“Every locality, however remote, and every family, however humble”:
the formation of the Half-time schools of New South Wales
1866-1869

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by
Ashley Thomas Freeman
DipT (Armidale CAE), BEd (Canberra CAE), MEd (UNE)

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Certificate of authorship

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person nor material which to a substantial extent has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma at Charles Sturt University or any other educational institution, except where due acknowledgment is made in the thesis. Any contribution made to the research by colleagues with whom I have worked at Charles Sturt University or elsewhere during my candidature is fully acknowledged.

I agree that this thesis be accessible for the purpose of study and research in accordance with the normal conditions established by the Executive Director, Library Services or nominee, for the care, loan and reproduction of theses.

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State Records of New South Wales

New South Wales Department of Education and Training, Education and Training Information Service

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Abstract

A major aim of the Public Schools Act of 1866 was to provide educational facilities in the more sparsely populated areas of the Colony of New South Wales. One of the provisions made to forward this goal was Clause Twelve of the Act which allowed the appointment of itinerant teachers in areas too thinly populated to support a Public school. Using a critical narrative methodology, which draws upon the philosophy and methodologies of modern narrative historians, Silver’s work on historical educational policy formation, and the narrative inquiry approach; the thesis explores the origins of Clause Twelve and examines how from 1867 to 1869 this vague provision was transformed into a specific and closely regulated type of school - the Half-time school.

The origins of Clause Twelve remain obscured but the available evidence suggests the idea may have had its origins in: small private bush schools where the teacher travelled from place to place to teach enough children to make a living; in the small number of Denominational schools which employed the approach, generally unsuccessfully except for Burragorang Roman Catholic Denominational School; and/or in the possible influence of methods of itinerant teaching used in Scotland and Norway. People who may have been influential in promoting the idea are examined including Henry Parkes, William Wilkins, and William McIntyre who claimed to be the ‘father’ of Half-time schools.

The use of itinerant teachers to maintain a system of part-time elementary schools was a new approach for the New South Wales government education system in 1867. The initial development of Half-time schools
adapted established administrative practices used for full-time schools. However, events in the wild mountainous Jingeras near Braidwood, a hotbed of horse thieves and bushrangers including the notorious Clarke Brothers, disrupted this process and led to the creation of two divergent experimental forms of itinerant teaching. The Council of Education subsequently acted to clarify and control the situation and in doing so over 1868 and 1869 created a closely regulated structure for Half-time schools to which Half-time schools soon largely, but not entirely, conformed.

The thesis explores the roles played by a diverse range of groups and individuals including teachers, clergy, local residents, as well as the Council of Education, its Secretary and inspectors, who shaped the development of Half-time schools as they pursued their frequently varying goals and/or their vision for Half-time schools.

The thesis provides a detailed insight into the foundation period of Half-time schools, a previously neglected and largely unexplored aspect of rural education in New South Wales. It extends knowledge of the factors behind the long term goal to extend educational facilities to all children; the means employed in seeking to achieve this goal in thinly settled rural areas; and provides a perspective not previously available on decision making and policy formation within the first major educational bureaucracy developed in New South Wales.
Chapter One

Introduction

Until 1866 the almost universal form of school in the government and church systems of New South Wales, and among the private educational institutions of that colony, was the full-time school. A full-time school was one where the school existed in a single place, the teacher or teachers taught all of each school day at that place, and the students all attended at that place on each school day. Such schools required the regular attendance of a sufficient number of children to be considered viable. In the government school system, for example, an average attendance of thirty children was officially required to establish and maintain a National school.\(^1\) In the 1860s many rural areas of New South Wales were so thinly settled that in some localities, particularly in what were known as the pastoral districts, a sufficient number of children could not gather in a central place to justify the creation of a full-time school. By the 1860s this was a long-standing problem.

The pastoral occupation of eastern Australia during the 1830s and 1840s had created a series of legal, economic and administrative and social problems which were particularly difficult of solution because they were peculiar to this new style of pastoral expansion; they could not readily be resolved by applying the practices evolved in the mother country. The provision of elementary schools amongst this scattered population was one of the social problems which appeared impossible of solution by any of the traditional means.\(^2\)

This problem was compounded by a number of other factors: education was not compulsory; children were often required to contribute their labour on

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pastoral properties and farms; the establishment of schools frequently required collaboration and contributions on the part of the local community, for example, contributions towards the cost of and/or erection of the school building and the provision of school furniture; and the payment of fees for children attending school was required in government, denominational and private schools. Consequently, to form and maintain a full-time school there needed to be a sufficient number of children whose parents were willing to: send them to school on a regular basis; collaborate in meeting the requirements and costs of the establishment of the school; pay the required fees; and live within walking distance of an accessible and agreed central place where a school could be established. In 1866 there were estimated to be between 50000 and 100000 children of school age, then defined as between six and fourteen years of age, not receiving an education³ many of whom were in thinly populated rural districts.

In 1866 two political factions headed by James Martin and Henry Parkes combined to form a coalition government, one with sufficient support to pass legislation on the divisive and difficult issue of education in New South Wales. For some years there had been dissatisfaction with, and abortive attempts to reform, the existing inefficient and expensive system of competing church and government schools. The Public Schools Act of 1866 brought about a significant shift in the control of education, increasing the power and role of the state at the expense of the churches. Publicly funded schools, which included government and most church schools, were placed under the control of a single body – the Council of Education - and several steps were taken to improve the quality of education. A major influence

behind the Public Schools Act was the desire to extend educational facilities to all children in New South Wales. In 1867 William Wilkins, the Secretary of the Council of Education, stated:

The Public Schools Act was intended in the first place, to extend the means of instruction throughout the Colony, so that by the various agencies which the Council will establish or support, every locality, however remote, and every family, however humble, will have the ameliorating influences of education brought within their reach.4

So pertinent is this quote to the topic of this thesis that the latter part of it has been used in the title. While education was not compulsory, there existed a strong belief that all children should have the opportunity to attend school and gain an education. This desire had already been a significant influence in the development of education in New South Wales. It was a major factor behind the introduction of a system of National schools in 1848 and would continue to be a major influence beyond the 1860s, particularly in the introduction of compulsory education in 1880.

The most evident reason for the existence of this goal in the 1860s was the perceived power of education to socialise children into acceptable adult roles and behaviours. The more children who attended school the greater, it was believed, would be the adherence to society’s mores. This perception was clearly expressed by William Wilkins.

Of even greater importance than effective and enlarged instruction, is the moral training of the youth of the Colony. The formation of habits of regularity, cleanliness and orderly behaviour, - the inculcation of regard for the rights of property, public and private, - the growth of a spirit of obedience to the law, and respect for duly constituted authority, - the correct practical application of the value of time as an element of worldly success, - the implanting of a love for patient and sustained exertion in some industrial pursuit, - and the development of a character for self-reliance, - are all points of

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4 Progress Report of the Council of Education to 31 August, 1867, Sydney, Thomas Richards, Government Printer, 1867, Appendix F.
the highest value both to individual children and to the community at large.\footnote{Progress Report, Appendix F.}

Ely explores the mid nineteenth century perception of ‘the dangers of ignorance’ giving many contemporary examples from New South Wales and other Australian colonies. She concludes:

The stark necessities of their colonial situation led both conservatives and upwardly mobile, promoters of denominational and supporters of national education to agree on one thing: something had to be done about the education of the future generation if the transplanted British civilization was to be saved … The political, economic and social dangers of ‘ignorance’ and the ameliorating effects of education were proclaimed alike by all interested and articulate groups.\footnote{J. Ely, \textit{Reality and Rhetoric: an alternative history of Australian education}, Sydney, Alternative Publishing Cooperative, 1978, p. 22.}

Ely identifies three main influences behind the perceived need to extend educational facilities to all children: the social need to prevent crime and vice; the political need to promote participation in an emerging democratic society; and the growing economic need for an educated workforce.\footnote{J. Ely, \textit{Reality and Rhetoric}, pp. 22-29.} The first of these influences would prove of particular relevance to the emergence of itinerant teaching in the government education system in 1867.

This drive to extend education to ‘all’ children seems to have been largely confined to the European Australian context and does not appear to have included indigenous children. The Aboriginal population had significantly declined and there was widespread belief that Aboriginal people were dying out. The failure of policies and experiments in Aboriginal education before
1850 resulted in ‘a generation of inactivity and indifference’ in the 1850s and 1860s.\(^8\)

The chief evidence of the absence of Aboriginal children from schools in New South Wales in the 1860s comes from contemporary requests for information by a famous English nursing pioneer. In 1860 Florence Nightingale requested information from the New South Wales government on the sickness and mortality rates of native children who attended school. The Board of National Education responded that there were no Aboriginal children in its schools and the responses of the church school authorities were similar. In its response the Board of National Education also expressed a negative attitude towards Aboriginal education: ‘their education, though often attempted, has on account of the wild habits of the native tribes, hitherto proved impracticable.’\(^9\) In 1864 Florence Nightingale repeated her request for information on this subject and received a similar response.\(^10\)

Fletcher concludes:

> It was a period in which the school was not used as a means of transforming Aborigines. No positive attempts were made to encourage Aboriginal children to attend school even though in the 1860s the government school system began to expand substantially, from 150 schools with 9,000 pupils in 1860 to 600 schools with 33,000 pupils a decade later. The handful of Aboriginal children who did attend public schools did so out of choice, not compulsion.\(^11\)

**The Half-time schools of New South Wales**

As part of its provisions to extend educational facilities to children in the many sparsely settled areas of New South Wales, the Public Schools Act of

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\(^10\) J. Fletcher, *Clean, Clad and Courteous*, p. 38.

1866 proposed the introduction of a form of elementary school into the government school system which departed from the full-time school model. One where itinerant teachers would travel between and teach small groups of children in sparsely settled areas where full-time schools could not be sustained. The intention was that these children would receive a part-time education rather than no education at all. By this means it was hoped that education could be extended into those parts of the colony where full time schools were not a viable option. These part-time schools taught by itinerant teachers were named Half-time schools.

Half-time schools first appeared in 1867 and steadily increased in numbers through the late 1860s and into the 1870s under the Council of Education. Initially in 1867 and 1868 the number of places at which an itinerant teacher taught ranged between two and seven, and what a Half-time school was and the manner in which these schools were conducted were frequently unclear. From mid 1868 Half-time schools steadily became more uniform in structure and organization with each itinerant teacher generally teaching two Half-time schools.

Half-time schools operated in New South Wales from 1867 to 1950, a period of eighty-three years. Hundreds of Half-time schools were in operation across considerable areas of rural New South Wales in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century under the Department of Public Instruction. Their numbers peaked in 1896 when there were 497 Half-time schools in operation. Half-time schools formed a significant part of the government education system during this period, constituting just under one-fifth of the government schools in operation in New South Wales in

1896. Two further types of schools which used itinerant teachers to further extend elementary education into sparsely settled areas were subsequently developed within the government education system in New South Wales. House to house schools in which the itinerant teacher was expected to teach in three or more places commenced in 1881, and Travelling schools in which the itinerant teacher was equipped with a horse and van (which doubled as the teacher’s accommodation), plus a tent to teach in, commenced in 1908. Neither of these latter systems of itinerant teaching was as successful as Half-time schools in terms of longevity or numbers in operation. The last House to house school closed in 1923 and the last Travelling school closed in 1949. The number of House to house schools peaked at ninety-five in 1890 and there were never more than three Travelling schools.

The number of Half-time schools in operation decreased rapidly from the 1920s largely due to three factors. First, the continuing lowering of the number of students required to establish or maintain full-time government schools enabled Public and Provisional schools to exist in some sparsely populated areas where they were not previously viable. Second the introduction and widespread adoption of alternate, cheaper and more flexible forms of full-time education designed to reach children in sparsely populated areas, namely a system of government subsidies paid to parents who employed private tutors, which began in 1903, led to what became known as Subsidised schools, and the Correspondence school which commenced in 1916. Third, the general improvement in the means of transport and an expanding system of subsidized and free transport for school students enabled children to travel further to reach full-time
With the closure of the last two partnering Half-time schools in 1950 the long established practice of using itinerant teachers to provide a part-time elementary education to children in isolated areas ceased within the New South Wales government education system.

**Objective of this thesis**

The objective of this thesis is to examine the origins and early development of Half-time schools in New South Wales from 1866 to 1869 and to identify the causes and effects that shaped Half-time schools at this time. It was in this period that the approach of using itinerant teachers to reach geographically isolated children was adopted into the government education system and Half-time schools emerged in various forms before settling into a confirmed structure of two partnering Half-time schools taught by an itinerant teacher. This structure remained stable until the demise of the last Half-time schools in 1950. This is original research exploring what occurred in this foundation period that lead to the adoption of itinerant teaching, the emergence of varying forms of itinerant teaching, and the rationalization of Half-time schools into a set structure.

**Significance of this thesis**

This thesis is significant not only to the history of education in New South Wales, but also to the wider field of educational history, both nationally and internationally. The areas examined here, their causes, effects and implications, resonate with, and enhance our understanding of, approaches

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made to extend education into sparsely populated rural areas in other
Australian colonies/states and internationally.

First, it investigates a previously unexplored aspect of rural education.

Elementary schools taught by itinerant teachers were numerically a notable
part of the education facilities provided in rural New South Wales in the
latter half of the nineteenth century and the first quarter of the twentieth
century. Half-time schools, which were the first, most extensive and most
enduring of these types of schools, have been the subject of very little
research and their place and relative importance in the provision of
education in New South Wales remains largely unknown. The formative
period of 1866 to 1869 when Half-time schools began and took shape,
which is explored in this thesis, marks the beginning of the extensive use of
itinerant teachers in the New South Wales government education system. It
is probable that the decisions made in this period had a critical impact on the
long term role and viability of Half-time schools and helped shape other
forms of rural education that were concurrently or subsequently introduced
or modified. Second, this thesis addresses and solves an acknowledged
mystery within the history of the government school system of New South
Wales, namely why during this foundation period some itinerant teachers
taught in three to seven places while others were restricted to two places.

Third, this thesis clearly relates to and explores an aspect of one of the
major themes of rural education in New South Wales, namely the drive to
extend educational facilities to all children in rural areas no matter how
isolated they might have been. This theme extends throughout the history of
government provided or supported education in New South Wales. Henry
Parkes, a highly significant educational reformer in nineteenth century New
South Wales and the instigator of the Public School Act in 1866, had previously stated in 1854:

I should be prepared to support any modification or alteration to that system [National schools] which would more adapt it to the peculiar wants of the remote, thinly populated and scattered districts of the colony.  

Fourth, this thesis provides a detailed insight into an unexplored aspect of the New South Wales government education system in a critical period of its development, the transition from two separate Boards of Education, one for National (government) schools the other Denominational (church controlled) schools, to a Council of Education which controlled all publicly funded schools. The Council of Education was a bureaucracy of its time.

By the 1860s educational machinery developed for the extension of elementary education to the ‘humbler’ classes displayed many of the insignia of modern bureaucracies: legality: rules and regulations; the precise definition of roles with a hierarchical structure; the centralisation of decision making; professional rather than voluntary employees and advisors possessing certain educational requirements, able to function efficiently, impersonally, and if need be, discreetly.

This thesis consequently provides a perspective not previously available on decision making and policy formation within the newly established and first major educational bureaucracy developed in New South Wales.

**Principal questions**

The principal questions addressed in this thesis are:

- What were the origins of Clause Twelve in the Public Schools Act of 1866 which allowed the use of itinerant teachers to reach children in sparsely populated areas?

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• How did itinerant teaching and Half-time schools evolve and change in the period 1867 to 1869?

• What were the influences that shaped itinerant teaching and Half-time schools in this period?

• What were Half-time schools intended to achieve and to what extent was this vision realised in the initial period?

• What role did Half-time schools play in the provision of education under the Council of Education in the period 1867 to 1869?

These questions closely address the objective of this thesis.

**Methodology**

The methodological approach used for this thesis is the development of a critical narrative of events through the systematic identification and interrogation of available pertinent archival records. Narrative history is viewed and pursued as the creation of a probable chronological account of a particular set of events following a rigorous process of inquiry using the available validated evidence. The narrative approach employed investigates the implementation of an educational idea, the development of an educational method, and examines the people or educational actors involved in these processes in the context of wider events. Its focus is educational practices and interactions. The ‘critical’ element of the methodology involves an ongoing process of analysis and reflection interlaying and overlaying the narrative as it evolves. Essentially the methodology employed is a ‘narrative mode of knowing, understanding, explaining and
reconstructing the past\textsuperscript{16} that is felt to be highly pertinent to investigating and representing the subject of this thesis.

The processes employed in the analysis of primary materials and the writing of the critical narrative focus particularly on the interactions of people and events in evolving and determining the narrative and the causes of events within the narrative. Broad and specific events are analysed as to their probable or possible interrelationship and the probable or possible causes and reasons behind that interplay. For example, the comparison of documents relating to broad events concerning the bushrangers Tom and John Clarke with the remaining specific primary sources relating to the appointment of the first itinerant teachers reveal the interrelationships between official frustration at the failure of the police to apprehend the bushrangers, the resulting commission of inquiry into crime in the Braidwood District and the development of the first Half-time schools within that district.

The identification of the impact of individuals in shaping events is an important element of the methodology. The focus is upon all identifiable educational actors as they step onto the stage of events whether they are notable historical figures such as Henry Parkes, the Colonial Secretary and President of the Council of Education, or William Wilkins, the Secretary of the Council, or teachers, clergymen and inspectors and other local identities whose individual actions collectively helped shape and determine the initial development of Half-time schools. They include people such as: Edward O’Brien, the Roman Catholic priest for the Braidwood district, who strove to have Catholic itinerant teachers appointed to serve the scattered Catholic

settlers within thinly settled areas of his parish; Thomas Harris, Inspector of Schools for the Goulburn District, who opposed itinerant teachers teaching in more than two places but failed to deliver a plan for the rationalisation of Half-time schools; and Henry Cobb, a zealous and passionate early itinerant teacher who played a significant role in the development of the first Half-time schools where the teacher taught in several places. Acknowledgement is also made, where possible, of largely unnamed and generally voiceless educational actors who also had an impact on events such as parents, and clerks within the Council of Education.

The methodology employed is an emergent process. It was not known what would be revealed or what would determine the ongoing direction of inquiry. While the methodology can fundamentally be viewed as a ‘problem-oriented’ approach in that the thesis is focussed upon a specific objective and a formulated set of questions, the unknown content of the primary archival sources means that within the boundaries set by the objectives and questions the process becomes ‘source-oriented’, in that it allows ‘the content of the source to determine the nature of the inquiry’.17 The source materials not only inform the narrative but significantly evolve and determine it. The writing process is also part of the emergent process. It is in itself a method of inquiry, a ‘dynamic creative process’18 involving writing, questioning, rewriting, re-evaluating and following up lines of inquiry that emerge from the writing process before writing again. Adams St Pierre names this process ‘nomadic inquiry’ and summarises it as; ‘writing

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is thinking, writing is analysis, writing is indeed a seductive and tangled method of discovery'. Goals of this approach include four criteria that the writer should strive to achieve for the reader. The outcome should be a credible account that makes a substantive contribution; it should have aesthetic merit in that the text is ‘artistically shaped, satisfying, complex and not boring’; the writer should be accountable; and the writing should impact upon the reader.20

The emergence of the formation of Half-time schools as a practical example of a process of policy formation undertaken by the newly formed educational bureaucracy, the Council of Education, drew the work of Silver on educational policy formation into the methodology. Silver’s perception of policy formation in educational history proved both apt and informative in the writing of chapters three to five.

The processes [of policy formation] require historical explanations of the competing intentions and inchoate purposes, conflicts and invisible structures and networks in which policy may be shaped … It may do so by exposing not only the unexpected outcomes but also the unexpected early energies and alternative pressures released by the policy process itself.21

The analysis of policy is therefore concerned with its origins and intentions – the complexities of competing and conflicting values and goals, the explicit and inexplicit representation of objectives which spring from diverse economic and social realities. It is concerned with the policy choices that are made, the decisions made – by whom, with what timing and with what authority. It is concerned with the guidelines, the rules and regulations, the machineries of information and enactment, the forms of implementation, the interpretation in practice, the responses, the outcomes. At its most theoretical the analysis is concerned with what happens and why; at its most pragmatically historical it asks what, in known circumstances, seems to have happened.22

22 H. Silver, Education, Change and the Policy Process, p. 213.
The methodology employed is fundamentally Rankean. ‘Documents are tested for their authenticity, consistency of relationship with similar documents, internal meaning and capacity to provide insights into the thinking of the age.’ The perspectives and approaches of a range of modern traditional narrative historians who follow this approach and have acknowledged, considered and drawn from the ideas of postmodern historians, as well as having tested and defended the narrative approach against the criticisms of postmodernism, are the principal sources drawn upon in determining the approach employed.

Traditional narrative historians … have always possessed a capacity for self-reflection, self-criticism and change. While retaining faith with Rankean empiricism and induction, they have addressed and captured many ideas suggested as critique by postmodernist discourse. Postmodernism’s attention to language, culture and ideas, for example, has lead to a reassessment of traditional methods of explanation and interpretation … Discourse analysis has enabled a deeper reading of documentary sources and tools for reflection on the historian’s own subjectivity in representing his or her findings. It has forced a fresh self consciousness on the historian’s methods used to construct narrative.

For example, Evans’s position that ‘Historical writing … makes a point of conveying the provisional and uncertain nature of interpretation and the need to test it constantly against the source materials used as evidence in its favor’, draws upon postmodernism and underlies the ‘critical’ aspect of the critical narrative methodology employed in this thesis. However the critical narrative methodology does not fully embrace postmodernism. It supports the position of modern traditional narrative historians that the past can be recreated, though not fully.

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24 P. Rushbrook and R. Pickergill, ‘Knowing Cleo: VET history and the mediation of truth’.
When a postmodernist writer triumphantly proclaims that “objectivity, that dull-witted monarch who despotically ruled the discipline of history since the late nineteenth century, lies dethroned,” the obvious retort is that there is nothing at all dull-witted about the notion of objectivity and its application. On the contrary it is far more difficult to apply the notion of objectivity in one’s own historical work than it is to follow one’s own prejudices and preferences … The truth about patterns and linkages of facts in history is in the end discovered, not invented, found, not made … making such patterns and linkages causal and otherwise, is by no means the only function of history, which also has a duty to establish the facts and re-create the past in the present … Objective history in the last analysis is history that is researched and written within the limits placed on the historical imagination by the facts of history and the sources that reveal them … [history] really happened, and we really can, if we are very scrupulous and careful and self-critical, find out how it did and reach some tenable conclusions about what it all meant.\textsuperscript{26}

Rushbrook’s interpretation of ‘critical realism’ has been significant in the development and positioning of the critical narrative methodology.

Critical realism seeks clarity and simplicity within an assumed but critically known singular reality. More correctly, based on the idea of ‘transcendental realism’, critical realism assumes that reality simply ‘is’ … Its transcendental nature can only be grasped transitorily through fallible and limited human capacities such as cultural location, belief, perception, knowledge and theory. As these phenomena are concept dependent they require explanation and interpretation through the researcher’s subjective lenses (though they still exist independently of such positioning). This approach, including the search for meaning within particular situations, offers a … view of research that celebrates rigour in method while recognising the tentativeness of its outcomes. Seen in this way critical realism eschews the neatness of logical positivism or crude empiricism, forged as they are on assumptions of actualism or the contrivance of research situations that seek invariance and predictability … At the other extreme, a critical realist positioning avoids also postmodernism’s hyper-relative indeterminacy and nihilism … Under this schema, the historical practitioner is able to interrogate the past for meanings contingent on the ‘real’ times that produced them and represent those meanings through robust and defensible narratives.\textsuperscript{27}

The critical narrative approach is employed because of the appropriateness of this methodology to the area of research. To enable an examination of the

\textsuperscript{26} R.J. Evans, \textit{In Defence of History}, pp. 219- 220
\textsuperscript{27} P. Rushbrook, ‘What’s worth knowing in the history of publicly funded vocational education – and why?’ paper presented at the 10\textsuperscript{th} Annual AVETRA Conference, Melbourne, 11-13 April 2007.
origins and early development of Half-time schools in New South Wales from 1866 to 1869 and to identify the causes and effects that shaped Half-time schools at this time, a complete as possible a narrative of events needed to be constructed from the available evidence through a forensic process of inquiry and analysis. Such a narrative is a basic building block of research into unexplored aspects of educational history. It places the available evidence within a rationale and identifiable framework which supports critical analysis and provides a readily understood structure for the reading of the work. The methodology employed also envisions that this thesis is not an end in itself. Rather it provides, on a topic that had previously been largely neglected, a source of historical information and analysis that can be drawn upon by other researchers. Writers have available to them a further source giving an additional perspective on rural education, the creation of educational policy and the people and events influencing these developments.

The critical narrative approach used for this thesis includes the following elements: consideration of the values underpinning the selection of topic and methodology; recognition of the context in which the events under investigation took place; verification and consideration of primary sources; close interrogation of available primary sources to reconstruct and represent as fully as possible the events under investigation; and critical analysis of the probability of these events being correct, the likely reasons for their taking place, and the possible impact and significance of these events.
Writer’s position

The rationale and values that led to the choice of this thesis were my longstanding interest in rural education arising from having taught in small rural schools and having previously studied and written on rural education and, in particular, my interest in the efforts of the different New South Wales government education systems to extend educational facilities into rural areas. This interest has previously led to the completion of a Master’s thesis on the House to house and Travelling schools of New South Wales, the other two types of New South Wales government schools that were under the charge of itinerant teachers. In addressing the topic of Half-time schools I am advancing a study of the three types of government schools which used itinerant teachers to address the problem of extending elementary educational facilities into sparsely settled rural areas of New South Wales. My involvement and historical research has primarily related to the New South Wales government education system, with the history of private and denominational schools being a secondary interest. The research undertaken for this thesis has led me to a deeper understanding of the role of non-government schools in rural education in nineteenth century New South Wales and of the interrelationship of government and non-government education in the period being explored.

I believe the history of rural education in New South Wales has not attracted the level of attention and research that its size and potential significance probably warrant. The very limited nature of previous research into the Half-time schools of New South Wales led me to this topic. The presence of a mystery also attracted my interest, namely the unknown causes behind the

creation of different sized groupings of Half-time schools in the 1860s. In 1867 three groups of two Half-time schools and three groups where the itinerant teacher taught at three to five places opened. Further groups of both types were opened in 1868, with one itinerant teacher teaching at seven different places. In 1869 the groups of Half-time schools opened that year were almost entirely comprised of two Half-time schools, and by the end of that year almost all groups of Half-time schools in existence were in this form. No preconceived or preferred solutions to this mystery were held, and the answers lay in unexpected quarters, including events relating to bushrangers and an innovative approach used by a teacher of an isolated rural Roman Catholic school to extend education to children across the sparsely settled district in which he had been placed. I have no direct connection with Half-time schools, having been born after the last Half-time schools closed, nor any connection with anyone who ever attended, taught at, or was otherwise involved with Half-time schools.

Sources and literature reviewed

An extensive literature search was undertaken using a wide range of national and international databases and sources for research and secondary sources on the specific topic of the thesis, namely itinerant teaching in New South Wales relating to Half-time schools and/or their predecessors. The lack of relevant research and secondary sources was indicative of the lack of research in this area and the appropriateness of goals of the thesis and the methodology applied. Possible Australian and international influences that were identified within the primary source materials within State records and the NSW Department of Education and Training were also the subject of
further focused literature searches. These influences included the system of itinerant teaching used in Norway in the early and mid nineteenth century, potential influences within the educational legislation of other Australian colonies of the 1850s and 1860s, as well as social influences present in NSW in the 1860s such as bushranging.

Available published sources and unpublished theses relating to the history of education in New South Wales and seen as potentially relevant to this thesis do not answer the principal questions raised in this thesis. The attention given in such works to the Half-time schools of the 1860s is minimal. No thesis or article examining the Half-time schools of the 1860s was identified. General secondary sources on the history of education in New South Wales tend to devote only a broad sentence or two to the formation of Half-time schools drawn from readily accessible major sources, as shown in the following two examples:

During the first six years of [the Council of Education’s] operations143 Public Schools, 194 Provisional Schools, and 101 Half-time Schools were established … Provisional and Half-time Schools owed their existence to the Public Schools Act. They were established in places where “the light of instruction had not hitherto fallen,” and must have come – such was Parkes’s idealism – “like angelic agencies from Heaven in the midst of the wilderness to give instruction to small groups of children widely separated from the influence of education.”

To extend education into thinly populated districts “Provisional’ and ‘Half-time Schools’ were provided for (Clauses 12 and 13) [of the Public Schools Act] … Half-time schools resulted from a clause which authorised itinerant teachers; in its 1867 regulations the Council of Education provided that where there was a minimum of 20 pupils within reasonable distance of each other, and where two schools of 10 each could be assembled, they could be taught a half-day at a time by an itinerant teacher.

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30 A. Barcan, *Two Centuries of Education in New South Wales*, p.108.
Given the broad scope of such works and, in particular, the absence of in-depth sources on Half-time schools of this period, such limited attention, and the errors present in both these examples, is understandable. Research for this thesis has identified that Half-time schools were not consistently established in places where there had previously been no provision for education, and itinerant teachers did not always teach half a day at each of their schools.

Only one published work examines Half-time schools of the 1860s in more detail and this proved an important foundation work for this thesis. *Government Schools of New South Wales 1848 – 2003* produced by the Education and Training Information Service of the New South Wales Department of Education and Training provides a complete list of the government schools that have existed in New South Wales, indicating the county each school was located in, when it opened and what type of school it was when it opened, any other types of schools it was subsequently and the dates it was of that type, and, unless the school is still open, the date it closed.\(^{31}\) Consequently this work includes entries of this nature for the Half-time schools which existed in the period 1867 to 1869. For example:

SPRINGFIELD (1) 001 (near Goulburn) ht with Bullamalita 9.1867-1871; ht with Quialigo 1871-4.77; prov 4.1877-6.82; ps 6.1882-8.1911; 8.1914- 5.71 *Mangamore from 5.1877 to 8.1899*

This entry indicates that the first of three government schools in New South Wales using the name Springfield was established in the county of Argyle, with this particular school being in the vicinity of Goulburn. This school commenced in September 1867 as a Half-time school with Bullamalita as its partner Half-time school. Sometime in 1877 its partner Half-time school

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changed to Quialigo, and in April 1877 Springfield became a Provisional school, its name being changed to Mangamore Provisional School from May 1877. In June 1882 Mangamore became a Public school and its name was changed back to Springfield in August 1899. Springfield Public School temporarily closed from August 1911 until August 1914, and then remained open until its final closure in May 1971.

While the information contained in the entries relating to Half-time schools in the period 1867 to 1869 in relation to the principal questions asked in this thesis is very limited, and some entries proved to contain errors or were incomplete, they were an important starting point for this thesis. One significant weakness of the entries for Half-time schools of this period is when a Half-time school had four or more partnering Half-time schools, either concurrently and/or sequentially, these partner schools are not shown in the entries. Consequently, the manner in which Half-time schools of this period were grouped, and how many were in a group where the number is greater than two, is generally not given. Only in two instances were additional notes provided on the larger groups of Half-time schools described in these entries.

BURRAGORANG … From 2.1868 to 4.1868 this “half-time” school consisted of seven teaching stations visited by one teacher; it was reopened from 1.1869 to 12.1869 with only two stations.32

JINGERA DISTRICT There were many “half-time” schools in the Jingera district. In 1867-68 Jingera “Half-Time” School consisted of Lambert, Douro, Manar and Mulloon. In 1868-69 the school consisted of Douro, Mulloon, Arnprior and Black Range. In 8.1869 the teacher was directed to teach at only Arnprior and Black Range until 12.1869.33

33 Government Schools of New South Wales 1848 – 2003, p. 79.
Government Schools of New South Wales 1848 – 2003 contains the most information available on the Half-time schools of the 1860s of any work found. However, as the focus of this work is on listing all the government schools that exist or have existed, and describing when and broadly where they have or do exist, exploring the reasons for the formation of Half-time schools in the late 1860s and behind the various forms they took at this time is beyond the scope and purpose of the work. That considered initial exploratory work occurred into the foundation period of Half-time schools to establish what Half-time schools existed from 1867 to 1869 is evident. However the time and effort that could be devoted to this particular area, while significant in terms of its outcomes, was evidently limited. This is reflected in the summation of the formative period of Half-time schools provided in this work. While more in depth and accurate than the information provided in other works, it is still very limited and does not explore the reasons behind the events it describes.

With the aim of distributing schools as widely as possible, the 1866 Act lowered the number of pupils required for a Public School (all National schools were renamed Public Schools on 1 January 1867) from 30 to 25, and created two new types of schools. The first of these was the Provisional School, which could be established by the Council of Education in places where the attendance was likely to be between 15 and 25. The second type of school was under the charge of an itinerant teacher. Early experiments with this form of school produced teachers with as many as seven teaching stations in their circuit and in 1869 the Council of Education restricted the number of schools per teacher to two with the result that they became known as Half-time Schools, each school requiring at least 10 children before it could be established. Parents were expected to provide the site and necessary school buildings and furniture for Provisional Schools and Half-time Schools; the government was not prepared to invest capital in them because of their small size and possible impermanence.34

Aspects of this summary are also inaccurate. Research undertaken for this thesis revealed that 1868, not 1869, was the year the Council of Education regulated that itinerant teachers should normally teach at no more than two Half-time schools. Additionally, the title ‘Half-time school’ appeared in the Regulations introduced in February 1867 to describe schools conducted by itinerant teachers. The term was variously used from then; in some instances to collectively describe all the places at which an itinerant teacher taught, in other instances to describe each of the places at which an itinerant teacher taught, until the latter usage became dominant in 1868. There were also instances where the Council of Education paid, or contributed funds, for school furniture or buildings for Half-time schools.

Some sources used in the creation of Government Schools of New South Wales and now maintained by the Education and Training Information Service within the New South Wales Department of Education and Training also proved to be of relevance to this thesis. The handwritten ‘Head of school’ cards which record the teachers in charge of every NSW government school to have existed, the periods the teachers held those positions and the class or type of school at the time they were in charge of it, proved a useful source, as did the published annual reports of the Council of Education. Of particular value, however, was a handwritten table of Half-time schools that existed in the period 1867 to 1869 showing the dates those schools existed, the inspectorates they were in, and, most importantly, how those schools were grouped. This unpublished three page table, together with an accompanying three page summary of Half-time schools, which largely overviews some documents relating to Half-time schools of this period, was created by an unacknowledged Departmental officer in the early
This table forms the only known previous systematic research into the Half-time schools of the 1860s and would have provided a critical insight into the obscured and confusing foundation period of these schools essential to the production of the first edition of *Government Schools of New South Wales 1848 – 1976*, and to the development of the Head of school cards for schools that were Half-time schools in the period 1867 to 1869.

The reason this initial research would have been necessary is the incomplete, confusing and sometimes misleading state of the records on the composition and number of Half-time Schools kept by the Council of Education during the 1860s, as demonstrated in the annual reports of the Council of Education for this period. This period marked the first use of itinerant teachers in the New South Wales government education system and while the newly created Council of Education inherited established processes for recording and describing full-time schools, this was not the case for Half-time schools. The confusion as to whether the name ‘Half-time school’ referred collectively to all the places at which an itinerant teacher taught or to each place at which an itinerant teacher taught complicated and obscured the situation, and each of the Council’s annual reports for the period 1867 to 1869 used different and sometimes conflicting methods to record the Half-time schools of the period. Many of the places at which Half-time teachers taught were not mentioned or listed in the 1867

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35 Half-time Schools [summary] ‘prepared early 1970s’ [pencilled note] and Half Time Schools 1867 – 69 [table] ‘prepared in 1970s’ [pencilled note], Education and Training Information Service, New South Wales Department of Education and Training, File Item 305. This table and summary may have been developed by Jan Burnswood and/or Jim Fletcher who were the most widely known history officers in the then School History Section of the NSW Department of Education in the 1970s.

and 1868 reports. Consequently reliable information on the Half-time schools existent in the period 1867 to 1869 was not readily accessible.

To identify, date and group the Half-time schools of this period the Departmental officer would have needed to explore some of the Council of Education documents researched for this thesis. As the task undertaken in the 1970s was evidently limited to identifying the Half-time schools existent in the period 1867 to 1869 and did not involve the exploration and documentation of the origins of Half-time schools, or the causes and processes involved in the development of the Half-time schools of this period, there is no significant overlap between that research and this thesis. While the table of Half-time schools 1867 – 69 proved a useful tool, the work undertaken in developing this table was effectively replicated in undertaking the research for this thesis and a few corrections and additions have been made.

The table of Half-time schools 1867 – 69 and the Head of School cards for schools which were Half-time schools at some point during 1867 to 1869, together with Government Schools of New South Wales 1848 – 2003 and the annual reports of the Council of Education, collectively provided a framework which guided the initial stages of research and proved useful reference points through the research and writing stages. In turn this thesis has reviewed and variously confirmed or corrected the information provided in these sources.

The principal sources used in writing the major part of this thesis, chapters three to five on the Half-time schools of 1867 to 1869, are original documents created by, or held within the records of, the Council of Education, which are currently held by State Records of New South Wales.
Other sources used in these chapters, such as published sources from this period, are used in the context of these archival sources, principally to provide context or further information as required and where available. This approach was adopted because the Council records of this period are clearly the dominant, most significant, and most specific primary source on the Half-time schools of 1867 to 1869.

The Council of Education was established under the Public Schools Act of 1866 to administer public education, which included both government schools (Public, Provisional and Half-time schools) and publicly funded church schools (Denominational schools). The Council of Education fulfilled this function from 1 January 1867 to 1 May 1880 when it was replaced by the Department of Public Instruction under the Public Instruction Act of 1880. The records maintained by this burgeoning educational bureaucracy were of two broad types: administrative and financial records; and correspondence received and copies of correspondence sent.\(^37\)

The principal administrative records that have been preserved are the minutes of the weekly and extraordinary meetings of the five member Council of Education (appointed on an honorary basis) which, with the assistance of the Secretary of the Council, William Wilkins, who was the senior bureaucrat working for the Council, conducted the business of the Council. Apart from setting and amending regulations the multitudinous decisions the Council made mostly related to functional matters such as applications to open new schools or to close existing schools, the

examination, classification and appointment of teachers and reports from inspectors. Several different series of correspondence received by the Council of Education have been preserved including Reports and Memoranda from Inspectors, Applications for Employment, and Letters Received from Government Departments.\(^{38}\) The most extensive series, and the one most relevant to this thesis, is Miscellaneous Letters Received. This series comprises a wide array of correspondence much of it relating to, or arising from, individual schools. The types of correspondence filed in this series relevant to schools include applications for schools, inspectors’ reports on these applications, correspondence relating to school sites and buildings, correspondence on and relating to school boards, applications for the position of teacher or requests for a replacement teacher, requests for teaching materials, letters relating to school returns such as explanations for low attendance, applications from teachers for allowances or leave, teacher resignations and letters of concern or support from local residents and parents.\(^{39}\) Copies of outgoing correspondence were recorded in Out-letter Books and chiefly comprised letters and memoranda from the Secretary of the Council, William Wilkins, notifying teachers, inspectors, school boards, etc., of decisions made by, or information sought by, the Council of Education.\(^{40}\)

The record keeping practices of the Council and its officers were probably based initially on those of its principal predecessor, the Board of National Education, but would have rapidly changed to meet the demands of a far larger and a rapidly expanding system. The impression received when using

\(^{38}\) Record Group NCE Council of Education, 1866 – 1880: preliminary inventory.

\(^{39}\) State Records NSW, Council of Education, 1866 – 1880, NCE/1, Miscellaneous Letters Received 1867-75.

the records of the Council of Education is that while the processes for recording information were systematically organised they were sometimes laborious, not always efficient and on occasion broke down requiring new practices to be devised. Letters received relating to individual schools, for example, were pasted in books organised by year and arranged alphabetically by the name of the school. The letters were then consecutively numbered and indexes were created so that correspondence could be located. Decisions relating to this correspondence were recorded separately in the Council minutes and the replies were recorded in the Out-letter books. Indexes were also created for both minutes of Council meeting and Out-letter books. By 1868 Council officers were starting to make brief annotations on decisions made on the incoming correspondence itself as an expedient shortcut. The records were maintained by a small group of Council officers who were probably overwhelmed at times by the ever increasing workload. Filing was not always consistent and not all required documentation appears to have been kept. Half-time schools created special problems. For example, correspondence received from an itinerant teacher, or relating to one or more of the Half-time schools under an itinerant teacher, might be filed under the name of one school one year and under the name of a partner school the next year.

Not all records generated under the Council were preserved. For example, the original inspectors’ reports on individual schools were not kept, nor were monthly reports from itinerant teachers to the district inspector, both of which would have been of considerable value in writing this thesis. Some gaps also exist within series held. For example, the minutes of Council of
Education meetings held throughout 1867 and before March 1868, which are likely to have been of major relevance to this thesis, are missing.\textsuperscript{41}

The sources used for Chapter Two, on the origins of the concept of using itinerant teachers within the government education system, are more diverse than those used for Chapters Three to Five. While unpublished documents and published reports from the Board of National Education and the Denominational Schools Board which preceded the Council of Education from 1848 to 1866 form a significant part of the primary material drawn upon, the nature of this topic required a wider range of primary and secondary sources to be drawn upon to explore other facets of the topic. These sources comprise material on other aspects of pre 1866 education in New South Wales, education acts of this period in other Australian colonies and information on the school system of Norway during this period.

The primary sources used for this thesis are principally documents of an administrative nature held by the Council of Education and its predecessors as discussed above. Because this material was generated during the life of the Council of Education or its predecessors and represents a significant part of the working documentation received and generated at the time as well as records of business, the material is substantial and authentic. It is therefore valid to regard this material as accurately representing the Council or its predecessors, their officers and the schools under their control and to draw upon this material in creating a critical narrative history of the Half-time schools of the 1860s.

\textsuperscript{41} State Records NSW, Council of Education, 1866 – 1880, NCE/17, Minute Books 1868-9, 1871-80.
The methodology employed acknowledges that while these documents constitute a valid primary source, they originate from a specific range of perspectives and are not totally objective in nature. First, these are official documents and are therefore the creators of these documents are likely at times to have been subject to constraints and restrictions as to what they could say. Second, these sources overwhelmingly originate from male officials and other male authority figures; for example, members of the Council of Education, the Council secretary, inspectors, clergymen, teachers, and prominent local residents and members of school boards. In the documentation relating to the Half-time schools of the 1860s the perspectives of women, children and ordinary residents are almost completely absent. The perspectives of Aboriginal peoples are entirely absent. The Half-time schools of the late 1860s were largely on the lands of the Ngarigo, Yuin, Gundungurra, Ngunawal, Wiradjuri, Dharug, Worimi and Biripi nations.\(^{42}\) No evidence was found of any involvement of Aboriginal peoples in the Half-time schools of the 1860s, nor was any mention of Aboriginal peoples found in relation to these schools. This means that the origins and early development of Half-time schools are being explored through authentic documents but ones originating from primarily ‘official’ viewpoints.

While the range of perspectives is limited in one sense there are a variety of perspectives in another sense. The documents represent the viewpoints of a cross section of the educational community. They are not confined to the viewpoint and decisions of the members of the Council but also give the perspectives of its officers, particularly the inspectors, the teachers and the

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people within local communities that played an official or quasi-official role in the establishment and/or running of individual schools such as local boards and clergymen or other community spokespersons. This means that events can frequently be examined and analysed from more than one perspective and consequently the differing objectives of each in the correspondence or records they created can be weighed against each other in seeking to establish what took place and why.

For example, applicants seeking the establishment of Half-time schools in a particular district would usually present the best possible case for the creation of those schools. The district inspectors would generally visit the localities to check on the details given in the application and make a recommendation to the Council on the basis of his assessment of the situation against the objectives and criteria of the Council of Education. The Council, frequently through its secretary, would again consider the application on the basis of its content, the Inspector’s recommendation and his reasons for making that judgement, and on the basis of the political, financial and other pressures and realities the Council faced. Again, itinerant teachers applying for forage allowances would stress how little grass there was and, not infrequently, how drought stricken the country was; the Council secretary would often then ask the district inspector for his assessment of the situation before making a decision based on this correspondence and the formal and informal protocols the Council had established for granting a forage allowance to itinerant teachers.
The context in which the events under investigation took place is recognised as an important element of the methodological approach being employed. The educational system in New South Wales in the late 1860s was a product of the interaction of many forces – social, political, religious and geographical. Education as a social and cultural phenomenon was heavily influenced by contemporary events. The Public School Act of 1866 was a product of the social and political achievements, goals and tensions of the time. The formation of Half-time schools did not occur in a vacuum; rather it was a process that occurred within the context of, and was shaped by, wider events occurring at that time.

In the mid 1860s European New South Wales had moved on from its penal settlement origins of almost eight decades earlier. Transportation of convicts to New South Wales had ended in 1840 and by 1861 it had been calculated that ‘there were only 514 convicts still serving their sentences and another 190 holding tickets-of-leave – a total of 704 or 0.2 per cent of the population.’ In 1840 it had been 29.7 per cent. The physical size of New South Wales had been significantly reduced by the creation of the colonies of Victoria in 1851 and Queensland in 1859. Strong population growth had occurred, partly driven by the gold rushes of the 1850s and 1860s, but also by free immigration and natural increase in the European population. New South Wales’s non-indigenous population grew from 348,950 in 1861 to

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The distribution of this population was very different from that of the twenty-first century.

In the 1860s only about one-sixth of the NSW population lived in Sydney. Country towns like Bathurst and Goulburn accounted for more people than Sydney, and the rural population living in the bush away from towns was nearly four times as great as Sydney’s.

The large land area of New South Wales, however, meant that the population density in Sydney was far greater than in other areas. In 1861 the population density per square mile in Sydney was 140.57, in the coastal districts 3.64, on the tablelands 1.66, on the western slopes 0.33 and on the western plains 0.01. In 1871 the ratio was similar, Sydney 196.27, coastal districts 4.55, tablelands 2.67, western slopes 0.50 and western plains 0.06.

Consequently much of rural New South Wales was very sparsely settled in the 1860s.

European settlement had extended into most of what now constitutes New South Wales and had had a profound and shattering impact on the Aboriginal nations it had swept across. The spread of settlement across inland New South Wales had largely been driven by the pastoral industry, principally the wool industry, with vast tracks of land taken up by the pastoral leases of the squatters. There were over eight million sheep in New South Wales in 1865 and about two million beef and dairy cattle. Mining, particularly for gold, had opened up or expanded a number of settlements, though some of these diminished quickly where the gold soon gave out. The cultivation of land for the growing of crops, particularly the growing of wheat in inland districts, expanded steadily during the 1860s, particularly

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with the passage of the Robertson Land Acts in 1861 which allowed prospective farmers to become ‘Free selectors’ who occupied Crown land and then purchased it over long periods of time or leased Crown land, including Crown land occupied by pastoralists. The aim of these Acts was to ‘make the acquisition of land easy to every prospective settler, and to establish an industrious yeomanry upon the soil’.\textsuperscript{48} Progress was not rapid however.

Free selection had not produced the revolution some [squatters] had feared. There was no dramatic increase in the quantity of land being cultivated after 1861, though there was a steady rise from 246,000 acres (close to 100,000 hectares) to about 800,000 acres (some 324,000 hectares) at the end of the 1880s.\textsuperscript{49}

Selection proved more demanding than many expected with selectors frequently failing or moving on to new areas.

A great many would-be-selectors also learned by trial and error that New South Wales was no place for farming on the peasant-sized blocks originally permitted by the free selection legislation. Most successful selectors combined farming with a grazing lease where they could run some stock to supplement their income with a few bales of wool, some fat lambs or a small dairy herd … Some [selections] were simply too small; others were badly chosen. Some selectors were seriously undercapitalised. Others knew too little about what they were doing.\textsuperscript{50}

The pattern of rural settlement while broadly one of growth was consequently frequently fluid as new areas opened up for cultivation or mining grew or failed and areas that had previously been settled were negatively or positively influenced by changing circumstances.

Communication and travel between Sydney and inland New South Wales was limited but steadily improving. While roads were mostly rudimentary and road transport was principally by bullock dray or on horseback, the

\textsuperscript{49} B. Kingston, \textit{A History of New South Wales}, p. 64.
\textsuperscript{50} B. Kingston, \textit{A History of New South Wales}, p. 65.
introduction of the Cobb and Co. coach line into New South Wales in 1862 with its headquarters in Bathurst heralded the development of a network of coach routes across rural New South Wales. Cobb and Co, as well as carrying passengers, held the majority of mail delivery contracts.

Workshops building and maintaining coaches became important sources of employment in Bathurst, Goulburn and Hay, while inns at staging posts strung along the coaching routes served as booking offices, and provided refreshment, accommodation and fresh teams of horses. It is hard to imagine those intrepid journeys, especially at night with only coach lamps or the moon to guide driver and horses along rough tracks.\(^{51}\)

Government financed railway lines were also extending into rural areas to further develop the inland by allowing more rapid and inexpensive movement of goods and people and to preserve the territorial integrity of New South Wales by drawing trade to Sydney and Newcastle that might otherwise be lost to other colonies.\(^{52}\) The southern line from Sydney reached Picton in 1863 and was extended to Goulburn in 1869, and the western line was crossing the difficult terrain of the Blue Mountains in the late 1860s. The northern line extended from Newcastle to Singleton in 1863, then to Muswellbrook in 1869.\(^{53}\) Riverboats on the Murray-Darling river system drew trade from the southern and western areas of New South Wales to the colonies of Victoria and South Australia, while coastal shipping provided a comparatively swift and economic means of transport and communication between Sydney and the coastal ports of New South Wales and their hinterlands.

