth City Council, 1979).

Tawney, R.H., *Equality* (London: Unwin, 1964.

Thompson, E.P., *The Making of the English Working Class* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1968).

van Driesen, I.H., *Essays on Immigration Policy and Population in Western Australia 1850-1901* (Perth, Western Australia: The University of Western Australia Press, 1986).

Wilson, A.N., *The Victorians* (London: Arrow Books, 2003).

Woodward, L., *The Age of Reform* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962).

3. BOOK CHAPTERS

Aveling, M., 'Western Australian society: The religious aspect (1829-1895)' in C. T. Stannage (ed.), *A New History of Western Australia* (Perth, Western Australia: The University of Western Australia Press, 1981).

Barley, S., ‘Out of step: The failure of the early Protestant missions’, in B. Reece and T Stannage (eds.), *European-Aboriginal Relations in Western Australia* (Perth, Western Australia: The University of Western Australia Press, 1984).

Green, N., ‘Aborigines and White Settlers in the nineteenth century’, in C.T. Stannage (ed.), *A New History of Western Australia* (Perth, Western Australia: The University of Western Australia Press, 1981).

Helm, M.H., ‘The democratization of state secondary education’, W.D. Neal (Ed.) *Education in Western Australia* (Perth, Western Australia: The University of Western Australia Press, 1979).

Hilliard, D., ‘Anglicanism’, in S.L. Goldberg and F.B. Smith (eds.), *Australian Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

Moncrieff, F., ‘Henry Hutton Parry’, in F. Alexander, (ed.), *Four Bishops and Their See*, (Perth, Western Australia: The University of Western Australia Press, 1957).

Tannock, P.D., ‘Catholic Education in Western Australia, 1829-1979’, W.D. Neal (Ed.) *Education in Western Australia* (Perth, Western Australia: The University of Western Australia Press, 1979).

4. UNPUBLISHED BOOKS

Wallis, S., *St Mary’s Church of England Girls’ School: A History* (unpublished typescript, n.d.). S.M.A.G.S. Archives.

Wickham, J., *Merging Streams.* Perth Diocesan Archives: Perth, Western Australia, unpublished typescript copy, 1993.

5. PAMPHLETS

Brotherhood of St Lawrence, *A brief History of the Brotherhood of St Lawrence* (Fitzroy, Victoria, 2005).

6. ARTICLES AND MONOGRAPHS

Adams, D., ‘Superior boys’ schools in a pioneering community: the Swan River Settlement, 1829–1855, *Early Days, Journal of the Royal Western Australian Historical Society,* Vol. VIII, Part V, 1981.

Buckingham, J., ’School Funding for All: Making Sense of the Debate over Dollars”, *Issue Analysis*, Centre for Independent Studies, No. 17, 12 October 2000.

Burke G.B., and Spaull, A., ‘Australian Schools :participation and funding 1901-2000’ *Year Book Australia 2002*, Centenary Article (Canberra, Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2002).

Cowan, E.D., ‘Bishop Hale and secondary education’, *Early Days, Western Australian Historical Society, Journal and Proceedings*, Vol. 1, No. 7, 1930, pp. 1-11.

Gregory, J., ‘Education and upward mobility in interwar Western Australia: The case of Perth Modern School’, in J. Gregory (Ed.) *Western Australia Between the Wars,1919–1939*, Studies in Western Australian History, Vol. XI, June 1990, pp. 83-95.

Heydon,T.G., ‘The Early Church in Western Australia’, *Early Days, Western Australian Historical Society Journal and Proceedings*, Vol. II, Part XI, 1932, pp. 1-12

Leinster-Mackay, D. and Adams, D., ‘The Education of the colonial gentleman – and lady’ in W.D. Neal, (ed.) *Education in Western Australia*, (Perth, Western Australia: The University of Western Australia Press, 1979), pp. 37-64.

Leinster-Mackay, D. and Adams, D., ‘The Independent schools of the twentieth Century’, in W.D. Neal, (ed.) *Education in Western Australia*, (Perth, Western Australia: The University of Western Australia Press, 1979), pp. 183-223.