The late 1860s were also the beginning of a period of steady prosperity in New South Wales.

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In contrast with the pace of change in the previous twenty-five years … [New South Wales was] largely untroubled by internal upheavals or events in the world outside. There were drought years, some severe, and periods of what were described by contemporaries as ‘dullness’ in business and trade, but until the late 1880s, in most years the lambing was good, wool sales continued to bring satisfactory prices, and NSW coal was increasingly in demand in the other colonies.\(^{54}\)

Barcan also noted of the late 1860s:

The economic and social instability of the fifties had ended and a more balanced economy had emerged. Family life was more stable, the balance of the sexes was more equal. The commercial middle class had grown. The greater social stability encouraged education, which further reinforced social stability.\(^{55}\)

Bushranging was a major issue in New South Wales in the 1860s. The Felons’ Apprehension Act passed in 1865 allowed bushrangers to be proclaimed outlaws and shot on sight. The bushrangers of this period, unlike their convict predecessors, were principally native born young men, often of Irish heritage, who, while guilty of theft, robbery and sometimes murder, had supporters among the people in the rural districts where they operated and were frequently widely admired. The efforts of police to bring them to justice attracted considerable public attention in both rural and urban areas. Among the more notorious bushrangers of this period were Frank Gardiner, who was arrested and gaoled in 1864, Ben Hall and John Gilbert, who were shot dead by police in 1865 while their colleague, John Dunn, was wounded and captured in 1865 and hanged in 1866, and Daniel ‘Mad Dog’ Morgan who was also shot dead by police in 1865. Bushrangers active in 1866 included Frederick Ward, alias Captain Thunderbolt, in the New England region and Thomas and John Clarke in the Braidwood District in Southern New South Wales.


\(^{55}\) A. Barcan, *Two Centuries of Education in New South Wales*, p. 115.
The circumstances that frequently surrounded and supported bushranging in this period are of particular relevance to this thesis. These circumstances have been aptly summarised as:

a sparsely settled countryside interspersed with tracts of wilderness, where the government’s control was weak and the institutions of civil society non-existent, and where settlers were satisfied to hold onto their land, stock, and access to water and otherwise to live and let live … Temptation rather than harsh treatment or blighted prospects might explain the course of the bushranger’s career … The gold rushes introduced highly valuable and readily portable property into an area where there had been none and lured many onto the roads. Cattle- and horse-stealing were endemic in the bush, from which it was only a small step to bushranging proper.56

Responsible government had been attained in New South Wales in 1856 and the majority of white adult males had the vote from 1858. There were no political parties and each elected member was theoretically an independent representative of their constituents.

In practice, however, small, informal and shifting groups of politicians voted together in fairly predictable ways … The art of government was to assemble support from enough of these groups (known as factions) to produce a majority. So ministries were frequently constructed by bringing together the leaders of factions.57

Such arrangements were frequently tenuous and short lived, and the late 1850s and early to mid 1860s was largely a period of political instability. In this situation attempts to reform the system of education under two separate Boards, a system which was widely seen as inefficient and financially wasteful but was protected by church interests who wished to retain control over their publicly funded Denominational schools, repeatedly failed. The churches had long been the major providers of education, with government financial aid, to1866 but it was a system riven by inter-denominational rivalry leading to wasteful duplication, with the addition of a competing

57 B. Kingston, A History of New South Wales, p. 70.
system of National schools from 1848. The creation of a stable government lead by two major factional leaders, James Martin (Premier) and Henry Parkes (Colonial Secretary) in 1866 created a political situation favourable to the reform of education and enabled the carriage of three education Acts, the Industrial Schools Act of 1866 and the Reformatory Schools Act of 1866, introduced by Martin, and the Public Schools Act of 1866, driven by Parkes. While much of the momentum for these changes came from the growth of secularist and liberal views, changing attitudes and positions towards education within some of the churches also contributed to the process.

The Presbyterians, Wesleyans and Congregationalists favoured more state control. The leadership of the Anglican and Catholic Churches opposed this, but found it hard to rally the laity. The Archbishop Polding and his Benedictine supporters lost strength in 1865 when three new dioceses, Goulburn, Maitland and Bathurst, were created. Bishops Lanigan, Murray and Matthew Quinn were Irish, not English. The creation of the Council of Education placed publicly funded education under the control of a single body, one which effectively favoured government schools over church schools. The Roman Catholic clergy continued and intensified their opposition to the increased government control of education following the introduction of the Public Schools Act, which was to prove a decisive factor in the withdrawal of state aid from church schools in 1880 under the Public Instruction Act. The Public Schools Act in seeking to improve the efficiency and cost effectiveness of publicly funded education also created for the first time a significant education bureaucracy, which controlled the majority of schools in New South Wales.

58 A. Barcan, Two Centuries of Education in New South Wales, p. 91.
and became the major force in the growth and organisation of education in the colony.

**Clarification of terms used and referencing styles**

The terms used at the time events took place are the terms used in this thesis. Distances are given in miles and areas in acres, the size of buildings is given in feet and inches, and amounts of money are given in pounds, shillings and pence. The symbols for pounds, shilling and pence are not used however, the words being substituted instead. The names of places are given in the form or forms that were used at the time in the available documentation. It was not uncommon for there to be variations in the spelling of names of places where Half-time schools were being established. The most commonly used spelling is given, except in quotations where the spelling is given as presented. The punctuation used in quotations is also transcribed as given. The main variations from modern usage are the occasional use of a space before a colon or semi-colon and in a few instances dashes are substituted for full stops and/or capital letters to mark the end and beginning of sentences.

The names used for the different Christian denominations by educational and religious authorities in the nineteenth century are also given in that form in this thesis. In modern usage the name ‘Roman Catholic’ has been largely replaced by the name ‘Catholic’ and the former term is now often unfavourably regarded. No disrespect is intended by using Roman Catholic here; it was an accepted official term at the time. Nor is any disrespect meant by using Church of England for what is now the Anglican Church of
Australia or Wesleyan for what became the Methodist Church before it merged into the Uniting Church in Australia.

Two referencing styles are used. The first is the referencing style given in the ‘Instructions to authors’ in *The History of Education Review*. This style was selected as, until the end of 2008, it was the chosen style of the Australian and New Zealand History of Education Society and has particular relevance to the subject area. This style is used for all resources other then those sourced from the State Records of New South Wales. The second referencing style used is the citation style specified by State Records of New South Wales. This style is used for archival material from this source because of its pertinence to these materials and its importance in their identification and retrieval.

**Structure of the thesis**

The thesis is divided into six chapters. Following this introductory chapter, chapter two strives to determine the origins of Clause Twelve of the Public Schools Act which provided for the use of itinerant teachers to extend elementary education to children in sparsely populated areas. Chapters three to five focus on the formative and experimental years of 1867 to 1869 in which the system of Half-time schools began and evolved into a structured form. Chapter three explores the various and largely unanticipated factors behind the initial development of two differing arrangements of Half-time schools in 1867 and examines the nature and conduct of the first Half-time schools. Chapter four examines the process undertaken by the Council of Education to gain an understanding of the early Half-time schools and to establish regulations for their rationalisation and conduct in 1868. It also
examines the nature and development of the Half-time schools established in 1867 and 1868. Chapter five explores the end of the period of experimentation, the impact of the Council’s special regulations for the conduct of Half-time schools, the evolution of an increasingly consolidated arrangement for Half-time schools, the growth of Half-time schools, and their place in the expanding public education system. It also examines the nature and development of all Half-time schools operating in 1869. Chapter six overviews the foundation period of Half-time schools, summarising how the key questions raised in chapter one have been answered and exploring further research opportunities opened by this thesis.

Conclusion

This chapter has presented the context, purpose, goals, significance and methodological approach of this thesis. The formation of the Half-time school system in the 1860s is being explored to reveal, as far as available primary sources allow, what occurred during this period and the reasons behind these events. The methodological approach being employed is the systematic forensic examination of pertinent archival sources, primarily records of the Council of Education held by State Records of New South Wales, to create a critical narrative on the initial development of this system of itinerant teaching within the New South Wales public education at a time of major change. This thesis takes the reader into a long neglected aspect of rural education in New South Wales, casting new light on events of this period in New South Wales’s educational history which is of significance for our understanding of the period and will hopefully provide a useful building block of knowledge and understanding for future researchers and writers of the history of education in New South Wales.
Chapter Two

The origins of Clause Twelve of the
Public Schools Act of 1866

Introduction

From where did the idea of Half-time schools originate? There is no clear answer to this question. While some leads exist, the answer remains obscured. One thing however is certain. The foundation stone of Half-time schools was Clause Twelve in the Public Schools Act of 1866 which stated:

In Districts where from the scattered state of the population or other causes it is not practicable to establish a Public School The Council of Education may appoint itinerant Teachers under such Regulations as may be framed by them for the purpose.¹

The early development of Half-time schools from this clause is explored in the following chapters. In this chapter the intent is to explore the origins of Clause Twelve. Who put forward the proposal encapsulated in Clause Twelve? What was the idea of using itinerant teachers to provide educational facilities for geographically isolated children in the colony of New South Wales in the 1860s based upon? What form of schooling was envisioned by the creator or creators of Clause Twelve?

Clause Twelve of the Public Schools Act

Clause Twelve was one of four measures included in the Public Schools Act of 1866 to meet one of the principle objectives of the Act, to make education accessible to all children in the colony of New South Wales. Henry Parkes, the Colonial Secretary who was the chief proponent of the

¹ Public Schools Act, 1866 (30 Victoria, No. 22), p. 7.
Act, estimated in 1866 that, ‘in this colony at the present time, there are 100,000 of children under fourteen years of age destitute of all instruction whatever!’ \(^2\) Parkes’s figure of 100,000 children was inaccurate in the sense that it counted all children under fourteen. \(^3\) However as the population of New South Wales was only a ‘little over 400,000’ of whom in 1865 150,845 were children under fourteen and 53,452 of these were attending school \(^4\) it is evident that even if children under six were excluded the number of children not receiving an education was probably still greater than those who were.

Parents were not required to send their children to school but it was anticipated that if educational facilities were available then children would be sent to school. A number of the children not receiving education were in sparsely populated rural districts. In addition to the provisions of Clause Twelve, other measures legislated in the Public Schools Act to extend education into these thinly populated areas were: under Clause Eight, reducing the average attendance required for a Public (previously National) school to twenty five from the previous minimum of thirty; under Clause Thirteen, granting assistance to private schools ‘in remote and thinly populated districts where no public school may exist’; and, under Clause Fourteen, authorising the Council of Education to make provision for the boarding and lodging in any Public school building of such children ‘as by

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\(^2\) H. Parkes, *Public Education: speech of the Hon. Henry Parkes, Colonial Secretary, on moving that the Public Schools Bill be read a second time, in the legislative Assembly, September 12, 1866*, Sydney, Sherriff & Downing, 1866, p. 20.


reason of the remoteness of their homes may not be able to attend at any such school.\textsuperscript{5}

While the Public Schools Act engendered considerable controversy, this controversy tended to be confined to another major objective of the Act, the bringing to an end of the previous arrangement of two separate, competing, publicly funded education systems, the Denominational Schools Board which funded Denominational (church) schools and the Board of National Education which provided National (state) schools. The Public Schools Act brought all schools receiving government funding into a common system under a single administration, the Council of Education. This significantly reduced the control of the churches over Denominational schools and effectively favoured Public (state) schools over Denominational schools. The clergy of the Roman Catholic Church in particular strongly opposed this change. The provisions for extending education facilities into sparsely populated areas, such as Clause Twelve, by contrast, appear to have attracted little comment and seem to have had broad support.

**Originators of the proposal encapsulated in Clause Twelve**

Who contributed to the proposal and development of Clause Twelve is not stated or given in any known documentation. Three main contributors, or possible contributors, have been identified: Henry Parkes, the Colonial Secretary; William Wilkins, the Secretary of the Board of National Education; and William McIntyre, the Inspector of National Schools for the Northern District of New South Wales. Henry Parkes certainly played a role; William Wilkins may well have played a role; it is possible that

\textsuperscript{5} Public Schools Act of 1866, pp. 6-8.
William McIntyre played a role, and it is quite possible that others may also have been involved.

**Henry Parkes**

Henry Parkes, later Sir Henry Parkes, was one of Australia’s most prominent political figures of the second half of the nineteenth century. His political career spanned the 1850s to the 1890s. While best known for his role as the ‘Father of Federation’ his interests and influence were in many areas, not least education. In 1866, Henry Parkes was in the second decade of his political career. He was a major political figure in the Colony of New South Wales, a long term advocate for educational reform and the leading political figure behind the Public Schools Act. Parkes had long advocated the educational reforms embodied in the Act. A strong supporter of the National schools system he had stated when he first entered the Legislative Council in 1854 his interest in extending that system into sparsely settled areas.

> With regard to the great question of education, I have already declared myself, as the systems at present stand, in favour of the national system. But so much importance do I attach to the work of mental training as the foundation of every social virtue, that I should be prepared to support any modification or alteration of the system which would more adapt it to the peculiar wants of the remote, thinly populated, and scattered districts of the colony.

Earlier attempts to reform education in the 1850s and early 1860s had failed largely due to sectarian rivalry. In January 1866 Henry Parkes and James Martin were able to form a stable coalition government with Martin as premier and Parkes as colonial secretary. Both Martin and Parkes favoured educational reform. In 1866 three Acts which brought major changes to

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education in New South Wales were passed – the Industrial Schools Act, the Reformatory Schools Act and the Public Schools Act.

Parkes is widely acknowledged as the person who conceived and drafted the Public Schools Bill in mid-1866. The long held convictions he had previously expressed may well have been instrumental in the creation of the clauses within the Bill which focussed on extending education to those who had proved beyond the reach of the National and Denominational school systems. The idea proposed in Clause Twelve, of using itinerant teachers for this purpose, did not necessarily originate with Parkes however but the intention behind Clause Twelve was very much in accord with Parkes’s views. A suggestion that Parkes did not entirely initiate the idea of using itinerant teachers is contained in the phrase ‘I am told’ which he used when speaking in support of Clause Twelve at the second reading of the Public Schools Bill. However, if the principle behind Clause Twelve originated with others, Parkes putting forward the idea of using itinerant teachers to provide education in sparsely settled areas demonstrates the idea had at the very least his approval and support. Debate on the Public Schools Bill in the Legislative Assembly Clause had no influence on Clause Twelve as it remained unchanged from Parkes’s introduction of the Bill in September 1866 to the passing of the Public Schools Act in December 1866.

**William Wilkins**

If the idea of using itinerant teachers to reach isolated children came from another person then William Wilkins was a likely source. William Wilkins was the most influential educational administrator in New South Wales.

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from the 1850s to his retirement as Under-Secretary of the Department of Public Instruction in 1884. In 1866 Wilkins was the leading figure within the National education system in New South Wales. As principal of Fort Street Model National School from 1851, Inspector and Superintendent of National Schools from 1854 and Secretary of the Board of National Education from 1863, Wilkins had played a vital role in developing and administering the National school system, having made many recommendations for its development and having set many of its key structures in place. Wilkins was a staunch advocate of the National school system, had a strong understanding of the issues education faced in New South Wales, was forthright in his proposals for the further development of the ‘National System’, and his views largely paralleled those of Parkes.\(^9\)

In 1865 Wilkins gave two lectures, which were also published, which encapsulated his case for the National school system as the best possible model for education in New South Wales. He concluded with his priorities, ‘to extend and consolidate the system’ which were:

- an extension of the pupil-teacher system, from which alone can any permanent supply of thoroughly trained Teachers be obtained;
- the completion of the imperfect arrangements for training Teachers in the Model School;
- the establishment of District Model Schools with suitable libraries, of Agricultural Schools, Industrial Schools and cheap Boarding Schools for pastoral districts; and the employment of itinerating teachers for sparsely populated portions of the colony. Some measures are also urgently required to rescue aboriginal children from the misery which awaits them, and more urgently still for half-castes, especially females whose fate when they possess any personal attractions is akin to that reserved for handsome quadroons in New Orleans, before the curse of slavery was removed. Finally, a revision of the School Books to accommodate them to the Southern

Hemisphere and the extension of the means of inspection will complete the list of pressing amendments.\textsuperscript{10}

Wilkins was clearly a proponent of the introduction of itinerant teachers. While it was not his top priority it clearly featured in his list of ‘pressing amendments’ to the National school system. Parkes would have been well aware of Wilkins’ views on and proposals for the development of education in New South Wales, including his proposal for the use of itinerant teachers.

Several writers have considered the influence Wilkins may have had on Parkes in formulating the Public Schools Act. Turney provides what is probably the most in-depth analysis of this relationship:

When Parkes came to conceive the Public Schools Bill he was naturally strongly influenced by his own earlier convictions. These convictions, however, had been inevitably strengthened and shaped in detail by the work of Wilkins. As author of the Final Report of the School Commissioners [in 1857] Wilkins had foreshadowed the extinction of the dual system and provided a blueprint for educational reforms. As the professional leader of the national schools and through the annual reports of the National Schools Board, Wilkins had demonstrated the practical superiority of the national system and recommended important improvements. As public lecturer on National Education, Wilkins had recently provided an eloquent rationale for that system and suggested specific ways of perfecting the system in the colony. Although at this stage Parkes and Wilkins were not close friends, they knew of, and respected, each others work. Their work for educational reform had been, in effect, complementary.\textsuperscript{11}

However it appears that Parkes did not consult Wilkins when drafting the Public Schools Bill. Wilkins’s correspondence in 1866 reveals he had no knowledge of the contents of the Bill until they were made public but was pleased with the provisions of the Public Schools Act.\textsuperscript{12} Therefore while Parkes may have drawn the idea of using itinerant teachers from Wilkins’s

\textsuperscript{11} C. Turney, \textit{William Wilkins}, p. 145.
\textsuperscript{12} C. Turney, \textit{William Wilkins}, p. 145-147.
proposals, Wilkins apparently did not directly advise Parkes in the creation of Clause Twelve.

**William McIntyre**

A further possible contributor to the creation of Clause Twelve was William McIntyre. In 1856 McIntyre arrived in New South Wales under a scheme to bring skilled teachers to the colony. He soon became an official in the developing National schools system, serving first as the organising master for the Hunter River District, then in a variety of inspectorial positions, retiring in 1902 as Deputy Chief Inspector. In the late 1860s and early 1870s McIntyre claimed to be the originator of the idea of using itinerant teachers within the National school system to reach children in sparsely populated areas describing himself as the ‘father’ of Half-time schools. The basis of his claim was a report he indicated he had written containing such a proposal in 1864.

In his 1864 annual report as National school inspector for the Northern District, William McIntyre, commented:

> In consequence of “free selection”, the dispersion of population and the rapid settlement of the agricultural districts, creating a necessity for additional schools, I wrote in one of my reports, dated the 6th of June, 1864, to the Commissioners as follows: - “These is no question which urges itself so much upon the Inspectors as the immediate extension of the National system, to meet the educational requirements of the Colony more fully and satisfactorily. I am of opinion that some arrangements could be made for extending education into the isolated localities, and sparsely populated districts of the interior. In order to do this, I think a number of itinerant teachers could be employed. Each teacher could attend two localities three days in each week, or three localities two days, if the places were not more than ten miles apart. The settlers at each place would be required to provide a schoolroom, furniture and apparatus; and

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the Board would probably grant salaries to the teachers, and a first stock of books, if sufficient funds were placed at their disposal.”

McIntyre’s 1864 annual report further stated that the commissioners had decided ‘to grant aid in support of small schools in isolated localities, where a greater average attendance than twenty pupils cannot be secured, and where no other means of education exist.’ It is not made clear however whether this was an alternate arrangement to McIntyre’s proposal to use itinerant teachers, or if the intention was that these schools were to be taught by itinerant teachers. In his report McIntyre named fourteen places in his inspectorate where he felt these ‘small schools’ could be established and concluded this section of his report with the comment, ‘I understand measures are to be taken for the immediate establishment of small National schools at the eight places which stand first on the list, and I am of opinion that the Board’s arrangement will ultimately be productive of much good.’

Only one of the named places, variously given as Bow Bow Creek or Bo Bo Creek, had a school opened in the following year. A National school had existed there previously between 1859 and 1862, the school did not reopen until May 1865 and the average attendance for that year was 29. These factors, particularly the attendance, suggest that this school was not in fact a ‘small school’ along the lines described by McIntyre, but the reopening of a typical small rural National school of the period.

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15 Seventeenth report, p. 18.
16 Seventeenth report, p. 18.
18 Eighteenth report of the Commissioners of National Education in New South Wales: report for the year 1854, 1855, p. 9.
McIntyre repeated his claim in his 1868 annual report as Inspector for the Goulburn District which contained almost all of the Half-time schools, the form of school that developed from Clause Twelve, in existence at that time.

I was convinced of their [Half-time schools] utility several years ago. On 6 June, 1864, in consequence of free selection, the dispersion of population, and the rapid settlement of the agricultural districts creating a necessity for additional schools, I wrote to the late Board of National Education as follows:

... [same quotation as used in McIntyre’s 1864 annual report] … The late Board of National Education, however, was unable to take any action in the matter, chiefly from the want of funds.\(^{19}\)

The problem with McIntyre’s claim to have introduced the idea of using itinerant teaching within the National school system is that no supporting documentation can be found. Despite a systematic search of the records of the National Schools Board McIntyre’s letter, and records of any consideration of his proposal to employ itinerant teachers by the Board, have not been located to verify and more fully detail these events. On the date McIntyre indicated that he wrote this letter, the 6 June 1864, his diary indicates that he was inspecting the Infants Department of Grafton National School.\(^{20}\) There is no record of McIntyre writing any official letters on that date. He did write three letters on 8 June 1864, but none were on this

\(^{19}\) Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1868, Sydney, Thomas Richards, Government Printer, 1869, pp. 139-140.

\(^{20}\) State Records NSW, Board of National Education, CGS 620, Blank cover memoranda received from the Secretary from District Inspectors 1862-66, 1/360, folio 510, Diary of the duties performed by the Inspector of the Northern District during the week ending 11 June 1864.
topic. Nor was the proposed use of itinerant teachers in isolated or thinly populated areas part of any official letter he wrote in 1864. Again there is no indication of any such proposal being considered by the National School Board. The record keeping of this period was regulated and both it and the records themselves are generally preserved. It is consequently surprising that a proposal allegedly made and considered in the manner indicated by McIntyre could disappear without any discernable trace. At the same time it is unlikely that McIntyre would have falsely claimed to have made such a report and suggested that it was considered but not acted upon by the National Schools Board. To have done so could have damaged his career for little purpose. There is little doubt that he was a proponent of the idea of using itinerant teachers to extend the reach of the National school system prior to 1866 because of his comments in his 1864 annual report.

It is possible that McIntyre’s proposal for the introduction of itinerant teachers into the National school system did play a role in the development of Clause Twelve of the Public Schools Act. As a senior official for the National School Board his reported ideas and opinions would have certainly have been known to Wilkins and their public expression in the 1864 Report could well have been known to Parkes. However the lack of material relating to McIntyre’s proposal means little assessment can be made of its potential role in the development of Clause Twelve. It is interesting to note, however, that in 1857 Wilkins was solely promoting the establishment of boarding schools to extend education into sparsely settled areas.

21 SRNSW, Blank cover memoranda received from the Secretary from District Inspectors 1862-66, 1/360, folio 510, Diary of the duties preformed by the Inspector of the Northern District during the week ending 11 June 1864.
22 SRNSW, Blank cover memoranda received from the Secretary from District Inspectors 1862-66.
The question still remains, what can be done to extend the means of Education to remote and thinly-peopled districts? It is obvious that schools of the ordinary description must fail to meet the wants of widely scattered populations, and equally clear that the children must be gathered into a central spot, where it may be requisite to board and lodge them. In short a Boarding School of a particular kind will be necessary.24

In 1865, however, Wilkins was proposing both 'cheap Boarding Schools for pastoral districts; and the employment of itinerating teachers for sparsely populated portions of the colony’25 It is possible that McIntyre’s apparent promotion of the idea of using itinerant teachers in 1864 may have influenced Wilkins in adopting this latter idea.

William McIntyre did play a significant role in the early development of Half-time schools as inspector of the Goulburn District from mid 1868 and was a strong proponent of the Half-time school system from that point. However, he was not involved in the initial experimentation with itinerant teaching in 1867, nor with the regulating of the Half-time school system in early 1868. McIntyre was still Inspector for the Armidale District during this period and there was no use of, or known proposals to use, itinerant teachers in that inspectorate during this period. Nonetheless, McIntyre evidently felt that his 1864 proposal and his extensive involvement with and strong support of Half-time schools from mid 1868, entitled him to be seen as the founding figure for Half-time schools. Elements that potentially support McIntyre’s claim are the form taken by Half-time schools by 1869 corresponds more with McIntyre’s 1864 proposal than with any other known form or proposal involving itinerant teachers; and he demonstrated in his 1868 and 1869 annual reports as Inspector for the Goulburn District

25 W. Wilkins, National education, p. 57.
an awareness of the English system of ‘half-time’ factory schools from which Half-time schools may have taken their name.

The *Journal of Primary Education* of March 1872, recorded that, ‘Mr McIntyre of the Goulburn District, who claimed to be the Father of Half-time Schools, then addressed the meeting, shewing [sic] the advantages which had arisen from the establishment of these schools in his district, and how from their influence the habits of the children had been changed for the better.’26 There is no evidence that the use of the term ‘claimed’ reflected any suspicions on the part of the writer. Its presence is interesting none the less as the *Journal of Primary Education* was, while nominally independent, very much an organ of the Council of Education.

**The possibility of other contributors**

Apart from McIntyre’s 1864 proposal to introduce itinerant teachers, only one other, much earlier, proposal to use itinerant teachers within the National school system has been identified. This earlier proposal was made by Mr B. Rubic, the teacher at Stanhope National School, located approximately 25 kilometres north-west of Maitland in the Newcastle area. Mr Rubic’s suggestion was in a letter to the National School Board dated 15 May 1855.

Since writing the accompanying letter it has occurred to me that in some parts of the Colony three or four schools are to be met in a radius of 5 or 6 miles some in operation some in suspension. Lockinvar, Black Creek, Stanhope and another provided by a Mr Taylor are cases in point. Neither Lochinvar nor Black Creek has a school. If a teacher were to take two of these schools in charge, he might attend his resident school at 8 in the morning and teach until 11.06: have dinner and arrive at the other school in time to open it at

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1.04 where his ___ [illegible word possibly meaning ‘stay’] could be prolonged ‘till 4.04, this giving each community 3 hours instruction.

The debatable point in this scheme will be whether it be better to give education to 60 pupils at the rate of 3 hours per day: or only to 30 at the rate of 5 hours.

I do not know with what degree of favour this suggestion may be received by the Board: of its practicality there can be no doubt. The system would doubtless best apply to adjacent communities. But only to such that were in a ___ [illegible word possibly meaning ‘parlous’] state and those I have indicated are in such a condition. About 20 pounds per annum for the keep of a horse need be the only ___ [illegible word possibly meaning ‘item’] of expense.27

This letter was retained and filed by the National School Board under the heading ‘Letter re the possibility of an itinerant teacher working two schools’ along with Mr Rubic’s accompanying letter which was a lengthy lament about low enrolments and attendance. There is no evidence that Mr Rubic’s proposal was considered or acted upon. Mr Rubic was a teacher at a small rural one teacher school facing the possible closure of his school through low enrolments and it is very likely his letters were simply viewed from this context and accepted without comment or response. Stanhope National School remained open and Lochinvar and Black Creek National Schools, which were closed in 1855, reopened in 1858 and 1857 respectively.28 There is no evidence to suggest that any of these schools were conducted by itinerant teachers. It is interesting to note that William McIntyre worked in the Hunter Valley from 1856 as the organising master for the Hunter River district. As such he was responsible for ‘visiting schools, helping teachers organise their schools, demonstrating teaching techniques, and examining schools and pupils.’29 It is possible that McIntyre

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27 SRNSW, Board of National Education, CGS 613, Miscellaneous letters received, 1/393, 22 February 1855-17 July 1855, Letter from Mr B. Rubic, Teacher at Stanhope National School, 15 May 1855, Reel 4007.
and Rubic could have met, but any suggestion that Rubic might have discussed his ideas relating to itinerant teaching with McIntyre or that this would have in any way influenced McIntyre is entirely speculative.

That Wilkins or McIntyre individually or jointly played a part in developing and/or transmitting to Parkes the idea that became Clause Twelve is quite possible, but it cannot be substantiated. A complicating factor in trying to identify those involved in the development of this clause is that the idea of using itinerant teachers to reach geographically isolated children had been raised previously. For example, in 1844 a select committee, chaired by Robert Lowe, was appointed by the Legislative Council to, ‘enquire into and to report upon the state of Education in this Colony’. During this inquiry a series of questions was asked of the persons with an association with education who appeared before it. The most common response to the question ‘Can you suggest any means by which the children of shepherds and farm servants, dispersed over the interior, may be brought under instruction?’ was the suggested use of itinerant teachers. One witness, Mr Edward McRoberts, a Church of England school teacher not only proposed this approach, but indicated how he thought it might be achieved.

He [the itinerant teacher] should receive a salary from the government, and be provided with a horse. Board and lodgings would of course be furnished to him wherever he went and I think he would be received everywhere as a welcome guest. He might stay a day or two and collect as many children together as possible; give them instruction, appoint tasks proportioned to the time intervening between his visits, and then ride to the next station.

Most witnesses before the Lowe Committee, as it became known, were pragmatic rather than enthusiastic about the idea of using itinerant teachers

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30 Report from the Select Committee on Education: with appendix and minutes of evidence. Ordered by the Council to be printed, 28 August 1844, p. 1.
31 Report from the Select Committee on Education, p. 42.
in sparsely settled areas, indicating they thought it was not a complete solution but was better than doing nothing. A few opposed the idea, generally on the grounds that intermittent instruction would be of little or no use. The use of itinerant teachers in the highlands of Scotland was referred to by the Reverend Ralph Mansfield and the Reverend Robert Ross. Bishop Broughton mentioned an itinerant Church of England teacher ‘on the Hawkesbury [River in New South Wales], who goes from one place to another in a boat, but I cannot say that the effect produced has been very striking’\textsuperscript{32} but overall the witnesses did not appear to have personal experience of itinerant teachers. Alternate or concurrent ideas were the distribution of books and magazines to isolated families, the development of industrial boarding schools and the use of itinerant clergymen. John McKenny, a Wesleyan minister, believed ‘young men might be found who would not think it beneath them, though ministers, to teach children. I do not think the employment of schoolmasters, as such alone, would be sufficient.’\textsuperscript{33} The Lowe Committee recommended the appointment of itinerant ‘preachers’ and the ‘distribution of books of a moral and religious tendency, free from sectarianism.’\textsuperscript{34} The establishment of industrial boarding schools was also recommended ‘which, if practicable, would seem to be the fittest training that could be devised for an Australian settler.’\textsuperscript{35} Itinerant teachers, as distinct from clergymen, appear not to have been recommended despite this approach being commonly discussed and frequently endorsed by witnesses before the committee. Evidently no action was taken on any of these recommendations.

\textsuperscript{32} Report from the Select Committee on Education, p. 91.
\textsuperscript{33} Report from the Select Committee on Education, p. 116.
\textsuperscript{34} Report from the Select Committee on Education, p. 4.
\textsuperscript{35} Report from the Select Committee on Education, p. 4.
The references to the use of itinerant teachers in the highlands of Scotland made before the Lowe Committee by Reverend Ralph Mansfield and the Reverend Robert Ross appear to refer to two different types of itinerant teaching. Mansfield referred to a scheme used by the ‘Highland Society’ which he described as:

I believe the general plan of operation is to employ itinerant schoolmasters who visit very secluded parts of the Highlands, where population is a good deal dispersed. These school masters go and reside for about three months of the year in one locality, collecting all the children within their reach to the school; at the end of three months they go to other localities, until in turn the place first visited receives a second visit.36

In contrast, the method of itinerant teaching described by Ross appears to refer to the use of private teachers.

In some of the pastoral districts of Scotland it is common for the shepherds to invite men who are capable of teaching reading an writing in an humble way [sic], to spend two or three of the winter months up in the hills, for the purpose of instructing the children; for this instruction the parties receive board and lodging but no pay.37

It is possible that the ‘Highland Society’ referred to by Mansfield was the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge (SSPCK) founded in 1709. The SSPCK raised funds in the lowlands of Scotland and used them to support schools in remote sparsely settled parts of extensive highland [Church of Scotland] parishes; they were not meant to compete

36 Report from the Select Committee on Education, p. 15.
37 Report from the Select Committee on Education, p. 103.
with, but rather to supplement, parish schools. Many SSPCK schools were ‘itinerant within a locality, though by the early nineteenth [century] they tended to be permanently sited’. Alternatively Mansfield could have been referring to ‘Gaelic Schools’ established by Gaelic school societies in the early nineteenth century, such as the Society for the Support of Gaelic Schools founded in Edinburgh in 1811, to provide education in the highlands.

The Gaelic school societies raised money in their home towns, and appointed and paid their own teachers; their schools were usually ‘circulating’ ones which moved on after an intensive literacy campaign in a selected district, aimed at adults as well as children.

The manner of itinerant teaching referred to by Ross evidently had a long history of providing education in the highlands. Withrington in his examination of education in the highlands in the mid eighteenth century makes reference to ‘very small seasonal schools kept in the parishioners’ homes at their own expense’. By the 1860s this system of providing a basic elementary education may have largely ceased. The Argyll Commission which examined the state of education in Scotland in the 1860s attempted to identify and examine itinerant teaching in the highlands. It reported:

"We made inquiries as to itinerant teachers, but except one case … we could not hear of such a system being in operation. This case was hardly that of an itinerant teacher, as the school was always held in the same shepherd’s house. But the teacher lived for so many weeks...

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40 Anderson, *Education and the Scottish People*, p.35.
with one shepherd, and so many weeks with another in proportion to
the number of children who received instruction from him. We were
informed this system was not uncommon, and though a great
expense upon the shepherds was the only means by which their
children could receive any education. Several ministers and others
conversant with education in the north gave a decided opinion as to
the utility of such teaching, though none spoke from experience, and
one and all considered a system of itinerant teaching as of very little
good.\footnote{Second Report of Her Majesty’s Commissioners appointed to enquire into the Schools in Scotland, Edinburgh, Thomas Constable, 1867, pp. 150-151.}

It is possible that the idea of using itinerant teachers was raised or reinforced
in Parkes’s mind when from May to July 1866, as the newly appointed
colonial secretary, he undertook two tours of the inland ‘to examine for
myself the state of police & of jails & of public education.’\footnote{A. W. Martin, Henry Parkes: a biography, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1980, p. 219.} During these
journeys Parkes is likely to have heard a range of opinions and ideas on
extending educational facilities in rural areas that may have had some
influence upon him in drafting the Public Schools Bill, even if only
confirming ideas already held or put to him by Wilkins and/or McIntyre.

While no connection has been found, Parkes did tour the Goulburn and
Braidwood areas where itinerant teachers were first appointed and was very
conscious of an issue that would play a part in the appointment of some of
these teachers, the impact of the bushranging gang led by the Clarke
Brothers.

We shall travel with a two-horse buggy each of us armed with two
revolving pistols & a revolving rifle and with two police troopers
armed in like manner for an escort. The arms of our party will enable
us to fire fifty four shots without loading. Our journey will lie right through the country infested by the bush rangers Clarke & his companions.44

Clearly it cannot be definitively determined who developed the proposal encapsulated in Clause Twelve. Parkes clearly played a role and while Wilkins and/or McIntyre could well have played a role, the idea of using itinerant teachers in sparsely settled areas of New South Wales had been raised previously and other persons might also have been involved in putting forward or promoting the idea.

The uncertain basis for the idea of using itinerant teachers

Similarly it cannot be definitively determined what the idea of using itinerant teachers to provide educational facilities for geographically isolated children in the colony of New South Wales in the 1860s was based upon. However, in this regard, Parkes does give us an insight into the ideas that influenced the thinking behind Clause Twelve.

The key existing insight into the ideas behind Clause Twelve was provided by Henry Parkes in a speech he made to the Legislative Assembly of the Colony of New South Wales on 12 September 1866 in moving that the Public Schools Bill be heard a second time. This was a famous speech by Parkes in which he discussed at length the need for educational reform and his proposals for change. His discussion of Clause Twelve, while a relatively small part of this speech, and clearly framed to convince his listeners to support this clause, provides the only known statement of the ideas behind this section of the Act. Parkes comments in support of Clause Twelve were:

The 12\textsuperscript{th} clause is, as far as I am aware, new in Australian legislation. It provides that “in districts where, from the scattered state of the population, or other causes, it is not practicable to establish a public school, the Council of Education may appoint itinerant teachers under such regulations as may be framed by them for that purpose.” I am told that in several districts in this colony this system of ambulatory teaching is carried on to a considerable extent and that its advantages are felt to be considerable. In Norway, which is one of those northern nations which has paid great attention to education, the population is thinly scattered over wide mountainous districts, and the bulk of the children are instructed by these itinerant teachers. This system therefore is not new. In 1833, the population of Norway was 1,000,000, and it had only 183 fixed schools, the pupils numbering 13,693; but there were 1610 schools carried on by itinerant teachers, and the children connected with them numbered 132,632. This is an illustration of the successful working of this system of ambulatory schools in thinly populated districts, and will at once set aside all objections to it. Looking at the state of our country, and the similarity of many parts to the physical characteristics of Norway, I think we may be able to reach some of the children in this way that could not be reached in any other way. It will be far better to afford them this imperfect means of instruction, than to leave them to grow up totally uninstructed. I expect, therefore, that not a single vote will be recorded against this provision.\textsuperscript{45}

Because of its significance as the key statement of the ideas behind and justification for Clause Twelve this synopsis is the cornerstone of this exploration of the origins of Clause Twelve. Parkes, as the widely acknowledged major developer of the Public Schools Act, had a strong understanding of the Bill he was putting forward and as a consequence his statements carry weight. However it must also be acknowledged that Parkes’s statements are the subjective views of a man actively pursuing a political goal. It is a statement expressed in a political speech designed to persuade others, rather than to necessarily provide an objective and considered overview.

\textsuperscript{45} H. Parkes, \textit{Public education}, p. 32.
The absence of itinerant teaching from earlier educational legislation

Parkes’s opening statement that, “The 12th clause is, as far as I am aware, new in Australian legislation.”⁴⁶, indicated that he believed, though he was not entirely sure, that this is the first time that the proposed use of itinerant teachers has been included in educational legislation in any of the Australian colonies. Parkes’s lack of certainty on this matter was understandable as the six Australian colonies acted independently in their provision of education and there had been a variety of educational legislation enacted prior to 1866 including the 1851 Education Act in South Australia, the 1860 Primary Instruction Act in Queensland and the 1862 Common Schools Act in Victoria. The Queensland and Victorian Acts were the most recent and neither contained any reference to itinerant teaching. However, these Acts were so general it is the regulations subsequently established under them that would have determined the types of schools and teaching arrangements which could exist. Hence, while no evidence has been found of prior Australian legislation specifically on itinerant teaching, this does not preclude the possibility that itinerant teaching may have been in use under the legislation existing in some of the other colonies. What Parkes’s statement is effectively saying is that he has not taken the idea from the legislation of another Australian colony, the idea was not present in earlier legislation in New South Wales, and that New South Wales was being innovative, in the Australian context, in legislating this idea.

Prior and existing itinerant teaching in New South Wales

Of the claim made by Parkes that itinerant teaching was widely and successfully employed in New South Wales in the mid 1860s, namely, ‘I am told that in several districts in this colony this system of ambulatory teaching is carried on to a considerable extent-and that its advantages are felt to be considerable’\(^{47}\), there is both little evidence of the existence of itinerant teaching in this period and less evidence of the claimed attitude towards it. Parkes’s comment ‘I am told’ suggests that he had been advised of these schools by someone, or more than one person, whose information and opinions he respected, but could also mean he was distancing himself from this statement in case it was challenged. Unlike Parkes’s following comments on itinerant teaching in Norway no supporting statements or evidence is provided with regard to existent itinerant teaching in New South Wales. Nor did Parkes give the source of his information, to stamp the statement with the authority of that source. The short qualified statement, ‘I am told that in several districts in this colony this system of ambulatory teaching is carried on to a considerable extent-and that its advantages are felt to be considerable,’ is left to stand alone.

No evidence has been found of any itinerant teaching within the National school system of the mid 1860s, nor during the existence of National schools from 1848 to 1866. The vested and non vested schools listed in the annual *Report of the Commissioners of National Education* of the early to mid 1860s and discussed in the commissioners’ and individual district inspectors’ reports are all, almost certainly, full-time schools in fixed locations. However, the problems of providing National schools in thinly

populated areas were recognised and solutions were being sought. In the 1863 report for National education the commissioners noted that sixty-eight of the 214 National schools in operation had an average attendance less than the required thirty students.

These schools are situated either in thinly populated districts in the interior or in secluded localities where a few settlers have formed a small and isolated community. Such places stand in particular need of state support to education; for without that aid, owing to the distance of other schools, and the burden which the maintenance of such institutions at their own cost would entail upon the inhabitants, parents would, it can scarcely be doubted, allow their children to grow up without instruction.\(^\text{48}\)

Clearly the National school system was not the source of extensive and positive itinerant teaching that Parkes was referring to.

The Denominational school systems of the mid 1860s were also almost entirely comprised of full-time schools in fixed locations. Only two instances of the use of itinerant teachers have been identified within the Denominational schools of this period. The first instance was a short term failed experiment. In February 1863 the Church of England Denominational Schools at Eccleston and Lostock in the Newcastle Diocese were ‘discontinued’\(^\text{49}\) ‘owing to the very small numbers of children in attendance.’\(^\text{50}\) In July of that year the Bishop of Newcastle directed one of his teachers, Mr Simpson, to work Eccleston and Lostock Church of England Denominational schools together. The experiment failed with the schools closing in December 1863 and Mr Simpson being removed to a full-time school. The experiment was briefly described by the Bishop of Newcastle in a report to the Denominational Schools Board:

\(^{49}\) SRNSW, Denominational School Board, CGS 371, Minute books 1/307a, p. 289, 20 April 1863 meeting, Letter from the Bishop of Newcastle, 10 April 1863.
\(^{50}\) SRNSW, Denominational School Board, Minute books, p. 278, Meeting 9 February 1863, Item 11.
After discontinuing the two schools at Eccleston & Lostock as separate schools, I wished to try whether they could not be worked together by one master. Mr Simpson undertook the arduous duty and when it was found impossible to work these two schools together, he then tried by my direction to unite with Eccleston school another 3 miles down the River Allyn. After working hard for six months from July __ [indecipherable word] 1863 to Dec __ [indecipherable word] 1863 Mr Simpson was removed by me to Ellelong where he is giving great satisfaction.  

Eccleston is on the Allyn River approximately thirty miles (fifty kilometres) north of Maitland. Lostock is on the Patterson River approximately four miles (eight kilometres) from Eccleston. The third location ‘3 miles down the River Allyn’ was possibly Bonnington Park. Why the experiment proved unsuccessful is unclear. The teacher, Mr Simpson, is described in very positive terms and, other than the task being described as ‘arduous’ which may relate to the travel involved through rugged country, no indication of the cause of failure is given. It is doubtful if this short term arrangement was part of the ‘ambulatory teaching’ that Parkes referred to so positively.

**Burragarang Roman Catholic Denominational School**

The other itinerant teaching arrangement identified under the Denominational School Board in the 1860s was more successful. It was located at Burragarang, approximately forty eight miles (80 kilometres) west of Sydney’s CBD in the Blue Mountains. Burragarang was an extensive river valley which, in the 1860’s, was quite isolated despite its proximity to Sydney. Due to the rugged terrain and steep valley walls Burragarang was only accessible by foot or on horseback. In the 1950s this valley was dammed behind Warragamba Dam to create Lake Burragarang, Sydney’s principal water supply.

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51 SRNSW, Denominational School Board, CGS 3709, Miscellaneous letters received 1848-66, 1/319, pp. 261–4, Letter from the Bishop of Newcastle to C. S. Robertson, 25 June 1864.
In the early 1860s, Burragorang was thinly populated by settlers, predominantly Irish Catholics, who farmed the valley floor. In 1862 a decision was taken in the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Sydney to provide a Roman Catholic Denominational school for Burragorang. On the 5 February 1862 Archdeacon J McEnroe submitted for the Denominational School Board a list of proposed changes in Roman Catholic Denominational Schools. Listed under proposed appointments was ‘Mr George Szarka Burragorang new school’. Accompanying documentation from the training master of St Mary’s Roman Catholic Model and Training School certified that George Szarka was ‘competent to take charge of a Roman Catholic Denominational School and that he is acquainted with the rules of the Board, and with the method of filling up the usual documents required by them.’

George Szarka’s appointment to Burragorang was confirmed at a meeting of the Denominational School Board on 23 June 1862. Nothing in this initial standard documentation indicated that George Szarka’s school would not fit the conventional mould of a full-time school in a fixed location.

On the 12 December 1862 the Roman Catholic School at Burragorang was inspected for the first time by William Casey, inspector for Roman Catholic schools. Casey, who had been appointed in April 1861, was the only inspector of Roman Catholic schools in New South Wales and had responsibility for over eighty schools ‘ranging to Armidale, Tumut, the

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32 SRNSW, Denominational School Board, Miscellaneous letters received 1848-66, 1/317, Arch Deacon J. McEncroe to the Secretary DSB, 5 June 1862.
33 SRNSW, Denominational School Board, Miscellaneous letters received 1848-66, 1/317, Arch Deacon J. McEncroe to the Secretary DSB, 5 June 1862, G. O’Byrne, St Marys Roman Catholic Model School, 9 June 1862.
34 SRNSW, Denominational School Board, Minute books, p.237, 23 June 1862 meeting, Item 8.
Hawkesbury and Cooma'.\(^{55}\) Despite the demanding nature of his role Casey attempted to visit each school annually. Casey found an unusual situation when he reached Burragorang, reporting that ‘There is no fixed school house at present, the teacher has to go from one house to another.’\(^{56}\) He explained:

The inhabitants of this valley, which is between 30 & 40 miles long and in some places about a mile wide, are scattered all along it so that at present it is impossible to have a fixed schoolhouse, and hence the teacher attends at six houses spending a week at each.\(^{57}\)

Casey commented further on Burragorang in his annual report on Roman Catholic schools for 1862:

At present there is no fixed school house, one is much needed. The teacher has to visit certain houses at which the children of the surrounding families attend; there is no apparatus of any kind, excepting a map and a few books; the attainments of the few pupils examined are low; the school has only been in operation a very short time.\(^{58}\)

The overall number of children on the roll for Burragorang in 1862 was fifty-two.\(^{59}\)

It is unknown if the itinerant teaching arrangement in place at Burragorang had initially been intended to be in this form, or if practical considerations had led to this arrangement after George Szarka had arrived in the valley. Casey appears to have had reservations about the arrangement. His preference for a full time school in a central location is evident but at the

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56 SRNSW, Denominational School Board, CGS 3710, Inspectors’ reports 1856-66, 1/324, Inspector’s report of the Roman Catholic Denominational School at Burragorang, 12 December 1862, Reel 1779.
57 SRNSW, Denominational School Board, Inspectors’ reports 1856-66, 1/324, Inspector’s report of the Roman Catholic Denominational School at Burragorang, 12 December 1862.
same time he acknowledges that this arrangement would not work ‘at present’ and the itinerant teaching arrangements were allowed to continue.

In 1863 Casey was unable to visit Burragorang due to flooding.\textsuperscript{60} However the enrolment for that year of ninety six students, as against the average daily attendance of eleven,\textsuperscript{61} indicates that the itinerant teaching arrangement continued that year. George Szarka remained the teacher.\textsuperscript{62} When Casey next visited Burragorang on 17 November 1864 the attitude expressed in his report towards the unconventional itinerant teaching arrangement employed by George Szarka was much more accepting.

From the peculiar features of this valley, which is more than 30 miles long, and averages about a mile in width, and has a river running through its centre [the Wollondilly River] it would be impossible to collect the average number of children in any one locality, and therefore, useless to attempt erecting a schoolhouse, in any part of the valley. The system at present in use is the only one which can be expected to do any good in this place for many years to come.\textsuperscript{63}

Casey reiterated this assessment of the teaching arrangements at Burragorang in his 1864 annual report on Roman Catholic schools stating:

It would be morally impossible to collect the required number of children in any one part of the valley, to entitle the school to a salary; hence from the isolated state of the inhabitants the teacher is an itinerant, remaining a week in each locality, making his tour through the valley in five or six weeks.\textsuperscript{64}

Casey had come to not only accept, but also to support, the itinerant teaching arrangement used by George Szarka to extend education to his students scattered through this extensive and sparsely populated valley.

However Casey was prevented from making any objective assessment of the

\textsuperscript{60} Denominational Schools Board: report for 1863, 1865, p. 38.
\textsuperscript{61} Denominational Schools Board: report for 1863, p. 10.
\textsuperscript{62} Denominational Schools Board: report for 1863, p. 10.
\textsuperscript{63} SRNSW, Denominational School Board, Inspectors’ reports 1856-66, 1/324, Inspector’s report of the Roman Catholic Denominational School at Burragorang, 17 November 1864.
\textsuperscript{64} Denominational Schools Board: report for 1864, 1865, p. 36.
quality of education provided through this intermittent teaching due to external factors which disrupted the teaching arrangements. For example, Casey noted at his 1864 inspection of Burragorang:

In consequence of the many floods with which this district has been visited during the past years and the great loss sustained by the inhabitants, the pupils were unable to attend instruction; but very seldom, at the previous places along the valley where the teacher had to meet them, and hence they have not progressed any since last year.65

By ‘last year’ Casey may well have meant the end of 1862 when he had last visited Burragorang. Additionally, Casey noted in his comments on Burragorang in his 1864 report on Roman Catholic schools:

the grown pupils who were in the habit in former years, could not, even when the weather would permit, attend but very seldom this year, being required at home on the farms. The proficiency is, therefore, under all these disadvantages, necessarily very modest.66

The enrolment for Burragorang in 1864 was an aggregate of 109 over the year with ninety four on the roll at the end of that year. The average daily attendance was ten.67 The fact that a significant number of children received instruction over several years from George Szarka at a time when schooling was not compulsory and parents paid the teacher fees on top of their salary suggests that the parents valued the education their children were receiving even though it was probably limited in nature. In 1864 for example George Szarka received forty eight pounds in fees on top of his annual salary of sixty pounds.68

In his 1864 reports Casey also made use of two words which would become commonly used with this method of teaching in 1867 in the first

65 SRNSW, Denominational School Board, Inspectors’ reports 1856-66, 1/324, Inspector’s report of the Roman Catholic Denominational School at Burragorang, 17 November 1864.
66 Denominational Schools Board: report for 1864, p. 36.
67 Denominational Schools Board: report for 1864, p. 12.
68 Denominational Schools Board: report for 1864, p. 12.
experimental schools of this type under the Public Schools Act, namely ‘itinerant’ and ‘stations’ as in ‘I visited only one of the stations, it would take a week to visit the whole of them.\(^6^9\) Burragorang Roman Catholic Denominational School remained in existence under George Szarka through 1865, with the enrolment having grown to 113 children at the end of that year.\(^7^0\) Little other information appears on Burragorang for 1865. It appears there was no inspection of Burragorang that year, possibly because Casey was dismissed as inspector of Roman Catholic Schools for compromising the ‘respectability’ of the inspectorate and was not replaced until April 1866, by Joseph Reilly.\(^7^1\) Burragorang was not inspected in 1866 and there was no report of the Denominational Schools Board for 1866 due to the Public Schools Act coming into effect from the beginning of 1867.

While Burragorang Roman Catholic Denominational School provides a recorded instance of the relatively successful use of itinerant teaching in the early to mid 1860s within the Denominational school system to provide education within an isolated and thinly settled locality, it is highly doubtful that this instance alone would have comprised the ‘considerable extent’ of the use of itinerant teaching ‘in several districts in this colony’ that Parkes referred to in his speech. It is also unlikely that the itinerant teaching being referred to existed within the Denominational school systems prior to the 1860s. In the Lowe Report of 1844 the only reported instance of itinerant teaching within Denominational schools was the unenthusiastically mentioned Church of England Denominational teacher working along the

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\(^6^9\) SRNSW, Denominational School Board, Inspectors’ reports 1856-66, 1/324, Inspector’s report of the Roman Catholic Denominational School at Burragorang, 17 November 1864.  
\(^7^0\) Denominational Schools Board: report for 1865, 1866, p. 14.  
\(^7^1\) J. Luttrell, The Inspector Calls, p. 12.
Hawkesbury River. Similarly the only itinerant teaching identified in the 1856 report on National and Denominational schools by three commissioners, William Wilkins, Samuel Turton and Thomas Levinge, who in 1854 and 1855 visited almost all existing National and Denominational schools to identify conditions in those schools was, ‘Three Church of England Schools are open only three days of the week, the Masters being engaged on the other days teaching other schools.’

The possibility of itinerant private teachers

Another possible source of the many and successful itinerant teachers alluded to by Parkes was private schools and private tutors and governesses. A private school of the 1860s was typically a: ‘small private-venture, non-denominational school run as a profit-making establishment by a teacher-owner.’ Such schools existed in significant numbers and provided an appreciable proportion of the education provided in the colony of New South Wales in the 1860s. In 1866, there were reported to be 498 private schools taught by 716 teachers and attended by 11292 students. By contrast there were 272 National schools taught by 404 teachers and attended by 19258 students and 378 Denominational schools taught by 505 teachers and attended by 27709 students. On these figures private schools comprised forty two percent of schools and contained forty four percent of teachers and nineteen percent of children attending school in 1866.

72 Final Report from School Commissioners, Ordered by the Legislative Assembly to be printed, 27 May 1856, p. 28.
74 Statistical Register of New South Wales for the Year 1866, Sydney, Thomas Richards, Government Printer, 1867, p. 17.
A significant number of children were also taught in their homes by privately employed tutors and governesses. In 1868 the Council of Education estimated that 8025 children were being educated in the home (though some children would have been taught by a parent rather than a governess or tutor) as well as 11699 in private schools and 51164 in schools supported by the Council (Public, Provisional, Half-time, and Denominational schools). Of the estimated 70888 children receiving an education in 1868, it was calculated that eleven percent were taught in the home and seventeen percent were taught in private schools. Thus, on the Council’s estimates, up to twenty eight percent of children receiving an education in 1868 were taught by private teachers who were not funded or supported by the government. Barcan, by comparing 1861 census data on teachers, professors and governesses with the figures for teachers in National, Denominational and private schools given in the Statistical Register of New South Wales, derived the approximation that there were over 600 tutors and governesses teaching the children of families in New South Wales in 1861. Barcan also concluded, ‘only about one-fifth of this number (say 120) would be tutors.’ On the basis of these figures it is likely that there were well over 1000 private teachers, tutors and governesses teaching in New South Wales in 1866.

Many private schools existed in Sydney or the larger towns. For example, 211 of the 498 private schools existing in 1866 were in the Metropolitan police district. These private schools contained almost half of the private

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75 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1868, Sydney, Thomas Richards, Government Printer, 1869, p. 5.
76 A. Barcan, Two Centuries of Education in New South Wales, Sydney, New South Wales University Press, 1988, pp. 101 and 105.
teachers (357) and half of the students attending private schools (5521).  

They would also have included most of the best private schools including some Grammar schools from which students may have gone on to the recently established Sydney University.

The available statistics, which give the number of private schools, teachers and students in each police district in the colony, indicate there were also a number of private schools, in rural areas. For example, in the Braidwood police district in 1866 there are recorded as being sixteen private schools taught by sixteen private teachers teaching 513 students, an average of thirty two students per teacher, while in the Goulburn District there were seventeen private schools taught by twenty two private teachers with 351 students, an average of sixteen per teacher. Braidwood and Goulburn townships would not have supported so many private schools particularly given that they also supported National and Denominational schools. A number of these private schools would have existed in villages and farming areas frequently where there were insufficient children whose parents were willing to send them regularly to school for the establishment of a National or Denominational school but sufficient children whose parents were willing to pay a tuition fee or goods in kind to a private teacher to provide that teacher with a liveable income. These small rural private schools would have been much humbler and more precarious affairs than the private schools of Sydney or the larger towns.

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77 Statistical Register of New South Wales for the Year 1866, p. 16.
78 Statistical Register of New South Wales for the Year 1866, p. 16.
79 Statistical Register of New South Wales for the Year 1866, p. 16.
The following summation though written to describe private venture schools in the 1830s would also appear to have been a valid generalisation of small rural private schools in the 1860s:

In general, however, the private venture schools provided an education of poor quality. The teachers had little social standing and like most teachers of that time they were usually untrained. Discipline problems were frequent, attendance was irregular and the schools were too small to permit grading into classes or healthy competition between the pupils. With schools so small, the remuneration of the master was often inadequate so the life of many schools was brief, the master turning to a more lucrative occupation whenever an opportunity arose.  

Many tutors and governesses would have worked for families living in Sydney and the more settled districts. The 1861 census recorded that of the 8025 children being educated at home 2478 were in the County of Cumberland, which included Sydney. However many of the 3889 children being educated at home in the other nineteen counties and particularly the 1649 children being educated at home in the thirteen pastoral districts were likely to have been the children of the generally more affluent rural families, such as those with large pastoral holdings. While some tutors and governesses of the 1860s were well educated and some were trained for their position such tutors and governesses tended to be in the minority working for upper class families. For middle class families and ‘those newly enriched by gold or sheep’ the requirements tended to be more pragmatic.

A contemporary description of the common requirements to serve as a governess was:

A plain education – in which I include some knowledge of music – a knowledge of figures, not extending beyond the elementary rules of arithmetic – reading and writing – some acquaintance with housekeeping – a disposition to assist and take a share in the general

80 A. Barcan, A Short History of Education in New South Wales, p. 56.
81 A. Barcan, Two Centuries of Education in New South Wales, pp. 101 and 105.
82 A. Barcan, Two Centuries of Education in New South Wales, pp. 101.
arrangements of a family – constitute a sufficient qualification for the far larger number of persons required for this post in the colonies.\textsuperscript{83}

It is probable that the great majority of small rural private schools were full time schools in a fixed location and that tutors and governesses in rural areas also generally worked for a single family or group of families in a fixed location. In thinly populated areas, however, it is quite conceivable that some private teachers, and possibly even tutors and governesses, would have found it necessary or desirable to travel from place to place in order to reach sufficient children to make a satisfactory living. Very little is known about most private schools and tutors and governesses, particularly those in rural areas, as they were effectively small private businesses or employees and few records were required to be kept. While there are some references to and/or evidence of itinerant teaching by private teachers and governesses largely relate to the 1840s and 1850s, are very limited and not always conclusive.

George Rusden, a noted promoter of national education in New South Wales and Victoria in the mid nineteenth century, commented in a letter written in July 1849, when he was travelling through large tracts of the then colony of New South Wales as an agent for the newly established National Board of Education:

There are no fewer than five strolling teachers between Jugiong and Gobarralong employed by the parents at some small salary…the teachers are ignorant… they come ragged and needy, and having obtained a decent suit of clothing make off to dupe some other family.\textsuperscript{84}


These teachers, however, may have been itinerant in the sense that they moved from place to place rather than that they taught at two or more places on an ongoing basis.

The interviews of the Lowe Committee in 1844 examined the potential of itinerant teachers in resolving the difficulty of providing education in sparsely populated areas of the colony with such frequency that it is likely that such teaching was occurring although the only specific instance mentioned related to a Church of England Denominational teacher rather than a private teacher. It is suspected that Barcan was largely or fully drawing upon this source in making the following summation of education in the ‘inland’ in the 1840s.

At the hearings of the 1844 Select Committee considerable attention was given to the problems of providing adequate facilities in rural areas. Bush boarding schools was one suggestion. Most members believed that resort to the Irish National System was necessary in order to provide schools in the interior. Meanwhile, children of the lower classes in country areas frequently had to rely on ignorant itinerant teachers for their instruction, or else on parents. Squatters sometimes employed tutors or governesses. It is likely therefore that Barcan’s statement that there were private itinerant teachers teaching in rural areas was based on probability rather than direct evidence. Barcan also made a passing reference to itinerant governesses in an overview of tutors and governesses in the mid 1850s to 1860s, namely, ‘Not all governesses were resident. A ‘visiting governess’ to several families might earn 150 pounds a year. No further context or supporting evidence is provided for this comment, leaving unanswered questions such

85 A. Barcan, A Short History of Education in New South Wales, pp. 65-67.
as whether such visiting governesses were an urban rather than rural phenomenon or in what numbers they existed.

While some evidence exists of private itinerant teaching in New South Wales, and there is a reasonable probability that some private teachers worked in this manner in the early to mid 1860s, no evidence has been found to support Parkes’s comment that ‘its advantages are felt to be considerable’. On private teachers and teaching in general there were varying views. William Wilkins, who had a knowledge of conditions in thinly settled rural districts from his own time as an inspector, his role in the examination of conditions in National and Denominational schools in 1855 and 1866, and the reports of his inspectors, gave a damning description of private teachers in these areas in his 1858 report on National Education.

In the case of gentry residing with their families in remote localities, it is usual to find competent instructors. The poorer class – shepherds, stockmen and artisans – are entirely deprived, by the want of means, of any opportunity of securing education for their children. Between these classes is a third even more unfortunate. These persons are unable to choose competent tutors, even if they had no disinclination to introduce into their families men superior to themselves in every social qualification. Their only resource therefore, is to employ men of a class which is a pest to society and a disgrace to the country. The persons who compose this class possess but a smattering of Education, and are of idle dissipated character. One I can remember to have seen, who was engaged to instruct the children *and mend their shoes* for the sum of twenty pounds yearly and board. A few are educated men who, by drunkenness or some other vice, have forfeited their respectability, and who carry their degrading propensities with them in spite of their misfortunes. But ignorance is a venial sin in comparison to the vices to which many of them are habituated. Of intemperate and profligate habits they engage themselves as a tutor for a short period, in order to acquire the means of indulging in vicious habits, spending the money they have earned in drinking and gambling. Their example exerts a most injurious influence upon their young charge; and when, as sometimes happens they are intrusted with the instruction of girls, they have been known to employ the influence which their position
gives them to corrupt the morals and destroy the virtue of their female pupils.  

In contrast Spaull concluded that Henry Parkes held a positive attitude towards private teachers in general at this time.

In 1856 he [Parkes] expressed the opinion that, in the adoption of any new education scheme, the place of private schools must be considered. There were two reasons why he advocated non-interference in this connection. The first was that they supplied a real want, and the second that the equitable interests of private interest should be protected. At the time there were over 200 private schools in existence, attended by more than 7000 pupils of both sexes. Little was known of the rank or quality of these schools, but the chief fact was that more than one-fourth of the school children in the colony were being educated without any assistance from the state grants. This was important, because as Parkes pointed out, private school teachers were not those least likely to bring energy into their labour, or to work with success.

Under Clause Thirteen of the Public Schools Act of 1866 Parkes actively looked to make use of these private teachers in extending the reach of the public education system:

In remote and thinly populated Districts where no Public School may exist The Council of Education may grant assistance to other Schools established by private persons under Regulations to be framed by such Council for that purpose notwithstanding that the number of children in attendance at any such school do not number Twenty-five Provided that all such schools shall be subject to the inspection prescribed by The Council of Education.

In the first few years under the Council of Education from 1867 many of the teachers in what were to become Provisional schools were indeed private teachers who brought their schools into the government system. Likewise Half-time schools when they initially developed from Clause Twelve on occasion had teachers who had previously been private teachers in the area where the Half-time schools existed. Some of the applicants for these

87 Eleventh Report of the Commissioners of National Education in New South Wales: report for the year 1858, 1859, p. 15.
89 Public Schools Act, 1866, p. 7.
positions, and a few of the teachers appointed, did prove to have the sort of
troblems mentioned by Wilkins, particularly drunkenness. Others proved
reliable and useful teachers as apparently anticipated by Parkes. Considered
overall the presence and work of private teachers within New South Wales
may have been advantageous. However it is by no means certain that this
judgement can be generally applied to private teachers in thinly populated
areas in the early to mid 1860s, let alone to those of them who may have
been working as itinerant teachers in such areas.

Consequently there is limited evidence that there were some private
itinerant teachers working in sparsely populated areas of New South Wales
and it is certainly possible that such teachers existed in the 1860s. Therefore
private teachers are the most likely source of the ‘ambulatory teaching’ that
Parkes was speaking of. However, Parkes’s assertion that such teaching
existed to a considerable extent in several districts cannot be evaluated due
to the paucity of evidence. Neither can Parkes’s comment that ‘its
advantages are felt to be considerable’ be evaluated except to note that this
comment is at variance to the highly negative picture of private teachers in
thinly populated areas given by Wilkins in the late 1850s and the variable
nature of the private teachers in such areas who sought or gained
employment with the Council of Education in the late 1860s.

It is possible that the statement made by Parkes about itinerant teachers in
New South Wales was erroneous. It is unlikely however that it was
completely untrue. Such a deception is unlikely as it could have been
challenged by any opponent to the Public Schools Bill with an awareness of
the educational situation in sparsely settled areas of the colony and could
have undermined Parkes’s credibility. It is possible however that the
statement was more positive than the actual situation warranted. Parkes may have been misinformed, possibly by someone keen to see itinerant teaching introduced into the public education system, who consequently exaggerated the extent and success of this form of teaching. Or Parkes himself may have added some gloss to a reality which he may only have had a partial knowledge of. Certainly the ‘proof’ of the value of itinerant teaching offered by Parkes in the following section of his comments on Clause Twelve did not relate to, or draw upon, the existing presence of itinerant teachers in New South Wales.

**Itinerant teaching in Norway**

In the second and larger part of his comments supporting Clause Twelve of the Public Instruction Bill, Parkes drew upon the widespread use of itinerant teachers in Norway in the 1830s to support his case for the appointment of itinerant teachers in New South Wales.

> In Norway, which is one of those northern nations which has paid great attention to education, the population is thinly scattered over wide mountainous districts, and the bulk of the children are instructed by these itinerant teachers. This system therefore is not new. In 1833, the population of Norway was 1,000,000, and it had only 183 fixed schools, the pupils numbering 13,693; but there were 1610 schools carried on by itinerant teachers, and the children connected with them numbered 132,632.\(^90\)

Parkes presented this example as an overwhelming case for the use of itinerant teachers proclaiming, ‘This is an illustration of the successful working of this system of ambulatory schools in thinly populated districts, and will at once set aside all objections to it.’\(^91\) Parkes argument was based, firstly, on the above figures showing itinerant teaching to be the dominant form of educational provision in Norway in the 1830s and, secondly, on the

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\(^90\) H. Parkes, *Public Education*, p. 32.
\(^91\) H. Parkes, *Public Education*, p. 32.
similarity of the ‘physical characteristics’\(^{92}\) of Norway where ‘the population is scattered over wide mountainous districts’\(^{93}\) to ‘many parts’\(^{94}\) of the colony of New South Wales. This strategy of drawing upon practices in other ‘educationally advanced’ countries to support aspects of the Public Schools Bill was heavily employed by Parkes throughout his speech. His intention in this instance was to persuade his listeners that itinerant teaching, a proven and dominant means of education in Norway, was not an untried scheme, but rather one that would prove of relevance and value in New South Wales.

There is no doubt that itinerant teaching was widely employed in Norway in the nineteenth century as it is regularly treated by contemporary and more recent writers on education in that country such as Nissen, Anderson and Rust. The terms used in the literature to describe these Norwegian schools include peripatetic, itinerant, circulating, travelling and ambulatory. There does not appear to have been a definitive name for these schools that translated readily into English. Anderson provided a Norwegian term for them – omgangskoler\(^{95}\) – omgang meaning ‘by turns’ and skoler meaning ‘schools’. Therefore the term literally translates as ‘by turns schools’ and was evidently related to the manner in which the teacher travelled around teaching groups of children in turn.

While the source of the statistics Parkes quotes is unknown, there is evidence from other sources that these figures are reasonable assessments with regard to the provision of education in Norway in 1833. Anderson, for example, states, ‘In 1837, ninety-two percent of the children attending

school in the country were taught in ambulatory schools’, while Rust gives the number of permanent common schools, that is full time public elementary schools in a fixed position, in Norway in 1840/41 as 311 as against 7133 travelling common schools. From 1848, however, full-time public elementary schools were required within the towns of Norway. Itinerant teaching remained the dominant form of education in rural areas in the 1850s. Nissen, a major Norwegian educational reformer, in a contemporary article from 1854 referred to two types of schools in rural areas ‘stationary or permanent, and circuit or itinerating schools’ He estimated the number of ‘stationary’ or full time schools in rural areas at ‘about 380’ and described the extent of itinerant teaching in Norway: ‘The whole number of such itinerating schoolmasters is about 2000, and of circuits about 7000’ Similarly Rust records the number of travelling common schools in 1853/4 as 6996 against 519 permanent common schools across Norway.

The Norwegian Fixed School Act of 1860 further extended full-time elementary schools into rural areas directing, ‘that the travelling schools, which prevailed in the countryside, be systematically eliminated and that permanent schools represent the norm as a common school form’ ‘wherever a minimum of thirty children could be assembled.’ From 1860 on the number of itinerant teachers in Norway decreased steadily. In 1861/62 there were 3620 travelling schools and 2569 permanent schools. By

100 V. D. Rust, *The Democratic Tradition*, p. 112.
1867/68 the number of travelling schools had fallen to 2241 while the number of permanent schools had grown to 4212.103 Thus, when Parkes stated in 1866 that ‘the bulk of the children are instructed by these itinerant teachers’ education in Norway had undergone a fundamental change and this was probably no longer an accurate statement.

Why was Parkes quoting statistics that were thirty three years old at the time of his speech and no longer accurately represented the situation in Norway? Was it because they were the statistics that were available to him, or did he perhaps prefer not to use more current statistics, believing that they reflected negatively on itinerant teaching? Parkes could still have made a strong case for itinerant teaching based on more current statistics. While itinerant teaching was clearly in a state of decline in Norway in the 1860s it still comprised a significant proportion of the schooling provided. The fact that so many itinerant teachers were still needed despite a clear preference for fixed schools could have been used by Parkes to build as strong, or possibly a stronger, case for their introduction into the government education system in New South Wales. Parkes was not looking to make itinerant teaching the dominant form of teaching in New South Wales. Indeed the situation described as existing in Norway forty years after Parkes made his speech, when less than one percent of children were taught by itinerant teachers, might possibly have more accurately reflected what was hoped to be achieved through Clause Twelve.

In the rural sections [of Norway] primary schools are held in comfortable, well equipped, and conveniently located schoolhouses and are taught by competent teachers who live near by in homes provided for them. In a few remote rugged sections of the country where children as few and scattering [sic] or where locations

103 V. D. Rust, *The Democratic Tradition*, p. 112.
accessible to all cannot be found, they have no fixed schools, but instead what are termed ambulatory schools (Omgangerskoler). There are no schoolhouses in these districts but the officials designate certain homes as the places children go at certain times to receive instruction. The teacher meets the children of the neighbourhood in a given home and teaches them for a specified time, passes to the next designated place, and continues until his rounds are completed.\textsuperscript{104}

While it is possible that Parkes might have deliberately selected the 1830s statistics over more current information potentially available to him it is no evidence that this was the case.

The second part of Parkes’s case that the Norwegian system of itinerant teaching was appropriate to the colony of New South Wales, rested on ‘the similarity of many parts [of New South Wales] to the physical characteristics of Norway’.\textsuperscript{105} His description of the geography of Norway is limited to, ‘the population is thinly scattered over wide mountainous districts.’\textsuperscript{106} In terms of terrain Norway and New South Wales are not similar. Norway is largely high plateaus and rugged mountains with some valleys and plains while New South Wales’ terrain is predominantly the western slopes and plains and the coastal lowlands, with the mountains and tablelands of the Great Dividing Range occupying only a relatively small proportion of its territory.

It is probable, however, that the emphasis of Parkes’s comparison of ‘physical characteristics’ was more on the thin spread of population in many areas of both Norway and New South Wales resulting from the way the land could be used rather then the terrain itself. In many rural areas of New South Wales the pastoral industry dominated and where land was suitable for more intensive farming the subdivision of the land for viable farms was often still

\textsuperscript{104} D. A. Anderson, \textit{The School System of Norway}, p. 29.
\textsuperscript{105} H. Parkes, \textit{Public Education}, p. 32.
\textsuperscript{106} H. Parkes, \textit{Public Education}, p. 32.
in an early stage. Norway faced a comparable situation: ‘about two-fifths are unsuitable for any sort of cultivation, while of the remaining three-fifths large tracts are covered with scanty wood, and scarcely fifty geographical miles are covered in corn fields.’\textsuperscript{107} Thus Norway faced the same ‘impediment to the satisfactory organisation of the system of schools in country districts’\textsuperscript{108} as was experienced in many thinly settled areas of rural New South Wales namely, it was ‘not possible to bring together in any one spot a sufficient number of children to form a school.’\textsuperscript{109} Parkes is likely to have been making the point that in Norway itinerant teachers had clearly played a major role in extending elementary education into thinly populated areas and therefore could play a similar role in New South Wales, ‘to reach some of the children in this way that could not be reached in any other way.’\textsuperscript{110}

\textbf{Parkes’s summation}

Parkes concluded his comments in support of Clause Twelve by urging members of the Legislative Assembly to support Clause Twelve without exception. ‘It will be far better to afford them [children in thinly populated rural areas] this imperfect means of instruction, than to leave them to grow up totally uninstructed. I expect, therefore, that not a single vote will be recorded against this provision.’\textsuperscript{111} In this statement Parkes moved from promoting itinerant teaching as a successful method of education to indicating it was not the most desirable form of education but that it was better than leaving children without any educational facilities. This was

\textsuperscript{110} H. Parkes, \textit{Public Education}, p. 32.
\textsuperscript{111} H. Parkes, \textit{Public Education}, p. 32.
probably an appeal to those who may have harboured doubts about the effectiveness of the part time education implied by itinerant teaching when compared with attendance at a full time school. Such doubts had long been a feature of known discussions of itinerant teaching in New South Wales from the Lowe Report to the reports of Inspector Casey on the Roman Catholic School at Burragorang. Having already made the case that itinerant teaching could and did work, Parkes, by acknowledging that it had limitations while telling his audience that the children who would be reached by itinerant teachers did not have other options, was seizing the moral high ground that doing something was better than doing nothing.

Parkes urged ‘that not a single vote will be recorded against this provision’ and it is likely that there was little opposition to Clause Twelve. It was well removed from the chief areas of controversy such as the control of Denominational schools; related to an area on which there was general agreement namely making education available to those who could not currently access it; and appears to have attracted little or no discussion or criticism. Perhaps the clearest evidence of the apparent general acceptance of Clause Twelve is, while a number of areas of the Public Schools Bill needed to be amended before the Public Schools Act could be passed into law, Clause Twelve remained unchanged, retaining exactly the same wording that was used in the second reading of the Public Schools Bill.

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The unclear nature of the envisioned form of itinerant schooling

As to the question of what form of schooling was envisioned by the creator or creators of Clause Twelve neither Clause Twelve itself or Parkes’s supporting comments on this clause during the second reading of the Public Schools Bill give any indication. The discussion of itinerant teaching in Norway by Parkes suggests that the approach used there may have been under consideration. That Parkes gave the information used in his speech on itinerant teaching in Norway implied that he, or potentially others supporting or involved in the development of Clause Twelve, had an awareness of the methods used there. That information could well have been available in New South Wales in 1866. One potential source was Nissen’s article which had been published in the English Journal of the Society of Arts in 1854 and gave a clear overview of the itinerant teaching system then in use in Norway.

The majority of children belonging to the country population attend the circulating or itinerant schools. Every parish, which usually contains several churches, with their separate church districts, is divided into school districts. Every such school district, not possessing one of the above described stationary schools is again subdivided into several “Roder” (sections or circuits), the children of each of which attend the school together. Thus, although the whole district has only one teacher, there are in reality as many schools as there are sections or circuits in each district. A district for a circulating school consists commonly of three or four sections. The teacher goes around from one section or circuit to another to keep school. According to law, the youth of each circuit are to receive instruction during at least three months, or where this is not possible, during at least two months in the year; but the fact is, that in some places the children in the circuit schools receive instruction during 12 weeks, but on an average during not more than eight weeks over the whole country. The school is not however kept uninterruptedly in the same spot while within the limits of the same circuit. It is the duty of each farmer (gaardmand) or small proprietor in the circuit, each in his turn, to provide a proper school-room in his own house, and to give the teacher board and lodgings for a certain time, which
is usually in proportion to the extent of the estate. The teacher usually moves with the school each week to a new house. The eight weeks in each year, during which the instruction is usually given by these schools in each circuit are not consecutive, but distributed in several terms at various times, from October to April, that part of the year within the limits of which all the instruction of the circuit schools in most places begins and ends. In some places the teacher of the circuit school gives instruction also during some of the summer months, having either a district consisting of a greater number of circuits than usual, or to teach in each circuit during a greater number of weeks than the minimum required by law. **113**

There were also existing methods and proposed models closer to home that may have been considered for adoption including the methods used by the probably existing itinerating private school teachers; the approach employed at the Roman Catholic Denominational School at Burragorang; the approaches suggested in the record of interviews for the Lowe Report and the model suggested by Inspector McIntyre which proved to be the one closest in form to Half-time schools. However, as it is not possible to assess in any meaningful way what awareness or consideration of such approaches and models might have been made by the instigator or instigators of Clause Twelve, no judgement can be made as to what form of itinerant teaching was envisioned in Clause Twelve.

The wording of the second part of Clause Twelve ‘The Council of Education may appoint itinerant Teachers under such Regulations as may be framed by them for the purpose’**114** also raises the possibility that no particular approach or model had yet been selected, or was favoured, for adoption. Instead the wording implies that the decision on whether itinerant teachers would be appointed and how they would operate would be made after the Bill was passed. The same cautious provisos ‘may’ and ‘under regulations to be framed’ was also present in Clause Thirteen which also

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**114** Public Schools Act, 1866, p. 7.
related to extending education into sparsely settled areas, in this case by granting assistance to private schools. These two clauses contrasted strongly with other clauses in the Act which were much more definite in nature and mostly featured the word ‘shall’. This supports the idea that Clause Twelve, as well as Clause Thirteen, was less developed than the other clauses in concept, structure and commitment.

Much of the rest of the Act related to areas where a lot of practical experience had been gained through the National and Denominational school systems and/or where political debate and attempts to reform education over the previous decade had clarified the nature of the decisions that needed to be made. Consequently firm decisions could be, needed to be, and were made in those areas. Clauses Twelve, Thirteen and indeed Fourteen, which allowed for children from ‘remote areas’ to be boarded in Public schools, represented new initiatives aimed at extending education into sparsely settled areas beyond the reach of Public and Denominational schools. If firm decisions had been made as to how Clauses Twelve and Thirteen would operate then the nature of the rest of the Public Schools Act suggests they would have been definitively worded like other areas of the Act. Consequently the indefinite wording used for Clauses Twelve and Thirteen supports the idea that they were more experimental in nature and decisions on if and how these provisions would be implemented were left to the incoming Council of Education.

It is interesting to note that of the three provisions for extending educational provision to children in sparsely settled areas Clauses Twelve and Thirteen were taken up and defined and regulated types of schools, Half-time schools and Provisional schools, were developed by the Council, while the more
developed proposal to introduce boarding schools encompassed by Clause Fourteen appears to have not been implemented. Perhaps the structure for boarding isolated children in Public schools given in Clause Fourteen proved too restrictive or impractical in nature. Possibly a less developed proposal in line with Clauses Twelve and Thirteen might have allowed the Council of Education the freedom to develop a more practical approach to boarding children from isolated areas.

**Conclusion**

This chapter has attempted to explore the origins of Clause Twelve in the Public Schools Act of 1866. However the factors that lead to the development of this clause remain unclear. It has only been possible to locate partial evidence and, in consequence, to suggest possible scenarios.

Who was responsible for or contributed to the development of Clause Twelve is uncertain. Clearly Henry Parkes as chief instigator and developer of the Public Schools Bill played a significant role, but his use of the phrase ‘I am told’ in his supporting comments on this clause indicates he may have sought, or been offered, advice on itinerant teachers. He may also have drawn the idea from the work others that he had read or heard. William Wilkins is likely to have been a person whose ideas Parkes drew upon or whom Parkes may have consulted. However the fact that Wilkins was not familiar with the contents of the Public Schools Bill until it became public suggests that he was not directly involved in the creation of this clause or others. William McIntyre may also have played a role in influencing Wilkins with his suggestion for introducing itinerant teaching into the National school system in 1864. Certainly McIntyre considered that he had
played a critical role. There is a temptation to consider a link from perhaps Rubic to McIntyre to Wilkins to Parkes in the promotion of the idea of itinerant teachers but there is no substantive evidence to support the idea of such a pattern. The idea of using itinerant teachers was evidently not uncommon and far from new and could have come from a variety of sources. It is more likely that Parkes, who had long been receptive to ideas for extending education into sparsely settled areas, had heard the idea from, and possibly discussed it with a number of people over time. Wilkins support for the idea may then have been the final influence that caused Parkes to include Clause Twelve into the Public Schools Bill.

Similarly it can not be definitively determined on what basis the idea of using itinerant teachers to provide educational facilities for geographically isolated children was included in the Public Schools Bill. Clearly it was part of a multifaceted approach to extending government educational facilities into areas where they had not previously been sustainable. However, the only insight into the ideas that may have influenced the thinking behind Clause Twelve is Parkes’s comments in support of Clause Twelve on the second reading of the Public Schools Bill. This source suggests that the idea of using itinerant teachers to provide education in thinly populated areas as expressed in Clause Twelve may have been largely based on the existing practice of itinerant teaching conducted in some sparsely settled areas of the colony by private teachers. However, almost nothing is now known of this practice, as almost no records were kept of, or by, the small rural private schools of the period. Itinerant teaching appears to have not been used in the national school system and only marginally employed in the denominational school system where extensive records were kept, but clearly the concept
was known in these systems. It is suspected that the outdated references
made to itinerant teaching in Norway were made to garner support for
Clause Twelve rather than to suggest that the idea was based on the
Norwegian experience.

As to the question of what form of schooling was envisioned by the
instigator or instigators of Clause Twelve it cannot be determined if they
had intended employing any particular system of itinerant teaching. While it
is believed a range of approaches and proposals could have been known to
the creator or creators of this clause none are clearly put forward in either
Clause Twelve or Parkes’s comments on this clause. Instead the indefinite
wording of Clause Twelve raises the possibility that no particular method of
itinerant teaching was proposed or favoured but if and how itinerant
teaching was left to be implemented was left to be determined by the
Council of Education.

Whatever the forces and factors were behind Clause Twelve of the Public
Schools Act its passing into law on the 24 December 1866 meant this
approach could now be employed by the Council of Education, along with
other more developed and grounded measures, to extend educational
facilities to children previously beyond the reach of the National and
Denominational school systems.
Chapter Three

1867 - Experimenting with itinerant teaching

Introduction

On 1 January 1867 the Public Schools Act came into effect. Under this Act, the Council of Education assumed responsibility for all government funded schools in the Colony of New South Wales, both National and Denominational, and for all aspects of elementary education covered by the Act. The National Board of Education was dissolved and its ‘Lands Moneys Securities and Personal Property’\(^1\) were transferred to the Council of Education. The Denominational School Board was also dissolved and its ‘Personal Property’\(^2\) became the property of the Council of Education. The Council of Education was comprised of five members: the initial members being Henry Parkes, the Colonial Secretary; James Martin, Premier and Attorney-General; William Munnings Arnold, Speaker of the Legislative Assembly; George Allan, a member of the Legislative Council; and John Smith, Professor of Chemistry and Experimental Physics at the University of Sydney. Henry Parkes acted informally as president of the Council until formally elected as the inaugural president. William Wilkins, formerly Secretary to the National Schools Board, was appointed Secretary of the Council, becoming the senior public servant responsible for the development and efficient running of the school system. Ahead of the Council of Education lay the demanding task of giving form and substance

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\(^1\) Public Schools Act, 1866, (30 Victoria, No. 22), Section 2.

\(^2\) Public Schools Act, 1866, Section 4.
to the Act and of instituting major changes to the existing educational structure they had inherited. The antipathy of the Roman Catholic clergy to the Public Schools Act was to prove an ongoing challenge for the Council of Education. Henry Parkes would later comment, ‘the priesthood would not let well alone’.  

This chapter explores the initial steps taken by the Council of Education to transform Clause Twelve of the Public Schools Act, concerning the use of itinerant teachers in sparsely settled areas, from a proposal to a reality. This began as a slowly unfolding process of bureaucratic decision making and policy formation that largely drew from, and adapted, existing and developing practices for other classes of schools to this experimental and unfamiliar form. Events concerning bushranging on the Braidwood District in South Eastern New South Wales evidently intervened in this process turning it in a new and unexpected direction and causing the first use of itinerant teaching to be quite different from the form that had been evolving. The consequence was the development of two experimental forms of itinerant teaching and bureaucratic confusion as to what a Half-time school actually was and how they should be conducted. The fragmentary evidence on the nature of these first Half-time schools is also examined.

**Regulation Nine**

A key initial task of the Council of Education was to frame the Regulations which would more closely define and implement the provisions of the Public Schools Act. These Regulations, adopted by the Council of Education on 27 February 1867, covered a range of areas including the conduct of the Council of Education, the types of schools which could be

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established, conditions relating to their establishment, the conduct of schools, the training and appointment of teachers, and the inspection of schools.⁴ There exists clear evidence that Henry Parkes and William Wilkins played major roles in the drafting of the eighty six Regulations and their associated appendices. One example of this collaboration is a letter from Parkes to Wilkins dated 14 January 1867 in which Parkes stated: ‘I enclose herewith portions of the Draft Regulations. All matters of administrative routine have, as far as possible, been omitted in order that the Regulations may deal with the essential matters only.’⁵

In his landmark biography of Wilkins, Turney drew the following conclusion: ‘It appears that Parkes himself drafted the first part of the Regulations, the Proceedings of Council, before sending them to Wilkins to complete before submission to the Council.’⁶ Turney concluded ‘The Regulations on school matters were prepared personally by Wilkins with characteristic attention to detail.’⁷ Certainly Wilkins, with his wide experience in the administration and development of the National school system, his empathy with the aims of the Public Schools Act, and in his capacity as Secretary of the Council, would have been the logical person to have drafted the Regulations relating to the more practical aspects of organising and running a school system. Additionally the short time frame of less than two months from the passage into law of the Public Schools Act to the adoption of the Regulations on 27 February suggests any further consultation would have been limited. However, while it is clear that both

⁴ Regulations under the Public Schools Act of 1866, adopted by the Council, 27th February, 1867.
⁵ State Records NSW, NCE/16, Letters received by the Secretary, 1867, 1874, 1879. 1/731, 8 Jan – 11 Mar 1867, Henry Parkes to William Wilkins, 14 January 1867.
⁷ Turney, William Wilkins, p. 149.
Parkes and Wilkins played major roles in the writing of the Regulations, and that Wilkins may well have written Regulation Nine, it is not possible to state with certainty who actually devised any particular aspect of the Regulations.

Therefore it is not possible to say for certain whether it was Parkes or Wilkins or even potentially, though much less likely, a third party who conceived and drafted Regulation Nine in Part II, Section I, Establishment of Schools, of the Regulations, which placed the broad provisions of Clause Twelve of the Public Schools Act, relating to the use of itinerant teachers, into a specific context - the Half-time school.

Regulation Nine read:

9. – Half-time Schools

Half-time Schools under Itinerant Teachers may be established wherever twenty children of the school age [four to fourteen years of age] are residing within an estimated radius of ten miles from a central point, and can be collected in groups of not less than ten children in each.  

Clause Twelve of the Act made the provision that itinerant teachers could be appointed, ‘in Districts where from the scattered nature of the population it is not practicable to establish a Public School’.  Regulation Nine gave this clause a specific structure that it did not previously possess: it provided the name – ‘Half-time Schools’ - for schools to be conducted by itinerant teachers; it indicated the number and distribution of children required for the appointment of an itinerant teacher; and it determined the size of the area within which these children needed to reside. While these provisions were specific, they were limited, left many aspects undecided, and were in some ways unclear. For example, while the name ‘Half-time Schools’, and the

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8 Regulations under the Public Schools Act of 1866, Part II, Section I, Regulation 9.
9 Public Schools Act, 1866, Section 12.
requirements concerning the number of children in each group and overall, might be taken to imply that each itinerant teacher would teach two groups of children, it did not state this explicitly. Nor was it clear if the name Half-time school would apply to both, or all, groups of children under an itinerant teacher, or if each group would constitute a separate Half-time school.

The regulations for other classes of schools ordained under the Public Schools Act – Public schools, Provisional schools and Certified Denominational schools - were considerably more detailed than those for Half-time schools. The reason was almost certainly that precedents existed for these classes of schools which were all full-time schools in a single location. Public schools had their basis in the previous National schools, and Denominational schools already existed. The Regulations for these classes of schools were built upon this prior base and focussed on placing these schools in their new context. The other new class of school, Provisional schools, based on Clause Thirteen of the Public Schools Act which allowed assistance to private schools, could also be seen to have a precedent in the ‘Non-vested’ National schools which had been introduced into the National school system by Wilkins in 1857. Non vested schools were private schools ‘which agreed to accept the curriculum of the National schools, received finance from the Board, and were inspected’. ¹⁰ Barcan postulates a direct link between Non-vested National schools and Provisional schools stating ‘Provisional schools replaced the Non-vested schools.’ ¹¹

Half-time schools, taught by itinerant teachers, as they were proposed in Regulation Nine, had no precedent within the National system, apparently

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¹⁰ A. Barcan, Two Centuries of Education in New South Wales, Kensington, University of New South Wales Press, 1988, p. 81.
¹¹ Barcan, Two Centuries of Education, p. 108.
only minimal and highly individual precedents within the Denominational system, and it is likely that the approaches of any itinerant private school teachers would have been highly individualistic according to their needs and circumstances. This lack of a significant prior base is likely to account for the comparatively limited information on the structure for Half-time schools provided within the Regulations.

A key aspect of the more detailed basis for Public, Provisional and Denominational schools was the provision, within the appendices to the Regulations, of application forms for Public or Provisional schools, or for a certificate for a Denominational school. By contrast, there was no equivalent form by which people could apply for the establishment of Half-time schools. Therefore, unlike other classes of schools, no formal process existed within the Regulations for the establishment of Half-time schools.

Just as the authorship of Regulation Nine is not definite, the reasons behind the name and structure of the schools set by this regulation are unclear. The only precedent identified for the use of the term ‘Half-time’ in relation to education was the compulsory provision of education for children working in English factories and mills. Under the provisions of the 1833 and 1844 Factory Acts children working in mills and factories were required to spend part of the working day attending school. This system which lasted until the early twentieth century was sometimes referred as ‘Half-time education’ and the children within it as ‘Half-timers’. While the context and form of this Half-time system in England was very different to the proposed form and use of Half-time schools in New South Wales there is a possibility that an

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12 Regulations under the Public Schools Act of 1866, Appendices A to D.
awareness of the term in the English context might have influenced its adoption in New South Wales.

The English part time system of education was known of in New South Wales. It was briefly referred to in an article entitled ‘Half-Time Schools’ published in July 1868 in The Australian Journal of Education.14 William McIntyre also made reference to this system of education when promoting the value of Half-time schools in his 1868 and 1869 annual reports as Inspector of the Goulburn District. Neither the unacknowledged author of the journal article (quite possibly William Wilkins) nor McIntyre in his reports use the title ‘Half-time’ for this system but it is quite likely that being aware of the system they would also have been aware of a common name used to describe it. It is possible that McIntyre or Wilkins or others had been aware of this form of education prior to 1867 and have used it, and possibly the name ‘Half-time’, in putting or promoting a case for part-time education provided by itinerant teachers in sparsely settled areas.

No precedent for the name ‘Half-time School’ in relation to itinerant teaching has been found. It is possible that the name relates specifically to the implied structure of two schools served by one itinerant teacher given in Regulation Nine and may have been independently coined, as an appropriate descriptive term, after the structure was determined. Certainly the widespread disparity in the use of the name ‘Half-time School’ that would occur in the early developmental stages of this class of the school supports the contention that this name had not been previously used in this context.

Neither is there a known source for the structure for itinerant teaching set by Regulation Nine. It is possible this structure was developed independently of any precedents and subsequent to the Act coming into place. The comparatively limited information on the structure for Half-time schools provided within the Regulations suggests that the specific approach to itinerant teaching being proposed under Regulation Nine was largely or entirely untried. However the possibility also exists that Regulation Nine was based on a previous system of, or proposal for, itinerant teaching that had been experienced or considered.

The structure of Half-time schools given in Regulation Nine does bear a partial resemblance to the recommendation for the use of itinerant teachers made by William McIntyre, the Inspector for the Northern District, in 1864, particularly the sentence, ‘Each teacher could attend two localities three days in each week, or three localities two days, if the places were not more than ten miles apart.’\(^{15}\) While this sentence partly differs from Regulation Nine by countenancing the possibility of three localities; McIntyre’s first suggestion of two localities seems to be in line with the implications of the name of the schools and the conditions set in Regulation Nine. The mention of a limit of ‘ten miles’ is common to both sources; however, McIntyre suggested the localities where the itinerant teacher would teach should not be more than ten miles apart, while Regulation Nine stipulated that there should be at least twenty children within ‘an estimated radius of ten miles from a central point’. The similarities are not sufficient to determine a direct link between McIntyre’s proposal and Regulation Nine, but they do suggest

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\(^{15}\) Seventeenth Report of the Commissioners of National Education in New South Wales: report for the year 1864, 1865, p.18.
the possibility that whoever devised this regulation may have been influenced by McIntyre’s proposal.

There does not appear to be any direct link between the Roman Catholic Denominational School at Burragorang and the form of itinerant teaching proposed in Regulation Nine, nor to the structure of itinerant teaching used in Norway in the 1850s as outlined by Nissen.\textsuperscript{16} It is possible that the deviser or devisers of this regulation could have been influenced by the structure or structures used by the itinerating private teachers that may have been operating in parts of the Colony at this time, but the absence of information on these schools makes comparison impossible. Even if any such private schools had existed, the highly independent, fluid and adaptive nature of private schools of this period reduces the possibility that any clearly discernable patterns or structures existed. Consequently, there is a distinct possibility that the proposed structure for Half-time schools was an experimental approach that it was anticipated would translate the intentions of Clause Twelve of the Public Schools Act into a practical and appropriate form that could provide educational facilities for children in sparsely populated areas.

**The 1867 Inspectors’ Conference**

Following the establishment of the Regulations, a further key step in clarifying and determining structures to implement the provisions of the Public Schools Act was the holding of the first Conference of Inspectors under the Council of Education on 25 March 1867.\textsuperscript{17} The ten District

\textsuperscript{16} Nissen, ‘The school system of Norway’, *Journal of the Society of Arts*, vol. II, no. 98, 1854.

\textsuperscript{17} *Progress Report of the Council of Education to 31 August, 1867*, Sydney, Thomas Richards, Government Printer, 1867, Appendix A.
Inspectors came together in Sydney on that day to consider an agenda of over forty topics which had been sent to them on 10 March. The areas under discussion were: ‘Course of Inspection; Organisation, Discipline and Instruction of Schools; Examination and Training of Teachers and Pupil Teachers; the Establishment of Model Schools and, in general, the best means of raising the character and efficiency of the Schools, and of extending primary education to its utmost limits in the Colony.’ The latter area may have included discussion and decisions on the introduction and conduct of Half-time schools. It is also possible that with such a packed agenda and limited time span little attention may have been given to the topic of extending the provision of educational facilities ‘to its utmost limits,’ or to Half-time schools as a means of achieving this objective. Unfortunately no known records remain of the proceedings of the Inspectors’ Conference other than the report contained in the August 1867 Progress Report of the Council of Education. The impression given in this report is that the principal focus of the Conference of Inspectors was, understandably, the determination of processes and standards for the inspection of schools and no reference is made to discussion of, or decisions on, Regulation Nine or other provisions for extending education into sparsely settled areas.

The setting of the Regulations in February and the Conference of Inspectors in March of 1867 constituted major steps in placing the new education system on a practical footing and providing a foundation for ongoing development. The apparently limited attention devoted to the use of itinerant teachers, possibly restricted to the devising of Regulation Nine, can be seen

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18 Progress Report, Appendix A.
19 Progress Report, Appendix A.
not only as a reflection that such schools were a new and experimental enterprise, but that there were major matters of more immediate practical concern. Despite this, the need to provide educational facilities in sparsely settled areas, a cornerstone of the Public Schools Act, was very much in the consciousness of the Council of Education.

**Wilkins’s circular**

Immediately following the Conference of Inspectors in March, a circular, written by William Wilkins and endorsed by the Council of Education, was distributed to all schools under the Council together with copies of the Regulations. This circular, dated 27 March 1867, was clearly seen as an important statement of ‘the objects which the Public Schools Act was designed to accomplish and an explanation of the general scope and operation of the Regulations founded thereon’²⁰ as it was also included as an appendix to the August 1867 Progress Report of the Council of Education.²¹

The circular was directed at teachers and outlined and promoted the ideas and principles underlying the Act and the Regulations. It touched on areas of major concern for all teachers such as: improvement in the ‘character’ of education by the extension of the curriculum into areas such as health, economics, law and moral training; the nature and importance of effective teaching; ‘The elevation of the teaching profession to its proper rank in a civilized community’²²; and the building of a positive, supportive relationship between inspectors and teachers.