Leinster-Mackay, D. and Hancock, G., ‘Godliness, manliness and good learning: Victorian virtues and Western Australian exemplars’ in Murray Smith (ed), *Melbourne Studies in Education* (Melbourne, Australia, 1979), pp. 141-154.

Leinster-Mackay, D., ‘Western Australian variations on an English educational theme’, *ANZHES Journal*, Vol. 7, No. 2, 1978, pp. 1-8.

Rich, P.J., ‘Perth’s The cloisters’ as an icon of educational élitism: Romancing the stone’, *Education Research and Perspectives*, Vol. 18, No. 1, June 1991.

Rolfe, J.N., ‘The development of Church of England schools in Western Australia 1858-1958’, *Early Days, Western Australian Historical Society Journal and Proceedings*, Vol. 5, No 4, 1958, pp. 52-66.

Tonkin, J.M. (ed.), *Religion and Society in Western Australia: Studies in Western Australian History* IX (Perth, Western Australia: The University of Western Australia Press, 1987).

Tully, K., 'State secondary education 1912–1972', *Education Research and Perspectives*, Vol. 29, No. 2, 2002.

Williams, A.E., 'Cecil Andrews Director of Education', in *Early Days, Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Western Australian Historical Society*, Vol. 10, Part 4, 1992, pp. 367-377.

7. CONFERENCE PAPERS

Melville, W.I., *'The 1975 closure of Kobeelya Church of England Girls' School: its origins and outcomes', W.A.I.E.R. Annual Research Forum*, University of Notre Dame, Fremantle, Western Australia, 1998.

Melville, W.I., 'The foundation of the Church of England Schools' Trust of Western Australia', *W.A.I.E.R. Annual Research Forum*, University of Notre Dame, Fremantle, Western Australia, 1997.

White, M.A., 'The Council for Church of England Schools in Western Australia, 1917-1950', *Proceedings ANZHES, Annual Conference* (Perth, Western Australia, 1994), pp. 457-488.

8. UNPUBLISHED ESSAYS

Hiller, J.M., *A History of the Independent School Salaried Officers Association*, Research Essay, 1982, University of Western Australia, p. 6. Battye Library: Perth, Western Australia.

Neuman, E., *The History of Anglican Education in Western Australia.* Battye Library, HS/PR 1829: Perth, Western Australia, 1968.

Reynolds, P.A., *The Role of the Church in Secondary Education in Western Australia*, Perth, 1967. Battye Library, PR 5380: Perth, Western Australia, 1967.

9. UNPUBLISHED THESES

Adams, F.D., *The Schools of the Public Schools Association of Western Australia and their Antecedents 1829-1929* (Unpublished PhD Thesis, The University of Western Australia, 1979).

Bradshaw, F.G., *State Secondary Education in Western Australia* (Unpublished B.Ed. Thesis, The University of Western Australia, 1953).

Cardell-Oliver, J., *Canon P.U. Henn and Woodardism in Western Australia: Antipodean modifications of an Anglican ideal* (Unpublished M.Ed. Thesis, The University of Western Australia, 1985).

Brown, J.J., *Policies in Aboriginal Education in Western Australia 1829–1897* (Unpublished M.Ed. Thesis: The University of Western Australia, 1979).

Gregory, J., *The Manufacture of Middle class Suburbia* (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, The University of Western Australia, 1988).

Riordan, N.A., *Private Venture Schools in Western Australia Between 1829 and 1914: An Analysis of their contribution to Education* (Unpublished M.Ed. Thesis, The University of Western Australia, 1990).

Tannock's, P.D., *A History of Catholic Education in Western Australia, 1829–1929, with Special Reference to the Teaching Orders* (Unpublished M.Ed. Thesis, The University of Western Australia, 1964).

10. INTERNET SOURCES

National Council of Independent Schools, Steinle, J.R., 'The Relationship Between the Education Department and Non-Government Schools in South Australia', *National Report presented to the 45th session of the International Conference on Education, Geneva*. 30 September – 5 October 1996.
http:/www.ibe.unesco.org.International/databanks/Dossiers/raustral.htm

Challen, Rt. Rev.M.B.
http://www.media.anglican.com.au/tma/1999/1999_07challen.html