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²⁰*Progress Report, Appendix F.*
²¹*Progress Report, Appendix F.*
²²*Progress Report, Appendix F.*
The first and foremost item in the circular however was a strong statement of principle relating to the extension of education to children currently beyond its reach.

The Public Schools Act was intended in the first place, to extend the means of instruction throughout the Colony, so that by the various agencies which the Council will establish or support, every locality, however remote, and every family, however humble, will have the ameliorating influences of education brought within their reach.\(^{23}\)

The circular went on to identify the agencies intended to achieve this objective.

While the public and denominational schools already existing will provide for the teaching of the great body of the population, the Provisional schools will confer the same advantages upon newly settled or thinly inhabited localities; and the Half-time Schools under itinerant teachers, will carry the benefits of instruction into remote and neglected districts which could not be reached by the more regular agencies.\(^{24}\)

Four measures were included in the Public Schools Act to extend educational facilities to those currently beyond its reach - the lowering of the required average attendance at a Public school to twenty-five, the assisting of private schools (Provisional schools), the appointment of itinerant teachers (Half-time schools) and the provision of boarding facilities for isolated children in Public schools. Of these measures, Provisional schools and Half-time schools were identified in the circular as the agencies that would be used to accomplish this aim, with Half-time schools nominated as the means to reach the children beyond even the Provisional schools. The idea of providing boarding facilities in Public schools had evidently been deferred or decided against. Wilkins statement stressed the importance that was being placed upon Half-time and Provisional schools to achieve the objective of extending educational provision; provided some

\(^{23}\) *Progress Report*, Appendix F.

\(^{24}\) *Progress Report*, Appendix F.
suggestion of who these schools were to serve; and gave an indication of the differing roles of Half-time and Provisional schools. Half-time schools were evidently intended for areas so remote and sparsely settled that even Provisional schools could not be established.

**The first applications for Half-time schools, April to June 1867**

As indicated in Wilkins’ circular, at the end of March 1867 no Half-time schools had yet been established. However, despite the lack of an application form and the lack of guidelines for the conduct of Half-time schools, the first steps towards the establishment of schools conducted by itinerant teachers were already taking place in a slowly evolving manner. The first two applications that were to result in the establishment of Half-time schools reached the Council of Education in mid January 1867. The first was from a private teacher, George Lacy, who was teaching in the vicinity of Farrington on the Shoalhaven River approximately twelve miles from the town of Braidwood in south eastern New South Wales. On 14 January 1867 George Lacy had written to Wilkins, as Secretary of the Council of Education, inquiring as to how he could establish a school at Farrington, with himself as teacher, under the recently introduced Public Schools Act.²⁵

The Inspector for the Sydney District, Mr Edwin Johnson, in responding to a memorandum from Wilkins seeking further information in relation to Mr

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²⁵ SRNSW, NCE/1, Council of Education, Miscellaneous Letters Received, 1867-75, 1/741, Vol. 7, Ermington – Gerringong, Folio 117, Letter from George Lacy to the Secretary of the Council, 14 January 1867.
Lacy’s letter that would, ‘enable the Council to deal with this application’\textsuperscript{26}, informed the Council on 7 March 1867 that he believed, ‘some encouragement might be given’\textsuperscript{27} to Lacy although he knew nothing of Lacy other than reports that, ‘he is regarded as a person of some attainments also possessing some skill as an artist.’\textsuperscript{28} Johnson, who evidently had a knowledge of the area although it was far from his current responsibilities, also expressed the concern that, ‘The few families located in the District are much scattered’, but believed, ‘as many as fifteen children might be got to attend regularly a school established in a central position.’\textsuperscript{29} It is probable that Wilkins also wrote a memorandum, possibly to Inspector Harris in charge of the Goulburn District, seeking advice on Mr Faithfull’s letter. If so, it was either not responded to or lost as no memorandum and reply (replies were generally written on the same paper as the memorandum) has survived.

Wilkins clearly saw the situation at Farrington as appropriate for the establishment of a Provisional school. On 13 March, Lacy was sent the recently created application form for the establishment of a Provisional school as set down in the newly endorsed Regulations\textsuperscript{30}. This could well have lead to the creation of one of the earliest Provisional schools; however Lacy had clearly reconsidered his position in the interim. When Lacy submitted the completed application form on 22 March it had become an application for a Provisional school in two localities, Farrington and

\textsuperscript{26} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/741, Folio 118, The Secretary to Inspector Johnson, 26 February 1867
\textsuperscript{27} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/741, Folio 118, Inspector Johnson to the Secretary, 7 March 1867.
\textsuperscript{28} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/741, Folio 118
\textsuperscript{29} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/741, Folio 118
\textsuperscript{30} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/741, Folio 119, Letter accompanying application from George Lacy to the Secretary, 22 March 1867.
Belallaba. Belallaba or Ballalaba was located three to five miles from Farrington on the opposite side of the Shoalhaven River. Lacy explained his proposed change in an accompanying letter.

You will perceive that the residents are somewhat scattered, one portion being at Farrington and the other at Belallaba 3 ½ miles distant. I beg to suggest to the Council of Education that the only way the pupils can be educated will be, that I attend at each place on alternate days or ½ a day at each. This with a good horse I will undertake to do, being of sound constitution, well accustomed to the bush, & of active habits.

The rationale for Lacy’s change of plan is likely to have been a desire to increase the number of students and consequently his income through salary and fees. It is unknown if Lacy was aware of the recently developed concept of Half-time schools since the Regulations had not yet been distributed to Public schools. However he could well have been aware of the Public Schools Act and his thinking may have been influenced by Clause Twelve and its proposed use of itinerant teachers for thinly populated areas. Alternatively, as a private teacher in a thinly populated area, he may potentially have used this approach previously or heard of it being used by other private teachers. However, no reference was made to any of these possible influences in the application or the accompanying letter. It is also quite possible that Lacy simply reinvented this approach to meet the existing situation.

On 15 April the Council of Education forwarded Lacy’s application for a Provisional school in two locations to Inspector Thomas Harris for his assessment and report. Harris was in charge of the Goulburn District in

31 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/741, Folio 120, Application for the establishment of a Provisional School at Farringdon and Belallaba, undated.
32 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/741, Folio 119.
33 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/741, Folio 122, Memorandum to T. Harris Esq. Inspector of Schools, Goulburn District, 15 April 1867.
which the localities of Farrington and Ballalaba lay. The Goulburn District was a very large rural area which encompassed the south eastern part of New South Wales. Harris had been the Inspector in this region since 1864 firstly as Inspector of the Southern District under the National School Board, then as Inspector of the Goulburn District under the Council of Education. Previous to this Harris had been the Head Master of the Fort Street Model School, then Training Master, responsible for the training of teachers under the National Schools Board. Harris had been made an inspector when his predecessor, Bernard McCann, drowned ‘while travelling in discharge of his duty’.

On 15 January 1867, Mr P. Faithfull, a farmer at Springfield, a locality approximately fifteen miles south of Goulburn on Mulwaree Creek, wrote to William Wilkins explaining, ‘I have a small school on my farm which will be valuable to the surrounding neighbourhood, and if it should come within the scope of the regulations I should be glad to see the schoolmaster somewhat better remunerated.’ On the 30 April the Council of Education received a brief hand written application from Mr Faithfull and Mr Styles, on behalf of children living on their farms at Springfield and Bullamalita, requesting, ‘that a Half-time School be established on our respective farms in accordance with the provisions of the Public School Regulations.’ What occurred between 15 January when Mr Faithfull initially applied for assistance for his private teacher at Springfield and this latter application for ‘a Half-time School’ in the localities of Springfield and Bullamalita is

34 Seventeenth Report of the Commissioners of National Education in New South Wales: report for the year 1864, p. 3.
35 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/753, Vol. 19, St Mary’s South Creek – Springfield, Folio 380, Letter from Mr P. Faithfull to the Secretary, 15 January 1867.
36 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/753, Folio 381, Application for a Half-time School at Springfield and Bullimalita, 30 April 1867.
unknown. Clearly Faithfull and Styles had received information on Regulation Nine but the source of this information, and if it was supplied for a specific reason, is also unknown. The fact that the number of children at each place closely relates to the number mentioned in Regulation Nine, and the likelihood that the number of children at Springfield might have been deemed insufficient for a Provisional school, suggests that Faithfull may have received advice from an official source. The private school at Springfield had eleven children in attendance and there were twelve children at Bullamalita ‘ready to accept the advantages of a public education.’

Inspector Harris was also asked to report on this application since Springfield and Bullamalita were also within the Goulburn District. Harris evidently visited Springfield and Bullamalita, and Farrington and Ballalaba, in the same journey from Goulburn as he reported on both applications on the 4 June 1867, on his return to Goulburn. Harris reported that suitable school rooms had been provided at both Springfield and Bullamalita, the two places were about seven miles apart, the private teacher at Springfield, Mr Tudor, a former National school teacher, seemed a suitable teacher and that nearly all the children belonged to shepherds who worked on the two farms. These arrangements evidently fitted Harris’s vision of what a Half-time school should be, as he commented, ‘I am of opinion that this locality is of the kind provided for by section 12 of the Public Schools Act.’ He recommended the school commence from 1 July 1867.

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37 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/753, Folio 381.
38 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/753, Folio 382, Memorandum from W.Wilkins to Inspector Harris, 14 May 1867.
39 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/753, Folio 382, Memorandum from Inspector Harris to the Secretary, 4 June 1867.
It is possible that Harris’s observations at Springfield and Bullamalita caused Harris to reflect that the situation at Farrington and Ballalaba was largely the same and that a Half-time school was more appropriate than a split Provisional school. With regard to Mr Lacy’s application, Harris determined that a Half-time school with a ‘branch’ at Farrington and another at Ballalaba would be more appropriate to the locality than a Provisional school, and asked that an application form for the establishment of a Half-time school be forwarded. Harris also commented, ‘Means of instruction are much wanted in this locality. Some near relations of notorious criminals will attend the school, if established.’\(^{40}\) This is believed to have been a reference to the immediate family of the bushranger brothers Thomas and John Clarke. Harris indicated he would report further on Farrington and Ballalaba when an official application for a ‘half-time school’ was submitted and asked for a copy of an application form for a Half-time school to be sent to Mr Wallace at Ballalaba.\(^{41}\) However, no such form existed at this time. Hugh Wallace was a notable resident being the local Member of the Legislative Assembly as well as a long term settler and farmer at Ballalaba.

It appears that the Council of Education decided to proceed immediately with the establishment of a Half-time school on the basis of Harris’s comments on Lacy’s application and had, ‘granted Aid to the Half time School established [by] G.W. Geo. Lacy at Farrington and ‘Ballallaba’\(^{42}\) by 17 June. However Lacy did not receive word of his appointment until early

\(^{40}\) SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/741, Folio 122, Memorandum from Inspector Harris to the Secretary, 4 June 1867.

\(^{41}\) SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/741, Folio 122.

\(^{42}\) SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/741, Folio 123, Mr Thomas Stewart of Farrington to the Secretary, 6 July 1867.
July.⁴³ Lacy indicated on 7 July that he was prepared to commence teaching, ‘as soon as I receive instructions.’⁴⁴

The next application that resulted in the establishment of Half-time schools was a handwritten application for ‘a half time school at Long Reach and Rock View, Lower Wollondilly.’⁴⁵ These localities are approximately fifteen miles north east of Goulburn along the Wollondilly River. The application, from Reverend M. McAbray, a Roman Catholic priest, dated 27 April 1867, indicated that there were twenty six children of school age who would attend and the distance between the two places was four and a half miles. Long Reach had previously had a National school which had closed in 1863 and the members of the proposed school board for the Half-time school at Long Reach and Rock View requested that they be allowed to use the furniture from the old National school plus the slabs (timbers) from the building, ‘which are being carried away by every flood’⁴⁶, for use in constructing the new school buildings.

There is no record of the usual practice of a prompt memorandum from Wilkins, followed by a visit and report from the District Inspector. It was not until 31 July 1867 that Inspector Harris received a memorandum from Wilkins requesting that he, ‘ascertain if any steps have been taken to give effect to the Council’s authorisation’⁴⁷ to establish Half-time schools at Long Reach and Rock View. Harris subsequently visited the localities and

⁴³ SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/741, Folio 125, George Lacy to the Secretary, 7 July 1867.
⁴⁴ SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/741, Folio 125.
⁴⁵ SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/745, Vol. 11, Lismore – Macquarie Plains, Folio 137, Application for a Half-time school at Long Reach and Rock View, 27 April 1867.
⁴⁶ SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/745, Folio 138, Letter from Proposed Local Board to the Council of Education, 27 April 1867.
⁴⁷ SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/745, Folio 139, Memorandum from W. Wilkins to Inspector Harris, 31 July 1867.
reported to the Council on 5 August 1867 that the Rock View School was operating as a private school taught by Mr Denis Louis, who was described by Harris as, ‘a man of good character and fair ability’ and who was chiefly responsible for the application for a Half-time school at Long Reach and Rock View. The school building at Long Reach had not yet been built, partly because of the flooded state of the Wollondilly River. In a subsequent memorandum dated 15 August 1867, Harris recommended to Wilkins that, ‘Mr D. Louis be appointed teacher of these schools’, that Louis would have 15 pupils at Long Reach and 16 at Rock View, and that the Council should commence paying Louis from 1 September 1867, providing that the school building at Long Reach was ready by that date.

It was later recounted by Louis that Inspector Harris had played a role in the establishment of these schools along with Roman Catholic clergy. Denis Louis had visited the Catholic Bishop of Goulburn in March 1867 to tell him he was leaving the district. The Bishop advised him to instead ‘get Half Time Schools established on the River Wollondilly as there were a great number of children scattered about that locality that were sadly in need of instruction.’ Louis then visited that locality ‘to ascertain the wishes of the people’ who:

seemed well pleased with the proposition and promised to cooperate as far as lay in their power. I then waited on the late respected Mr Harris who told me to advise the people to appoint a committee and when the necessary buildings were erected to apply to the Council.

48 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/745, Folio 139, Memorandum from Inspector Harris to the Secretary, 5 August 1867.
49 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/745, Folio 139.
50 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/745, Folio 141, Memorandum from Inspector Harris to the Secretary, 15 August 1867.
51 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/816, Vol. 82, Kiama- Luddenham, Folio 452, Denis Louis to Inspector McIntyre, 7 July 1869.
52 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/816, Folio 452.
Louis then ‘gave up the avocation I was then following and set myself to the

On the 7 June 1867, the fourth application that would lead to the
establishment of Half time schools was submitted by Edward O’Brien, the
Roman Catholic Priest at Braidwood, who requested the establishment of
schools at Jamboye and Jerricknorra. These localities were located
approximately twelve miles to the north east of Braidwood near the junction
of the Mongarlowe and Shoalhaven Rivers. While the term ‘Half-time
schools’ is not used in the application, there is evidence that this was what
was being sought. The application form for a Provisional school was
returned unused, which also suggests the likelihood of previous
correspondence; the two places are clearly named; and O’Brien clearly
indicated he was requesting an itinerant teacher by the comment, ‘Mr
Dudley McGrath promised a house for the teacher in the former place
[Jamboye] and Mr Taper in the latter [Jerricknorra], till schools would be
built.’ The application identifies nineteen school age children from five
families in the vicinity of Jamboye and twenty-nine children from five
families in the vicinity of Jerricknorra. All the children named in both places
are Roman Catholics. Although again there is no record of a prompt
memorandum from Wilkins, followed by a visit and report from the District

53 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/816, Folio 452.
54 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/743, Vol. 9, Gundaroo – Kangaloon, Folio 268, Application for
schools at Jamboye and Jerricknoora, 7 June 1867.
55 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/743, Folio 269, Uncompleted application form for a Provisional
school.
56 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/743, Folio 268.
Inspector, Mr Harris, the application appears to have been approved by 18 June 1867. 57

Each of these four applications for the establishment of a Half-time school, or schools, conformed to the requirements and implications of Regulation Nine. Each comprised two localities within a radius of ten miles, and each had a reasonable expectation of an average attendance of at least ten children in each place. The processes by which these schools were applied for and granted were also similar, not only to each other but to those for many of the new Provisional and Public schools being requested at this time, with the exception that there was no official application form for Half-time schools. Each of these four applications had been approved, though no Half-time schools had yet commenced. 58

The impact of bushranging in the Braidwood district

In July 1867 the evolving conventional process for establishing Half-time schools, and the pattern of compliance with the requirements of Regulation Nine, was suddenly disrupted when itinerant teaching diverged down a different and uncharted path. As a result the first two itinerant teachers to be appointed were not at any of the above places. The schools they taught were different in form to that laid down in Regulation Nine and the means of their establishment was also quite irregular. There is strong circumstantial evidence that the catalyst for this change was a series of events arising from the bushranging which was prevalent in the Braidwood area in the mid 1860s.

57 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/743, Folio 272, Letter from G. O’Brien to William Wilkins, 26 June 1867.
58 Progress Report, p. 5.
In the mid 1860s an extensive mountainous district near Braidwood in south eastern New South Wales, then known variously as the Jingeras, the Jingera Mountains, or Jingera, had become notorious as a haunt for cattle, sheep and horse thieves and bushrangers. The Jingeras were evidently located to the west and south of the Shoalhaven River in the Braidwood District and extended to the southwest towards Cooma. It is unclear how official the name Jingeras was, in the 1860s, and the area referred to was evidently not clearly defined. Hugh Wallace the local member of the Legislative Assembly who had been a resident of the Braidwood district for twenty-six years reflected this uncertainty when he was asked to describe the nature and extent of the Jingeras in January 1867. ‘“Jingera” has altered a great deal latterly, there used to be two districts, one called Jerrabatgully and another over the mountains called Jingera; but now they seem to consider both districts as Jingera.’\(^{59}\) Wallace described the people of the Jingeras as ‘a few squatters and a great many free selectors and small settlers’ who were ‘generally looked upon as harbourers of bushrangers’ and had no means of education or religious instruction ‘except a priest visiting them occasionally’.\(^{60}\)

A gazetteer of the period in a rather confused entry described the Jingeras as the ‘Jingery Mountains’ and somewhat vaguely placed them ‘in the Gourock range of mountains, lying on the E. bank of the Queanbeyan River

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\(^{59}\) Royal Commission to Enquire into Crime in the Braidwood District: minutes of evidence, 25 Jan.-6 Feb. 1867. Testimony of Hugh Wallace, 25 January 1867, p.17. An incomplete set of handwritten minutes of evidence presented to the Commission held by the State Library of New South Wales. The evidence of a further witness before the Commission is held by State Records of New South Wales and the evidence of a number of witnesses is missing. The minutes of evidence were never published, only the findings of the Commission were printed.

\(^{60}\) Testimony of Hugh Wallace, p. 22.
and on the road to Mongo.\textsuperscript{61} The entry swings confusingly between a description of a particular mountain and what appears to be the Jingeras.

> It lies in a rough and densely wooded country which has attained considerable notoriety as being a place of refuge for bush rangers when pursued, the intricate nature of the district rendering it almost incapable of access, except to persons having a perfect knowledge of the bush.\textsuperscript{62}

**The Clarke Brothers**

Particularly infamous among these bushrangers were brothers, Thomas and John Clarke, who from 1865 to 1867 lead a gang which ranged through the region ambushing and robbing, seemingly almost at will. Expert horsemen and bushmen, highly familiar with the area, and aided by a network of sympathisers, they eluded the efforts of the police to catch them. These are the bushrangers that Parkes had commented upon when discussing his proposed tour of the inland in 1866. Parkes later provided a fuller description of the Clarke Brothers and their circumstances.

> When I entered upon the duties of office [in 1866], one whole district in the Southern part of the colony, embracing an area nearly as big as Ireland, was held in a state of terror by a desperate gang of bushrangers, headed by two brothers named Clarke. The district was full of police, certainly three times the numbers ordinarily stationed in the several locations, but the bushrangers eluded all their vigilance and activity. Their system of a “bush telegraph”, of word of mouth communication, in which women and girls were often the most active agents, was organised and kept up with a completeness and success perfectly surprising. In this the daring horsemanship of the bush boys and girls connected with some of the bushrangers was very striking. A certain class of the small settlers notoriously harboured the offenders. For a time it seemed as if half the population was in league with crime against the defenders of law and social security. The police were outwitted in stratagem and outstripped in speed in their efforts to arrest the criminals.\textsuperscript{63}

\textsuperscript{61} Baillieres New South Wales Gazetteer and Road Guide: containing the most recent and accurate information as to every place in the colony, Sydney, Bailliere, 1866.
\textsuperscript{62} Baillieres New South Wales Gazetteer and Road Guide.
\textsuperscript{63} Sir Henry Parkes, Fifty Years in the Making of Australian History, pp. 213-214.
Parkes, as Colonial Secretary, had responsibility for the police force and was very discomforted by the failure of the police to catch the Clarkes.

I felt very keenly my responsibility so long as this state of things continued. I lost no time in pressing upon the Inspector-General the necessity for the utmost effort to cope with the wide-spread lawlessness and I required him to report specially from day to day.\textsuperscript{64}

Parkes soon personally intervened, appointing four special constables to operate undercover in the Jingeras independent of and unknown to the local police, and to apprehend the Clarkes. For months the special constables, passing themselves off as a surveying party, attempted to find the Clarkes ‘in the wild Tingera [Jingera] district.’\textsuperscript{65} On 10 January 1867 the special constables were ambushed and killed. In the following outcry, there was a call for an inquiry into law and order in the Braidwood District amidst allegations that some of the local magistrates and police had acted corruptly and aided the bushrangers.

The commission of inquiry into crime in the Braidwood District

Parkes, who experienced a difficult time, politically and personally, as a result of the tragic outcome of his decision to appoint the special constables quickly responded by appointing a Commission to investigate the state of crime in the Braidwood District. The five commissioners were directed to:

\begin{quote}
proceed to the Town of Braidwood, and there make a diligent and full inquiry into the conduct of the Magistrates and of the Police, in reference to the crime of bushranging which has been long prevalent in the District of Braidwood and surrounding country.\textsuperscript{66}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{64} Sir Henry Parkes, \textit{Fifty Years in the Making of Australian History}, p. 214.
\textsuperscript{65} Sir Henry Parkes, \textit{Fifty Years in the Making of Australian History}, p. 218.
The Commissioners were given wide powers:

to make a full and searching inquiry into the state of the population, in relation to the existence and encouragement of crime in the District aforesaid, more especially in the neighbourhood of Jingera; and also into the personal connection of the bushrangers, and to what extent they have at any time been shielded or assisted in their desperate criminal courses by the connivance, or the culpable silence and inactivity of persons not actually connected with their crimes.\(^{67}\)

The Commissioners met in the courthouse at Braidwood from 24 January to 9 February 1867, where they interviewed over forty officials and residents of the Braidwood District.

The chief focus of the Commissioners’ questions was the conduct of magistrates and police, but there were also questions about, ‘the state of the population’ in the Jingeras and the provision of education in this district. For example, in the examination of Thomas Stewart Esq, JP, there was the following exchange:

‘What is the nature of the Jingera Country?’
‘Very hilly and very scrubby.’
‘Thickly inhabited?’
‘No, very sparsely inhabited.’
‘What state are the inhabitants of the district?’
‘They are not a desirable population certainly. Of course I speak in general terms, there are many exceptions.’
‘What is their character?’
‘That it is a nest of cattle stealers’
‘Are there many children growing up among them?’
‘There are a great many children growing up in the different places.’
‘Have these children any means of education?’

\(^{67}\) Report of the Commissioners, pp. 8-9.
‘None whatever’

Some witnesses before the Commission were evidently questioned as to what provisions should be made to provide education in the Jingeras. However such questions have only survived in the evidence of one witness, James Allan, the Church of England clergyman for the Braidwood district. Allan was seventy-two or seventy-three years of age and stated he had been the Church of England minister for Braidwood for twenty-three years when he appeared before the Commission. The commissioners closely questioned Allan as to why he was not visiting the Jingeras as part of his ministry. Allan repeatedly defended his absence from the Jingeras responding: his responsibilities were limited to Braidwood itself and to the district within fourteen miles of Braidwood; religious services ‘were of little use in these outlying districts’; occasional visits to such areas were ‘productive of no perceptible good’; the Clarkes were ‘Father O’Brien’s people’; and the Church of England did not have the funds to have a presence in the Jingeras. It is clear from his comments that Allan held little hope for the moral well being of the people in the Jingeras and especially the children. He stated, ‘The parents of the children in the outlying districts do little more than feed them’.

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69 Royal Commission to Enquire into Crime in the Braidwood District: Testimony of the Reverend James Allan, 1 February 1867.  
73 Testimony of the Reverend James Allan, p. 4.  
74 Testimony of the Reverend James Allan, p. 4.  
75 Testimony of the Reverend James Allan, p. 5.  
76 Testimony of the Reverend James Allan, p. 19.  
77 Testimony of the Reverend James Allan, p. 20.
In the midst of this discourse a commissioner, Joseph Leary, asked Allan a question relating to his belief that the ignorance and attitudes of the people in the Jingeras would cause pastoral visits by him to be a waste of time. Leary asked, ‘Supposing they [children in the Jingeras] were educated preparatory to that by good schools or itinerant school masters?’ Allan responded positively to this question, ‘I think it is very important to talk on that subject a little.’ He then spoke at some length and demonstrated that he held some considered opinions on the subject of education. Allan believed that compulsory education was needed in New South Wales, ‘as in Prussia’ and children who lived more than two miles from a school ‘should be attended by an itinerant school master as in the Highlands of Scotland’. He believed the introduction of an itinerant teacher was the only way that educational facilities could be provided in the Jingeras and that an itinerant teacher would prove effective. Later in his testimony Allan suggested that two itinerant teachers should be sent into the Jingeras and that ‘two steady school masters would do a great deal of good there’. The ideas presented by Allan on the use of itinerant teachers in the Jingeras may have been his alone. However the fact that Allan put forward these ideas as a result of a specific question on that topic asked by a member of the commission suggests that there may have been previous discussion on this topic with the commissioners. There were three witnesses who appeared before the commission prior to Allan who, later in 1867, had clear links with Half-time schools in the Braidwood area. It is possible that one or more of

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78 Testimony of the Reverend James Allan, p. 4.
79 Testimony of the Reverend James Allan, p. 4.
80 Testimony of the Reverend James Allan, p. 5.
81 Testimony of the Reverend James Allan, p. 5.
82 Testimony of the Reverend James Allan, p. 16.
83 Testimony of the Reverend James Allan, p. 18.
84 Testimony of the Reverend James Allan, p. 19.
these witnesses may have had an awareness of the possibilities posed by itinerant teaching and may have put the idea to the commission. The first of these three witnesses was Hugh Wallace the local Member of the Legislative Assembly who appeared before the commission on 25 January 1867. Wallace’s home was at Ballalaba about three miles from Farrington where George Lacy had written to the Council on 4 January 1867 proposing to establish a school. By March of that year Lacy was proposing to teach at Ballalaba as well as Farrington and Wallace was clearly involved in the application for and formation of this group of Half-time schools. While there is no discussion of itinerant teaching in the minutes of Wallace’s evidence that have been preserved it is possible that part of these minutes is missing. The second witness was H. A. Cobb who appeared before the commission on 29 January 1867, this is believed to be the Henry A. Cobb who was to be one of the two itinerant teachers sent into the Jingeras. The minutes of Cobb’s evidence are missing. The third witness was Edward O’Brien, the Roman Catholic priest at Braidwood, the only member of the clergy known to visit the Jingeras who played a major role in the application for and formation of Half-time schools at Jamboye and Jerricknorra. The minutes of O’Brien’s evidence are also missing.

While no clear evidence exists that Wallace, Cobb or O’Brien raised or discussed the ideas of sending itinerant teachers into the Jingeras later events suggest that one or more of them may well have played a part in the development of this idea. It is also possible that this idea may also have been in general circulation in Braidwood at this time, or may have been initially put forward by one of the commissioners. While Allan himself was

85 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/741, Folios 120 – 132a.
to play no known part in the introduction of itinerant teachers into the
Jingeras or the development of Half-time schools elsewhere in the
Braidwood District, and it is uncertain whether the ideas he presented
reflected the ideas already put forward by another or other witnesses or were
partly or fully his own, or what impact his comments had on the
commission, the ideas Allan presented to the commission on itinerant
teachers predicted events that were to follow.

In the report of the Commissioners which was presented to Henry Parkes in
Sydney on 12 February 1867, the Commissioners examined several issues in
relation to the conduct of magistrates and the police and appended a list of
alleged harbourers of bushrangers. They also identified the lax supervision
and conduct of public houses as a problem. They attributed the failure of the
police to capture the Clarke Gang to, ‘The insufficiency of police, the nature
of the country, and the character of the residents.’ With regard to the last
two factors the Commissioners included the following overview of the
Jingeras and its residents

The country usually known as Jingera, in which the bushrangers are
principally harboured, is of a most impracticable character. It is of
very large extent, sparsely populated and requiring considerable
experience before that knowledge can be obtained to enable the
police to act effectively. The inhabitants chiefly consist of small
freeholders, who do not cultivate sufficiently for their support; and
the evidence shews [sic] that whilst the young men have
opportunities of earning an honest livelihood, yet they evince a
greater desire for an irregular mode of life than for industrious and
steady pursuits. They thus become more susceptible to bad
influences; and commencing a career in crime by cattle and horse
stealing, eventually become involved in more serious offences,
ending in bushranging and murder. Such is the history of the outlaw
Clarke, and, unfortunately, of many other criminals in this district.

[The residents] are for the most part closely connected by
relationship and intermarriage with the bushrangers; and thus shelter
and assistance, as well as information as regards the movements of

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the police, are almost everywhere available for the criminals. Even those residents who do not participate in the proceeds of crime, or sympathize with offenders, manifest an indisposition to give information or otherwise aid in affecting their capture.\textsuperscript{87}

The Commissioners came to the conclusion that the lack of education and religious instruction in the Jingeras were major long term contributing factors to the prevailing situation in this district. They stated in their report:

There is in the Jingera district an entire absence of moral training, education and religious instruction; and to this want we, in a great measure, attribute to the state of depravity which there exists. There are no schools or teachers, and the residents rarely see a minister of religion.\textsuperscript{88}

The Commissioners reinforced this view in the conclusion to their report, stating that measures to improve the magistracy and the effectiveness of the police, ‘must necessarily be accompanied by means of moral improvement in the community, without which no permanent good results can be expected.’\textsuperscript{89} However no reference was made in the Commission’s report to the idea of introducing itinerant teachers into the Jingeras, or of any other means of extending education or religious instruction into this district.

**Exploration of links between the commission of inquiry and itinerant teaching in the Jingeras**

This linking of moral improvement to the provision of education was a prevalent attitude in the 1860s. A clear pertinent example of this attitude can be found in William Wilkins’s circular to teachers, which was distributed with the Regulations approximately six weeks after the Commission presented its findings to Parkes.

\textsuperscript{87} Report of the Commissioners, pp. 8-9.
\textsuperscript{88} Report of the Commissioners, p. 9.
\textsuperscript{89} Report of the Commissioners, p. 9.
Of even greater importance than effective and enlarged instruction, is the moral training of the youth of the Colony. The formation of habits of regularity, cleanliness and orderly behaviour, - the inculcation of regard for the rights of property, public and private, - the growth of a spirit of obedience to the law, and respect for duly constituted authority, - the correct practical application of the value of time as an element of worldly success, - the implanting of a love for patient and sustained exertion in some industrial pursuit, - and the development of a character for self-reliance, - are all points of the highest value both to individual children and to the community at large.  

Taking into consideration Parkes’s close interest in bringing the Clarke brothers to justice, his instituting the commission of inquiry into the existence and encouragement of crime in the Braidwood district, particularly the Jingeras, and that his responsibilities as colonial secretary included public education, the police and the penal system, the commissioners’ criticism of the lack of educational provision in the Jingeras would certainly have caused him concern. The Council of Education, of which Parkes was the president, had made the commitment, ‘every locality, however remote, and every family, however humble, will have the ameliorating influences of education brought within their reach’\textsuperscript{91}, yet within the Jingeras the commission of inquiry had determined education was absent and its absence was a significant factor in the lawlessness and undesirable attitudes found there. Parkes and the Council of Education would clearly have felt a need to be seen to address the situation as soon as possible. The documentation on how the Council of Education responded to this situation is sadly incomplete. However the available evidence indicates that the instrument chosen to take public education into the Jingeras was Half-time schools and that in making this decision, and bringing it into effect, the Council stepped outside the restrictions imposed on the use of

\textsuperscript{90} Progress Report, Appendix F.  
\textsuperscript{91} Progress Report, Appendix F.
itinerant teachers by Regulation Nine and indeed outside the normal protocols for the establishment of schools in order to extend public education into the Jingeras as quickly and as widely as possible.

Despite this urgency, the first objective would have continued to be the apprehension of the Clarke brothers and their gang. Following the murder of the special constables in January 1867, efforts to apprehend the Clarke gang had intensified. A reward of 5000 pounds was offered for the capture of the murderers of the four special constables, further police were sent to the Braidwood district specifically to pursue the Clarke gang and a system of paying informers increased the flow of information on the bushrangers’ movements. Through death and capture the gang was reduced until only Tom and John Clarke remained at large. They were finally tracked to a settler’s hut in the Jingeras where they were besieged after John Clarke was wounded. On 17 April 1867 they surrendered to police. They were taken to Sydney, tried before the Chief Justice, Sir Alfred Stephen, found guilty of attempted murder and sentenced to death. In his summing up Sir Alfred Stephen made scathing reference to the people in the Jingeras who had supported the Clarkes: ‘you have had many abettors … I shall not waste words in respect to such people. The community is disgraced by such crimes.’\(^{92}\) On 25 June 1867 Tom and John Clarke died on the gallows in Darlinghurst jail.

What is believed to be the earliest evidence of the existence of a scheme to place itinerant teachers in the Jingeras is an undated entry in the index to the minute books of the Council of Education, which indicates the matter was

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\(^{92}\) E. F. Penzig, Bushrangers – Heroes or Villains: the truth about Australia’s wild colonial boys, Katoomba, Tranter Enterprises, 1988, pp. 130-131.
discussed in the Council of Education following the commission of inquiry. The entry is ‘Jingera Secretary to procure suitable persons to act as Itinerant Teachers in the District of’ [page] 142. Unfortunately the Council’s minute book for 1867 is missing so the actual date of this decision, and further detail that may have existed in the minutes on the events leading to this decision, is not available. The fact that the entry was on page 142 of the minute book indicates that this decision was unlikely to have been made prior to the release of the results of the commission of inquiry in February and subsequent correspondence indicates the decision was made prior to June. This entry, and the events that flowed from this decision, indicate that between February and May 1867, the Council of Education made a decision to address the lack of education in the Jingera by appointing itinerant teachers. The catalyst for the Council making this decision in that time period is most likely to have been the outcomes of the commission of inquiry and possibly some of the evidence given to the commission by the Reverend James Allan, and possibly other witnesses whose records of evidence have not survived. The capture of the Clarkes in April 1867 could have proved a further incentive for making this decision.

In May 1867 Inspector Harris, the Inspector of schools for the Goulburn District, met with Henry A. Cobb in Araluen in the Braidwood District. The circumstances of, or reasons for, Harris meeting Cobb in May 1867 were not given but as Harris subsequently described Cobb as, ‘a desirable man for employment as an itinerant teacher’ it is possible that Harris was

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94 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/749, Folio 259, Memorandum from Inspector Harris to the Secretary, 19 July 1867.  
95 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/749, Folio 259, Memorandum from Inspector Harris to the Secretary, 19 July 1867.
acting on instructions from Wilkins in relation to finding suitable people to serve as itinerant teachers in the Jingeras. Henry A. Cobb is likely to have been the same H. A. Cobb that appeared before the Commission into the State of Crime in the Braidwood District on 29 January 1867.\textsuperscript{96} If so, this is a link between the proceedings of the commission and the introduction of itinerant teaching in the Jingeras. It is possible that Cobb might have suggested or supported the introduction of itinerant teaching in the Jingeras in his testimony and/or had been involved in discussion of possible solutions to the lack of educational provision in the Jingeras following the commission of inquiry.

The next known documentary evidence of the proposed scheme to place itinerant teachers in the Jingeras is a letter written by Henry A. Cobb to William Wilkins, probably in June 1867 (the date is obscured), which was considered at a meeting of the Council of Education on 1 July 1867.\textsuperscript{97} Cobb’s opening statement in his letter to the Council intimates he was one of the itinerant teachers selected by Wilkins to serve in the Jingeras and clearly indicates there had been prior consultation on the appointment of himself as an itinerant teacher in the Jingeras: ‘I have the honor to offer for your consideration, the following suggestions relative to the proposed appointment of myself, as an itinerating teacher in the district of Braidwood under the Council of Education.’\textsuperscript{98} The suggestions contained in Cobb’s letter were radically different to both Regulation Nine and the normal practice for establishing small rural schools. Cobb proposed that he travel

\textsuperscript{96} Report of the Commissioners, p. 5.
\textsuperscript{97} SRNSW, NCE/23, Rough Minute Books, 1867; 1874 – 80, 1/330, 7 Jan – 4 Jul 1867, p. 524, Item 11.
\textsuperscript{98} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/743, Folio 302, Letter from Henry Cobb to William Wilkins. June 1867.
through the Jingeras and establish five ‘schools’ or ‘classes’ in rooms to be provided by the settlers. He named the proposed localities for his schools as Oranmier, Jeratbagully, Jeratbagully Creek, Hrawarrie and Mericombore,99 although the exact spelling of the last two is difficult to determine from Cobb’s handwriting. An indirect reference was made to the bushranging context believed to be behind the establishment of these schools in Cobb’s comment that the third proposed school is, ‘in the immediate vicinity of the O’Connells and Bengs100 who were known associates of the Clarkes.

Cobb described the proposed schools as being within an easy riding distance of each other and proposed to spend one day a week at each school. The distance he suggested that he would need to cover to reach the five proposed schools was roughly forty miles. Cobb also provided suggestions on a range of matters such as: advertising where he would be teaching; the provision of a residence in a central location; that the Council should provide a desk and form for each school; that the teacher’s salary should be sufficient to make fees unnecessary and to cover the costs of clothing, horse saddle, bridle, crupper, cloth, hobbles and large saddle bags; and that there should be allowances for travel, horse feed and house rent until the residence was built.101 Cobb also recognised that what he was setting out to do was experimental as indicated by his comment, ‘I consider experience will be absolutely necessary as a guide to the Council before this branch of public education can be systematised.’102

Henry Augustus Cobb had been a resident of the Braidwood District from about 1847. He was a storekeeper in Braidwood before becoming

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99 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/743, Folio 302.
100 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/743, Folio 302.
101 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/743, Folio 302.
102 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/743, Folio 302.
postmaster and storekeeper at nearby Majors Creek in 1860 where there was a prosperous goldfield. In 1867 Cobb was evidently a storekeeper at Araluen, another goldfield, near Braidwood. He would have been about forty-four years old and was married with three children. He was also a member of the Church of England and is likely to have been a well known and respected resident of the Braidwood district, just as he was in later life. That he had probably been called before the Commission to give evidence in January 1867 supports this idea and also suggests he had some familiarity with the Jingeras. The probability that Henry A. Cobb the itinerant teacher and H.A. Cobb the witness before the commission were the same person is reinforced by the fact that another storekeeper, William Breckenridge of Little River, was also a witness before the commission and that other business people such as Thomas Atkinson the ‘engine owner’ at Araluan and John Musgrave the proprietor of the Braidwood Dispatch also appeared before the commission. Cobb’s membership of the Church of England is likely to have been the cause of difficulties he experienced as a teacher with Roman Catholic clergy late in 1867. His correspondence with the Council of Education immediately prior to and following his appointment as teacher implies that he had been actively involved in the development of the scheme to send itinerant teachers into the Jingeras, probably as a response to the findings of the commission and possibly as a result of his evidence before the commission. The unconventional nature of his ideas and actions also suggests that he may not have had any prior

experience in teaching, and reflects his business background where he was used to making and carrying through decisions. The perception given in his correspondence is of an educated and enthusiastic individual.

The Council discussed Cobb’s letter at its 1 July 1867 meeting. The use of the term ‘Half-time Schools’ in the heading of the brief remaining records of the Council’s decisions in response to Cobbs letter, namely, ‘Jingera district : Letter of Mr Cobb proposing arrangements for Half-time Schools’ indicates that the Council had determined that the teaching arrangements proposed by Cobb came under Regulation Nine even though Cobb’s suggestions for the conduct of his schools are significantly outside the requirements of this regulation. The brief cryptic comments on Cobb’s letter in the rough minutes for the 1 July 1867 meeting of the Council of Education note that Cobb’s suggestions were ‘agreed to’ by the Council though there was evidently some concern that it might be ‘? Too much work’. The Council’s acceptance of Cobb’s suggestions indicates that the Council had already determined that it would be necessary to ignore the restrictions of Regulation Nine and the conventional methods of establishing schools in order to provide education in the Jingeras as quickly and as widely as possible. That Cobb was willing to make such suggestions to the Council, and that the Council was willing to accept them, suggests that there had been prior correspondence and/or conversation between Cobb and probably Wilkins, and that Cobbs views and ideas were sought by the Council. That Cobb was writing from Sydney suggests that he might have travelled to Sydney to discuss his ideas, indicating that both Cobb’s position

as well as the process that was being followed was highly unusual. All these features reflect the probability that this activity was in response to the findings of the commission of inquiry.

The other cryptic comments listed in the rough minutes under this item were ‘Mr Cobb 200 [pounds] account for fees Travelling expenses 10 [pounds] Mr Smith 150 [pounds]’\textsuperscript{107}. The payment of ten pounds travelling expenses to Cobb is supportive of the idea that Cobb was in Sydney to discuss his ideas on itinerant teaching with Wilkins and/or members of the Council.

The other amounts refer to the annual salaries that the Council would pay to Cobb and to Smith, who would be the other itinerant teacher appointed to the Jingeras. These salaries clearly indicate that these appointments were special and unusual in nature as they were well in excess of the average salaries paid to teachers at that time. The extent of this difference is shown in William McIntyre’s 1868 annual report as inspector of schools for the Goulburn District. Cobb had resigned by the time this report was written, but Smith’s salary of 150 pounds per annum was by far the highest salary paid to a teacher\textsuperscript{108} in that district. The next highest paid teacher in the district received 120 pounds per annum while the average salary paid to a teacher was seventy three pounds and the average salary for an assistant was forty five pounds and ten shillings. Cobb, at the time of his appointment would have been receiving one of the highest salaries paid to a teacher in New South Wales. That Cobb’s salary was higher than Smith’s is indicative that Cobb had been central to the development of the scheme to send

\textsuperscript{107} SRNSW, NCE/23, 1/330, p. 524, Item 11.

\textsuperscript{108} A ‘teacher’ was effectively the principal, other teachers were known as assistants. Most schools were one teacher schools.
itinerant teachers into the Jingeras and that Smith’s role was secondary to his.

Further evidence of the unusual nature of these schools is an entry in the index to the missing Council’s minutes for 1867, ‘Jingera District Mr Cobb appointed teacher of the Half-time School at Oranmeir and Mr R Smith [actually Edmond B. Smith] appointed teacher of the Half-time Schools to be established in the Northern portion of’ [page] 357 This entry could well relate to the decisions made at the meeting of the Council on 1 July 1867. It indicated that Cobb had responsibility for taking education into the southern portion of the Jingeras, while Smith had responsibility for the northern portion; and reinforced that these schools were being identified as Half-time schools. The Southern portion of the Jingeras where Cobb was directed to teach was evidently west of and along the southern most section of the Shoalhaven River and to the south west of Braidwood, while Smith’s northern part of the Jingeras was evidently to the north west of Braidwood, along and to the west of the Shoalhaven River. The appointment of teachers to areas, rather than to specific schools, with the intention that the teachers would identify where they were going to teach was a radical departure from the normal procedures for establishing schools.

The fragmentary evidence found in the records of the Council of Education between February and 1 July 1867 clearly identifies that the system of itinerant teaching that the Council of Education determined to establish in the Jingeras was highly unconventional in development and nature and, while in the spirit of Clause Twelve, differed significantly from the

109 SRNSW, NCE/25, 1/456.
110 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/749, Folio 258, Sketch map of the location of Henry Cobb’s classes, 16 July 1867.
111 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/743, Folio 303.
requirements of Regulation Nine, except for the use of the title ‘Half-time schools’. This evidence also strongly suggests that the decision to send Cobb and Smith as itinerant teachers to the Jingeras resulted from the findings of the commission of inquiry, but it does not definitively link the two events. A wide range of Council records for the first half of 1867 were examined in an attempt to either prove or disprove this link, but the sources given here are the only evidence found. The absence of the missing Council minutes for 1867 and a range of other documentation such as the out-letter book for this period are much lamented. The major Council sources examined were: the Council meeting agenda papers for 1867, the rough minute book for 1867, the index to the 1867 minute book, letters received by the Secretary for 1867, the Secretary’s private out-letter book for 1867, the contents list for the in-letter books for 1867, letters and memoranda received from Inspector Harris in 1867, and correspondence relating to the schools under Cobb and Smith in the Jingeras. Correspondence from the Colonial Secretary to the Council of Education and the register of letters received by the Colonial Secretary for this period were also checked without success. However the development of these schools from July 1867 confirms that the approach to itinerant

113 SRNSW, NCE/23, 1/330.
114 SRNSW, NCE/25, 1/456.
115 SRNSW, NCE/16, Letters received by the Secretary, 1867; 1874; 1879, 1/731, 8 Jan – 11 Mar 1867.
116 SRNSW, NCE/18, Secretary’s Private Out-letter Book, 1867; 1874-75, 1/355, 8 Jan – 22 Nov 1867, pp. 701 – 721.
117 SRNSW, NCE/13, Contents List to In-letter Books, 1867-9, 1/477 and 1/478.
118 SRNSW, NCE/7, Letters and Memoranda received from Inspectors, 1867-74, 1/759, Vol. 25, Albury – Maitland.
119 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/743 and 1/749, Vol. 15, Newcastle to Pambula, Folios 250 – 269.
120 SRNSW, Colonial Secretary Correspondence, NRS966, Council of Education, 4/3703-4, Copies of Letters sent to the Council of Education 4 January 1867 – 9 December 1873.
121 SRNSW, Colonial Secretary Correspondence, NRS922, Register of Letters Received, 1867.
teaching employed by Cobb and Smith was at variance with Regulation Nine, and provides further evidence that the creation of these schools was an outcome of the findings of the commission of inquiry.

The first itinerant teachers – Cobb and Smith in the Jingeras

Henry Cobb had returned to his home, in the Braidwood district, at Araluen, on 7 July 1867. On 8 July he submitted a requisition for school materials, a step not normally taken until everything was in place and the school was about to commence. On 16 July 1867 he further reported to Wilkins, ‘in accordance with their [the Council of Education’s] instructions I proceeded to the scene of my future labours … and that I have succeeded in arranging for the formation of five classes’ over a circuit which covered an area roughly sixteen miles by six miles. Cobb identified the localities at which his ‘classes’ would be held as Oranmeir (with twelve children); Jeratbagully (also with twelve children); Fairfield (with eight children); Mount Pleasant (with ten children); and Stony Creek (with five children); and proposed to teach one day each week in each place. Cobb anticipated that the numbers of children attending would increase as the summer approached and younger children could more safely venture to school. The distance between the localities at which Cobb proposed to teach ranged from three and a half miles to eight miles, with Cobb anticipating that he would travel about forty miles a week commencing at his home on Monday morning and returning there on Friday evening.

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122 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/749, Folio 250, Letter from Henry Cobb to the Secretary, 9 July 1867.
123 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/749, Folio 254, Requisition for School Materials for the Half-time School at Oranmeir, 8 July 1767.
124 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/749, Folio 257, Letter from Henry Cobb to the Secretary, 16 July 1867.
125 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/749, Folio 257.
Cobb evidently had a prior knowledge of the areas in which he was to teach, and was aware of events relating to the Clarke gang in his teaching district. On the sketch map he produced of his proposed teaching circuit he indicated the places where the four special constables were murdered and where the Clarke brothers were captured.\footnote{SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/749, Folio 258.} This again is suggestive of a link between his appointment and the findings of the commission of inquiry. Following his appointment Cobb moved to Majors Creek where he had previously been postmaster and a storekeeper. Majors Creek was a significant community at that time, and in renting a farmhouse there he was placing himself in better proximity to his schools as, ‘The range is too steep to go to Oranmeir direct from Araluen.’\footnote{SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/749, Folio 258.} The move also provided Cobb and his family with a civilised retreat away from his work, ‘where my children will have the benefit of a regular school and my wife of society and friends.’\footnote{SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/749, Folio 257.}

In contrast with Cobb little information is given or discernable about Edmond B. Smith. He appears not to have been familiar with the area in the Jingeras where he was to teach, as he was accompanied on his initial tour of his district by a local resident.\footnote{SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/743, Folio 303, Letter from E. B. Smith to the Secretary, 18 July 1867.} Judging from his correspondence Smith stayed in Braidwood when not travelling around his schools. Smith’s correspondence tended to be brief and far more conventional than Cobb’s. He appears to have been competent, comfortable with the role of itinerant teacher in the Jingeras, and may well have been a teacher previously. That Smith’s initial report to the Council was supported by Edward O’Brien, the Roman Catholic Priest for Braidwood, and the fact he does not report
having the problems with Catholic clergy that Cobb experienced, suggests that Smith was probably a Catholic.

On the 18 July 1867 Smith informed Wilkins of the initial arrangements he has made for itinerant teaching in the northern portion of the Jingeras: ‘in accordance with the instructions of the Council of Education I have delivered the letters entrusted to me to the various gentlemen to whom they are addressed.’ ¹³⁰ This comment suggests that there may have been correspondence between concerned citizens of Braidwood and the Council of Education which played a part in the appointment of Mr Smith as an itinerant teacher in the Jingeras. Such concern could have arisen from, or been heightened by, the findings of the commission of inquiry in regard to the need for educational facilities in the Jingeras. The comment also suggests that Smith, like Cobb, may have met personally with Wilkins in Sydney, and there received those letters to be distributed when he reached Braidwood.

At the end of Smith’s letter is a brief note from Edward O’Brien, the Roman Catholic Priest at Braidwood, who wrote, ‘I have perused the above letter of Mr Smith’s and I believe the arrangements he has made are quite suitable for the District.’ ¹³¹ Normally such a notation for the attention of the Council of Education would be made by the District Inspector. The fact that O’Brien had felt it appropriate to append such a note to Smith’s letter suggests that O’Brien may have been actively involved in correspondence with the Council of Education on the matter of extending educational facilities into the Jingeras. O’Brien had been one of the Braidwood residents called in and examined by the Commission into Crime in the Braidwood District on

¹³⁰ SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/743, Folio 303.
¹³¹ SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/743, Folio 303
Friday, 1 February 1867 and would certainly have responded to the Commission’s negative findings with regard to education and religion in the Jingeras.

Edmund Smith reported that he had established four ‘classes’, one near Larbert, ‘twelve miles from Braidwood in a north westerly direction’, the second at Yence [Manar?], ‘about six miles south of the former station’, the third at Long Swamp, ‘seven miles to the south west of Yence’, and the fourth at Mulloon Creek five miles to the south east of Long Swamp.¹³² These localities appear to have been in a rough line, running from the north to the south, to the west of the Shoalhaven River and north-west of Braidwood. Smith wrote his correspondence from Braidwood, which suggests he used the town as the starting and ending point for his circuit. If so he probably anticipated covering a distance of forty miles or more in completing his circuit. He indicated he was ready to begin teaching ‘as soon as the books arrive’¹³³ indicating that he too had already submitted a requisition for school materials.

Thus in less than three weeks both Cobb and Smith had identified the places where they would teach, had made arrangements to teach in those places and were looking to commence teaching. This was a major departure from the normal application process used to determine the viability of a proposed school before it was approved, such as that experienced previously in gaining approval for the establishment of Half-time schools. There were no applications for the establishment of these schools. Nor are there any reports from the local inspector examining aspects such as the suitability of the

¹³² SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/743, Folio 303.
¹³³ SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/743, Folio 303.
available or proposed school buildings, the number of eligible students, accommodation available for the teacher, the suitability of the proposed teacher, where there was one and providing a recommendation as to when the schools might commence. Instead both Cobb and Smith were directly empowered by the Council to go into their allotted sections of the Jingeras and to personally establish the schools which they would teach and to commence teaching as soon as they were ready. This significant departure from the normal process supports the premise that this process was an urgent response to the findings of the commission of inquiry.

The precise dates on which Cobb and Smith actually commenced teaching are not entirely clear. Henry Cobb had advertised in the *Braidwood Dispatch* that he would commence teaching on Monday, 29 July 1867\(^{134}\). Cobb subsequently reported to the Council on the 10 August 1867, that he had been, ‘unable to open the school precisely to time’\(^{135}\), but had evidently been teaching for at least a week.

> I have managed to get on with the children at their houses, and I have been occupied hearing them read, spell, etc and in classifying them…I have taken the opportunity of calling at every home on my road from one class to another to become acquainted with all the people.\(^{136}\)

It would appear then that Cobb commenced teaching no later than Monday 6 August 1867 and possibly began during the week before, between 30 July and 2 August. The books Smith was waiting on had reached him by the 29

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\(^{134}\) SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/749, Folios 259 and 260, advertisement from the *Braidwood Dispatch*, date unknown. It is possible that reports in this newspaper could have provided valuable information on the early Half-time schools and their probable links to the Commission of inquiry. However no known copies of this newspaper have survived from the 1860s.

\(^{135}\) SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/749, Folio 261, Letter from Henry Cobb to the Secretary, 10 August 1867.

\(^{136}\) SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/749, Folio 261.
July 1867, after unexpected delays,\textsuperscript{137} so it is probable that he commenced teaching then or shortly after. It appears likely, therefore, that the ‘Oranmeir’ and ‘Jingera’ Half-time schools commenced at the end of July or early in August 1867, thus becoming the first Half-time schools to be established. That these schools had gone from a tentative concept to an actuality in less than two month was quite unusual and clearly indicates that the Council stepped outside the normal protocols for the establishment of schools in order to extend public education into the Jingeras as quickly as possible. By contrast, none of the four previously organised half time teaching arrangements at Farrington and Ballalaba, Springfield and Bullamalita, Rock View and Long Reach, or Jamboye and Jerricknora had yet commenced despite having been planned for months.

Cobb’s date of appointment is recorded as June 1867 in NSW Department of Education and Training records\textsuperscript{138} and this is also given as the official opening date for two of his schools or ‘classes’, Deanes Flat (Oranmeir) and Jerrabatgulla(1)\textsuperscript{139}. The other three schools – Mount Pleasant (1), Fairfield (1) and Stony Creek (2) are simply listed as opening in 1867.\textsuperscript{140} Smith’s date of appointment is given as July 1867\textsuperscript{141} and this is also given as the official opening date for his schools, Larbert (1), Manar (1), Douro and Mulloon (1)\textsuperscript{142}. These dates reflect the usual practice where a teacher’s appointment date was also the commencement date of the school. In the case of Cobb, and possibly in the case of Smith, this has lead to the official

\textsuperscript{137} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/743, Folios 304 and 305.
\textsuperscript{138} NSW Department of Education and Training (NSW DET), Education and Training Information Service (ETIS), Head of School card for Deanes Flat.
\textsuperscript{139} Government Schools of New South Wales 1848 – 2003, NSW DET, 2003, pp.56 and 79. Numbers are used after some names in this publication to distinguish schools which have the same name.
\textsuperscript{140} Government Schools of New South Wales, pp. 99, 62 and 122.
\textsuperscript{141} NSW DET, ETIS, Head of School card for Farrington.
\textsuperscript{142} Government Schools of New South Wales, pp. 85, 90, 57 and 100.
month that teaching commenced at these places being incorrect. Cobb and Smith were in the highly unusual situation of being appointed and paid to go out and first organise their schools, then to start teaching them and this has lead to this discrepancy.

The nature of the schools established by Cobb and Smith in the Jingeras provides further evidence these schools were an urgent response to a special need. They diverged significantly from the guidelines for itinerant teaching given in Regulation Nine, and as reflected in the Council’s prior arrangements for the four localities where Half-time schools were already planned. Instead of teaching in only two places, Cobb taught in five places and Smith four. Both Cobb and Smith were also clearly not restricted to teaching children within ‘an estimated radius of ten miles from a central point’\textsuperscript{143} as their circuits ranged over far more extensive distances. The requirement that the children should be ‘collected in groups of not less than ten children in each’\textsuperscript{144} does nor appear to have been enforced at two of Cobb’s five schools or classes, Fairfield and Stony Creek, where there were only eight and five children respectively at the time these schools were formed.\textsuperscript{145} Smith does not mention numbers of children at all in his report to the Council on his initial classes.\textsuperscript{146} Again, this was unusual as the Council was normally anxious to be assured that there were sufficient children to meet the required minimum for the relevant class of school being formed.

The normal practice of ensuring that school buildings of a certain standard were to be provided was also ignored. Both Cobb and Smith used the quickly organised expedient of teaching in existing rooms in homes or farm

\textsuperscript{143} Regulations under the Public Schools Act of 1866, Part II, Section I, Regulation 9.
\textsuperscript{144} Regulations under the Public Schools Act of 1866, Part II, Section I, Regulation 9.
\textsuperscript{145} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/749, Folio 257.
\textsuperscript{146} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/743, Folio 303.
buildings. There is no correspondence as to the proportions, soundness or appropriateness of those rooms or assessment of them by the District Inspector before teaching commenced. Cobb and Smith simply named the families on whose farms they had organised to teach.\textsuperscript{147} There also appears to have been an exemption from the normal practice of requiring residents to provide the school furniture, at least in Cobb’s schools. Cobb purchased appropriate school furniture on the Council’s account and arranged for it to be carted to the places where he would teach, at Council’s expense.\textsuperscript{148}

Further evidence of the unusual nature of these schools was the authority that the itinerant teacher Henry A. Cobb was prepared to exercise. Clearly Cobb had been given, or had reached, an understanding that the situation he was preparing for was a special case where normal restrictions and requirements did not apply. Cobb clearly had, or felt he had, a significant say in the way he was to organise and run his schools. A sense of ownership and authority comes through his correspondence. He undertook the task of organising his classes with enthusiasm and an almost missionary zeal. He clearly saw himself as taking on a significant task, of being at the beginning of a time, and having a responsibility to make the scheme of taking education into the Jingeras through itinerant teaching work. In short, Cobb seems to have seen himself as much more than simply a teacher under the Council.

Cobb’s letters to the Council are full of ideas and schemes for the conduct of ‘Oranmeir Half-school’ as his teaching circuit came to be known. He also readily presented ideas for the location of Smith’s classes suggesting that

\textsuperscript{147} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/749, Folio 260 and 1/743, Folio 303.
\textsuperscript{148} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/749, Folio 257.
‘Loxlowe’, ‘on the road to Queanbeyan from Ballalaba’ would make a good centre, ‘which would join on with the Oranmier district’; and clearly felt he had the authority to make decisions and expend money on behalf of the Council of Education. Two examples of this are his ordering school furniture to be made and carted at Council expense, and his advertising of his classes in the *Braidwood Dispatch*, again at Council expense. These instances along with his proposals for the Council to provide a residence, a horse and accoutrements, and various allowances demonstrate that he regarded the work as special and something the Council should be willing to invest in and strongly support.

Cobb took the time to visit ‘every home on my road from one class to another in order to become acquainted with all the people’ and commented on the people of the Jingeras in his correspondence with Wilkins. This behaviour and his comments are consistent with the view that Cobb’s appointment arose from the findings of the commission of inquiry as his observations relate to the concerns raised by the commission and the post-bushranger situation in the Jingeras. He wrote of ‘immorality among some of the parents such as I could have never conceived’ and described the divisions among the people which are likely to have related, at least in part, to differences between those who had supported or harbouring the bushrangers as against those who opposed or informed on them.

The whole of the adult population seems to be at variance with each other; and it requires no little discrimination to steer between them, and so avoid becoming an object of suspicion, even to those who know me well.

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149 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/749, Folio 257.
150 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/749, Folio 261.
151 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/749, Folio 261.
152 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/749, Folio 261.
Contrary to the finding of the Commission that, ‘in the Jingera district … there are no schools or teachers’,\textsuperscript{153} Cobb found that many of the children in his district could already read and write. Two families had ‘a resident tutor and the neighbours take advantage of this circumstance to send their children.’\textsuperscript{154}

Initially, Cobb was, ‘received with great kindness by every person that I visited, both Catholic and Protestant, and also with expressions of thankfulness that these itinerating classes are to be established amongst them.’\textsuperscript{155} However the fact that Cobb was a Protestant became an issue. In a report written in December 1867 Cobb noted the withdrawal of a number of children from his school partly, he believed, due to a visit to his district from ‘the RC priest’ [possibly Edward O’Brien] and ‘numbers of the scholars have attended mass.’\textsuperscript{156} The animosity of the Roman Catholic Church to the Public Schools Act was, Cobb felt, likely to have a further impact on his classes:

\begin{quote}
I also have reasons for believing that the letter of the Roman Catholic Archbishop will (in conjunction with this particular visit of the priest) be the means of the withdrawal of a large number of the children.

One family – notorious for their complicity with crime in this district have withdrawn their three children for the past three weeks and have spread abroad a report that I am a spy in the service of the Government.\textsuperscript{157}
\end{quote}

Clearly the Half-time schools taught by Cobb and Smith were not restricted by the same requirements which the other four groups of Half-time schools, which subsequently opened in 1867, had been required to meet to gain

\begin{footnotes}
\item[153] Report of the Commissioners, p. 9.
\item[154] SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/749, Folio 257.
\item[155] SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/749, Folio 257.
\item[156] SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/749, Folio 269, Letter from Henry A. Cobb to Inspector Harris, 21 December 1867.
\item[157] SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/749, Folio 269.
\end{footnotes}
approval for their formation from the Council. While Cobb and Smith’s schools meet the spirit of Clause Twelve of the Public Schools Act, their teaching arrangements seemed to ignore Regulation Nine completely, except for the use of the name ‘Half-time school’. This supports the premise that the Council was anxious to provide education in the Jingeras as widely and as quickly, as possible. While the evidence of a link between the findings of the commission into Crime in the Braidwood District and the establishment of Half-time schools in the Jingeras found in 1867 documentation is strong, it is not in itself conclusive. The connection is implied but never directly stated. Clearly stated evidence of this link does not emerge from the available documentation until 1868.

The form taken by the itinerant schools under Cobb and Smith in 1867 was similar in many ways to that of the Roman Catholic Denominational School at Burragorang. All three were multiple station schools that served the needs of wide districts and requiring the teachers to travel extensive distances. The children were taught in homes and received limited teaching at designated times. Evidently each teacher had a responsibility to reach as many children in his district as possible. Could Burragorang have had an influence on, or served as a model for, the form of itinerant teaching being set in place in the Jingeras? It is possible that this might have been the case as the Council of Education was certainly aware of the itinerant teaching arrangements in Burragorang in February 1867. The Council may have determined that such a system would be more applicable to the immediate needs of the Jingeras, as identified by the Royal Commission, than the more restricted model of itinerant teaching provided for under Regulation Nine. However,

158 SRNSW, NCE/22, 1/833, Wednesday, 27 February 1867, Item 18, Burragorang: Mr Scully requests to be furnished with salary extracts as itinerant schoolmaster.
there is no substantive evidence that this was the case. One event which suggests the possibility of a link was the arrival of Mr George Szarka as an itinerant teacher in the Braidwood District in October 1867. His name, behaviour, and that he was probably a Catholic, suggest that this could well have been the same George Szarka who conducted the Burrarorang Roman Catholic Denominational School from 1862 to 1866.

**Inspector Harris**

Thomas Harris, the Inspector of Schools for the Goulburn District, does not appear to have been aware of the nature of the Council of Education’s actions to place itinerant teachers in the Jingeras until mid July 1867 when both Cobb and Smith were both actively organising their schools. On 19 July Harris wrote to Wilkins with regard to a letter he had received from Henry Cobb:

> Mr Cobb has intimated to me that the work of itinerating in the vicinity of Oranmier and Jerrabatgully has been assigned to him by the Council of Education. He has applied to me for instructions and for information relative to accounts of expenses which the Council, as he states, has authorised him to incur.\(^\text{159}\)

Harris may well have been surprised that such activities were taking part in his inspectorate without him being informed or involved. Inspectors normally played a critical role in the planning and assessing of proposed schools in their inspectorates. Harris also expressed surprise that Cobb, ‘has made arrangements to conduct classes at five different places’, \(^\text{160}\) and stated:

> Such a course does not agree with the provisions of Article 9, Chapter II of the Regulations [Regulation Nine]. The small amount

\(^{159}\) SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/749, Folio 259, Memorandum from Inspector Harris to the Secretary, 19 July 1867.

\(^{160}\) SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/749, Folio 259.
of time that can be given to each class by such a plan will be productive of very little good.\textsuperscript{161}

Harris then requested, ‘Will you have the goodness to acquaint me with the duties that Mr Cobb has been instructed to perform?’\textsuperscript{162}

Later correspondence, from October 1867, indicates that Wilkins responded to Inspector Harris’ memorandum, probably in July, and that Harris was given a key role in determining the form and future of Half-time schools from that point. The later correspondence indicates Harris had been given the task of formulating a set of ‘Instructions’ for the conduct of Half-time schools.\textsuperscript{163} Unfortunately the specific details of Wilkins’ memorandum to Harris, namely the directions sent to Harris and possibly the rationale for Harris being given this task, are unknown as the memorandum is lost. It was common practice at that time for the reply to a memorandum from Wilkins to be written on, or to begin upon, the same sheet of paper, thus keeping the direction or request and the response together. As Inspector Harris did not reply to the memorandum it was never returned to the Council and never filed. It is possible that Wilkins and the Council had intended the methods used by Cobb and Smith in initiating itinerant teaching in the Jingeras to be an interim measure that could be reviewed once the objective of getting educational provision in place had been achieved. Perhaps, as Harris had all the proposed Half-time schools within his inspectorate, it was felt he was in the best position to give practical and appropriate form to the increasingly hazy concept of the Half-time school.

\textsuperscript{161} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/749, Folio 259.
\textsuperscript{162} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/749, Folio 259.
\textsuperscript{163} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/743, Folio 310, Memorandum from the Secretary to Inspector Harris, 2 October 1867.
Inspector Harris’s not replying to this memorandum was not an isolated incident. For unknown reasons Harris was failing to fulfil some aspects of his correspondence with the Council in 1867. The problem was severe enough to draw a strong rebuke in the form of a private letter from Wilkins in November of that year:

by your omission to furnish reports … you are drawing upon yourself the severest censure of the Council by your inexplicable neglect. It seems from your diaries you have spent time in corresponding with Teachers, Local Boards and private individuals, but leave the business of the Council – your employers – unattended to. What can be your motive? Whatever it be, I do hope you will rouse yourself to a sense of the danger you incur.164

Some of the missing correspondence previously mentioned with regard to the other Half-time schools might also have been a consequence of this problem. Harris evidently did not assist Cobb in this regard as on 17 August 1867 Cobb informed Wilkins that he had ‘received no document relative to my duties’.

164 SRNSW, NCE/18, 1/355, p.719, Letter from W. Wilkins to T. Harris, 13 November 1867.
165 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/749, Folio 262, Henry A. Cobb to the Secretary, 17 August 1867.

The other four itinerant teachers

As a result of Harris’s not replying to the Council’s request for ‘Instructions’ for Half-time schools, the Oranmeir and Jingera Half-time Schools commenced and operated in the multi-class form accepted or intended by Council and developed by Cobb and Smith. The other four groups of Half-time schools already approved also opened in the vacuum created by Harris’s failing to respond to Wilkin’s memorandum.
Lacy at Farrington and Ballalaba

George Lacy began teaching in the vicinity of Farrington and Ballalaba on 5 August 1867, immediately after Cobb and Smith had commenced teaching in their districts. Lacy’s district was effectively located between Cobb’s and Smith’s, but along the Shoalhaven River. Lacy commenced teaching not in two places as previously intended, but at four, and proposed to extend his teaching circuit to six places. The places where Lacy indicated he was teaching were Farrington (ten children), Bendoro (six children), Bellallaba (fourteen children), and Mrs Clarke’s (nine children). These four localities all appear to have been in close proximity of each other with the two furthermost places being four miles apart. It appears that Lacy had split each of the proposed two schools, Farrington and Bellallaba, into two teaching stations. Farringdon was on the western side of the Shoalhaven River while the other three places were on the eastern side. The two further proposed but unnamed teaching stations were both on the western side of the river and were both four miles distant from Farrington.

Lacy’s decision to increase the number of places at which he taught could well have been influenced by the formation of Cobb’s and Smith’s multi-station teaching circuits. He might well have rationalised that as he was teaching in the same district he could adopt the same model. However it appears that his decision to divide his two schools into four teaching stations was based on sound practical considerations. Despite his disapproval of multi-station Half-time schools, Inspector Harris approved Lacy’s teaching.

166 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/741, Folio 125, Letter from George Lacy to the Secretary, 15 September 1867.
167 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/741, Folio 130, Sketch of the localities of Farringdon and Bellallaba Schools, undated.
168 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/741, Folio 130.
169 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/741, Folio 130.
arrangements, ‘for the present’\(^\text{170}\), citing the difficulty of the river crossing between Farringdon and Bendora as a practical reason for dividing one station into two and supporting the Clarke children’s being taught in their own home when they could have easily have walked to Bendora. He supported the latter decision on the basis that Mrs Clarke was the mother of the deceased bushrangers, Tom and John Clarke, and ‘from their connection with recent notorious criminal affairs, objections have been raised by respectable neighbours, as well as by themselves [the Clarkes], to mixing in the same class for instruction.’\(^\text{171}\) Harris, however, did not support Lacy’s intention of extending his teaching to a fifth and sixth location,\(^\text{172}\) nor did he subsequently suggest any changes to the teaching arrangements which he had implied would be temporary. As a consequence Lacy’s schools remained known officially by the two names Farrington and Bellallaba but actually existed in four approved locations.

The next two itinerant teachers to commence teaching were John Louis and Charles Tutor whose allocated areas - Long Reach and Rock View, and Springfield and Bullamalita - were in the vicinity of Goulburn, rather than Braidwood. Both commenced teaching in September 1867 and in both cases taught only in the two approved places to which they had been assigned.

**Louis at Long Reach and Rock View**

John Louis commenced teaching the Half-time schools at Long Reach and Rock View on 2 September 1867 following the completion of the school.

\(^{170}\) SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/741, Folio 132, Memorandum from Inspector Harris to the Secretary, 19 Oct 1867.

\(^{171}\) SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/741, Folio 132.

\(^{172}\) SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/741, Folio 132.
building at Long Reach. The Rock View school building had been completed in June 1867 and Louis had been working there as a private teacher impatiently awaiting the completion of the Long Reach school building. ‘I could not get the inhabitants of Long Reach to exert themselves at all. They were quite willing to send their children if the building were erected but none seemed willing to aid in erecting it.’ When Harris visited in August 1867 at Wilkins’s prompting to find the cause for the delay:

he advised me [Louis] to give up teaching at Rock View for a short time to go around the district and to endeavour to collect sufficient funds to erect the building at Long Reach … I then induced a few to assist me and the second building was complete on the 1\textsuperscript{st} September /67 the date of my appointment.175

**Tudor at Springfield and Bullamalita**

It is not known why Charles Tudor did not officially enter on duty at Springfield and Bullamalita Half-time Schools on 1 July 1867 as recommended by Inspector Harris. The required school materials were requisitioned and supplied in good time for this commencement date, the school rooms were available, and no correspondence remains relating to a delay or to Tudor’s actual commencement date. Both *Government Schools of New South Wales* and the Head of School card for Springfield note that Tutor was officially appointed to his schools in September 1867\textsuperscript{176} so this date is accepted as the commencement date of these schools.

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173 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/745, Folio 142, Letter from Mr Louis to the Secretary, 1 September 1867.
174 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/816, Folio 452.
175 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/816, Folio 452.
176 NSW DET, ETIS, Head of School card for Springfield (1) and *Government Schools of New South Wales*, pp. 39 and 121.
Szarka at Jamboye and Jerricknorra

The final itinerant teacher to commence teaching in 1867, George Szarka, officially taught at only two places, but actually briefly taught at four places before reverting to the two places he had been appointed to. The opening of the Half-time schools at Jamboye and Jerricknorra was delayed until October 1867 as the Council had some difficulty finding a suitable teacher. George Szarka who was appointed by the Council to the position appears to have been in his teaching district from early October 1867, as a resident of Narriga reported to the Council on 2 October 1867:

A gentleman has been sent from the Council to this neighbourhood as a half day teacher for Corang and Jerricknorra but as these places are distant … 6 & 10 miles from Nerriga few of the children would be able to attend school.177

That George Szarka commenced teaching in October is also supported by two other items of correspondence. On 16 October Edward O’Brien, the Roman Catholic priest at Braidwood wrote to the Council thanking them for, ‘sending Mr Szarka as teacher’,178 while Inspector Harris had provided Mr Szarka with ’direction on the 12th October last.‘179 though these directions are likely to have been limited as Harris had ‘no personal knowledge of the localities to which Mr Szarka is to direct his labours’.180

Wilkins subsequently sent a memorandum to Inspector Harris which directed him to, ‘inform Mr Szarka that he has exceeded his instructions which confine his labour to Corang or Jamboye and Jerricknorra.’181 It

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177 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/748, Vol. 14, Moulamein – Newcastle, Folio 239, Letter from Mr Aldcorn to the Secretary, 2 October 1867.
178 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/743, Folio 273, Letter from E. O’Brien RCC to W. Wilkins, 16 October 1867.
179 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/743, Folio 274, Memorandum from Inspector Harris to the Secretary, 2 November 1967.
180 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/743, Folio 274.
181 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/748, Folio 240.
appears that Szarka had commenced teaching at Jamboyne, Jerricknorra, Corang and Nerriga ‘but owing to the large number of children at Jamboyne and Jerricknorra he was obliged to discontinue his visits [to Corang and Nerriga].’ This latter comment was made to Wilkins by Inspector Johnson six months later but it probably provides the reason Wilkins directed Szarka to limit his teaching to two places, in contrast to the different arrangements in the nearby Jingeras, as Szarka had by far the highest enrolment of Half-time schools operating at the end of 1867. George Szarka’s official starting date is given as 1867 only, the commencement date given for his schools at Jamboyne and Jerricknorra is also just 1867, indicating the Council was also unclear just when George Szarka commenced teaching.

As previously noted, it is possible that this was the same George Szarka who was the itinerant teacher at Burragorang Roman Catholic Denominational School from 1862 to 1866. Not only was his name the same, but the surname was uncommon. He initially opened a number of teaching stations that were evidently some distance apart which was consistent with the pattern of itinerant teaching employed at Burragorang and he was evidently a Roman Catholic judging from the positive response to his appointment by Edward O’Brien, the Roman Catholic priest at Braidwood. If it was the same person he would have been a suitable candidate, with his years of experience as an itinerant teacher, to have been appointed to this largely Catholic school.

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182 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/784, Vol. 47, Lismore to East Maitland, Folio 320, Memorandum from Inspector Johnson to the Secretary, 9 April 1868..
184 NSW DET, ETIS, Head of School card for Jamboye.
185 Government Schools of New South Wales, pp. 78 and 79.
Inspector Harris’s ‘Instructions’

On 2 October 1867, Wilkins sent a memorandum to Harris referring to letters from Edmond Smith, dated 18 July, which related to the proposed arrangement of Smith’s classes, and 17 August, proposing to open a class at ‘Arn Prior’ to replace the proposed class at Long Swamp which had not eventuated and suggesting the opening of a fifth class ‘on the Eastern side of the Shoalhaven River’. Wilkins informed Harris, ‘These letters of Mr Smith’s have not been replied to mainly in consequence of your omission to furnish the “instructions” which formed the subject of a previous communication to you.’ With this prompting Inspector Harris finally provided his ‘Instructions for Itinerant Teachers’ on 11 November 1867, approximately three and a half months after they were first requested and six weeks after he had been reminded of the need to submit them. Harris indicated that his instructions were, ‘framed upon the supposition that the labours of each Itinerant Teacher will be restricted to two stations or “Half-time Schools.”’ This statement affirmed Harris’ underlying commitment to the restrictions and implications of Regulation Nine and his discontent with the multi-station version of Half-time schools which had been established in the Jingeras.

Harris tactfully provided a path for the multi-station Half-time schools developed by the Council to be altered to his preferred model without directly condemning the approach taken by the Council in the Jingeras.

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186 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/743, Folio 303.
187 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/743, Folio 310, Memorandum from W. Wilkins to Inspector Harris, 2 Oct 1867.
188 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/743, Folio 309, Edmond Smith to the Secretary, 17 August 1867.
189 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/743, Folio 310.
190 SRNSW, NCE/7, 1/759, Folio 327, Memorandum from Inspector Harris to the Secretary, 11 November 1867.
191 SRNSW, NCE/7, 1/759, Folio 327.
I am of opinion that when a teacher is allowed to have charge of classes at more than two places, the management should be regarded as temporary and intended for the purpose of ascertaining the most suitable places for permanent stations.\footnote{SRNSW, NCE/7, 1/759, Folio 327.}

Thus Harris intended that the schools established by the Council in the Jingeras were to be seen as an acceptable interim step that subsequently needed to be rationalised into the two group format implied under Regulation Nine. Harris used Henry Cobb’s teaching arrangements as an example to indicate what he felt should be done.

Children can derive but a small amount of benefit from a teacher who devotes only one day in each week to their instruction, as is the case with Mr Cobb who in each week teaches at five different places. It is advisable that at an early date he should be enabled to confine his attention to Fairfield and Jeratbagully.\footnote{SRNSW, NCE/7, 1/759, Folio 327.}

Within this preferred context of one itinerant teacher serving two groups of children, Harris proposed that the following special rules be applied to Half-time schools:

In addition to the directions to teachers contained in the Council’s Regulations, each teacher in charge of Half-time Schools is required to observe the following instructions:-

1. To conduct the schools placed under his care upon alternate weeks.
2. To teach for at least six hours upon each school day.
3. To do his utmost to secure the attendance of all the pupils during each day the school is in operation.
4. To prescribe exercises to be worked by his pupils during the week of his absence: these should consist of reproduction of previous lessons and preparation for future ones.
5. At the end of each month to furnish the Inspector of the District with a statement of the work done in the four preceding weeks and to forward his monthly salary extract for him to sign and transmit to the Secretary.\footnote{SRNSW, NCE/7, 1/759, Folio 327.}

Harris also signalled his intention to:
visit the localities in the neighbourhood of Braidwood in which Itinerant Teachers are employed, as soon as may be practicable with the view of collecting such information as will enable me to recommend plans for the efficient working of the Half-time schools under their care.\\footnote{195}{SRNSW, NCE/7, 1/759, Folio 327.}

The itinerant teachers concerned would have been Cobb, Smith and Lacy, in the Jingeras, and Szarka. All four were, or had been, teaching in four or more places. Harris is likely to have been more familiar with Louis’s and Tudor’s teaching arrangements as they were much closer to his headquarters in Goulburn and less concerned about them as they conformed to his preferred model of teaching in two places only.

In a separate letter, also dated 11 November 1867, Harris also advised Wilkins, as far as he could, on Edmond Smith’s teaching arrangements. He indicated that, ‘Of the locations named by Mr Smith I have no personal knowledge except of Manara, Arnprior and Mr Bass ___ [illegible word] near Larbert.’\\footnote{196}{SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/743, Folio 310, Memorandum from Inspector Harris to the Secretary, 11 November 1867.} He advised that, ‘The last two named places are not more than two miles apart and therefore I think they are not entitled to separate classes.’\\footnote{197}{SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/743, Folio 310.}

Inspector Harris’ proposed ‘Instructions for Itinerant Teachers’ were forwarded to Senior Inspector John Gardiner for his comment. Gardiner was the Council’s ‘Examiner’, whose main responsibility was the examination of teachers, pupil teachers and adult candidates for teaching positions. However, he was also responsible for examining district inspectors’ reports.
and any recommendations made by the inspectors. His role with regard to
the latter was to, ‘advise as to the propriety of the recommendation’. 198

Gardiner strongly supported Harris’ proposal to restrict itinerant teachers to
two locations commenting:

I do not see how he [an itinerant teacher] can operate beneficially
upon more than this number. Under no circumstances however
should there be more than three [stations], and even then such an
arrangement should be held as temporary, with a view of grouping
into two – at the earliest moment.199

Gardiner only recommended one change to Harris’s ‘special rules’. As an
alternative to working the ‘stations’ on alternate weeks he suggested ‘Where
the stations [are] contiguous, half a week could be devoted to each’. 200

However, Gardiner clearly had reservations about the adequacy of Harris’s
proposed special rules, stating that they appeared appropriate, ‘so far as they
go’201 and commenting, ‘I understand from the Memorandum that this is
only an instalment of rules to be more fully laid down at an early
opportunity.’202 This latter remarks suggests that Gardiner understood, or
hoped, that Harris’ proposed visit to the schools under itinerant teachers in
the Braidwood District would lead to more comprehensive instructions
being proposed for the conduct of Half-time schools.

Whether Harris’s visit would have lead to such a result is unknown. Harris
went on leave from 25 November until the end of the year, ‘in consequence
of severe illness.’203 As a result his proposed instructions appear to have

198 SRNSW, NCE/22, 1/833, Secretary’s Minute, ‘Appointment of Examiner’, 10 August
1867.
199 SRNSW, NCE/7, 1/759, Folio 327A, Examiner’s Memorandum to the Secretary, 19
November 1867.
200 SRNSW, NCE/7, 1/759, Folio 327A.
201 SRNSW, NCE/7, 1/759, Folio 327A.
202 SRNSW, NCE/7, 1/759, Folio 327A.
203 SRNSW, NCE/7, 1/759, Folio 280, Inspector Harris to the Secretary, 30 November
1867.
largely languished. Few, if any, steps were taken during 1867 to further develop his recommendations, to put his proposed instructions for itinerant teachers into effect or to make any specific changes to the Half-time schools then in operation. The six itinerant teachers in the Goulburn District consequently continued to teach in the manner that each had began, without further direction and apparently without being aware that Harris was not available. Mr Szarka, for example, was still waiting in mid December for advice from Harris in regard to a letter he had sent to Harris on 4 November relating to the organisation of the school at Jamboye and was, ‘in daily expectation of a personal inspection of the school at Jamboye by you [Inspector Harris].’

One event that Harris’s recommendations and Gardiner’s support might possibly contributed to, or resulted in, was the production of an official application form for Half-time schools. Half-time schools had been the only type of school under the Public School Act and Regulations without an application form and all applications received had either been handwritten or on application forms intended for other classes of schools, particularly Provisional schools. In December 1867 however, an application for Half-time schools at Norongo and Whinstone Valley in the Jingeras was submitted on an official application form devised specifically for Half-time schools. The form was consistent with Harris’s main recommendation that itinerant teachers teach only on two locations as only two places were provided for on the form (with each place being described as a Half-time school). The form required the sort of information needed on applications

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204 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/743, Folio 275, Letter from George Szarka to Inspector Harris, 16 December 1867.
205 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/785, Vol 51, Newcastle – Paddington, Folio 175, Application for the establishment of Half-time schools at Norongo and Whinstone Valley, 5 December 1867.
for other classes of schools, with the difference that it was required for two places. For example, information was required regarding the position of each place, the distance between them, the number of children at each place and the building provided, or to be provided, as a school room in each place.

If the form was an outcome of Harris’s and Gardiner’s recommendations it must have been approved, formatted, produced and made available very swiftly as Gardiner wrote his memorandum on the 19 November 1967 and the application for Half-time schools at Norongo and Whinstone Valley was dated 5 December 1867. The close proximity of these dates makes it more probable that the form was created independently of and prior to Harris’s recommendations and Gardiner’s support for them. It is likely the form was created by Wilkins or another employee of the Council of Education to meet the requirements of Regulation Nine and to adapt the normal information required on applications for Public and Provisional schools to this context.

If this is correct it reinforces the case that Cobb’s and Smith’s schools in the Jingeras were intended as special cases to meet a special need.

**The nature of Half-time schools in 1867**

While the remaining correspondence to, from and about most of the Half-time schools that existed in 1867 is limited and fragmented there is sufficient information to indicate some traits of Half-time schools at this time. Six groups of schools using the name ‘Half-time’ were established in 1867. These six groups of schools were essentially of two types. The first type was the multi station teaching circuits which were near Braidwood in, or in the vicinity of, the Jingeras, namely Oranmeir, Jerrabatgulla, Mount Pleasant, Fairfield and Stony Creek, jointly referred to as Oranmeir Half-
time School, Larbert, Manar, Douro and Mulloon, generally grouped under the name Jingera (though this name was sometimes applied to both of these groups), and Ballalaba, Nithdale, Bendora and Farrington, officially referred to under the names Ballalaba and Farrington. The first two of these circuits are believed to have originated from the efforts of the Council of Education to swiftly provide education in the Jingeras as an outcome of the report of the Commission of Inquiry into the State of Crime in the Braidwood District. The third circuit could well have been influenced by the circumstances leading to the creation of the first two but had a different origin and different reasons for the teacher teaching in more than two places. The second type was where the itinerant teacher only taught in two places, consistent with Regulation Nine. Two of these groups were in the vicinity of Goulburn and the third to the north east of Braidwood. These schools were Rock View and Long Reach, Bullamalita and Springfield, and Jamboye and Jerricknora. The latter group briefly had four teaching stations but was reduced to two at the direction of William Wilkins.

What actually constituted a Half-time school was not clarified in 1867 and the term ‘Half-time school’ was in consequence variably and inconsistently applied, with two main usages. At times the term Half-time school was applied to each place where the teacher taught, such as the Half-time schools at Rock View and Long Reach. This practice more commonly applied where the itinerant teacher taught in only two places and was also consistent with the application form produced for Half-time schools. The alternate use of the term Half-time school was to cover all the groups taught by one teacher. For example, the use of the term ‘Oranmeir Half-time School’ to cover all the groups taught by Henry Cobb. Where the term
‘Half-time school’ was used in this latter sense various terms were employed to describe the groups within the ‘school’ including classes, stations and localities.

In the Council of Education’s annual report for 1867, which was produced during 1868 (and clearly influenced by events in that latter year), the term ‘Half-time school’ was actually, and somewhat confusingly, used in both ways. At the beginning of the report the number of Half-time schools is given as six.\textsuperscript{206} Similarly the ‘Return of the attendance of Children at the Half-time Schools of New South Wales’ appended to the 1867 report only lists six places under ‘Name of School’ - Ballalaba, Bullamalita, Jamboye, Jingera, Oranmeir and Rock View\textsuperscript{207} – reflected the practice of regarding all groups under one teacher as belonging to a Half-time school. In contrast, within the body of the Council’s report the statement ‘by the close of the year, Half-time Schools had been established in twelve localities’\textsuperscript{208} reflected the practice of regarding each place the itinerant teacher taught as a Half-time school, even though it was an inaccurate statement. Using this approach, there were actually nineteen Half-time schools in 1867. This latter figure is now officially accepted by the NSW Department of Education and Training\textsuperscript{209} as the number of Half-time school in existence in 1867. The decision to state the total as twelve schools reflected events that occurred in 1868.

\textsuperscript{206} \textit{Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of Public Schools for 1867}, p. 3.
\textsuperscript{207} \textit{Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of Public Schools for 1867}, p.21.
\textsuperscript{208} \textit{Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of Public Schools for 1867}, p. 4.
\textsuperscript{209} \textit{Government Schools of New South Wales}, p. 209.
The itinerant teachers

The six itinerant teachers who taught Half-time schools in 1867 – Henry A. Cobb, Edmond B. Smith, George Lacy, Denis Louis, Charles Tudor and George Szarka – were all men. While the correspondence of the time consistently referred to men when discussing the staffing of Half-time schools this may simply have been convention. Alternatively it may have been generally anticipated that the nature of the work would make it unsuitable for women. However, no evidence was found that a decision had been taken against appointing women as itinerant teachers. There is also no evidence that any women applied to become itinerant teachers in 1867.

The backgrounds of the itinerant teachers were quite varied. Three of the six - Lacy, Louis and Tudor – had previously been private teachers in the areas where they subsequently taught as itinerant teachers. Only Lacy, however, appears to have had significant experience as a private teacher. Lacy indicated on the application form he completed for a Provisional school that he had twenty five years’ experience as a teacher, comprising ten years in private schools in England and fifteen years as a private teacher in New South Wales, that he was forty five years old and ‘not married but may be’.  

Tudor had previously been the National school teacher at Spring Valley, about six miles east of Springfield, before becoming a private teacher at Springfield. Tudor would appear to have left Spring Valley National School at his own volition as Inspector Harris did not speak against him and passed on Mr Faithfull’s recommendation as to Tutor’s ‘character and attention to duty.’

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210 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/741, Folio 120.
211 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/753, Folio 382.
Louis appears to have had the least private teaching experience of the three, and this experience was unintended. Louis ‘gave up the avocation I was then following’ in order to establish Half-time schools on the Wollondilly River, suggesting that he had not previously been a teacher. He taught as a private teacher at Rock View from June 1867, when the Rock View school building was completed, to September 1867, while waiting for the school building at Long Reach to be constructed so he could take up his official position as an itinerant teacher. Louis evidently needed to work for this time as a private teacher in order to sustain himself, his wife and their young child as between March and June 1867 he had been without an income ‘and after my little stock of money was exhausted I was obliged to run into debt to support myself and wife.’

No information on the teaching backgrounds of Smith and Szarka was found but it is suspected that both might have had some teaching experience: Smith because of the manner in which he presented his reports; and Szarka because he may have previously been the itinerant teacher at Burragorang Roman Catholic Denominational School. Cobb was a storekeeper at Araluen before becoming an itinerant teacher in the Jingeras. In summary the main backgrounds of the six itinerant teachers appear to have been private teachers with a possible mix of National and Denominational school teaching experience and at least one person without any evidence of any previous teaching experience. Two of the six – Louis and Cobb - were married men with families while the other four appear to have been single men. Cobb belonged to the Church of England while Szarka, Smith and Louis may have been Roman Catholics.

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212 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/816, Folio 452.
213 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/816, Folio 452.
Subjects taught and teaching standards

Virtually no information exists in the available 1867 material on what the six itinerant teachers were teaching or how proficient they were as teachers. Normally Inspector Harris would have inspected the schools and subsequently provided this information, particularly in his annual report to the Council. However Harris did not visit any of the Half-time schools in the Braidwood area and no record has been found of his visiting the two itinerant teachers working near Goulburn once they had commenced teaching.

The promoters of Half-time schools

There was also considerable variation in who initiated the applications for Half-time schools. Two of the applications were initiated by Roman Catholic clergy, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Goulburn put the idea of establishing Half-time schools along the Wollondilly River to John Louis and the local priest later signed the application for Long Reach and Rock View Half-time schools. Edward O’Brien, the Roman Catholic priest at Braidwood, made application for the establishment of schools at Jamboye and Jerricknorra. That these applications were made despite the opposition of the Roman Catholic Church to the Public Schools Act indicates that the situation was complex. While these applications may have been made for the benefit of the people whatever their denomination, the possibility could also have been seen that some Half-time schools might be able to be denominational in nature.

Two groups of Half-time schools in the Jingeras were initiated by the Council probably in response to the finding of the commission which
investigated the state of crime in the Braidwood District. It is possible that appeals from residents of the Braidwood District to the Council of Education following the release of the commission’s report may also have contributed to the Council taking this initiative. Lacy submitted the application for his own schools in the Jingeras, while the initiative for the establishment of Half-time schools at Springfield and Bullamalita came from local residents. Several of the itinerant teachers played a significant role in the establishment of their schools. Harris, as district inspector, played a less significant role than might have been expected.

**Distances, transport and teaching patterns**

In four of the groups of Half-time schools established in 1867 the places at which each itinerant teacher taught were within ten miles of each other, and therefore within the requirements of Regulation Nine, though Szarka’s initial teaching arrangement of teaching in four places would have exceeded this limit. In contrast, the two groups of schools established in the Jingeras by Cobb and Smith had circuits that were significantly longer than ten miles. This is a further indicator of the special nature of these two groups. Cobb, Smith and Lacy, the three itinerant teachers who consistently taught in more than two places, travelled between their schools on horseback, though Lacy had initially walked ‘nine miles every alternate day’ until a resident provided him with a horse. How Louis, Tudor and Szarka travelled between their schools in 1867 was not indicated, though in 1868 Louis and Szarka were clearly using horses for transport. Both Cobb and Lacy raised the issue of needing an allowance for fodder to feed their

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214 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/741, Folio 125.
215 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/741, Folio 132.
horses. Inspector Harris recommended that Lacy be provided with an allowance of two pounds per month (twenty four pounds per year) to cover the cost of fodder.\textsuperscript{216} There is no evidence of a response from the Council to either teacher’s request for a fodder allowance in 1867.

Inspector Harris’s recommendation that Half-time schools be taught on alternative weeks may have reflected the teaching arrangements he is likely to have directed Tutor and Louis to follow for the two places they each taught at. Inspector Harris had noted in June 1867 that, ‘It is proposed that the teacher [Tudor] should attend the two places [Springfield and Bullamalita] upon alternate weeks’.\textsuperscript{217} What time Szarka spent between the two places at which he was directed to teach was not revealed in the available 1867 correspondence. The teaching patterns employed by the three itinerant teachers who taught in more than two places were quite different from Harris’s recommendation. Cobb taught one day a week at each of his five classes, Smith also apparently visited all of his classes each week, while Lacy visited his four schools over a two day cycle, spending half a day at each class. He repeated this circuit three times each week, teaching six days a week.\textsuperscript{218}

**Accommodation for Half-time schools**

Little information was sought or provided in 1867 on the type or condition of buildings used as school rooms by itinerant teachers. At two of the two teaching station model arrangements, Rock View and Long Reach, and Bullamalita and Springfield, the Council’s usual requirement that suitable school buildings be provided was evidently met. What buildings were

\textsuperscript{216} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/741, Folio 132.
\textsuperscript{217} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/753, Folio 382.
\textsuperscript{218} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/741, Folio 130.
employed at Jamboye and Jerricknorra was not indicated in 1867. In the
multi-station arrangements, Cobb and Smith appeared to have taught
entirely in homes or farm buildings, while Lacy evidently taught in a mix of
school buildings and homes/farm buildings.

**People served**

Little information was given on the people served by Half-time schools in
the correspondence of 1867, but the overall impression given is that they
were largely small farmers or ‘free selectors’. The situation at Springfield
where the students were described by Inspector Harris as mostly the
children of shepherds employed on two farms\(^{219}\) was the exception. The
situation in and near the Jingeras was more complex as some of the children
at those schools came from families closely associated with the bushrangers.
At Jamboye and Jerricknorra, the children mentioned in the application are
all Roman Catholics. The application was made by Edward O’Brien, the
Roman Catholic priest at Braidwood, and judging from the positive reaction
of Fr. O’Brien on George Szarka’s appointment, the teacher was probably a
Roman Catholic also. Despite the requirement that Half-time schools had to
be run as Public schools it is possible that Szarka’s schools were largely
Roman Catholic Denominational schools in nature.

The statistics maintained by the Council on the enrolments and attendance at
the six groups of Half-time schools at the end of 1867\(^{220}\) add to the limited
information available on the people served by Half-time schools during that
year. The average enrolment for each of the six groups of Half-time schools

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\(^{219}\) SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/753, Folio 382.
\(^{220}\) Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of Public Schools for 1867, p. 21. Statistics were only maintained for each group as a whole, not for each place at which the itinerant teacher taught.
was forty-four. The enrolment at Jamboye and Jerricknorra was the highest at seventy while Rock View and Long Reach had the lowest enrolment at twenty-nine. However the actual attendances were much lower. The average weekly attendance at Jamboye and Jerricknorra was only twenty-two, and twelve at Rock View and Long Reach. Cobb had the highest attendance of thirty-six at Oranmeir, Jerrabatgulla, Mount Pleasant, Fairfield and Stony Creek, and the overall average weekly attendance was twenty-four.

Regulation Nine stated:

Half-time Schools under Itinerant Teachers may be established wherever twenty children of the school age [four to fourteen years of age] are residing within an estimated radius of ten miles from a central point, and can be collected in groups of not less than ten children in each.\textsuperscript{221} While it did not specify if the required numbers related to enrolments or attendance, the Council generally used attendance as its measure in determining the viability of a school. On this measure two of the six groups fell short of the required twenty children, Rock View and Long Reach with twelve as mentioned above, and Ballalaba, Nithdale, Bendor and Farrington with an average weekly attendance of nineteen. However the sustainability of these schools does not appeared to have been questioned in 1867.

Comparable numbers of male and female students attended Half-time schools in 1867. There were 131 boys and 136 girls enrolled across the six groups and an average of sixty-nine boys and seventy-five girls attended. The majority of the children enrolled in Half-time schools, 147 of 267, were Roman Catholics. The remainder consisted of 102 adherents of the Church of England and eighteen Presbyterians. Roman Catholics comprised the

\textsuperscript{221} Regulations under the Public Schools Act of 1866, Part II, Section I, Regulation 9.
great majority of children in three of the six groups of Half-time schools: Jamboye and Jerricknorra; Rock View and Long Reach; and Oranmeir, Jerrabatgulla, Mount Pleasant, Fairfield and Stony Creek. The great majority of children at Ballalaba, Nithdale, Bendora and Farrington belonged to the Church of England, while Presbyterians and adherents of the Church of England dominated at Larbert, Manar, Douro and Mulloon. The remaining group, Bullamalita and Springfield, was equally split between Roman Catholics and adherents of the Church of England.

That the majority were Roman Catholic does not appear to have been typical of government schools of this period. For example the seventy-six applications for Public schools received in 1867 related to 1288 children only 287 of whom were Roman Catholic. Why the majority of children in Half-time schools were Catholics is unclear. A possibility is that Fr. Edward O’Brien was supportive of establishing Half-time schools in localities within the Braidwood district where the population was predominantly Roman Catholic providing that the teacher was also a Catholic. In this early formative period for Half-time schools such schools may have effectively operated as default Roman Catholic Denominational schools.

**Location of Half-time schools**

Half-time schools were intended to take education into areas that had previously been beyond the reach of schools because they were too sparsely settled. This was achieved in 1867, in the sense that there were no government funded schools, in the localities where the groups served by itinerant teachers were established in 1867. There had been a National school at Long Reach but it had closed four years before a Half-time school

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222 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of Public Schools for 1867, p. 4.
was established there and the children were described as being ‘sadly in need of instruction.’ However, not all the places where itinerant teachers taught in 1867 had previously been completely bereft of education facilities. Private teachers or tutors had definitely taught in some of the localities, namely Tutor at Springfield, Lacy near the Shoalhaven River in the Braidwood district and the unnamed tutor identified by Cobb within the Southern area of the Jingeras. No indication was found as to whether there had or had not previously been private teachers in Smith’s or Szarka’s districts. However the Council did not by any means consider that the appointment of these six itinerant teachers had entirely met the need for educational provision in sparsely settled areas, or had even had a noticeable impact on the problem. The Council’s report for 1867 stated ‘extensive districts of the Colony are still entirely destitute of education’

All of the Half-time schools established in 1867 were in the Goulburn inspectorial district which comprised the south eastern part of New South Wales. Two itinerant teachers taught in rural areas around Goulburn itself while four taught around Braidwood, three of them in the Jingeras. What factors, other than the situation in the Jingeras, caused Half-time schools to be opened in the Goulburn inspectorate but not in other inspectorates is unknown. Inspector McIntyre, who had proposed using itinerant teachers, and identified localities in the Northern District where he wished to do so, in 1864, was still the inspector in what had become the Armidale District. However no known steps were taken in the Armidale District in 1867 to introduce itinerant teachers now that they were allowed. That McIntyre

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223 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/816, Folio 452.
didn’t introduce Half-time schools into the Armidale District was surprising particularly consider that he was to later claim the title of ‘father’ of Half-time schools.

**Itinerant teaching at Burragorang**

There was one place outside the Goulburn District in New South Wales in 1867 where an itinerant teacher operated successfully under the Council of Education – along the Burragorang Valley. However as Burragorang Roman Catholic Denominational School was a Denominational school, it was not formally regarded as a Half-time school. Denominational schools had come under the jurisdiction of the Council of Education from 1 January 1867. Consequently John Scully, the itinerant teacher of the Burragorang Roman Catholic Denominational School, had written to the Council of Education on 26 February 1867, providing them with his monthly salary abstract and requesting the Council to supply him with the salary abstract forms to be used by the Council. He also included a letter from the Very Reverend Dean Rigney, the Roman Catholic priest at Camden, which briefly outlined the nature and history of the Burragorang School.

I certify that Mr George Szarka was appointed Roman Catholic Itinerant schoolmaster for the District of Burragorang on the 1st of June 1863 by authority of the late Denominational School Board, and that in succession to Mr Szarka, Mr John Scully was appointed by the same authority, to the situation on the 1st September 1866, and that Mr Scully is now discharging the duties and has discharged of them ever since he was so appointed.

The system of attending at seven specified stations in the District in regular order, devoting three days per month to each, was prescribed by the Board, as was also the form of furnishing the statistics in the Monthly Abstract.

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225 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/737, Vol 3, Braidwood – Camden, Folio 186, Letter from John Scully to the Secretary, 26 February 1867.
226 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/737, Folio 187, Letter from John Rigney, 25 February 1867.
Dean Rigney was not entirely correct in his summation. George Szarka had commenced teaching at Burragorang in 1862; there were originally six stations; and there is no evidence that the Denominational School Board initially structured the school in this manner. However it is possible the Denominational Board may have set the conditions stated in Dean Rigney’s letter when Scully was appointed as teacher in 1866. The probable purposes of Rigney’s letter, however, would have been to reinforce the legitimacy of John Scully’s claim for payment of his salary; to validate the school as a properly constituted Denominational school despite its unusual nature; and to support its continuation. If so, he was successful.

While Burragorang Roman Catholic Denominational School was the first school to be conducted by an itinerant teacher under the Council of Education, it was not the first Half-time school (or indeed the first seven Half-time schools). Because Half-time schools were required to operate as Public schools, the Burragorang school was not classed as Half-time. This school was still classified as a Denominational school at the end of 1867 and was not listed as a Half-time school by the Council of Education in its official report for 1867. Understandably, there was some confusion in 1867 as to the status of this school. From October to November 1867 the school is variously referred to as ‘the Half-time School at Burragorang’ and ‘the Certified Denominational School at Burragorang’ in correspondence with the Council.

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227 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of Public Schools for 1867, p. 10.
228 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of Public Schools for 1867, p. 21.
229 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/737, Folios 190 – 193.
Conclusion

The Half-time schools of 1867 may be viewed as an incomplete experiment, or indeed two separate experiments, in the use of itinerant teachers to extend public education into sparsely settled areas. Effectively two types of Half-time schools had been formed and were in operation at the end of the year. One type was the Half-time schools created in the spirit on Regulation Nine: where the itinerant teacher taught at two places mostly in school buildings which were within ten miles of each other; there were ten or more children at each place; and each place was generally recognised as a Half-time school. In the second type the teacher taught in four or more places most likely in homes or farm buildings, normally spaced over more than ten miles; there were not necessarily ten or more children at each place the teacher taught; and considerable variation existed with regard to what each place was called and what constituted a school. The first type had developed through the adaptation and application of the normal protocols for the establishment of schools, while the second type resulted principally from the unconventional actions of the Council to extend public education into the Jingeras as quickly and as widely as possible. The first type was a response to the need to extend educational facilities to children in sparsely settled areas, while most of the second type is believed to have been a more specific response to the findings of the commission of inquiry into the state of crime in the Braidwood district.

In the second half of 1867 the Council attempted to bring Half-time schools into a rationalised and regulated form through Inspector Harris. However the inaction and illness of Inspector Harris caused a significant delay in the development and regulation of Half-time schools and greatly reduced the
amount of information available to the Council about these schools. For example, Inspector Harris’s 1867 annual report on his district could potentially have given the Council considerable insight into Half-time schools, but this report was never written. Consequently the Council and its officials had little knowledge of the nature and success of the Half-time schools in operation at the end of 1867. Half-time schools were very much in the hands of their teachers.

The views of the Council of Education on the state of Half-time schools at the close of 1867 are unknown, but it is probable that there were real concerns about this new type of schooling. The Report of the Council of Education for 1867 was very positive in its comments on Half-time schools, believing they could be ‘usefully extended to large portions of the Colony in which other modes of education would not be practicable.’ However this view was informed by events that occurred in early 1868 and provided the Council with both a clear insight into the existing Half-time schools and a fully developed proposed code of regulations for the conduct of Half-time schools that they did not have at the end of 1867. The Council later acknowledged the experimental state of Half-time schools in 1867 and alluded to the precarious nature of this experiment at the end of that year in its 1868 report where it stated: ‘The experiment as regards schools of this class [Half-time schools], initiated in 1867, was continued during the following year with increased success.’ In contrast Provisional schools were not referred to as experimental in any Council report.

230 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of Public Schools for 1867, p. 4.
That the use of itinerant teachers was an untried method of providing education within the government schools system at the beginning of 1867 was probably the main reason for the low number of Half-time schools established in 1867, in contrast with other types of government schools. Additionally the lack of information on the Half-time schools that did exist, and the delay in rationalising and developing special regulations for them, would have contributed to their slow development. At the end of 1867 the six groups of Half-time schools had a total enrolment of 267 children.\textsuperscript{232} In contrast the number of Provisional Schools, which were also introduced in 1867 to extend education into sparsely settled areas, was thirty-one with an enrolment of 733 children.\textsuperscript{233} While Provisional schools were also new they also had the advantage of being full-time schools, which was previously the only form of school used in the government system, and were evidently modelled on Non-vested schools which had been introduced under the National Schools Board.

At the end of 1867 there were 28434 children enrolled in Public schools and 33306 in Denominational schools\textsuperscript{234} in addition to the much smaller numbers in Half-time and Provisional schools. That of the 64740 children enrolled in publicly funded education under the Council of Education only 267 attended Half-time schools emphasises the newness of these schools. They were only a tiny part of the education system, barely nought point four of a percent of all schools under the Council and just nought point nine percent of government schools under the Council (Public, Provisional and Half-time schools) yet they had ‘received much consideration’\textsuperscript{235} from the

\textsuperscript{232} Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of Public Schools for 1867, p. 3. \\
\textsuperscript{233} Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of Public Schools for 1867, p. 3. \\
\textsuperscript{234} Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of Public Schools for 1867, p. 3. \\
\textsuperscript{235} Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of Public Schools for 1867, p. 4.
Council. Their role and nature was varied and unconfirmed, their existence was tenuous and their future was uncertain - but they had begun.
Chapter Four

1868 – Organising a system of itinerant teaching

Introduction

Despite the heavy demands placed upon the Council of Education in developing and radically changing the education system during its formative year, the Council felt able to state that at the end of 1867, ‘the organisation of the system is now tolerably complete, some few points of importance being yet under consideration’.\(^1\) One of these ‘few points of importance’ would have been Half-time schools which were operating in an experimental state without guidelines for their development and management, and with the Council having very limited knowledge about them.

The major events of 1868 revealed and explored over this chapter are: the clarification of the form and nature of the existing Half-time schools in early 1868 through the special inspection tour undertaken by Inspector Edwin Johnson; the structuring of their development through the creation of special regulations for their conduct; the Council’s envisioning of the role Half-time schools might play in extending education into sparsely settled areas; the patterns in the growth of Half-time schools; and the changes in the nature of Half-time schools across that year. These events are the integral components of the evolving process of policy formation in relation to itinerant teaching that occurred over 1868. They reflect in their complexity and development

\(^1\) Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1867, Sydney, Thomas Richards, Government Printer, 1868, p. 3.
Silver’s perception of policy analysis as the identification of historical factors such as:

competing and conflicting values and goals, the explicit and inexplicit representation of objectives which spring from diverse economic and social realities … the decisions made – by whom, with what timing and with what authority … the guidelines, the rules and regulations, the machineries of information and enactment, the forms of implementation, the implementation in practice, the responses, the outcomes.²

**Continuing in uncertainty**

Inspector Harris in charge of the Goulburn District, in whose hands significant responsibility for the clarification and systemisation of Half-time schools had been placed remained on leave due to ill health until the end of March 1868³. Because of Harris’s continued illness the Council had promoted E. H. Flannery, the teacher of the Certified Denominational Roman Catholic School at Yass, to the position of assistant inspector. However Flannery was first placed in the Sydney Inspectorate with Inspector Johnson as ‘no person should be placed in charge of a District until he had acquired some practical acquaintance with his duties under the direction of an experienced Inspector.’⁴ Consequently for the first three months of 1868 the schools of the Goulburn District continued to operate without a district inspector.

In February 1868, four more groups of Half-time schools were to open in the state of uncertainty that then existed about itinerant teaching: Carwoola and Foxlowe; Anembo, Norongo and Whinstone Valley; Bundenbelar and

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³ State Records New South Wales, NCE/7, Letters and Memoranda Received from Inspectors, 1867-74, 1/804, Vol. 70, Bathurst – Sydney, Folio 191, Letter from Inspector Harris to the Secretary, 21 March 1868.
⁴ *Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1867*, Sydney, Thomas Richards, Government Printer, 1868, p. 11.
Cobbora; and Burrarorang, taking the total number of itinerant teachers conducting Half-time schools to ten and the number of places at which itinerant teachers taught (variously known as classes or stations or in some instances schools) to thirty-three. The varying formats of these latter four groups reflected and continued the experimentation and lack of systemisation evident in the Half-time schools of 1867.

**Carwoola and Foxlowe Half-time schools**

On 9 November 1867 an application had been submitted, evidently by a local resident, for the establishment of Half-time schools at Carwoola and Foxlowe, near Molongo between Queanbeyan and Braidwood in the Goulburn District. The application indicated that there was a stone schoolhouse and eleven children at Foxlowe and temporary accommodation for a school room in a stone house and seventeen children at Carwoola. The two places were six miles apart. This application conformed to the requirements of Regulation Nine. It is probable that a memorandum was sent from Wilkins to Inspector Harris for his report on the application, as this was shortly before Harris went on sick leave, but Harris did not respond.

On the 30 January 1868 the Church of England Bishop at Goulburn (all except one of the children on the application belonged to the Church of England) recommended to the Council that Richard Robertson be appointed as the teacher of Carwoola and Foxlowe Half-time schools stating, ‘I have known him for some years and have always found him efficient in teaching

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5 SRNSW, NCE/1, Miscellaneous Letters Received, 1867-75, 1/738, Vol. 4, Camden – Cleveland St, Folio 135, Application for the Establishment of Half-time Schools at Carwoola and Foxlowe, 7 November 1867.
and excellent in character. Robertson informed the Council of Education that he had, ‘entered on the duties of my office’ on the 4 February 1868 though there is no indication in the correspondence that he has been formally appointed by the Council. These schools fitted the requirements of Regulation Nine and Harris’s preferred model of two schools taught by an itinerant teacher, but there is no evidence that Harris played any part in the opening of this group.

**Norongo, Anembo and Whinstone Valley Half-time Schools**

The second group of Half-time schools to open in February 1868 was in the Jingeras between Braidwood and Cooma. This group did not conform to the requirements of Regulation Nine but related more to the form of itinerant teaching used by Cobb and Smith. The application submitted on the 9 December 1867 was mostly for two places, Norongo and Whinstone Valley, as dictated by the requirements of the application form for Half-time schools, and indicated that at Norongo there were thirteen children and a room in a house available as a school room, at Whinstone Valley there were seventeen children and a slab school building, and the distance between Norongo and Whinstone Valley was twenty miles. However a third place, Anembo, had been inserted at the head of the application between Norongo and Whinstone Valley, but no information was included about this place. The application was initiated and submitted by Fred Blanchard, a resident of

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6 State Records NSW, NCE/1, 1/772, Vol. 38, Camperdown – Cleveland, Folio 101, Letter from the Bishop of Goulburn to the Secretary, 30 January 1868.
7 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/772, Folio 102, Letter from R. Robertson to the Secretary, 17 February 1867.
the Jingeras who put himself forward to be the itinerant teacher of these schools.\footnote{8}

Blanchard’s application for the position of teacher was supported by a testimonial from a Justice of the Peace at Braidwood (whose name is largely indelible except for the initials J and B) who commented:

Mr Blanchard appears to be an educated man from his conversation and demeanor. I think he would make a good teacher for the South Western portion of the Jingera district, a place where a school appears to be much wanted. With a little brushing up on the elementary part of a teacher’s duty he would be of great service.\footnote{9}

Having not received a reply to his application, Blanchard wrote to William Wilkins, the Secretary of the Council of Education, on 10 January 1868:

I have the honor to acquaint you that sometime ago I forwarded to Mr Harris, Inspector of the Goulburn District, an application for appointment as Itinerant Teacher to part of the Jingera Country; and as I have not received an answer, I shall feel grateful by your informing me if the application has been received by the Council of Education.\footnote{10}

Blanchard also provided further information on his proposed teaching circuit in this letter indicating there were sixty children within a radius of thirty miles and that the nearest public school was twenty miles distant. The Council responded to Blanchard informing him: ‘until the necessary inquiries are made as to the desirability of establishing Half-time Schools at Norongo and Anembo the Council is unable to take steps for the appointment of a teacher.’\footnote{11}

\footnote{8} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/785, Vol. 51, Newcastle – Paddington, Folio 175, Application for the Establishment of Half-time Schools at Norongo and Anembo and Whinstone Valley, 5 December 1867.
\footnote{9} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/785, Folio 178, Testimonial for Fred Blanchard from J. B. (surname indelible), 5 December 1867.
\footnote{10} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/785, Folio 179, Letter from F. Blanchard to the Secretary, 10 January 1868.
\footnote{11} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/785, Folio 180, Letter from F. Blanchard to the Secretary, 24 January 1868.
With Inspector Harris on sick leave these ‘necessary inquiries’ were not made. Undaunted, Blanchard wrote again to the Council forwarding two further letters of support, the first from another, possibly prominent, resident of the district, Thomas [surname indecipherable].

I am informed a Mr Blanchard has applied to be appointed teacher under the Public Schools Act, of a school proposed to be established in Jingera. And I have been requested (from my knowledge of that locality) to express an opinion of the necessity and good results likely to be effected if the proposal is carried out.

The isolated position and the natural features of the country about Jingera as such as affords great facilities and protection to cattle stealers; and I need hardly inform you it was the great haunt of the lawless gang of Bushrangers that so long and so recently held this District in their power and I believe there are a number of families growing up in utter destitution of religious instruction or moral teaching of any kind, and I think this fact establishes a strong claim to the consideration of the Council of Education for granting aid to a school on the itinerant or half time system.¹²

The case made in this letter is reminiscent of the findings of the Commission of Inquiry into the State of Crime in the Braidwood District. The situation that evidently resulted in two itinerant teachers, Cobb and Smith, being assigned to the Jingeras was again being put forward to support Blanchard’s bid to become an itinerant teacher in the Jingeras. There were several Thomas’s among the witnesses called before the Commission and it is possible that this Thomas was one of them. Alternatively he could have been an informed local resident well aware of events surrounding the Commission of inquiry. The second letter which was from the Justice of the Peace who had signed his testimonial also raised the

¹² SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/785, Folio 181, Letter from Thomas (surname indecipherable) to William Wilkins, 27 January 1868.
issue of crime. This may have been J. W. Bunn, a Justice of the Peace who had appeared before the Commission.13

I have never been through the country where Mr Blanchard resides, but from the cases that have appeared before me at the Police Office I am inclined to believe that a taste for bushranging and horse stealing is the normal condition of the population of that locality.14

That the findings of the Commission were evidently being used to support the case for establishing these schools is a further indicator that itinerant teachers were initially sent into the Jingeras in response to the findings of the Commission.

Blanchard also indicated he had heard Henry Cobb had resigned and indicated his willingness to take Cobb’s place ‘pro tem’ until a decision was made about his proposed schools. Cobb had not resigned at this time.

Blanchard began teaching at Anembo, Norongo and Whinstone Valley in February 1868,15 probably without having received an official appointment from the Council.

**Cobbora and Buddenbelar Half-time Schools**

Cobbora and Buddenbelar were the third group of Half-time schools to be opened in February 1868. A significant difference with this group was that it was not in the Goulburn District, but instead in the Bathurst District.

Cobbora was a farming settlement eight miles west of Dunedoo while Buddenbelar was a newly opened farming area five miles higher up the

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14 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/785, Folio 182, Letter from J. B. (surname indecipherable), 22 January 1868.

15 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/785, Folio 183, Letter from F. Blanchard to the Secretary, 28 April 1867.
Talbragar River. The creation of these Half-time schools was suggested to the Council of Education by a Church of England minister, William L. Wilson, who in late 1867 was concerned by the falling enrolments at the Cobbora Church of England Denominational School and anticipated that the Council would not continue to support that school. He suggested the ‘most economical and desirable’ solution was the creation of Half-time schools at these two places taught by Mr Weston, the teacher at Cobbora who he felt, ‘could give three hours at the one place and three at the other daily.’ The existing school building at Cobbora was available and the settlers at Buddenbellar were prepared to build a school room there. This proposal was supported by Inspector Coberg in charge of the Bathurst District, who indicated that the families at Buddenbelar had moved there from Cobbora and suggested that alternatively, ‘Mr Weston might give two and a half days to Cobbora and two and a half to Talbagar [Bullenbelar]? A formal application was submitted for the establishment of Half-time schools at Cobbora and Buddenbelar by the Reverend Wilson on 19 December 1867 which indicated there were eighteen eligible children at Cobbora and eighteen at Buddenbelar. Almost all of the children belonged to the Church of England. The 1868 correspondence of these schools can not be located. However both William Weston’s official date of appointment and the official commencement date of these schools is

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16 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/738, Folio 26, Letter from W. L. Wilson to the Secretary, 20 November 1867.
17 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/738, Folio 26.
18 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/738, Folio 28, Memorandum from Inspector Coberg to the Secretary, 31 December 1867.
19 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/738, Folio 29, Application for the Establishment of Half-time Schools at Cobbora and Buddenbelar, 17 December 1867.
20 NSW Department of Education and Training (NSW DET), Education and Training Information Service (ETIS), Head of School card for Cobbora
given as February 1868. These schools met the requirements of Regulation Nine.

**Burrarorang Half-time School**

The fourth group of Half time schools to open in February 1868 was in the Camden District and less than fifty miles from the Council of Education’s headquarters in the centre of Sydney. The Burrarorang Roman Catholic Denominational School had evidently ceased operation in October 1867 due to the illness of John Scully, the itinerant teacher, though it was still listed as a Denominational school at the end of 1867. In February 1868 itinerant teaching recommenced along the Burrarorang Valley with J. A. Lacy (recorded as James Tracy on the Head of School card) as the teacher. The school maintained the same format of seven teaching stations known under the single name, Burrarorang, as in 1867 but the school was evidently now regarded as Half-time rather than Denominational. Under the regulations of the Council, schools taught by itinerant teachers were Half-time schools and Half-time schools were required to be conducted as government schools; therefore Burrarorang Certified Roman Catholic Denominational School had been an anomaly.

The official records of the NSW Department of Education and Training indicate that Burrarorang opened in February 1868 as a Half-time school comprised of seven teaching stations. The 1868 correspondence relating to Burrarorang suggests this conversion may not have been as clear cut as the Department’s records suggest, but was possibly more of a transitional

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22 NSW DET, ETIS, Head of School card for Burrarorang.
23 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/771, Folio 204, Requisition for School Materials, 20 March 1868.
24 NSW DET, ETIS, Head of School card for Burrarorang.
25 NSW DET, ETIS, Head of School card for Burrarorang and *Government Schools of New South Wales 1848 – 2003*, p. 41.
process that had begun in 1867. Itinerant teaching in the Burragorang Valley was variously referred to during 1868 as the ‘Half Time School Burragorang’\(^{26}\), ‘the Certified Half Time School at Burragorang’\(^{27}\) and the ‘Half Time Roman Catholic School Burragorang’\(^{28}\) which suggests there was ongoing confusion as to the status of this school. James Lacy was appointed at the recommendation of the Reverend Dean Rigney, the Roman Catholic Priest at Camden.\(^{29}\) This in itself was not unusual for Half-time schools but did indicate an ongoing involvement of the Roman Catholic Church in this school. The transition of Burragorang to Half-time school status created another group incompatible with Regulation Nine. Burragorang was also the largest known group to exist in terms of the number of places taught by a single itinerant teacher.

**Intervention by the Council - Inspector Johnson**

The Council of Education evidently decided in February 1868 that it could no longer wait for Inspector Harris to regain his health and resume his duties for decisions to be made about the conduct of Half-time schools. On the 27 February 1868 Inspector Edwin Johnson, who was in charge of the Sydney District, was directed by the Council of Education to ‘inspect and report upon’\(^{30}\) the ‘places in the vicinity of Goulburn and Braidwood at which Half Time Schools have been established’.\(^{31}\) The minutes of the Council meeting at which this decision was made are not available, consequently the exact

\(^{26}\) SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/771, Vol. 37, Brushgrove – Camperdown, Folio 203, Letter from J. A. Lacy to the Secretary, 18 April 1868.

\(^{27}\) SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/771, Folio 202, Letter from John Rigney to the Secretary, 31 January 1868.

\(^{28}\) SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/771, Folio 204.

\(^{29}\) SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/771, Folio 203.


\(^{31}\) SRNSW, NCE/7, 1/804, Folio 519ff, Report from Inspector Johnson to the Secretary, 28 March 1868.
nature and details of the directions given to Inspector Johnson are not known, just as we do not know exactly what the previous directions were to Inspector Harris. However, the nature of Johnson’s subsequent report suggests that the directions were: to visit the existing ‘Half-time’ schools under itinerant teachers in the Goulburn District; to report upon the condition and operation of these schools; to make recommendations for the efficient structuring of these schools; and to make recommendations for the regulation and conduct of Half-time schools as a class or type of school. It is likely that the last mentioned direction specifically requested the creation of a set of guidelines, or ‘Instructions’ as they were referred to by Inspector Harris, for the organisation of Half-time schools.

Inspector Johnson had been in charge of the Sydney Inspectorate from the beginning of 1867 as one of the foundation inspectors of schools under the Council of Education. Johnson had previously been an inspector of schools under the National Schools Board, his immediate past appointment having been the Hunter River District. Johnson evidently had knowledge of the Braidwood District that was known to, and respected by, his superiors. Wilkins had requested, and received, advice from Inspector Johnson with regard to George Lacy’s application to establish a school at Farrington in February and March of 1867. As Johnson was based in Sydney he was able to meet with William Wilkins on the afternoon of the day the Council made its decision and is likely to have further clarified what was required.

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32 SRNSW, NCE/7, 1/804, Folio 519ff.
33 Seventeenth Report of the Commissioners of National Education in New South Wales; report for the year 1864, 1865, p.31.
34 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/741, Vol. 7, Ermington – Gerringong, Folio 118, Correspondence between Inspector Johnson and the Secretary
35 SRNSW, NCE/6, Inspectors’ Itineraries and Weekly Diaries 1867-72, 1/803, Vol 69, 1868, Goulburn to Sydney, Folio 156, Diary of duties performed by the Inspector of the Sydney District for the week ending 29th February 1868.

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of him during that meeting. It appears to have been a substantial meeting as it was the only event mentioned for that afternoon in Johnson’s diary.

Johnson travelled from Sydney to Goulburn on the 29 February 1868\(^{36}\) only two days after the Council had made its decision. It is likely he travelled most of the way by train and the remainder by horse drawn coach, probably a Cobb and Co. coach, as the Sydney to Goulburn railway line was not completed until the following year. Johnson visited Long Reach and Rock View, probably on horseback, on the 3 March.\(^{37}\) On the 4 March, Johnson ‘Wrote to teachers of Half Time Schools, Braidwood District in reference to my projected visit’\(^{38}\) from Goulburn and also wrote to the Secretary, William Wilkins. These letters do not appear to have survived. Johnson visited Springfield and Bullamalita Half-time Schools on the 5 March and travelled the sixty miles from Goulburn to Braidwood on the 6 March.\(^{39}\)

During the following week, 9 to 14 March, Johnson travelled ‘196½ miles’ by horseback through the Jingeras and adjacent areas visiting the schools or teaching stations at Larbert, Douro, Manar, Mulloon, Carwoola, Foxlowe, Wild Cattle Flat, Anembo, Whinstone Valley, Norongo, Oranmeir, Jerrabatgully, Fairfield, Mt Pleasant, Stoney Creek, Ballalaba, Nithdale, Bendora and Farrington, staying overnight in some of the localities he was visiting.\(^{40}\) It is not surprising that he recorded for 11 March, ‘Horse knocked up’.\(^{41}\) During the following week, 16 to 21 March, Johnson visited Jamboye and Jerricknorra Half-time schools before travelling back to Goulburn and

\(^{36}\) SRNSW, NCE/6, 1/803, Folio 156.
\(^{37}\) SRNSW, NCE/6, 1/803, Folio 157, Diary of duties performed by the Inspector of the Sydney District for the week ending 7\(^{th}\) March 1868.
\(^{38}\) SRNSW, NCE/6, 1/803, Folio 157.
\(^{39}\) SRNSW, NCE/6, 1/803, Folio 157.
\(^{40}\) SRNSW, NCE/6, 1/803, Folio 158, Diary of duties performed by the Inspector of the Sydney District for the week ending 14\(^{th}\) March 1868.
\(^{41}\) SRNSW, NCE/6, 1/803, Folio 158.
on to Sydney. During his time in the Goulburn District Johnson also made visits to a few other schools and school sites probably to attend to urgent matters left unfinished by the ailing Inspector Harris. Exclusive of these ‘extra’ duties and the time spent travelling between Sydney and Goulburn, Johnson’s diary entries for these three weeks show he travelled 442 miles by horse over ten days to visit the eight groups of Half-time schools then existing in the Goulburn District.

Johnson resumed his duties in the Sydney District the following week, devoting two afternoons, on 26 and 27 March, to writing up his report ‘upon the Half Time Schools established in the neighbourhoods of Goulburn and Braidwood’ which he submitted to Wilkins on 28 March 1868. Unlike Harris’ scanty and incomplete effort, Johnson’s report thoroughly documented his observations, recommendations and the rationale behind his recommendations. The report comprised: Johnson’s observations on the operations of the eight itinerant teachers; a map giving ‘the exact position of each school’ (this map is no longer with the report and could not be located); his ideas and supporting reasons for the rationalisation of these particular schools, a set of recommended rules for the ‘regulation of Half Time Schools’; a detailed syllabus giving the subjects to be covered in Half-time schools and recommended levels of proficiency to be achieved in

42 SRNSW, NCE/6, 1/803, Folio 159, Diary of duties performed by the Inspector of the Sydney District for the week ending 21st March 1868.
43 SRNSW, NCE/6, 1/803, Folio 160, Diary of duties performed by the Inspector of the Sydney District for the week ending 28th March 1868.
44 SRNSW, NCE/7, 1/804, Folio 519ff
45 SRNSW, NCE/7, 1/804, Folio 519ff
46 SRNSW, NCE/7, 1/804, Folio 519ff
each subject\textsuperscript{47}; and weekly timetables giving the daily routine to be followed in Half-time schools.\textsuperscript{48}

**Inspector Johnson’s report on Half-time schools**

Inspector Johnson began his report by identifying the Half-time schools which existed in the Goulburn Inspectorate. He used the name Half-time school for each group of students under an itinerant teacher, listing in a table the resulting twenty-four Half-time schools and placing together those schools taught by the one teacher. The schools were arranged as follows: 1. Long Reach and Rock View; 2. Springfield and Bullamalita; 3. Larbert, Douro, Manar and Mulloon; 4. Molongo and Fowlow; 5. Anembo, Whinstone Valley and Norongo; 6. Oranmeir, Jeratbagully, Fairfield, Mount Pleasant and Stoney Creek; 7. Ballalaba, Nithsdale, Bendorra and Farrington and; 8. Jamboye and Jerricknorra.\textsuperscript{49}

The detailed table of Half-time schools in the Goulburn Inspectorate provided by Johnson\textsuperscript{50} revealed clearly diverging patterns in the conduct of Half-time schools in groups of two schools as against Half-time schools in groups of three or more schools. These variations demonstrated that there were effectively two types of Half-time schools at this time. Where there were two schools taught by one teacher, the teacher taught at each school on alternate weeks in the manner advocated in Harris’s draft ‘Instructions’. Where there were between three and five schools taught by one teacher then all schools were taught each week, the amount of instruction ranging between a day a week and two days a week at each school. Where the

\textsuperscript{47} SRNSW, NCE/7, 1/804, Folio 522, Standards of Proficiency for Half Time Schools
\textsuperscript{48} SRNSW, NCE/7, 1/804, Folio 523 & 524, Timetables for the Conduct of Half Time Schools
\textsuperscript{49} SRNSW, NCE/7, 1/804, Folio 519ff
\textsuperscript{50} SRNSW, NCE/7, 1/804, Folio 519ff
teacher taught two schools those schools were within ten miles of each other, thus meeting the requirements of Regulation Nine. The distances between the two places ranged from three miles between Jamboye and Jerricknorra to seven miles between Springfield and Bullamalita. When there were three schools or more under one teacher the distance to travel from the first school to the last school was greater than ten miles for five of the six circuits, ranging from twenty-nine miles in the case of Anembo, Whinstone Valley and Norongo, to fifteen and a half miles in the case of Larbert, Douro, Manar and Mulloon. The exception was Ballalaba, Nithdale, Bendoro and Farrington where there was only five and a half miles between the four schools. Where one teacher taught two schools each school had an enrolment and average attendance of 10 students or more, which met the requirements of Regulation Nine. When there were three or more schools under a teacher then at least one school had an enrolment of less than ten students and at least two schools under each teacher had an average attendance of less than ten students.

Johnson quickly demonstrated he held the same view on Half-time schools as Inspector Harris and Chief Inspector Gardiner: he supported the approach implied in Regulation Nine that an itinerant teacher should teach only two groups of children.

Johnson stated that his support for this view was based on his, ‘experience of the workings of half time schools.’ This experience was garnered from

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51 SRNSW, NCE/7, 1/804, Folio 519ff
52 SRNSW, NCE/7, 1/804, Folio 519ff
his tour of these schools, which had given him, ‘a conviction that it is undesirable to place under one teacher more than two schools.’

The benefit likely to be effected in any locality by one day’s teaching in each week must be small: a pretty general feeling prevails in the bush that it is not worth while sending children to school for so limited an amount of instruction.

His rationale was that the amount of instruction received by individual children needed to be at least two days a week in all Half-time schools if that instruction was to be effective.

Johnson’s support for the principle that itinerant teachers should teach in no more than two places also related to his perceived need for greater structure and ordered process in Half-time schools and the need to state the requirements for instruction in Half-time schools to allow for their systematic inspection.

it is well-nigh impossible to put down a systematic course of instruction, or to apply a uniform test to the labors [sic] of teachers, unless the time devoted to the teaching of each school be extended to two days a week, and be the same in all Half Time Schools.

In recommending that all Half-time schools take this form Johnson recognised that a consequence of such a decision would be that Half-time schools would no longer be flexible enough to be able to reach isolated groups of children less than ten in number. To provide education to these children Johnson proposed an evidently long discussed but never implemented scheme be put into effect – ‘the Public Industrial Boarding School’.

Such schools might be established in localities where the soil was of a fair description and where land was easily procurable. Boys could

53 SRNSW, NCE/7, 1/804, Folio 519ff
54 SRNSW, NCE/7, 1/804, Folio 519ff
55 SRNSW, NCE/7, 1/804, Folio 519ff
thus be trained to farming pursuits and their labor [sic] taken in part payment of the cost of their education.\textsuperscript{56}

Presumably girls would also have been able to attend and would have been involved in domestic tasks to help offset the cost of their education. Johnson believed ‘that the time has arrived when the Council may safely make an experiment in this direction.’\textsuperscript{57}

Inspector Johnson further supported his conclusion, ‘that it is undesirable to place under one Teacher more than two schools’\textsuperscript{58} by proposing ways in which some of the existing Half-time schools could be either consolidated or closed so that the itinerant teachers in the Goulburn District who then taught at more than two places would only teach two schools. He indicated that Douro and Larbert, Oranmeir and Jeretbagully, and Fairfield and Stoney Creek could be combined by building schools in a central place; that the schools at Manar [six children], Anembo [three children] and Stoney Creek [five children] could be abandoned; and that the schools at Ballalaba, Nithsdale, Bendorra and Farrington could effectively be reduced to Ballalaba and Farrington alone as, ‘All the children in these localities could attend one or another of these two schools’.\textsuperscript{59} While implementation of this proposal would have meant there would have been sixteen Half-time schools under eight itinerant teachers in the Goulburn Inspectorate, some of the schools would still not have met the requirements of Regulation Nine because the distance between them, for example, there would still have been twenty-one miles between Whistone Valley and Norongo, or because there was less than ten children, for example, the seven children at Mulloon. Inspector Johnson was indirectly acknowledging that some modification to Regulation

\textsuperscript{56} SRNSW, NCE/7, 1/804, Folio 519ff
\textsuperscript{57} SRNSW, NCE/7, 1/804, Folio 519ff
\textsuperscript{58} SRNSW, NCE/7, 1/804, Folio 519ff
\textsuperscript{59} SRNSW, NCE/7, 1/804, Folio 519ff
Nine was still necessary to keep Half-time schools operating within some of these localities.

Inspector Johnson was universally dissatisfied with the accommodation provided for Half-time schools in the Goulburn Inspectorate that he observed during his tour of these schools.

Some of the school houses are mere barns, partially filled with farm produce or lumber, others are bark huts little better than hovels, and the best are but poorly adapted for the purpose. It is impossible for education to be carried on under such circumstances.\(^60\)

Seven of the Half-time schools in the Jingeras were taught in homes, the schools at Long Reach and Rock View were in ‘rude’ school buildings erected by the residents, and the remaining schools were held in existing buildings made available for use as school rooms. Johnson felt strongly that ‘better and more permanent structures’\(^61\) were necessary.

No doubt a child may be taught to read, write and cipher in any kind of building, but something more than this is included in the term education as, I apprehend, it is understood by the Council. It is necessary that the taste and feelings shall be cultivated as well as the intellect; but constant association with a wretched hovel of a school and its miserable appointments is not calculated to do this.\(^62\)

Johnson attributed some of the responsibility for the existing low standard of accommodation for Half-time schools to actions taken by the Council of Education.

Hitherto the Council in its desire to do something for the moral redemption of a district long the hot-bed of bushranging and its concomitant vices has apparently disregarded these considerations [requiring appropriate school buildings and school furniture]. That course, however, has not been productive of unmixed good. It has lead many persons to view as a right, what was granted as a favor,
and hence they have done nothing towards the erection of school houses or the supply of school furniture.\textsuperscript{63}

This comment of Johnson’s is the strongest and clearest statement found linking the introduction of itinerant teachers in the Jingeras to the findings of the commission of inquiry into the state of crime in the Braidwood district and noting that these schools were a special provision in which many of the normal requirements for establishing schools were disregarded in order to provide educational facilities as quickly and as widely as possible.

To resolve the accommodation issue, Johnson suggested that the provision of accommodation for Half-time schools should be treated by the same criteria as the provision of accommodation for Public schools.

Suitable sites should be selected and vested with the Council, and no aid should be granted until the people have given evidence of their good faith in desiring education for their children by subscribing their quota of the cost of school buildings and school furniture, in money, labor [sic] or materials.\textsuperscript{64}

The subjects being taught in Half-time schools were identified by Johnson as, ‘Reading, Writing and Arithmetic, to which in the case of a few, Grammar and Geography have been added.’\textsuperscript{65} In addition to his concern that the itinerant teachers were teaching such a limited curriculum he also observed that the standard of teaching was low being by nature, ‘somewhat desultory and deficient in aim’.\textsuperscript{66} Johnson believed that the course of instruction followed by Half-time schools should conform ‘as closely as possible’ to that prescribed for Public schools. To this end he created two specimen timetables for the conduct of Half-time schools which prescribed

\textsuperscript{63} SRNSW, NCE/7, 1/804, Folio 519ff
\textsuperscript{64} SRNSW, NCE/7, 1/804, Folio 519ff
\textsuperscript{65} SRNSW, NCE/7, 1/804, Folio 519ff
\textsuperscript{66} SRNSW, NCE/7, 1/804, Folio 519ff
the suggested daily routine in Half-time schools in fine detail.\(^{67}\) Johnson also laid down recommended standards of proficiency which detailed the expected attainments of students under itinerant teachers. The range of subjects to be taught, for which he provided expected levels of achievement, encompassed reading, writing, arithmetic and singing for ‘First class’; reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, geography, drawing and singing for ‘Second class’; and reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, geography, object lessons, drawing and singing for ‘Third class’.\(^{68}\) Johnson anticipated that the teaching in Half-time schools would be ‘systematised’ by these measures, ‘making it more progressive in nature’, and enabling, ‘the Inspector to gauge accurately the results of the teaching.’\(^{69}\)

It was also Johnson’s belief that the itinerant teachers in charge of Half-time schools should be of a special calibre.

The standard has been framed on the assumption that the teachers appointed to staff Half Time Schools will in point of attainments and professional skill not be inferior to those appointed to Public Schools. I regard the office of teacher to Half Time Schools as one of particular importance, - to be conferred only on men of tried character and energy, who possess tact and judgment in the management of children and who are known to evince a strong desire to labor in that capacity.\(^{70}\)

Johnson anticipated, ‘no difficulty would be felt in obtaining teachers of this stamp’ though he did not explain the reason for his confidence on this matter. The financial return he was proposing for these teachers, while presumably fair and reasonable, was not unusual in nature except for the proposed forage allowance. ‘Their remuneration might consist of the salaries attached to their classification & the fees paid by the parents of the

\(^{67}\) SRNSW, NCE/7, 1/804, Folio 523 & 524
\(^{68}\) SRNSW, NCE/7, 1/804, Folio 522
\(^{69}\) SRNSW, NCE/7, 1/804, Folio 519ff
\(^{70}\) SRNSW, NCE/7, 1/804, Folio 519ff
children, together with an allowance of thirty pounds per annum for forage’.  

It was a general requirement at this time that parents paid fees for their children to attend school. These fees were ‘the property of the Teachers’ and were additional to their salaries. Fees could constitute a significant part of a teacher’s income. In the Goulburn District in 1868 Public school teachers, on average, received a salary of seventy-three pounds plus thirty-five pounds in fees. Johnson had noted while travelling among the Half-time schools in the Goulburn Inspectorate that:

A general impression seems to prevail among the people residing in the neighborhood of these schools that the education afforded to them is to be gratuitous: the teacher too appear to strengthen that impression by not extracting school fees. I regard this as a mistake. As a rule the inhabitants are well able to contribute towards the cost of their children’s education and I see no reason why they should be relieved of the duty.

Parents could be relieved of the responsibility of paying fees on the grounds of poverty and in these cases the children were termed ‘free scholars’. However this was a special provision that the Council preferred to limit as far as possible. The Council, like Johnson, felt ‘the omission to pay school fees seems to arise less from inability than from disinclination or indifference on the part of the parents.’ The Victorian education system had introduced a scheme to compensate teachers for the free scholars they taught by paying the teachers what they would have received in fees.

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71 SRNSW, NCE/7, 1/804, Folio 519ff
72 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1867, p. 10.
73 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1868, Sydney, Thomas Richards, Government Printer, 1869, pp. 142-143.
74 SRNSW, NCE/7, 1/804, Folio 519ff
76 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1867, p. 10.
However this practice was opposed in New South Wales on the grounds it could ‘become a serious burden upon the Parliamentary grant for education.’ Consequently the incomes of itinerant teachers in the Goulburn area would have been significantly negatively affected by the non-payment of fees. Even after steps had been taken to address this problem the average amount in fees received by itinerant teachers in the Goulburn District at the end of 1868 was five pounds ten shillings giving them a total average income of seventy-five pounds ten shillings.

It appears that the ‘general impression’ that parents of children taught by itinerant teachers were not required to pay fees arose from the special arrangements made for Cobb and Smith when they were appointed to the Jingeras. The Reverend Thomas Druitt, the Church of England minister at Cooma, commented upon these arrangements in March 1868 in a letter to the Council in which he complained that Fred Blanchard was not charging fees at his newly opened group of schools in the Jingeras. Druitt argued the parents ‘would most of them prefer contributing something to the teachers stipend as under present arrangements they have a vague kind of feeling they are being classed with the bushrangers which they do not like at all.’

The much higher than average salary paid to Cobb and Smith suggest that the Council had made provision to compensate them for this anticipated loss of income, despite its normal policy not to do so. This clearly supports the argument that the appointment of Cobb and Smith to the Jingeras was a

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77 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1867, p. 10.
78 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1868, p 140.
special arrangement in response to the findings of the commission of inquiry into the state of crime in the Braidwood district.

In supporting his case that fees should be charged in Half-time schools, Johnson proposed that a special scale of fees be introduced for these schools. Johnson suggested that the Council set the following minimum fees for parents of children attending Half-time schools.

- For one child in a family, nine pence per week
- For two children in a family, one shilling and three pence per week
- For three children in a family, one shilling and sixpence per week
- For four or more children in a family, one shilling and ninepence per week

That Johnson did not specify if these fees were to be paid every week, though the children were in attendance for half the week, or whether they were for the equivalent of a full week’s teaching and therefore were actually a fortnightly rate, was to later result in considerable confusion.

Johnson felt the decision ‘to grant gratuitous instruction to poor persons’ could be left to the teacher or the local school board, if one existed, ‘pending the report of the District Inspector upon such cases.’ This decision may have weakened the teachers’ ability to extract fees. Certainly fees generally continued not to be paid. Blanchard, for example, argued for a higher salary than the sixty pounds he was receiving on the basis he was not receiving any fees.

The Parents are so poor that the children are not half clothed, many of them never wore a covering to head or foot since they were born.

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80 SRNSW, NCE/7, 1/804, Folio 519ff
81 SRNSW, NCE/7, 1/804, Folio 519ff
I can therefore obtain no fees – and being married with family my present rate of salary does not clear my expenses.\textsuperscript{82}

The proposed forage allowance of thirty pounds per annum was to enable each teacher of Half-time schools to feed his horse. Teachers of full time schools, namely Public, Provisional and Denominational schools, were not eligible to receive a forage allowance. Johnson was clearly anticipating that itinerant teachers would need to keep a horse to travel between their schools. The sum suggested for this purpose appears to have been based on the anticipated average annual cost of providing feed for a horse and may have been calculated in part on the basis of what it cost an inspector to feed his horse. The thirty pounds per annum being suggested by Johnson was a significant sum as it amounted to half the annual salary paid to an unclassified teacher. Such a recommendation was not without precedent. On the 19 October 1867, Inspector Harris had recommended that George Lacy should be paid an allowance of two pounds per month to provide fodder for his horse.\textsuperscript{83} There was no response from the Council to the recommendation from Harris, possibly because it was waiting on his recommendations for the conduct of Half-time schools.

Inspector Johnson was more flexible than Inspector Harris in his recommendations as to how an itinerant teacher should divide his time between his two schools. Where Harris had proposed alternate weeks, Johnson chose to present three possible arrangements.

A teacher may divide his time between two schools in one of three ways: -

\textsuperscript{82} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/785, Folio 183, Letter from Fred Blanchard to the Secretary, 28 April 1868.

\textsuperscript{83} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/741, Vol. 7, Ermington – Gerringong, Folio 132, Memorandum from Inspector Harris to the Secretary, 19 October 1867.
1. He may devote the morning to one school and the afternoons to the other.

2. He may give half a week to one, and half a week to the other.

3. He may teach each school on alternate weeks.

The first arrangement where practicable is the most desirable; the second has some advantages in its favor [sic]; but the third will be found to best suit the conveniences of bush people.\(^84\)

Johnson’s preferences were likely based on the belief that the more frequent the contact between the teacher and students, the more effective the teaching would be. Harris’s proposal of alternate weeks, which was the arrangement in use where there were two schools under one teacher, was possibly preferred by parents as it allowed an uninterrupted week of labour by the children on the farm. Alternatively the parents of children in schools taught on alternate weeks may simply have become comfortable with the division of time that Inspector Harris may have directed these teachers to follow.

It is likely to have been Johnson’s concern to make education in Half-time schools as continuous as possible that lead him to further propose that:

the ordinary school teaching, to prove effective, will have to be supplemented by a systematic course of home lessons. The precise nature of these must be regulated by the Programmes, and without going into details they should consist of the reproduction of previous lessons and the preparation of future ones. Exercise books to be provided by the Council will be required to be used for this purpose, and being the property of the school, can then be reclaimed for the information of the Inspector of the District. It will be further necessary to give each school an ample supply of books, as the children will need to use them for home study. A depot for the supply of requisites should be established at some Public School centrally situated and the Master of such school should be empowered to issue to the teachers of Half Time Schools upon the production of the usual application, approved by the District Inspector, the requisites needed.\(^85\)

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\(^{84}\) SRNSW, NCE/7, 1/804, Folio 519ff

\(^{85}\) SRNSW, NCE/7, 1/804, Folio 519ff
Johnson’s proposal for the use of ‘home lessons’ is the first known instance in the New South Wales government school system of a scheme to provide lessons outside the school environment to allow children to continue their education at home. This scheme was continued, or reinvented, within the other forms of itinerant teaching that were introduced later in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, namely House to House schools and Travelling schools, and would constitute a key element in the distance education methods introduced in the twentieth century namely Correspondence schools, Schools of the Air and Distance Education Centres.

Johnson concluded his report by turning his focus to the itinerant teachers he had visited in the Goulburn Inspectorate, what they had achieved, the prospects of this form of schooling and ‘certain specific rules’ for the regulation of Half-time schools.

The teachers in charge of Half Time Schools are, with one or two exceptions, energetic and painstaking and imbued with a proper enthusiasm for the work … I examined the attainments of the pupils in several of the schools, and it afforded me much satisfaction to find that substantial work had been done. Even in the case of those schools which received but one day’s instruction in the week, appreciable results had been produced … I have reason to believe that if the Half Time Schools be conducted on the principles embodied in this report, they will prove a success and form no unimportant part of the educational machinery of the Colony.\(^{86}\)

The rules suggested by Johnson for Half-time schools, based on the observations and recommendations made in the body of his report, were:

1. Aid will not be granted towards the establishment and maintenance of Half Time Schools unless suitable Schoolhouses and sufficient and proper furniture be provided.

2. No Schoolroom will be approved unless it be ten feet at least in width, be floored, be provided with a fire-place, and be properly lighted and ventilated.

\(^{86}\) SRNSW, NCE/7, 1/804, Folio 519ff
3. Aid will be given towards the erection of suitable School-houses, provided the sites be vested in the Council, and there will be a probability that the schools so established, will ultimately become Public Schools.

4. As a rule, the number of schools placed under one teacher will be limited to two.

5. Every teacher is expected to divide his time between the Schools under his charge with the view of affecting the largest amount of good. Where practicable it is recommended that he devote the mornings to the teaching of the one school, and the afternoons to the teaching of the other.

6. The course of secular instruction will be the same as that prescribed for Public Schools.

7. This required to be regulated by the Time Tables and Standard of Proficiency prescribed for Half Time Schools.

8. Teachers are required to carry out a Systematic Course of Home Lessons. Exercise books for this purpose will be provided by the Council, and these books are required to be retained for the information of the Inspector of the District.

9. The Council has approved the following scale of fees for Half Time Schools:- For one Child in a family, Ninepence per Week.

For two Children in a family, One shilling and threepence per Week.

For three Children in a family, One shilling and sixpence per Week.

For four or more Children in a family, One shilling and ninepence per Week.

10. Teachers will be allowed £30 per annum for forage in addition to the salary attached to their classification.

11. It is expected that teachers will endeavour to make themselves acquainted with the educational wants of their several districts, will study to acquire a knowledge of the character of the people, and strive to deport themselves so as to win their respect and confidence.87

Johnson’s report finally gave the Council the clear understanding of the nature of the existing Half-time schools which they had been lacking, and revealed that Half-time schools for all their irregularities were playing a

87 SRNSW, NCE/7, 1/804, Folio 519ff
productive role, despite their diverse and largely unregulated form. His report also provided a detailed structure for the organisation and conduct of Half-time schools designed to further improve the quality of education provided by these schools, though at the cost of reducing the ability of Half-time schools to reach some isolated children by making them less flexible and adaptable. In aligning Half-time schools with Public schools in terms of accommodation, curriculum and quality of teachers, Johnson was, on paper at least, separating Half-time schools from the more lenient provisions relating to the establishment of Provisional schools, and suggesting that they become a smaller and part-time version of the more closely regulated Public schools.

**Inspector McIntyre replaces Inspector Harris in the Goulburn District**

In the second half of March, while Johnson was preparing his report, Inspector Harris informed the Council of Education ‘there is no possibility of my being physically capable of again performing the duties of an Inspector of Schools. I beg respectfully to express a hope that the Council will kindly provide me with employment.’

Harris included a Doctor’s certificate which indicated he was suffering from a severe respiratory complaint but would, ‘be able to undertake any duty not involving active exercise, exposure – or vocal exertion.’ The Council responded to the situation by transferring Inspector William McIntyre from the Armidale District to the Goulburn District. McIntyre was the Inspector who in 1864 had recommended the use of itinerant teachers to reach small isolated

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88 SRNSW, NCE/7, 1/804, Folio 191, Letter from Inspector Harris to the Secretary, 21 March 1868.
89 SRNSW, NCE/7, 1/804, Folio 192, Doctor’s report on Inspector Harris, undated
groups of children, but he had not subsequently introduced Half-time schools into the Armidale District in 1867. He now took charge of the district which held the great majority of itinerant teachers undertaking this role.

The Council’s response to Johnson’s report

Johnson’s report was positively received and given close attention by the Council of Education. His report was first referred to in the Council’s annual report for 1867 which was evidently finalized in April 1868. While the Council’s annual report focussed on the events of 1867, and Johnson’s report related to events in 1868 and therefore would have been more appropriately included in the 1868 annual report, the Council felt it appropriate to draw upon Johnson’s report for its 1867 annual report as it constituted the first clear overview and evaluation of Half-time schools available to the Council.

The condition and efficiency of the Half-time Schools already in operation have not been reported upon by any of the Inspectors during the last year; and believing that information on this important department of the Council’s operations would be much valued, the Council invites attention to the following extract from the report of Mr E. Johnson, an inspector who was specially instructed to visit these Schools since the commencement of the current year.\(^90\)

The extract provided was the concluding paragraph of the first part of Johnson’s report which spoke positively of the work being done by the existing Half-time schools and predicted that this type of school would prove a successful and important part of the education system if developed along the lines he recommended. The Council report identified that the Council was in agreement with Johnson’s conclusions.

\(^{90}\) *Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1867*, p. 5.
The Council has now under consideration a code of regulations for
the more systematic organization and conduct of schools of this class
which it is believed, may be usefully extended to large portions of
the Colony in which other modes of education would not be
practicable.\textsuperscript{91}

The Council of Education went beyond Johnson’s report by featuring its
thoughts on the future of Half-time schools in its ‘Concluding Remarks’ to
the 1867 report.

The fact cannot be concealed that extensive districts of the Colony
are still entirely destitute of education. Omitting the provision
requisite to supply the natural increase of the population and the re-
distribution occasioned by the opening up of new tracts of country,
the squatting districts generally will need a large development of
educational agencies. Manaroo, the Murray District, and the great
plains to the west and north are in this position. Judging by the
results already obtained, the Half-time System seems eminently
adapted to meet the peculiar requirements of these districts, and
attention will be given to this part of the Council’s operations with a
view to extend the system as far as practicable.\textsuperscript{92}

On the basis of Johnson’s report the Council was publicly stating its belief
that Half-time schools would become a significant part of the government
education system in the Colony of New South Wales and would be a key
instrument in reducing the number of children beyond the reach of
educational facilities in the vast sparsely settled areas of the Colony named
above. At the time the 1867 annual report was written Half-time schools
were not present in any of the areas nominated above except possibly
Manaroo. Manaroo, now known as Monaro, broadly refers to the country
south of Queanbeyan to the Victorian Border and from the Snowy
Mountains to the Great Dividing Range. Even now the region is only
vaguely defined. The Half-time schools at Anembo, Whinstone Valley and

\textsuperscript{91} Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1867, p. 4.
\textsuperscript{92} Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1867, p. 13.
Norongo, taught by Blanchard, and Carwoola and Foxlowe, taught by Robertson, are likely to have been considered within Manaroo.

Johnson’s suggestion that boarding schools be established for children beyond the reach of Half-time schools structured along the lines he recommended was also referred to in the Council’s 1867 annual report. Their comments were cautious. ‘A further extension of the means of education may be accomplished by means of the provision authorized to be made for boarders in Public Schools under the 14th section of the Act.’

Evidently the Council had already been exploring this option but, ‘it has not hitherto been found practicable to make arrangement for this purpose in any existing Public School.’

The Council of Education formally considered Johnson’s report at a meeting of the Council held on 1 May 1868. The Council’s decision was simply expressed in the single word ‘Adopted’. This decision confirmed Johnson’s recommendations as the approved future direction for Half-time schools.

A vision for Half-time schools

The implications of this decision were enthusiastically explored in the 1 July 1868 issue of the Australian Journal of Education, a journal which was effectively a mouthpiece of the Council of Education. The chairman of the editorial committee was William Wilkins, the Secretary of the Council of Education. This issue contained an article entitled ‘Half-time Schools’

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93 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1867, p. 13.
94 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1867, p. 13.
95 SRNSW, NCE/24, Minute Books, 1868-9; 1871-80, 1/448, 2 Mar. 1868 – 24 Mar. 1869, Meeting of the 1 May 1868, p. 91.
which was the first known public discussion on the direction and organisation of Half-time schools following the adoption of Johnson’s report by the Council of Education. It introduced Half-time schools to the readership almost as a new innovation. No author is acknowledged, but with the tenor of the article closely matching the discussion of Half-time schools in the 1867 annual report and the authoritative tone of statements in the article, the writer appears to speak on behalf of the Council.

It is probable that the author was William Wilkins, who had ready access to Johnson’s report and the Council’s considerations on Half-time schools, was the person most likely to have modified the special rules suggested by Johnson for the Council, and as editor of the journal had every opportunity to prepare and include the article. It is less likely that Edwin Johnson was the author of the article as some of the statements differ from the viewpoints expressed in his report. The enthusiastic tone and manner of the article is at times more akin to Cobb’s letters to the Council (which went to William Wilkins) and to William McIntyre’s comments on Half-time schools in his 1868 and 1869 annual reports as inspector of the Goulburn District.

However by this time Cobb had become dispirited and had resigned from his schools and as this article was written before McIntyre’s reports, it is quite possible that McIntyre drew upon this article in writing his reports.

The article began by restating the positive view of the future of Half-time schools given both in Johnson’s report and in the 1867 annual report. ‘The schools established under this title are likely to increase in number, and will soon form no inconsiderable portion of the whole educational organization
of the Colony. 96 Pastoral areas of the Colony were nominated, as in the 1867 annual report as the place where Half-time schools, ‘will be found of most service’. 97 The article, however, expands on this concept providing a social and moral context for the provision of Half-time schools in pastoral areas.

On extensive runs, where shepherds, or stockmen, with their families, are located at distances of five or six miles from each other, it will often be possible to collect ten or more children at one central spot, and a like number at another place. Proprietors of runs and their superintendents, if disposed, can greatly assist the work of education in such localities, and thus promote their own interests and the general good at the same time. The existence of a school for their children within a reasonable distance is an inducement to married men to stay in their situations, and tends to remove their reluctance to take employment in the interior. 98

Newly settled agricultural districts were given as a further, though secondary, place where Half-time schools might: ‘bring the means of education within the reach of people residing in localities too sparsely populated to admit to the establishment of schools of the ordinary kinds … when even Provisional Schools are beyond the means of the people.’ 99

The author of the article differed from Johnson’s willingness to allow a variety of teaching patterns by strongly espousing that both schools be taught every day, or if this was impracticable on alternate days.

Any arrangement which allows a longer interval than a day to pass without instruction seems to us less likely to be effectual. Experience in the home country goes to prove that children who are engaged on manual labour one half the day and attend school during the other, make at least equal progress with those who receive a full day’s instruction. With judicious management, equally favourable results would, we doubt not, be obtained in this colony. 100

100 ‘Half-time Schools’, p. 200.
The reference to part time education in ‘the home country’ is likely to refer to the Half-time method of education employed in English factories and mills under the provisions of the 1833 and 1844 Factory Acts. Similar references to this educational system and its effectiveness are also made by McIntyre in his 1868 and 1869 annual reports.

The author also asserted that in the Half-time schools already in existence, ‘such has been the effect of the teaching even under the imperfect arrangements hitherto in force’ However, at no point in his report did Johnson suggest that these results were as good as might have been achieved in a full time school. Rather Inspector Johnson said:

Had I been required to report on each teacher’s labor, I do not hesitate to say that, having regard to the difficulties under which the Half Time System has hitherto been carried on, that report would have disclosed reports of a gratifying nature.

The writer of the journal article also differed with Inspector Johnson’s assertion that teachers of Half-time schools would desirably have teaching skills and attainments, ‘not … inferior to those appointed to public schools.’ Rather the author of the article felt that a significantly lower lever of professional skill was all that was required.

Young men of active habits might after a brief period in training become qualified in all the professional requirements for the office of Teachers of Half-time Schools. After serving in this capacity for a few years, during which they would gain experience and thus qualify themselves for a wider field of duty, while they, at the same time, rendered good service to the Council and to the State, they could enter the Training School with a view to obtain an appointment in a school of the ordinary kind.

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103 SRNSW, NCE/7, 1/804, Folio 519ff
104 SRNSW, NCE/7, 1/804, Folio 519ff
Both Inspector Johnson and the writer of the article agreed that Half-time teachers needed to be men of strong and honourable character. Where Johnson had simply stated that Half-time school teachers needed to be, ‘men of tried character and energy, who possess tact and judgment in the management of children’\textsuperscript{106} the writer of the article is more expansive and perhaps a touch melodramatic.

The peculiar character of the people with which he will be associated, their mode of life and habits of thought, together with the general absence of external control, will prove to be strong temptations to a young man whose principles are not firmly settled in truth and probity. He will often require to be the example, without appearing to be the censor, of the less scrupulous of the parents; he will have to uphold the right and discountenance wrong without making himself obnoxious as a spy or an informer; and while by the consistency and uprightness of his own life he is a safe pattern for imitation to the well-disposed, he must endeavour to lead those inclined to improper courses to walk in the path of duty.\textsuperscript{107}

The fervour of these statements, plus the reference to spies and informers and the comment that some parents might not be a good moral influence, suggest that the writer of the article might have been familiar with, and influenced by, Henry Cobb’s early correspondence with the Council. This again supports the likelihood that the author of this article was William Wilkins. In addition the writer of the article provided a lengthy discourse on the opportunities open to those who take up the challenge of becoming Half-time School teachers, which waxed lyrically like a recruitment poster or a call to missionary work.

Such a course to many minds would prove highly attractive. The comparative freedom, the variety, the \textit{adventure} inseparable from the office would offer irresistible charms; the mixture of outdoor exercise with the sedentary occupation of teaching would be highly conducive to health; and the opportunities for mental improvement would be numerous and regular. An observant man could not fail to learn much respecting the various departments of natural history,

\textsuperscript{106} SRNSW, NCE/7, 1/804, Folio 519ff.
\textsuperscript{107} ‘Half-time Schools’, p. 201.
and he must be dull indeed whose knowledge of human nature was
not increased by contact with the people among whom he lived and
laboured. The whole life of a Half-time School teacher seems to us
to be of a bracing description, giving occasion for the development
of all the manly elements of character – vigor [sic], decision,
prudence and largeheartedness, and underlying the whole a strong
sense of duty …

The services which men of this stamp would render to the country
can hardly be overestimated. Such men are needed, and we should
be glad if this fact could become widely known throughout the
colony. Although none possessing the requisite qualifications would
be unwelcome, it is to the young natives of the colony that our words
are chiefly addressed. The inducements to enter upon the career of a
Half-time Teacher appeal with redoubled force to them – love of
their country, the hope of benefiting their younger fellow-
countrymen, the evil to be prevented, the good to be effected, all
speak to them with especial effect.  

The special rules for the conduct of Half-time schools

Johnson’s recommended rules for the conduct of Half-time schools, which
had been adopted by the Council of Education as part of his report, had
evidently been placed in an amended format as ‘the special rules for the
Management of Half-time Schools’. These special rules were published,
possibly for the first time, in this article. With the introduction of these
special rules the author of the article considered, ‘their [Half-time schools] arrangements seem now to be tolerably complete.’ The special rules as
given in the article were:

I. - ESTABLISHMENT OF SCHOOLS.

1. Half-time Schools may be established wherever twenty children
of the school age are residing within an estimated radius of ten
miles from a central point, and can be collected in groups of not less
than ten children in each. (*Regulations, Article 9, Section II.*)

2. Aid will not be granted towards the establishment and
maintenance of Half-time Schools unless Schoolhouses and
sufficient and proper furniture be provided.

3. No Schoolroom will be approved unless it be ten feet at least in width, be floored, be provided with a fire-place, and be properly lighted and ventilated.

4. Aid will be given towards the erection of suitable School-houses, provided the sites be vested in the Council, and there be a probability that the Schools so established will ultimately become Public Schools.

II. - ORGANIZATION.

5. Grants of School Books and apparatus will be made from time to time, as may be deemed expedient, and a full supply will be granted as a first stock to all Schools newly established. (*Regulations, Article 14, Section II.*)

6. The same Registers are to be kept, and the same Returns furnished as in Public Schools.

7. In addition to the duties prescribed in Article 42, Section II. of the Regulations, Teachers in Half-time Schools will endeavour to make themselves acquainted with the educational wants of their several Districts, will study to acquire a knowledge of the character of the people, and strive to deport themselves so as to win their respect and confidence.

8. As a rule, the number of Schools placed under one Teacher will be limited to two.

9. Every Teacher is expected to divide his time between the Schools under his charge, with the view of affecting the largest amount of good. Where practicable, it is recommended that he devote the mornings to the teaching of the one School, and the afternoons to the teaching of the other; but should any other arrangement be found more suitable, the Teacher is at liberty to adopt it. In any case, the parent or guardian of each child is to be supplied with a Time Table showing the hours at which school will open.

10. Teachers will be paid Salary according to Classification.

11. The Council has approved of the following Scale of Fees for Half-time Schools:

   For one Child in a family ............ Ninepence per Week.

   For two Children ............ One shilling and threepence per Week.

   For three Children ............ One shilling and sixpence per Week.

   For four or more Children in a family ........ One shilling and ninepence per Week.
12. In cases of proved necessity Teachers will be paid an annual allowance for forage, in addition to the Salary attached to their Classification.

III. - DISCIPLINE.

13. Teachers in Half-time Schools should carefully observe the Council’s Regulations on this head.

IV. - INSTRUCTION.

14. As regards Instruction every Half-time School is to be conducted in all respects as a Public School.

15. The Course of Secular Instruction will be the same as that prescribed for Public Schools.

16. It is required to be regulated by the Time Table and Standard of Proficiency prescribed for Half-time Schools.

17. Teachers are required to carry out a systematic Course of Home Lessons. Exercise Books for this purpose will be provided by the Council, and these Books must be retained for the information of the Inspector of the District.

V. - GOVERNMENT.

18. When practicable, Boards will be appointed to supervise Half-time Schools, or the duty may be confided to a single individual.

19. In the absence of such authority, Teachers of Half-time Schools will hold themselves directly responsible to the Inspector of the District.

20. Teachers’ Monthly Salary Abstracts will be signed by a member of the Board or by the Local Superintendent, and when no local authority has been appointed, by the Inspector of the District.

21. At the end of each month, a Report should be furnished to the Inspector upon the work done during that period.\footnote{Johnson’s eleven proposed rules for Half-time schools were, for the most part, directly incorporated into these twenty-one special rules. Johnson’s rules one, two, three, four, six, seven, eight and nine, became special rules two, three, four, eight, fifteen, sixteen, seventeen and eleven. With the addition of a reference to rule forty-two of the Regulations, Johnson’s rule eleven became special rule seven, Johnson’s remaining two rules, rules five and seven, were not incorporated.}{111}
and ten, however, were not ‘Adopted’ as given but amended in ways that changed their nature and impact from that which Johnson had intended. Johnson’s rule five was used as the first part of special rule nine. However, the subsequent sentence undermined Johnson’s intention to make the teaching in Half-time as continuous as possible by giving teachers the freedom to organise their time as they chose providing they provided parents with a timetable. The intent of the Council in making this change is unclear. Perhaps it was felt that as Johnson had allowed three alternatives it made sense to allow any arrangement that worked for the teacher.

Johnson’s proposed rule ten was radically changed, in its transition to special rule twelve. The proposal to allow Half-time teachers thirty pounds a year for forage to assist them in the care and maintenance of a horse was greatly reduced. Instead teachers were only to be paid an unspecified forage allowance in ‘cases of proved necessity’. This far less generous provision was to prove a significant obstacle for many itinerant teachers in charge of Half-time schools. The intentions of the Council in making this change were probably to limit what could have become a major area of expenditure by ensuring such an allowance was only given when it was clearly warranted and retaining final say on the amount to be paid. The effects of this decision were: to give the Council clear control of how much forage allowance was paid to individual itinerant teachers; to make the maintenance of a horse a problem, and frequently a burden, for many itinerant teachers; to create a new area of paperwork for teachers, inspectors and the Council’s Secretary and clerks, and to significantly reduce the amount of money that the Council would otherwise have been required to pay to itinerant teachers.
The other sections of the special rules which were not derived specifically from Johnson’s rules, were either drawn from the Regulations (special rules one, five and thirteen), from the body of Johnson’s report (special rules fourteen and eighteen), or clarified an aspect of administration (special rule six). Overall the special rules for the conduct of Half-time schools closely followed Johnson’s proposed rules and the spirit of his proposals. The only evident changes were the adjustments made in special rules nine and twelve and the different attitude to the qualifications and skills required by teachers of Half-time schools reflected in the journal article.

**Distributing the special rules**

On the 6 July 1868, five days after the publication of the article on Half-time schools in the *Australian Journal of Education*, the Council of Education mailed out to eleven itinerant teachers in charge of Half-time schools a range of materials to guide them in the conduct and regulation of their schools.

I [William Wilkins] am directed by the Council of Education to transmit herewith, for your information and guidance a copy of the Special Rules, formed by the Council for the management of Half Time Schools, also a copy of the Public Schools Act, and of the Regulations, dated 27th February 1867.

Time tables (2) are likewise forwarded to you, together with a copy of the Standard of Proficiency by which the instruction of the school classes in the Schools under your charge, will be regulated.\(^{112}\)

Half-time schools had, on paper, now changed from probably the least regulated form of government school to a closely regulated form with a similar level of structure to that of Public School. The itinerant teachers conducting Half-time schools now had clear detailed guidelines as to what

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\(^{112}\) SRNSW, NCE/17, Out-Letter Books, 1868-80, 1/480, 1 June – 7 Jul. 1868, No. 68.4433-4443, Half Time Schools: letters of instruction to teachers of eleven.
was expected of them and, probably more to the point, what their inspectors
would be judging their performance against.

As only the cover letter to each teacher was preserved in the Council’s
records it is not known what changes, if any, were made to the time tables
and the standards of proficiency created by Johnson before they were issued
to itinerant teachers in charge of Half-time schools. Using the transition of
Johnson’s proposed rules to the Council’s special rules as a measure it is
probable that few, if any, changes were made. As official Council
documents, the Special Rules, standards of proficiency and timetables for
Half-time schools are unlikely to have acknowledged Johnson’s pivotal
contribution. Nonetheless his contribution was evident, not only in the
surviving Special Rules, but also in details such as the name Half-time
school being consistently applied to each place at which an itinerant teacher
taught and in the presentation of the name ‘Half Time School’, the form
used by Johnson, in Wilkins covering letter.

The groups of Half-time schools that these materials were sent out to were
recorded (with some unusual spellings) as: Bettababa & Farringdon,
Jamboye and Jerricknorra, Jingera, Orammier & Jerrabalgully, Burraramalita
& Springfield, Richlands &Yelbraith, Cobbora & Buddenbelar, Dorongo &
Whinstone Valley, Carwoola & Toslowe, Rock View & Long Reach, and
Harold Cross & Ternally. 113 This list indicated that between late February
when Inspector Johnson had set out on his tour of Half-time schools in the
Goulburn Inspectorate and early July 1868 when the special rules and
associated materials were issued to Half-time schools, a group of Half-time
schools had gone and new groups had opened.

113 SRNSW, NCE/17, 1/480, No. 68.4433-4443.
Half-time schools between February and July 1868

Burragorang Half-time School

In April 1868, Burragorang Half-time School, which officially was one Half-time school with seven teaching stations, became, effectively, the first group of Half-time schools to cease operation. The heavily disillusioned teacher, Mr James Lacy, had tendered his resignation from the seven teaching stations scattered along the sparsely settled Burragorang Valley on the 18 April 1868 and was not replaced.

I have given the position of Itinerant Teacher a fair trial. In undertaking it I was prepared to suffer every inconvenience. Experience teaches me I am totally unsuited to meet the many and numerous trials daily thrown in my way … I am therefore not only miserable but completely wretched.114

Oranmeir and Jerrabatgully Half-time Schools

Henry Cobb’s schools at Oranmeir, Jerrabatgully, Mount Pleasant, Fairfield and Stoney Creek had been reduced to Oranmeir and Jerrabatgully only. This decrease resulted from Henry Cobb’s resignation from his schools, to which the Council’s response had been to limit the number of schools under Cobb’s successor to two. No reason was given for this action, nor for the manner in which the change was made. The Council did not follow the guidelines provided by Inspector Johnson for the rationalisation of Cobb’s schools to two nor did it consult with residents.

Henry Cobb had resigned from his position as itinerant teacher of Oranmeir, Jerrabatgully, Fairfield, Mount Pleasant and Stoney Creek Half-time schools at the end of April 1868. For some months he had been suffering from serious ill health which he attributed to, ‘the exposure to all kinds of

114 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/771, Folio 203, Letter of resignation from J. A. Lacy to the Secretary, 18 April 1868.
weather, coupled with the continual change of beds and food’. He was also finding it difficult to cope financially.

despite the great liberality of the Council to me [Cobb was paid two hundred pounds a year] – when I deduct from my salary, my travelling expenses, the cost of horse keep & extra clothing for myself I have not sufficient funds left to pay my current expenses. [Cobb’s underlining]

Cobb indicated he had a wife and five children to support and requested to be transferred to a Public school. Evidently nothing came of this request as he made arrangements to ‘commence business again’, as proprietor of the ‘Post Office Store’ at Majors Creek, from the beginning of May 1868. Despite his difficulties Cobb retained a positive attitude to the work he had commenced and continued to make suggestions to the Council for the effective conduct of his schools and to offer his support even after his resignation. Cobb did not return to teaching, continuing in business at Majors Creek until the late 1880s or early 1890s when he moved his family to Braidwood. He became the secretary and librarian of the Braidwood Literary Institute and the first town clerk of the Braidwood Municipal Council. He died in 1899 a highly respected local citizen.

116 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/785, Folio 377.
117 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/785, Folio 377.
118 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/785, Folio 385, Letter of resignation from Henry A. Cobb to the Secretary, 1 April 1868
119 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/785, Folio 385, Letter from Henry Cobb to the Secretary, 15 May 1868.
120 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/785, Folio 385.
121 Information compiled by Dr Christine Wright, President, Braidwood and District historical Society Inc., November 2006 from the Index to Anglican Register, Canberra Goulburn Diocese; R. Maddrell, Braidwood and District Post Offices and People, Braidwood, 1995, p. 103; M. A. Bunn, The Lonely Pioneer: William Bunn, diarist, 1830-1901, Braidwood, 2002; and H. A. Cobb’s obituary in the Braidwood Dispatch, 8 March 1899.
Henry Cobb had expected that his successor would continue to visit all the schools that he had commenced, but when Patrick Dwyer was appointed in late May 1868 he was directed to confine his teaching to two localities only, Jerrabatgully and Oranmeir. When Dwyer learnt that Cobb had previously taught over a much wider area, and had been paid an annual salary of two hundred pounds per annum, he offered to, ‘to do the same amount of work for one hundred and forty four pounds’. His offer was not taken up by the Council.

**Corang and Nerriga Half-time Schools**

Four new groups of Half-time schools had also opened in this period, all in the Goulburn District. The first group, Corang and Nerriga, situated approximately twenty seven and thirty three miles to the north east of Braidwood, had opened as a consequence of Johnson’s tour of Half-time schools. Johnson had held a discussion with the publican at Corang, presumably while visiting the nearby Half-time schools at Jamboye and Jerricknora. The residents at Corang and Nerriga had consequently built two schools, found a teacher, Michael Nolan, and applied to the Council for assistance on 1 April 1868. On Johnson’s recommendation aid was approved to these schools with Nolan as teacher. This aid was evidently backdated to 1 April 1868. Corang and Nerriga were not included in the

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122 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/785, Folio 385.
123 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/785, Folio 390, Letter from residents of the Upper Shoalhaven to the Secretary, 24 July 1868.
124 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/785, Folio 387, Letter from Patrick Dwyer to the Secretary, 29 June 1868.
125 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/781, Vol. 47, Lismore – East Maitland, Folio 320, Memorandum from Inspector Johnson to the Secretary, 9 April 1868.
126 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/784, Folio 320, Application for aid to the Half-time schools at Corang and Nerriga, 1 April 1868.
127 NSW DET, ETIS, Head of School card for Corang.
mail out to Half-time schools on the 6 July 1868. There is no apparent reason for their omission which may simply have been a clerical error.

**Richlands Half-time School**

Richlands was the next Half-time school to open, becoming the first Half-time school to open on its own for an extended period of time. Richlands was intended to open with a partner school at Yelbraith, about three miles away. Richlands and Yelbraith had previously existing private schools. The residents at both places had applied separately to the Council for their schools to become Provisional schools under their current teachers. Inspector McIntyre visited these schools on the 10 and 11 June 1868 and concluded that both schools had a barely adequate attendance for Provisional schools. He found Mr Henry Hardinge, the teacher at Richlands, to be, ‘a respectable man who has received a respectable education’\(^{128}\) whereas he believed Mr Rich, the teacher at Yelbraith, was ‘addicted to drink’.\(^ {129}\) Inspector McIntyre recommended that Richlands and Yelbraith become Half-time schools with Hardinge as the itinerant teacher.\(^ {130}\) When Hardinge was appointed to both places in mid June 1868 the parents at Yelbraith, evidently led by Rich, refused to accept him.\(^ {131}\) Hardinge consequently taught at Richlands only in 1868, with Yelbraith continuing as

\(^{128}\) SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/787, Vol. 53, Picton – Richlands, Folio 466, Report on application for a Provisional school at Richlands from Inspector McIntyre to the Secretary, 10 June 1868.

\(^{129}\) SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/788, Vol. 54, Richlands – St Leonards, Folio 4, Report on application for a Provisional school at Yelbraith from Inspector McIntyre to the Secretary, 11 June 1868.

\(^{130}\) SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/788, Folio 4.

\(^{131}\) SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/788, Folio 11, Letter from Henry Hardinge to the Secretary, 3 July 1868.
a private school under Rich, while McIntyre and the Council corresponded
with the people of the locality seeking to find a resolution to the matter.\textsuperscript{132}

\textbf{Burra Burra and Snaphook Half-time Schools}

Burra Burra and Snaphook Half-time Schools followed. Located
approximately forty miles south east of Braidwood in the vicinity of
Moruya, residents in these localities had applied for Half-time schools on
the 2 March 1868 and recommended John Austin Hepple for the position of
teacher.\textsuperscript{133} There appears to have been no inspector’s report on this
application probably because of Inspector Harris’s illness. Hepple was
appointed teacher on the 29 June 1868 but was only able to commence
teaching at Burra Burra on that date as the School house at Snaphook was
not yet completed.\textsuperscript{134} He commenced teaching at both schools from the end
of August.\textsuperscript{135} Like Corang and Nerriga, Burra Burra and Snaphook were not
included in the mail out to Half-time schools on the 6 July 1868. Because
these schools opened so near to the date of the mail out, it is possible these
materials were included with Hepple’s notification of appointment.

\textbf{Long Flat, Harolds Cross and Vernelly Half-time Schools}

The fourth group of Half-time schools to open in this period, Long Flat,
Harolds Cross and Vernelly, was in the Jingeras with Harolds Cross being
approximately fourteen miles southwest of Braidwood. These schools which

\textsuperscript{132} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/788, Folios 13-28.
\textsuperscript{133} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/771, Vol. 37, Brushgrove – Camperdown, Folio 173, Application for
the establishment of Half-time schools at Burra Burra and Snaphook, 2 March 1868.
\textsuperscript{134} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/771, Folio 181, Letter from John Hepple to Inspector McIntyre, 15
August 1868.
\textsuperscript{135} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/771, Folio 183, Letter from Michael Deane, School Patron, to the
Secretary, 19 November, 1868.
opened in late June or early July 1868 with John George Merest as itinerant teacher had evidently been under development for some months. In April 1868 a local resident, Peter French had reported to William Wilkins that school buildings had been completed at the three locations, ‘in accordance with your directions of Feb 14’. This may explain why a group of three Half-time schools was allowed to open after The Council had adopted Johnson’s report. With the closure of Burragorang and the opening of these four groups of Half-time schools the number of itinerant teachers was actually thirteen, rather than eleven, when the mail out of special rules, etc., was dispatched on 6 July 1868.

The list of Half-time schools that the mail out was sent to also named two Half-time schools for each itinerant teacher, except for Jingera where only this name was given, but this was misleading. Of the five groups of Half-time schools with more than two schools operating in February, Burragorang had closed and Oranmeir, Jerrabatgully, Mount Pleasant, Fairfield and Stoney Creek had been reduced to Oranmeir and Jerrabatgully only. But itinerant teachers continued to teach at more than two places at Larbert, Douro, Manar and Mulloon (sometimes collectively referred to as Jingera); Anembo, Whinstone Valley and Norongo; and Ballalaba, Nithsdale, Bendor and Farrington. In addition there was the recently opened Long Flat, Harolds Cross and Vernelly group of Half-time schools. Consequently, of the thirteen groups of Half-time schools in operation at 6 July 1868, four had more than two schools, eight were in the preferred form of two schools, and Richlands operated alone. The proportion of itinerant

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136 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/792, Vol. 58, Training School – Wagga, Folio 314, Letter from John Merest to the Secretary, 2 July 1868, and , NSW DET, ETIS, Head of School card for Vernelly.
137 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/792, Folio 304, Letter from Peter French to the Secretary, 13 April 1868.
teachers with more than two schools had decreased from one half to a third since February 1868 but they were still a significant minority.

Half-time schools to the end of 1868

Only five more groups of Half-time schools were to open in the remainder of 1868. Four of these groups – Crookwell and Laggan, Burragate and Wyndham, Upper Colo and Wheeny Creek, and Bolong and Cooks Vale Creek - were new arrangements. The applications for these schools were all for groups of two schools, even though each application predated the Special Regulations for Half-time schools. Possibly this was influenced by the nature of the application form for Half-time schools itself which continued in use unchanged. The fifth group was the reopened Fairfield and Stoney Creek Half-time schools in the Jingeras. Four groups were in the Goulburn District while the fifth was in the Cumberland District.

Crookwell and Laggan, and Bolong and Cooks Vale Creek Half-time Schools

There were a number of commonalities in the establishment of the Half-time schools at Crookwell and Laggan, and at Bolong and Cooks Vale Creek.

Both groups of schools were located in the Crookwell area. Crookwell was a township twenty-seven miles north of Goulburn, with Laggan being a community six miles to the north east of Crookwell. Bolong and Cooks Vale Creek are believed to have been located approximately twenty miles to the north of Crookwell. Both applications originated from the Reverend F. Seaborn, of the Church of England Parish of Crookwell, in June 1868. These applications were actively supported by the Bishop of Goulburn who forwarded them to the Council with an accompanying letter on 24 June.
Both groups of schools had their origins in Church of England Denominational schools, one at Crookwell and one at Bolong, which were failing due to low enrolments. In both cases the proposed addition of a second location and the change to Half-time status was to increase the number of students to a satisfactory level. The teachers for both groups of schools had previously taught at these Denominational schools, Arthur Burton at Crookwell and Charles Reade at Bolong. The applications were jointly approved by the Council of Education with both teachers appointed from 18 July 1868. No inspection appears to have been undertaken before these four schools were approved by the Council and the Bishop of Goulburn was notified directly of the success of the applications. It is likely that these Half-time schools operated, initially at least, as de facto Church of England Certified Denominational schools.

**Burragate and Wyndham Half-time Schools**

Burragate and Wyndham Half-time Schools were also in the Goulburn District, but at the opposite extremity of a very large inspectorate.

Wyndham is located in the south eastern corner of New South Wales, approximately sixteen miles inland from Pambula on the Bombala Road, and Burragate is approximately six miles south of Wyndham. The application for the establishment of these schools was made by a local

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138 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/773, Vol. 39, Cleveland St. – Crown Flat, Folio 423, Letter accompanying applications for Half-time schools at Crookwell and Laggan, and Bolong and Cooks Vale Creek from the Bishop of Goulburn to the Secretary, 24 June 1868.
139 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/773, Folio 449, Application for forage allowance from Arthur Burton to the Secretary, 13 July 1868 and 1/769, Vol. 35, Bathurst to Botany, Folio 302, Application for forage allowance from Charles William Reade to the Secretary, date not given.
140 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/773, Folio 423, Council notes on the Bishop of Goulburn’s letter, undated.
141 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/773, Folio 423, Council notes on the Bishop of Goulburn’s letter, undated.
resident, Charles Styles, on 11 April 1868. Inspector Flannery, now assistant inspector for the Goulburn District, visited the localities in mid April 1868 and reported, ‘the application … merits the favorable consideration of the Council.’ The schools opened on 11 July 1868 after the school buildings had been completed and, in the absence of a local candidate for teacher, Mark Johnson arrived by steamer from Sydney to take up the position of itinerant teacher for these schools.

**Upper Colo and Wheeny Creek Half-time Schools**

Upper Colo and Wheeny Creek Half-time Schools were located on and near the Colo River in the Cumberland District approximately forty-two miles north west of Sydney. These schools had a number of parallels with the establishment of the Half-time schools at Crookwell and Laggan, and Bolong and Cooks Vale Creek. There was already a Church of England Denominational School in operation at Upper Colo taught by a ‘zealous’ and ‘efficient’ woman teacher, Mrs Cavanough, but it was failing to maintain the required average attendance of thirty. In February 1868 Reverend Palmer, based at Pitt Town, submitted an application for Half-time schools to be established at Upper Colo and ‘Mr J. T. Gosfees’ [Wheeny Creek]. Inspector Forbes, in charge of the Cumberland District, had mixed feeling on this application, ‘This does not appear … a very clear

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142 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/795, Vol. 61, Woolla Woolla – Young, Folio 39, Application for the establishment of Half-time schools at Wyndham and Burragate, 11 April 1868.
143 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/795, Folio 41, Inspector Flannery’s report on the application for the establishment of Half-time schools at Wyndham and Burragate, 21 July 1868.
144 NSW DET, ETIS, Head of School card for Wyndham.
145 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/795, Folios 41-50.
146 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/739, Vol. 5, Cleveland St. – Darkwater Creek, Folio 62, Inspector Coberg’s report on the application for certification of the Church of England Denominational school at Upper Colo, 21 February 1867.
147 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/773, Folio 128, Correspondence relating to the small attendance at Upper Colo Certified Church of England Denominational School, January 1868.
148 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/773, Folio 114, Application for the establishment of Half-time schools at Upper Colo and Mr J. T. Gosfees, 6 February 1868.
case for the establishment of half time schools at the same time it may be advisable to give it a trial.149 Forbes felt that most of the children nominated on the application could attend the existing Certified Church of England Denominational School at Upper Colo.150

Reverend Palmer received a letter from the Council in early March 1868 informing him the Half-time schools were approved and they were looking to appoint a teacher once the building were ready. Palmer responded by supporting Cavanough for the position as she was already teaching at Upper Colo and was prepared to also take charge of the Wheeny Creek School. Palmer asserted that no other teacher should be appointed unless Cavanough resigned, gave cause for dismissal or was removed to some other school.151 Forbes had no objection to Cavanough teaching these Half-time schools seeing her as ‘reasonable’ for the position. However he did oppose her being granted an increased salary as recommended by Palmer.152 This may have created an impasse. Inspector Forbes later reported:

The Rev Mr Palmer Pitt Town has informed me the Half time schools at Upper Colo have not been commenced and that Mrs Cavanough has been drawing her salary for doing almost nothing. Mr Palmer has promised to write and explain the case to the Council. Meanwhile it will be best to suspend any payments due to the teacher.153

Mrs Cavanough consequently resigned on the 26 June 1868154 and Christian Kohlhoff was subsequently appointed as itinerant teacher to these schools.

He commenced duty on 3 August 1868.155

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149 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/773, Folio 116, Inspector Forbes report on the application for the establishment of Half-time schools at Upper Colo and Mr J. T. Gosfees, undated.
150 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/773, Folio 116.
151 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/773, Folio 117, Reverend Palmer to the Secretary, 13 March 1868.
152 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/773, Folio 129, Memorandum from Inspector Forbes to the Secretary, undated.
153 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/773, Folio 118, Letter from Inspector Forbes to the Secretary, undated.
154 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/773, Folio 129.
Fairfield and Stoney Creek Half-time Schools

On the 24 July 1868 several residents of the ‘Upper Shoalhaven’, where the Fairfield and Stoney Creek Half-time Schools had previously operated, petitioned the Council of Education to re-establish these Half-time schools. They requested that Patrick Dwyer, the itinerant teacher at Oranmeir and Jerrabatgully, be allowed to extend his teaching circuit to include these schools as well. Patrick Dwyer had evidently briefly taught at all four places before restricting his teaching to Oranmeir and Jerrabatgully as directed by the Council. He does not appear to have taught at Mount Pleasant which had been Henry Cobb’s fifth school. Inspector Johnson, who had visited these localities, was requested by the Council to give his opinion on the matter. Johnson’s advice was that Dwyer should confine his teaching to Oranmeir and Jerrabatgully, and that an additional itinerant teacher should be appointed to the Upper Shoalhaven. The Council acceded to Johnson’s advice and Hugh Ryan commenced teaching at Fairfield and Stoney Creek in November or December 1868. Henry Cobb was effectively replaced by two teachers conducting four of his stations, while the fifth, Mount Pleasant, appears to have remained closed after his resignation in May 1868.

Fairfield and Stoney Creek could be regarded as a new group of Half-time schools opening in 1868. However as these Half-time schools were...
effectively being reopened after a short closure, the decision has been taken to regard them instead as a subdivision of a previous larger group opened in 1867. This decision is consistent with the policy of the NSW Department of Education and Training to disregard temporary closures of schools for part of a calendar year in recording the years that schools were open for, and the Department’s records for Fairfield and Stoney [Stony] Creek. 162

**Norongo and Whinstone Valley Half-time Schools**

Changes also continued to take place within established groups of Half-time schools. The official records of the NSW Department of Education and Training indicate that Anembo Half-time School closed in 1868, 163 leaving Fred Blanchard teaching at Norongo and Whinstone Valley in the manner suggested by Inspector Johnson. However the situation is not clear. There is nothing in Blanchard’s correspondence for 1868 to indicate definitely that Anembo has closed, or when, but his 1869 correspondence does only mention Norongo and Whinstone Valley. 164 A possible indicator of when Anembo may have closed is that Blanchard writes of travelling seventy miles a week up until August 1868 165 but in November 1868 he writes of travelling 100 miles a week. A possible explanation for this change is that Anembo may have closed and Blanchard could consequently have been visiting the other two schools with increased frequency. While it cannot be definitely established that Anembo Half-time School closed before the end of 1868, it is likely that it did. Consequently the decision has been taken to agree with the NSW Department of Education’s conclusion that it did.

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163 NSW DET, ETIS, Head of School card for Anembo and Government Schools of New South Wales 1848 – 2003, p. 23.
165 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/785, Folio 194, Fred Blanchard to the Secretary, 22 August 1868.
**Douro, Mulloon, Arnprior and Black Range Half-time Schools**

Major changes also evidently took place in Edmund Smith’s ‘Jingera’ group of Half-time schools during 1868. Of Smith’s initial four schools – Larbert, Manar, Douro and Mulloon – two, Larbert and Manar, evidently closed in 1868 while two other Half-time schools, Arnprior and Black Range, joined this group of schools, evidently in 1868.166 Unfortunately the documentation on Smith’s schools for 1868 is either largely filed under an unknown heading or is missing. Consequently, why these changes took place and precisely when they occurred is unknown. Some of these changes may have been influenced by Inspector Johnson’s recommendations that Douro and Larbert be combined by building a school in a central place and that Manar be closed because of the low enrolment. However, Johnson’s aim was to reduce the size of the group to two half-time schools, rather than to maintain it at four. Black Range is approximately thirteen miles west of Braidwood, or ten miles south west of Mulloon. The location of Arnprior is unknown.

**Cobbora Half-time School**

Buddenbelar Half-time School evidently closed in July 1868 due to the owner of the House in which this school was conducted refusing to allow further use of the house.167 Cobbora Half-time School consequently operated as a single Half-time school until the end of 1868 when it also closed.168 Correspondence on these schools was not located, but notes on the Head of School cards for Buddenbelar and Cobbora, which provided the above information, indicate that some correspondence on these schools

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166 NSW DET, ETIS, Head of School cards for Douro, Black Range and Arnprior, and Government Schools of New South Wales 1848 – 2003, p. 79.
167 NSW DET, ETIS, Head of School card for Buddenbelar.
168 NSW DET, ETIS, Head of School card for Cobbora.
existed. The official directory of NSW Government schools indicates that Cobbora became a Provisional school rather than a lone Half-time school from July to December 1868. However this is contradicted by the Council of Education’s 1868 Report which lists Cobbora as a Half-time school rather than a Provisional school, as well as by the Head of School cards for Buddenbelar and Cobbora.

**Crookwell and Laggan Half-time Schools**

Crookwell and Laggan Half-time Schools had been operating for only a matter of weeks when the teacher, Arthur Burton tendered his resignation. The Bishop of Goulburn who had recommended Burton to the Council had subsequently notified the Council that Burton had a drinking problem. The Bishop of Goulburn wished to replace Burton with Henry Field whom he considered would be a more desirable teacher. However Field declined the position of itinerant teacher of these schools when the Council offered it to him, as he wanted to teach only in Church of England Denominational schools. Consequently Crookwell and Laggan Half-time schools closed in November 1868.

**Long Reach and Rock View Half-time Schools**

Long Reach Half-time School was closed by the local committee for several months during 1868 due to a ‘fearful epidemic’, possibly typhoid, which resulted in a number of deaths in that locality. During this time the teacher,

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170 *Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1868*, p. 52.
171 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/773, Folios 451-453 and NSW DET, ETIS, School histories, Crookwell Public School 1865 to 1875.
172 NSW DET, ETIS, Head of School cards for Crookwell and Laggan and *Government Schools of New South Wales 1848 – 2003*, pp.53 and 84.
173 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/781, Folio 181, Letter from the local committee at Rock View, 1 April 1868
Denis Louis, taught fulltime at Rock View with the approval of the Council. Long Reach was closed from the beginning of April and was still closed in late July with residents at Rock View remaining reluctant for Long Reach to reopen for fear of contagion. Judging by the numbers of children on the rolls and in attendance, both schools were evidently in operation at the end of the year.

The nature of Half-time schools in 1868

The growing number of Half-time schools in 1868 combined with the investigation of Half-time schools undertaken by Inspector Johnson for the Council and the consequent decisions made for the organisation and conduct of Half-time schools generated a significant amount of correspondence on these schools, much of which still exists. While, as in 1867, there are gaps in this correspondence there is sufficient information to be able to identify many of the traits of Half-time schools in 1868.

A total of fifty-one Half-time schools were in operation during 1868. These schools were in nineteen groups taught by nineteen itinerant teachers. Six of these groups had more than two schools, five groups in the Jingeraus and one group at Burrarorang. The Council of Education’s report for 1868 lists each of these nineteen groups under the name of one Half-time school in each group. This is the same form of presentation as was used in the 1867 report. However the Council’s Report is inaccurate with regard to the number of Half-time schools existing in 1868, stating that, ‘the number of

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174 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/781, Folio 182, Letter from Thomas S. Kelly, representing the local committee at Rock View, to the Secretary, 25 June 1868
175 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/781, Folio 183, Inspector McIntyre to the Secretary, 17 July 1868.
176 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1868, p. 52.
177 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1868, p. 52.
separate Half-time Schools, or schools under the supervision of itinerant teachers, in operation [during the year] was 38.\textsuperscript{178} The Council’s inaccuracy was not an inadvertent error, or an attempt to deceive, but rather a reflection of policy. The Council’s official view at the end of 1868 was that each itinerant teacher taught two Half-time schools and the Council’s report conformed to this view. Because there were nineteen itinerant teachers it logically followed that there were thirty eight Half-time schools. In reality the number of places at which itinerant teachers taught in 1868 ranged from one to seven, although the majority did teach at two Half-time schools.

The practice used in the 1868 Report of officially regarding all itinerant teachers as teaching only two Half-time schools is best viewed as a newly established convention. It reflected both the Special Regulations for the conduct of Half-time schools, the application form for the establishment of Half-time schools, and the reality that most Half-time schools were in groups of two. The fact that some itinerant teachers still taught in more than two places was not denied in the 1868 report. For example, Inspector McIntyre in his inspection report on Ballalaba and Farrington Half-time Schools, published in the Council’s 1868 report, is quite open about the fact that the itinerant teacher, George Lacy, actually taught at four places ‘Mrs Clarke’s and Nithsdale … generally known as Ballalaba Half-time Schools … [and] Farrington and Jinglemoney.\textsuperscript{179} This arrangement had been established by Lacy and had been approved by Inspector Harris for the short term. Inspector Johnson recommended the consolidation of this group of

\textsuperscript{178} Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1868, p. 9.
\textsuperscript{179} Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1868, p. 146.
Half time schools into two locations, but teaching in four places still continued under Inspector McIntyre. The reasons Harris had given in approving this arrangement, including tensions between Mrs Clarke, the mother of the bushrangers, Tom and John Clarke and other residents, were probably still applicable. However the approach taken within the 1868 report suggests that groups of more than two Half-time schools were now seen as an aberration or temporary measure and consequently for official statistical purposes itinerant teachers were viewed as having only two Half-time schools.

The six groups, or nineteen Half-time schools, that had commenced in 1867 continued throughout 1868. Four of the six groups did not alter from their 1867 forms, but the two original Jingera groups changed significantly. Two of Smith’s four schools, Larbert and Manar, had closed and were replaced by two new schools, Arnprior and Black Range. One of Cobb’s schools, Mount Pleasant, closed on his retirement while the remaining four schools changed over the year into two groups of two schools – Oranmeir and Jerrabatgully taught by Patrick Dwyer, and Fairfield and Stoney Creek taught by Hugh Ryan. Consequently the 1867 itinerant teaching arrangements had altered at the end of 1868 from six to seven groups, from nineteen teaching stations to eighteen Half-time schools, and from three itinerant teachers teaching at more than two places and three itinerant teachers teaching in two places to two itinerant teachers with more than two Half-time schools and five itinerant teachers with two Half-time schools.

The Council had a much closer knowledge of these schools in 1868 than in 1867 due to the investigation undertaken by Inspector Johnson and the subsequent supervision of Inspector McIntyre. Over 1868 they had changed
from two experimental forms largely under the control of their individual teachers to increasingly existing in an approved form within a set of Council standards.

The twelve new groups of Half-time schools which commenced in 1868 (this total does not include Fairfield and Stoney Creek Half-time Schools) brought another thirty Half-time schools into existence (counting the seven teaching stations comprising Burragorang Half-time School as individual Half-time schools). Only three of these groups had more than three Half-time schools: Anembo, Norongo and Whinstone Valley; Long Flat, Harolds Cross and Vernaly; and Burragorang. Two of these three groups were in the Jingeras and followed the pattern probably initiated by the Council of Education and established by Cobb and Smith as a response to the commission of inquiry into crime in the Braidwood district. The third group at Burragorang followed the well established pattern of itinerant teaching in this locality. The other nine groups were all intended to have two Half-time schools and generally did. However, Richlands commenced and operated with only one Half-time school during 1868, Burra Burra operated as a single Half-time school for two months until its partner school opened at Snapook, and at two other groups, Cobbora and Buddenbelar and Rock View and Long Reach, Cobbora and Rock View also worked as single Half-time schools for considerable periods during that year. The rate of establishment of groups of Half-time schools in 1868 was significantly higher than in 1867 and the two Half-time schools to a group model was clearly in the ascent.

There is disagreement as to whether Richlands and Cobbora should be regarded as Half-time schools when they operated alone. They were
recorded as Half-time schools in the 1868 Council’s Report and on the Head of School cards for these schools; however, the NSW Department of Education and Training currently records them as having been Provisional schools during this time. The position taken is to abide by the decision made at the time that these were Half-time schools, even though they would have functioned in a similar manner to Provisional schools. The status of Rock View is not questioned as its partner school – Long Reach – reopened during 1868. The Half-time schools established in 1868 were more prone to change than those established in 1867, with two groups closing and three Half-time schools in other groups also closing before the end of that year. The two groups that closed were Burragorang, and Crookwell and Laggen while Mount Pleasant, Bundenbelar and probably Anembo, were the individual Half-time schools to close. Bundenbelar’s partner school – Cobbora – would also close at the end of 1868.

The Council of Education officially considered it had opened thirty-two new Half-time schools in 1868. This figure is based on the difference between the Council’s official figure of six Half-time schools in existence in 1867 and thirty eight in 1868. In actuality there were six groups of Half-time schools in existence in 1867 comprised of nineteen individual Half-time schools. The figure of thirty-eight Half-time schools in existence in 1868 appears to be based on the total number of Half-time schools listed in the 1868 annual report as existing in 1868, which was nineteen. Only one

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180 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1868, p.52, Appendix E and NSW DET, ETIS, Head of School cards for Cobbora and Richlands.
182 NSW DET, ETIS, Head of School card for Cobbora.
183 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1868, p. 4.
184 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1868, p. 52, Appendix E.
school was listed for each group in existence, as for 1867. However, this
time, instead of seeing this figure as the total number of schools the number
was doubled to thirty eight, on the basis that Half-time schools officially
operated in pairs and therefore each listed name represented two schools.
The presence of such contradictions in the Council’s annual report
demonstrates that at the time the report was compiled Half-time schools
were still in a transitory stage. Despite the work of Inspectors Johnson and
McIntyre the Council’s understanding of Half-time schools was still
developing. If one counts the reopening of Fairfield and Stoney Creek Half-
time Schools (two of Cobb’s schools) as new schools instead of a
subdivision of an existing school, thirty two Half-time schools did open in
1868. However, the similarity of this figure to the Council’s apparent figure
is a coincidence.

The growth in the number of Half-time schools in 1868 was negatively
affected by the fact that no Half-time schools were opened after August of
that year. Why this occurred is unclear. It is possible that the introduction of
the Special Rules for Half-time schools caused or contributed to this pause.
For example, applications for Half-time schools may have been delayed as
inspectors sought the higher standards for school buildings now required
from communities before they would support those applications. This
possibility is supported by the fact that almost all the applications for Half-
time schools which had opened in 1868 had been received before the
Special Rules were circulated. However, the Council in its annual report for
1868 suggests another reason:

The establishment and proper organization of half-time Schools
requires, in most instances, the assistance of the Inspector located in
the District; but as our Inspectors were unable to devote the time
necessary for this purpose, some of the applications could not be
dealt with in 1868. Had it been practicable for Inspectors to spare
from other duties a sufficient amount of time, many other
applications would have been received.\textsuperscript{185}

The possibility raised here is a backlog of applications and future
applications for Half-time schools was responsible for the cessation in the
opening of Half-time schools after August. The suggested reason is that the
inspectors were simply not processing the applications fast enough. It may
well have been that applications for Half-time schools were delayed because
the localities where the applications tended to originate from would
frequently been in more remote and difficult-to-reach parts of very
extensive inspectorial districts. Additionally it is implied these applications
would have assumed a lower priority to many other inspectorial duties. The
annual report for 1868 records two applications for a total of four Half-time
schools as being ‘Under consideration’ while a further four applications for
eight Half-time schools had been ‘Agreed to’ in 1868, but the schools had
not opened in that year.\textsuperscript{186} Whether these applications were the tip of an
iceberg of unmet demand, as implied in the Council’s report, is unknown.
However, a comment by Inspector Forbes of the Cumberland District in his
report that, ‘it is of consequence to note that several applications for Public
and Half-time Schools have been dealt with and that progress is being made
towards their establishment’\textsuperscript{187} supports this possibility as only one of the
six applications previously mentioned originated from the Cumberland
District.

\textsuperscript{185} Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1868,
p. 9.
\textsuperscript{186} Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1868,
p. 53.
\textsuperscript{187} Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1868,
p. 115.
At the end of 1868 there were seventeen groups of Half-time schools, containing thirty-seven individual Half-time schools, in operation. Only three of these groups had more than two Half-time schools: George Lacy’s four schools on the Shoalhaven River bordering the Jingeras; Edmund Smith’s four schools in the northern Jingeras; and John Merest’s three schools which were in the southern portion of the Jingeras. The proportion of groups of Half-time schools which had more than two schools had declined steadily through 1868. At the beginning of 1868 they comprised half of the groups of Half-time schools, by the beginning of July 1868 they had declined to one-third of the groups in existence, while at the end of 1868 they comprised little more than one-sixth of the groups of Half-time schools.

The introduction of the Special Rules for the conduct of Half-time schools in mid 1868 does not appear to have been the major factor in this decline. Almost all the schools opened in 1868 had been at least applied for before these rules were introduced. It is possible that the two schools per itinerant teacher structure implied by the application form for the establishment of Half-time schools was at least partly responsible for this becoming the prevalent form for the groups of Half-time school opened in 1868. Twelve of the groups of Half-time schools operating at the end of 1868 were comprised of two schools and the remaining two groups had only one Half-time school, which consequently functioned as a full time school. With the closure of Cobbora Half-time school at the end of 1868 only Richlands remained operating as a single school group. All but two groups of Half-time schools in existence at the end of 1868 were in the Goulburn District. The closure of Cobbora at the end of 1868 left the two Half-time schools at
Upper Colo in the Cumberland District as the only group of Half-time schools operating outside the Goulburn District.

**The location of Half-time schools**

Sixteen of the nineteen groups of Half time schools, or forty out of fifty-one Half-time schools, which existed in 1868 were in the Goulburn District. The reasons for the great majority of Half-time schools being in this inspectorate at this time are not any clearer than they were in 1867. It is possible that the existence and acceptance of Half-time schools in the Goulburn District favoured their ongoing development in 1868. The growth in the numbers of Half-time schools in the Jingeras and possibly the wider Braidwood district may also have been a follow-on effect from the events surrounding the establishment of the first two itinerant teachers in the Jingeras. There is insufficient evidence, however, to prove that these were the key factors in the growth in the number of Half-time schools in the Goulburn District. Neither Inspector Johnson nor the Council appear to have favoured this district over others for the establishment of Half-time schools. Nor does Inspectors McIntyre’s transfer to the Goulburn District appear to have been a factor, despite the enthusiasm for Half-time schools which he demonstrates in his 1868 annual report, as most of the applications for the Half-time schools established in the Goulburn District in 1868 predate his involvement.

Nor do the three groups of Half-time schools established in other districts, becoming the first Half-time schools established outside the Goulburn District, reveal any clear reasons for the majority of Half-time schools being in the Goulburn District, or for the beginning of the establishment of Half-
time schools in other Districts. The three groups of Half-time schools established outside the Goulburn District in 1868 were the Burragorang Half-time school with its seven teaching stations in the Camden District, Buddenbelar and Cobbora Half-time schools in the Bathurst District, and Wheeny Creek and Upper Colo Half-time schools in the Cumberland District. The Burragorang Half-time school was a continuation of the well-established practice of using an itinerant teacher to reach the children of isolated settlers scattered along the Burragorang Valley. The only real difference in 1868 was that this school became formally regarded as a Half-time school rather than as a Roman Catholic Denominational School. The establishment of the other two groups in the Bathurst and Cumberland Districts followed normal procedures and attracted no unusual attention or fanfare. The establishment of these Half-time schools is not indicated in any way as anything special, new or different in the correspondence for the schools, those districts or the Council.

All thirty new Half-time schools established in 1868 were also ‘new’ in the sense that none of them had previously existed as government schools. Unlike in 1867, however, publicly funded schools existed in five of the twelve areas where new groups of Half-time schools were established in 1868. The Church of England Denominational schools at Crookwell, Cobbora, Upper Colo and Bolong became Half-time schools. It could be argued that their partner schools – Laggen, Buddenbelar, Wheeny Creek and Cooks Vale Creek were established in areas where education appears not to have previously been available. However, it is clear that the motivation to establish schools in these localities stemmed primarily from the desire to preserve their partner schools. In each case declining enrolments had
prompted church authorities to identify a nearby locality where a partner school could be established and to apply for the establishment of Half-time schools. This process of church authorities acting to transform Denominational schools to government schools in order to preserve those schools was a new development in the establishment of Half-time schools. Seven Half-time schools (officially seven teaching stations of a single Half-time school) had also previously existed as Burragorang Roman Catholic Denominational School, taught by an itinerant teacher. Their (or its) transfer to Half-time status was motivated by the need to conform with the Council’s decision that itinerant teachers could only work in Half-time schools.

In some other localities where Half-time schools were established the available evidence indicates, or suggests, there had previously been private schools, a pattern which continued from 1867. Richlands Half-time School is a clear example of this with the private teacher, Henry Hardinge, continuing as the teacher of this single Half-time school in the same building. There are also indications, in the applications for Half-time schools at Burra Burra and Snaphook, and Carwoola and Foxlowe, that there had previously been private school buildings, and hence private schools, at Burra Burra and Foxlowe.¹⁸⁸

Reverend Druitt’s letter on Blanchard’s schools at Anembo, Norongo and Whinstone Valley also indicated that private teachers had previously operated in these areas of the Jingeras.

most of these children have received the benefit of teaching from what are commonly called bush school masters. Most of them well educated men but given to habits of extreme intemperance. As well

¹⁸⁸ SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/771, Folio 176A, Michael Deane to the Secretary, 29 April 1868 and 1/738, Folio 135, Application for the establishment of Half-time schools at Carwoola and Foxlowe, 7 November 1867.
the writing as the reading of most of the elder children is very fair. They can read the Bible or a paragraph in a newspaper very fairly. They are mainly deficient in arithmetic and geography.\textsuperscript{189}

Some of the localities in which Half-time schools were established in 1868 may have been entirely bereft of educational facilities on a long term basis. For example, Buddenbelar was evidently a newly settled area when that Half-time school was established. However, most of the students had previously lived in the vicinity of Cobbora and had attended school there.\textsuperscript{190} Only in the localities served by three groups of Half-time schools: Narriga and Corang; Long Flat, Harolds Cross and Vernally; and Burragate and Wyndham is there no evidence in the existing documentation that government funded or private schools had existed before Half-time schools were established, though this does not definitively rule out the possibility that private schools, or schooling, had previously existed in these areas.

The perceived and actual roles of Half-time Schools

The vision of Half-time schools as a major solution to the problem of providing educational facilities in sparsely settled pastoral districts bereft of educational facilities, put forward by the Council of Education in April 1868, in its 1867 annual report, does not correspond with the role Half-time schools were playing in 1868. In reality Half-time schools were beginning to fill a new unstated role, maintaining educational facilities in areas where already established schools were no longer viable in addition to extending education into farming rather than grazing areas, or into districts where both were present, and where there had frequently previously been private schools or private tutors.

\textsuperscript{189} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/779, Folio 244.

\textsuperscript{190} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/738, Folio 28, Memorandum from the Inspector, Bathurst District, to the Secretary, 31 December 1867.
While the information available on the people served by the Half-time schools which opened in 1868 is scanty, the information that does exist is consistent with the situation in 1867. The majority of the people served appear to have been small, frequently struggling, farmers. The people at Buddenbelar, for example, were described as ‘free selectors struggling with the difficulties of first settlement’ while Cobbora was described as a ‘farming settlement.’ The people served by Narriga and Corang Half-time Schools were, ‘for the most part farmers in very poor circumstances’, while in the Burrarorang Valley the people served by the seven stations comprising Burrarorang Half-time School lived on, ‘a number of farms occupying the alluvial lands on the banks of the Wollondilly.’ Employees on pastoral properties were far less evident among the people served by Half-time schools. The exception was Carwoola and Foxlowe where Inspector Johnson describes the parents of the children attending these schools as having, ‘permanent employment upon stations.’ The other instances were mixed situations. Reverend Druitt indicated that at Anembo there were both free selectors and employees on the ‘Anembo Run’ with children of school age and it is possible that some of the parents of children at Wyndham Half-time School were employees on the ‘Stockyard Run’ on whose land the school was built.

The ‘bushranger’ factor evidently played some part, though a lesser one than in 1867, in establishing one group of Half-time schools among poor settlers and pastoral workers. It is likely that some of the families which had

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191 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/738, Folio 26.
192 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/738, Folio 26.
193 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/784, Folio 320.
194 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/771, Folio 207.
195 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/772, Folio 104b.
196 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/779, Folio 244.
197 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/795, Folio 41.
children in attendance at Fred Blanchard’s Half-time schools at Anembo, Norongo and Whinstone Valley, in the Jingeras, had associations with bushranging. The justice of the peace who supported Blanchard’s bid to open Half-time schools at these places stated ‘from the cases that have appeared before me at the police office I am inclined to believe that a taste for bushranging and horse stealing is the normal condition of the population of that locality.’\(^{198}\) Blanchard also intimated the existence of a link with bushrangers, describing his schools as situated, ‘among the worst of characters’ and ‘in the very heart of Jingera.’\(^{199}\) However, the other Half-time schools established in 1868 were evidently not driven or influenced by this factor. Rather the existence of a viable number of children in two groups within a reasonable distance of each other was the key factor looked for by the Council’s inspectors.

The article on Half-time schools published in the *Australian Journal of Education* in July 1868 acknowledged ‘newly settled agricultural districts’ as possibly being among the ‘localities too sparsely populated to admit of the establishment of schools of the ordinary kinds’ that Half-time schools could exist in. However the emphasis in this article was also on pastoral areas as the places where it was anticipated that ‘Half-time schools will be found of most service.’

On extensive runs where shepherds, or stockmen, with their families, are located at distances of five or six miles from each other, it will often be possible to collect ten or more children at one central spot, and a like number at another place.\(^{200}\)

At the time this article was published there were two groups of Half-time schools that probably fitted this description, Carwoola and Foxlowe and

\(^{198}\) SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/785, Folio 182.
\(^{199}\) SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/785, Folio 192, Blanchard to the Secretary, 20 July 1868.
Springfield and Bullamalita. However the great majority were primarily in agricultural areas, some of which were newly established, others longer settled but with small or declining populations.

In contrast, the vision of the Council of Education with regard to Half-time schools is not given in its 1868 report. While Half-time schools are given considerable attention in the report, optimistic projection that Half-time schools would meet the needs of sparsely settled areas is absent. Instead the Council presented the issue of reaching the ‘upward of 25 000 children … growing up destitute of education’ as a ‘dark side to the picture.’

Excepting for some neglected children to be found in the larger centres of population, these will, for the most part, be found in remote and sparsely populated localities, inaccessible to the ordinary educational agencies. How to provide for them is a problem of which the importance can only be equalled by the difficulty of solution.

It is unclear why when the 1868 report of the Council was written, possibly in the early months of 1869, Half-time schools were not being promoted as the likely answer to this problem. Had there been a change of attitude? Were Half-time schools now regarded as part of the ‘ordinary educational agencies’, or were they being ignored? Did this apparent change represent a lessening of the Council’s perception that Half-time schools were the major answer to the problem of extending education into sparsely settled areas? Was the Council more aware of the role Half-time schools were actually playing? There are no clear answers to these questions. One factor that may have contributed to the apparent loss of enthusiasm for Half-time schools as

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201 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1868, p. 6.
202 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1868, p. 6.
the means to reach these children was cost. The Council noted in its 1868 report:

Half-time Schools are found to be more expensive than even Provisional Schools, but they supply education to localities in which the population is too scanty to support even schools of the latter class. If such localities are to be supplied at all with the means of education, it can only be at an increased cost as compared with schools more favourably situated.203

The statistics on the various classes of schools in existence in 1868 provided in the Council’s annual report for that year help explain the relative expense of Half-time schools. Provisional schools in 1868 had an average weekly attendance of eighteen students,204 while itinerant teachers had an average total weekly attendance of twenty-one students in the two or more Half-time schools they taught.205 While the attendance across groups of Half-time schools was marginally higher than in Provisional schools, the salaries paid to Half-time teachers were normally higher as they were paid as Public school teachers, plus the majority of itinerant teachers would have been receiving a forage allowance. Provisional teachers in the Goulburn district in 1868, for example, were paid an average annual salary of forty-four pounds against an average of seventy pounds for itinerant teachers.206 Therefore, the cost per student in Half-time schools would have been noticeably higher than the cost per student in Provisional schools.

203 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1868, p. 11.
204 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1868, pp. 4, 47-48.
205 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1868, pp. 4 and 52.
206 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1868, p. 141.
The itinerant teachers

The itinerant teachers of Half-time schools in 1868 were, as in 1867, all men. Again there appears to have been an expectation in the correspondence and reports examined for 1868 that teachers of Half-time schools would be male, though this was not definitively stated or argued and it may have been a case of ‘men’ being used as a default term. There does not appear to have been a definite policy of excluding women from these positions. When Mrs Caravough, who was teacher at the Church of England Denominational School at Upper Colo, was nominated by Reverend Palmer as teacher of the Half-time schools at Upper Colo and Wheeny Creek, Inspector Forbes, who was in charge of the Cumberland District, had no objection to her appointment and she was duly appointed. Mrs Caravough chose not to commence her duties as the itinerant teacher of these schools, possibly because she was not offered an increase in salary, instead resigning her position.

While there may have been a perception that men were more suited for itinerant teaching, which was possibly based on the perceived hazards and physical hardships of the role, the case of Mrs Caravough suggests that the Council and its inspectors were prepared to consider women applicants on a case by case basis. The Council of Education displayed a positive attitude toward the employment of women teachers at this time. In its 1868 report the Council, in noting that there were 690 male teachers as against 324 women teachers in its service, commented, ‘The number of female teachers having sole charge of schools is very small, and there appears to be a very general objection on the part of parents, to their employment in any other

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207 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/773, Folio 117.
capacity than that of assistants. The high approval of the labours of female teachers in the United States and in Canada, renders somewhat remarkable the undervaluing of their services in this Colony.\(^\text{208}\)

The backgrounds of the men appointed as itinerant teachers of Half-time schools in 1868 was to a significant degree different from that of those appointed in 1867. The new trends which emerged in 1868 were the transition of a number of Church of England Denominational school teachers to itinerant teachers in charge of Half-time schools and the appointment of men who had received some teacher training before being appointed to Half-time schools.

The three Denominational teachers who became Half-time teachers, Arthur Burton, William Weston and Charles Reade, did so to retain their positions as teachers and were appointed on the recommendation of their Church of England ministers. Mrs Caravough would have been the fourth teacher in this category if she had taken up her appointment at Upper Colo and Wheeny Creek. Richard Robertson who was appointed as itinerant teacher at Carwoola and Foxlowe had possibly also previously been a Church of England Denominational teacher as he was appointed on the recommendation of the Bishop of Goulburn who described him as, ‘efficient in teaching and excellent in character.’\(^\text{209}\) While these teachers clearly had some teaching experience, at least two had no training as teachers. William Weston had ‘neither certificate nor testimonial, was never trained or examined, evinces no acquaintance with order or modern methods and

\(^{208}\) Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1868, p. 13.

\(^{209}\) SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/772, Folio 101.
seems but poorly qualified to conduct a school officially. Nonetheless he was viewed by Inspector Dwyer as being ‘painstaking and industrious’. Weston had previously been a policeman in Sydney. Charles Reade, who was also untrained, was described as follows:

The teacher, Mr C Reade is a married man whose wife is said to be on a visit to her friends in England. He professes to have been educated in a college in Liverpool, England and afterwards articled to a solicitor in that town. After serving three years he sailed for this colony in the year 1852. Until 1864 he was engaged upon the goldfields in the capacities of miner and storekeeper. Before being appointed to his present situation he was tutor in the family of a settler, Mr Toole, in the neighbourhood of Bolong for a period of two years. He is an active, intelligent and apparently a well educated man. He knows, however, little about the art of teaching, and the way to conduct a school in the proper manner. He has neither been trained or examined. He teaches chiefly by rote. Arthur Burton and Mrs Caravough were both judged to be efficient teachers though no mention is made of any prior training as teachers. Richard Robertson, despite the Bishop of Goulburn’s recommendation was found by Inspector Johnson to be ‘not well fitted for his office. His attainments are … low. His methods of teaching are quite mechanical.’ Robertson would evidently have been the, or one of the, ‘one or two exceptions’ to the positive comments Inspector Johnson had made on the eight itinerant teachers he had visited for his report to the Council.

In contrast was the emerging trend of appointing men who had received some initial teacher training before taking up a position as itinerant teachers in charge of Half-time schools. Hugh Ryan, Patrick Dwyer, Christian Kohlhoff and Mark Johnson all appear to have undergone an initial period

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210 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/738, Vol. 4, Camden - Cleveland St, Folio 25, Inspector Dwyer’s report on Cobbora Church of England Denominational School, 26 February 1867.
212 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/772, Folio 104b, Memorandum from Inspector Johnson to the Secretary, 8 April 1868.
213 SRNSW, NCE/7, 1/804, Folio 519ff.
of training in Sydney, at the Fort Street Training School, before being appointed to positions as itinerant teachers of Half-time schools. Hugh Ryan, for example, had applied ‘for the office of itinerant tutor under the Council … [and was] desirous of admission to the training school to become conversant with the system of teaching.’\textsuperscript{214} Ryan, who was described as a ‘very sober, steady, industrious young man’\textsuperscript{215} successfully gained admittance to Fort Street Training School as he received his appointment to Fairfield and Stoney Creek Half-time Schools while he was there\textsuperscript{216} and claimed removal expenses from Sydney to his schools near Braidwood.\textsuperscript{217} Ryan had previously held positions as an overseer of road and railway works in Queensland.\textsuperscript{218} These appointments, made between May and November 1868, are likely to have resulted from the reforms recommended by Inspector Johnson and instituted by the Council.

The appointment of itinerant teachers who had previously been private teachers in the areas to which they were appointed continued, but comprised a smaller portion of appointments than in 1867. Henry Hardinge at Richlands had previously conducted a private school there and the available evidence suggests that John Hepple at Burra Burra and Snaphook Half-time Schools, a local nominee ‘of good moral character and professional ability’\textsuperscript{219} may have previously taught a private school at Burra Burra. The number of local people, who had or appeared to have no teaching experience or training, taking up appointments as itinerant teachers

\textsuperscript{214} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/775, Folio 414, John Ryan’s application to become an itinerant teacher, 29 June 1868.
\textsuperscript{215} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/775, Folio 414, Testimonial for John Ryan from Engineer in Chief’s Office, Railways Queensland, April 1864.
\textsuperscript{216} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/775, Folio 419, Hugh Ryan to the Secretary, 22 October 1868.
\textsuperscript{217} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/775, Folio 420, Hugh Ryan to the Secretary, 19 December 1868.
\textsuperscript{218} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/775, Folio 414.
\textsuperscript{219} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/771, Folio 173.
increased in 1868. The largely self appointed itinerant teacher at Anembo, Norongo and Whinstone Valley Half-time schools, Fred Blanchard, had no training or previous teaching experience.\textsuperscript{220} John Merest, the teacher of the Vernelly, Harold's Cross and Long Flat Half-time Schools stated he was ‘a graduate of St Peters College in the University of Cambridge’\textsuperscript{221} but provided no evidence of teacher training or teaching experience. Michael Noland, teacher at Corang and Nerriga Half-time Schools was untrained and inexperienced, his chief qualifications for his appointment being that he was ‘of a respectable family and received a good education.’\textsuperscript{222} As in 1867, one appointee only, James Lacy (or Tracy) in charge of the multi station Burragorang Half-time school, had previous experience as a teacher in the government school system.\textsuperscript{223}

Most of the itinerant teachers who taught in 1868 appear to have met Inspector Johnson’s estimation of the eight itinerant teachers he inspected in February of that year as being, ‘with one or two exceptions, energetic and painstaking and imbued with a proper enthusiasm for the work.’\textsuperscript{224} There was criticism of some itinerant teachers, however, other than that evidently levelled at Richard Robertson by Inspector Johnson. Arthur Burton resigned his position as itinerant teacher of Crookwell and Laggan Half-time Schools within weeks of his appointment after the Bishop of Goulburn had informed

\textsuperscript{220} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/785, Folio 178, Testimonial from J O’Brien for Fred Blanchard, 5 December 1867.
\textsuperscript{221} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/792, Folio 314.
\textsuperscript{222} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/781, Folio 332, Testimonial from J O’Brien for Michael Nolan, 2 April 1868.
\textsuperscript{223} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/771, Folio 203.
\textsuperscript{224} SRNSW, NCE/7, 1/804, Folio 519ff.
the Council of Education that he had a drinking problem and nominated another teacher to take his place.\textsuperscript{225}

The appointment of Fred Blanchard as itinerant teacher in charge of Anembo, Norongo and Whinstone Valley Half-time Schools, in the Jingeras, was also roundly criticised by the Reverend Thomas Druitt, the Church of England minister at Cooma, because of his connections with bushrangers.

There is no person or family in anyway so nearly connected with the bushranging fraternity as the teacher (Blanchard) himself … Was full inquiry made of him of the police authorities? Did the Council know that his wife’s family are intimately connected with the bushrangers and that her father is now in prison for cattle stealing or something of the sort. He might be very efficient at a distance from Jingera but his influence for good can be but small connected as he is with the Jarmans in his present location.\textsuperscript{226}

These charges were referred to Inspector Johnson by the Council of Education for his advice. Johnson gave qualified support to Blanchard:

it is true … that Mr Blanchard is connected by marriage with a family of bad repute. I heard nothing however against his personal character during the time I was in the district … I heard from another source he had been in the Police Force of the Colony. He is a person of respectable appearance and manners, but his attainments do not appear to be considerable. I think the scene of his labors should be changed as soon as possible & the further from Jingera the better.\textsuperscript{227}

The Council evidently chose not to take any action in this matter as Blanchard continued to teach in the Jingeras.

**Teaching patterns and distances between partnering schools**

Inspector Johnson’s report on Half-time schools in the Goulburn District clearly revealed the teaching patterns and the distances between schools for the majority of itinerant teachers operating in February 1868. The available

\textsuperscript{225} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/773, Folio 452.
\textsuperscript{226} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/779, Folio 244.
\textsuperscript{227} SRNSW, NCE/7, 1/804, Folio 518, Memorandum from Inspector Johnson to the Secretary, 24 April 1868.
documentation on Half-time schools which were not visited or opened subsequently in 1868, however, reveals little about the teaching patterns in those schools. The Inspectors of the time would have had a close knowledge of the teaching patterns employed from the implementation of the practice of itinerant teachers in their district submitting monthly reports to them. Regrettably these reports have not survived. The only significant indications of teaching patterns found were for the Half-time schools at Burra Burra and Snaphook where the teacher, John Hepple, was apparently travelling between his schools, ‘every third evening’228 and for Burragorang where Lacy/Tracy had continued the past practice of, ‘less than 3 days instruction per month at each station’229 at the seven places where he taught. The established practice of teaching patterns being principally determined by local conditions, combined with the liberality of the Special Regulations on this point, suggests that a variety of teaching patterns were used by itinerant teachers in 1868.

The distances between Half-time schools taught by individual itinerant teachers were more fully documented, as this information was required in applications for the establishment of Half-time schools and in the subsequent Inspector’s report on the application that was normally required by the Council of Education. The pattern identified in Johnson’s report was reflected in Half-time schools which were not visited or opened subsequently through 1868. Where an itinerant teacher taught two schools those schools were within ten miles of each other, thus meeting the requirements of Regulation Nine, and when there were three schools or

228 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/771, Folio183, Michael Deane, School Patron, to the Secretary, 19 November 1868.
229 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/771, Folio 207, Memorandum from Inspector Huffer to the Secretary, 28 November 1868.
more taught by one teacher the distance to travel from the first school to the last school was generally greater than ten miles. As the proportion of itinerant teachers teaching two Half-time schools grew so did the number of itinerant teachers travelling no more than ten miles between their schools. Only in one case did an itinerant teacher teaching two Half-time schools have a distance of more than ten miles between his schools. Hugh Ryan covered a distance of thirteen miles between Fairfield and Stoney Creek Half-time schools.\textsuperscript{230} The probable cause for the acceptance by the Council of this greater distance was these two Half-time schools had previously existed as part of Henry Cobb’s teaching circuit in the Jingeras and the distance between them was already established when Ryan commenced teaching there. The most common distance between two Half-time schools taught by one itinerant teacher was six miles, with the shortest distance being the three miles between Jamboye and Jerricknorra Half-time Schools.\textsuperscript{231}

Of the two groups of Half-time schools with more than two schools taught by one itinerant teacher that existed in 1868 and were not treated in Johnson’s report, namely Long Flat, Harolds Cross and Vernelly which had not commenced, and Burragarorang Half-time School which was outside the Goulburn District, the former extended over eight miles\textsuperscript{232} while the seven teaching stations comprising Burragarorang Half-time School extended, ‘25 or 30 miles’\textsuperscript{233} along the Wollondilly River. The distances between the Long Flat, Harolds Cross and Vernelly Half-time schools were, unusually, not

\textsuperscript{230} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/785, Folio 387 and NCE/7, 1/804, Folio 519ff.

\textsuperscript{231} SRNSW, NCE/7, 1/804, Folio 519ff

\textsuperscript{232} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/827, Vol. 93, Ulmarra - Waterloo, Folio 72, Letter from Hugh Ryan to the Secretary, 17 May 1869.

\textsuperscript{233} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/771, Folio 207.
given in the existing correspondence for these schools in 1868, but appeared in the 1869 documentation when there was a change of teachers. Of the six groups of Half-time schools where the itinerant teacher taught in more than two places that existed in 1868, four extended over more than ten miles and two were within ten miles.

**Means of transport and forage allowances**

The distances covered by itinerant teachers in charge of Half-time schools in 1868 were considerable. At the close of 1868 Inspector McIntyre reported that the fourteen itinerant teachers in the Goulburn District (There were fifteen teachers in charge of Half-time schools in his district but McIntyre apparently did not include Hardinge at Richlands who did not need to travel) had travelled ‘1,922 miles monthly…being an average of 34 miles weekly for each teacher’,\(^{234}\) to attend their schools. Most of the itinerant teachers in 1868 travelled such distances with the aid of a horse. Only in one instance did an itinerant teacher clearly not have a horse as a means of transport. John Hepple walked the ten miles between his two Half-time schools, Burra Burra and Snaphook, ‘on account of not having the means to purchase a horse’\(^{235}\). The main evidence that most itinerant teachers used, and needed, horses was the correspondence relating to the granting of forage allowances to assist itinerant teachers to maintain a horse in order to be able to reach their schools.

Against the advice of Inspector Johnson that itinerant teachers should be granted a forage allowance of thirty pounds in addition to their salaries to assist them to keep a horse, the Council of Education had taken the much

\(^{234}\) Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1868, p.140.

\(^{235}\) SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/771, Folio 183.
more frugal approach of requiring itinerant teachers to apply for a forage allowance in a manner which clearly demonstrated their need for assistance to maintain a horse. The amount that would be granted was not specified. These applications needed to be verified by district inspectors before the Council, or an officer of the Council, made a decision as to whether an allowance would be paid and, if so, how much the allowance would be on a case by case basis.

Applications for forage became a regular occurrence following the circulation of the ‘Special Rules’. These applications revealed that some itinerant teachers found maintaining a horse a significant financial strain. John Merest at Long Flat, Harolds Cross and Vernelly Half-time Schools stated in his application for a forage allowance, ‘The season has been very hard upon horses in this district and I have in consequence been compelled to purchase hay which has cost me nearly half as much as my salary.’ An allowance of ten pounds per annum soon became the unwritten standard rate granted to itinerant teachers for forage. The views of the majority of itinerant teachers in 1868 as to the adequacy of this allowance are unknown. Fred Blanchard, however, who travelled extensive distances on horseback to reach his three Half-time schools at Anembo, Norongo and Whinstone Valley complained strongly about this allowance. In August 1868 he had written to William Wilkins complaining as to the inadequacy of his salary and lack of a forage allowance.

236 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/792, Folio 321, John Merest’s application to the Council of Education for a forage allowance, 8 September 1868.
Having to travel a distance of 70 miles to my schools I have to keep and shoe two horses … 15/- per week or 30 pounds per annum is the account of my travelling expenses.\textsuperscript{237}

When he received the same ten pounds per annum as was being granted to other itinerant teachers his response was bitter.

I have to ride a distance of 100 miles a week or 5000 miles annually to attend my schools over the worst of country, it takes 4 good horses well fed and shod to do the work no other teacher of the district has a tenth part of this to do.\textsuperscript{238}

\textbf{Impact of the special rules}

The clearest effects of the Special Rules on Half-time schools for 1868 were the increased occurrence of applications for, and the granting of, forage allowances under Special Rule twelve, and the probable extension of the range of subjects taught under Special Rules fourteen to sixteen. While it appears that the effect of many aspects of the Special Rules in 1868 was limited because the Half-time schools opened in that year were approved prior to the finalisation and distribution of the Special Rules, it is likely that they were increasingly impacting on the conduct of Half-time schools.

Johnson’s recommendations with regard to the training of teachers for Half-time schools also appear to have resulted in some trained teachers being appointed from May 1868.

The trend towards itinerant teachers teaching two Half-time schools which became evident across 1868 predated the introduction of the Special Rules. This change appears to have been brought about by a shift in the influences guiding the development of Half-time schools. The need to rapidly introduce educational facilities into the Jingeras, which had brought about

\textsuperscript{237} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/785, Folio 194, Fred Blanchard to William Wilkins, 22 August 1868.

\textsuperscript{238} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/785, Folio 200, Fred Blanchard to William Wilkins, 28 November 1868.
the introduction of itinerant teachers charged with the task of bringing
education to as many localities as they could reach, had evidently waned. It
appears the spirit of urgency behind the introduction of government
education into the Jingeras had faded and consequently the second form of
Half-time school, where itinerant teachers taught at three or more places,
became an aberration. The ‘half-time’ model as proposed in Regulation
twelve regained the ground it had suddenly lost in mid 1867. A significant
factor in reasserting this pattern of Half-time schools is likely to have been
the introduction of an application form for Half-time schools late in 1867
which, from its layout, clearly indicated that itinerant teachers would teach
in only two places. Inspector Johnson’s recommendation, and the Council’s
subsequent affirmation, that there should be only two Half-time schools
under an itinerant teacher appear to have brought about the confirmation and
institutionalisation of this trend, rather than having been its cause.

Events in 1868 also provided further evidence that the first two groups of
Half-time schools established by Cobb and Smith in the Jingeras had been a
response to the commission of inquiry into the state of crime in the
Braidwood district. The effects of this apparent decision continued into
1868. The clearest effects were the establishment of Blanchard’s group of
three Half-time schools, the practice of no or few fees being charged in
Half-time schools, and the poor and unconventional accommodation
provided for many Half-time schools. The link between Cobb and Smith’s
itinerant teaching circuits in the Jingeras and the commission of inquiry into
the state of crime in the Braidwood district has not been irrefutably proven.
However, the evidence identified in this and the previous chapter clearly
and strongly support this link to the point that it can be regarded as highly probable.

The promoters of Half-time schools

The involvement of clergy in the establishment of Half-time schools continued to be significant in 1868 but broadened beyond the Roman Catholic Church. Catholic clergy continued to play a role, but that role was not as major as in 1867. Edward O’Brien, the Roman Catholic priest at Braidwood, provided a testimonial for, and possibly put forward, Michael Noland who became the itinerant teacher at Narriga and Corang Half-time Schools. The Reverend Dean Rigney at Camben also continued to play a role in the conduct of Burragarang Half-time school, in which the great majority of children were Catholic, after it ceased to be a Roman Catholic Denominational school. Unlike in 1867, however, Church of England clergy became notable in the applications for, and foundation of, Half-time schools. Church of England clergy played a key role in the opening of four groups of Half-time schools and a supportive role in the opening of a further group.

Three Church of England clergymen, namely the Bishop of Goulburn, the Reverend F. Seaborn and the Reverend Palmer also played a significant role in the appointment of itinerant teachers for these schools. The Council of Education demonstrated in these instances a receptiveness to the views of clergy that came close to that paid to the advice that it took from its own inspectors, while at the same time making it clear that it expected Half-time schools to be conducted as Public, not Denominational schools. The tensions this may have created in these schools and the degree to which they
may have been Church of England Denominational schools in nature is not revealed in the available documentation. The protests of Thomas Druitt, the Church of England minister at Cooma, at the appointment of Fred Blanchard at Anembo, Norongo and Whinstone Valley were also considered and investigated by the Council, though here they did not act as he wished.

Understandably a high proportion of children attending the schools promoted by clergy belonged to the same denomination. At Corang and Nerriga forty two children were Roman Catholic while six belonged to the Church of England, for example, while at Crookwell and Laggen fifteen children were Church of England and five Wesleyans. The statistics given for Half-time schools in the last quarter of 1868, or the last quarter a group of schools was in operation in that year, show the impact of the growing Church of England involvement with Half-time schools over that year. Members of the Church of England were a clear majority in nine groups of schools, Roman Catholics a clear majority in eight groups of schools and there was a more equal balance in two groups of Half-time schools. Thus the denominational composition in Half-time schools had shifted marginally from Roman Catholic to Church of England when compared to 1867. While Roman Catholic children remained the largest single group in Half-time schools, 267 children, they no longer comprised the majority of children in Half-time schools as there were 248 members of the Church of England, thirty six Presbyterians, sixteen Wesleyans and eight others.

Despite the clear influence of clergy in the establishment of Half-time schools, applications made by local residents, generally parents or a well

239 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1868, p. 52.
240 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1868, p. 52.
regarded non clerical resident of the area, for the establishment of Half-time schools in their locality became equally important in 1868. The Half-time schools at Burra Burra and Snaphook, and Burragate and Wyndham, resulted from applications submitted by a resident or residents. The Half-time schools at Long Flat, Harolds Cross and Vernelly also evidently resulted from resident action. Two groups of Half-time schools resulted from a combination of resident action and the intervention of an Inspector. Richlands Half-time school resulted from applications for Provisional schools from the residents at Richlands and Yelbraith, but Inspector McIntyre recommended they become partnering Half-time schools. Inspector Johnson evidently acted with residents in the establishment of Half-time schools at Corang and Nerriga. The Bishop of Goulburn supported the residents’ application for Half-time schools at Carwoola and Foxlowe by proposing Richard Robinson be appointed as teacher. Only in one instance in 1868 was the proposed teacher clearly making and pushing the application himself, namely Fred Blanchard at Anembo, Norongo and Whinstone Valley.

**Accommodation for Half-time schools**

Inspector Johnson’s dissatisfaction with the quality of the buildings provided for the Half-time schools he inspected in the Goulburn and Braidwood areas might have been partly appeased by a few of the buildings provided for some the Half-time schools opened subsequently in 1868. The purpose built school buildings at Burragate and the proposed building at Wyndham clearly met Johnson’s and the Council’s special rules for half-time school buildings and were described as, ‘suitable for a provisional or
public school". The standard of these buildings did not result from Special Rules two and three, however, but rather from previous guidelines provided to the residents in these localities by Inspector Harris. The new school building provided at Harrolds Cross would probably also have met with Johnson’s approval being ‘10 by 12 [feet] with fireplace and two windows built of new slabs and bark. Expressly for the purpose intended which will be plastered and whitewashed prior to use.”

As the Half-time schools opened in 1868 resulted from applications approved prior to the creation of the Special Rules it would appear that the buildings used were not influenced by those rules. Most of the accommodation provided for those Half-time schools not inspected by Johnson was in church buildings, school buildings previously used for Denominational or private schools, rooms in private homes and farm buildings. The condition of some of these buildings was not given, but where it was the description was usually negative. The Cobbora Church of England Denominational School building, for example, was described by Inspector Dwyer as ‘wretched in the extreme.’ It is interesting to note that two of the groups of Half-time schools which were included in Johnson’s overall condemnation of the standard of accommodation received more satisfactory comments from Inspector McIntyre in the 1868 annual report of the Council. The schoolrooms at Bullamalita and Farringdon were described by McIntyre as ‘tolerably suitable’ while the rooms used for the four teaching stations which comprised Ballalaba and Farrington Half-time

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241 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/795, Folio 41.
242 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/795, Folio 41.
243 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/792, Folio 305, Application for the establishment of Half-time schools at Harrolds (sic) Cross and Mountain Creek, 25 May 1868.
244 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/738, Folio 25.
245 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1868, p. 146.
Schools were described as ‘tolerably comfortable.’ Whether improvements had been made, or McIntyre saw the situation from a different perspective, is unknown.

**Subjects taught and teaching standards**

While the standard of accommodation in 1868 appears to have been largely unaffected by the Special Rules for the conduct of Half-time schools, the range of subjects taught is much more likely to have been influenced. The majority of itinerant teachers received clear instructions on what was expected of them in this area with the distribution of Johnson’s timetables and standard of proficiency in early July. Consequently they had almost six months before the close of 1868 to work towards meeting these requirements. The monthly reports that itinerant teachers were required to submit to their district inspector evidently devoted significant space to developments in this area. Inspector McIntyre who oversaw the great majority of the Half-time schools in existence in 1868, commented, ‘The teachers report to me monthly the work done at each teaching station.’ McIntyre also required the itinerant teachers to submit an annual report at the end of the year reporting on a variety of matters, including the subjects taught. In addition there were the inspection reports written by district inspectors when they visited Half-time schools. Unfortunately these sources are no longer available. Only short summaries of these reports remain in the brief reports on four groups of Half-time schools, and some general

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246 *Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1868*, p. 146.
247 *Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1868*, p. 140.
248 *Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1868*, p. 140.
comments by Inspector McIntyre in the 1868 annual report. These limited sources support the probability of a broadening in the range of subjects taught in Half-time schools in the second half of 1868.

Comparison of the subjects taught in the four groups of Half-time schools: Carwoola and Foxlowe which were inspected on 6 July, the day of the post out from the Council of the Special Rules and associated materials; Upper Colo and Wheeney Creek on the 25 and 26 November, Bullamalita and Springfield on 1 December and Ballalaba and Farringdon (four Half-time schools) on the 11 December; show a significant difference in the subjects at these Half-time schools over this span of time. The subjects taught at Carwoola and Foxlowe Half-time Schools in July were ‘reading writing and arithmetic.’ This limited range of basic subjects was very similar to that identified by Inspector Johnson in the Half-time schools of the Goulburn and Braidwood areas in March 1868. By contrast, the subjects taught at Ballalaba and Farringdon Half-time Schools in December were ‘reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, grammar, object lessons, writing from dictation and drawing,’ at Bullamalita and Springfield Half-time Schools, ‘reading, writing, arithmetic, geography and grammar, with lessons on common things’ and at Upper Colo and Wheeney Creek Half-time Schools in November, ‘the ordinary subjects are taught.’ McIntyre also mentioned when describing in his annual report for 1868 the subjects taught in the schools in the Goulburn inspectorate that ‘In two Half-time Schools

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249 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1868, p. 143.
250 SRNSW, NCE/7, 1/804, Folio 519ff.
251 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1868, p. 146.
252 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1868, p. 146.
253 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1868, p. 135.
and one Provisional, the only subjects taught are reading, writing and the elements of arithmetic. While this evidence is limited, the indication given is that the range of subjects taught in the majority of Half-time schools had increased significantly over the second half of 1868 in line with Johnson’s suggestions and the Council’s decisions.

Whether there had been a similar apparent improvement in teaching methods and results brought about by the Council’s adoption of Johnson’s timetables and standard of proficiency is unclear. The available evidence is too limited and individual to draw any general conclusions. There is evidence, however, that Half-time schools were producing some positive results in 1868. Inspector McIntyre commented in his annual report for 1868:

Although few of them [Half-time schools] have been more than fifteen months in operation, the results are highly satisfactory. So far as I have inspected them, the teachers are painstaking and energetic in the performance of their duty; and in some cases the progress of the pupils has surpassed my most sanguine expectations. In some of these schools I found a considerable number of the children who commenced to learn the alphabet about a year or fifteen months ago, and they can now read ordinary prose, such as the Third Book or Scripture lessons with tolerable correctness – write from copies or from dictation legibly – and are making some progress in the elements of arithmetic. The organization, discipline and instruction of the schools in many cases admit of great improvement; but on the whole, the success so far appears to be truly gratifying.

The idea of Half-time schools as a superior form of schooling

Despite this success in teaching and extension in curriculum it is unclear that Half-time schools would have achieved, or been poised to achieve, a particular vision being promoted for these schools at this time – the idea of

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254 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1868, p. 137.
255 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1868, p. 139.
the Half-time school as an equal, or indeed a potentially superior, form of schooling to full time schools. This idea was briefly put forward in the article on Half-time schools published in the *Australian Journal of Education* in the statement ‘Experience in the home country goes to prove children who are engaged in manual labour one half the day and attend school during the other, make at least equal progress with those who receive a full day’s instruction.’

The idea was further taken up, expanded upon and advocated by William McIntyre in his comments on Half-time schools in his 1868 report for the Goulburn District. The Council included these comments in the extensive extract from McIntyre’s comments on Half-time schools inserted in the Council’s own report on Half-time schools for 1868.

The results, [the ‘highly satisfactory’ progress being made by students in Half-time schools in the Goulburn District] however are quite in accordance with some of the most eminent educationalists of the present day. They say that manual and mental labour combined facilitates school instruction; and it is all but the universal testimony of the teachers and inspectors of industrial schools, that the boys employed in spade husbandry learn far more readily than boys not so employed; and that, although their time in school is shorter, they learn more quickly whilst there. Now I consider Half-time Schools to be much like Industrial Schools; the pupils attend to rural industries at home, under the direction of their parents, for half their time, and they receive school instruction from the teacher during the other half.

The ‘Industrial Schools’ referred to in the article and by McIntyre are likely to have been the ‘half-time’ schools that had developed in British textile factories, initially under the provisions of the 1833 Factory Act. In the 1850s and 60s there were British educationalists who spoke highly of the efficacy of the half-time system. One was Leonard Horner, an inspector of factories, who in 1855 wrote:

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257 *Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1868*, p. 11.
A most excellent education can be given to the children who work half the day in a factory. Of this there cannot be stronger proof than that there are many pupil teachers in schools, who received all the education that enabled them to pass the strict examinations for that office, while they were working as ‘half-timers’ in a factory.\textsuperscript{258}

Karl Marx wrote in \textit{Capital} in 1867, ‘The Factory Inspectors soon found out, that the factory children, although receiving only one half the education of the regular day scholars, yet learnt quite as much and often more.’\textsuperscript{259}

The validity of the comparison that the author of the article and McIntyre were drawing between these English half-time schools and the Half-time school system in the Colony of New South Wales is open to question. There were significant differences between the two systems, including that attendance at British Industrial or ‘half-time’ schools was compulsory for children working in textile factories and that the children attended school daily for three hours a day five days a week\textsuperscript{260} whereas attendance at schools in New South Wales was not compulsory and attendance at Half-time schools was not necessarily daily or for a full half of the week. The Half-time school system in New South Wales was nowhere as developed and systematically organised as the English system. Nor were the hours and conditions that children could be required to work by their parents on the farm controlled in the same way that the that conditions experienced by children working in English factories were legislated. There was also not universal acceptance of the idea that children in English half-time schools

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were achieving as well as some educationalists stated, though it was a popular view at the time.

McIntyre’s objectivity in proclaiming the efficacy and possible superiority of Half-time schools can also be questioned. McIntyre was repeating a recently published view that had, at the least, the endorsement of his superior, William Wilkins, if indeed it had not been written by Wilkins. On his move to the Goulburn District in early 1868 McIntyre found himself in charge of the great majority of Half-time schools, a type of schooling that was attracting considerable interest from the Council. In claiming to be the originator of the idea of Half-time schools in his report for 1868 McIntyre could be seen to be linking his future to these schools to some extent. Promoting their perceived strengths was clearly in his interest. He also clearly had a ‘fatherly’ interest in these schools and had a strong interest in their promotion and development.

It is unclear why McIntyre spoke only of boys in the Industrial school context within his 1868 report. Girls as well as boys attended the English half-time schools and girls were clearly present in the Half-time schools of New South Wales in 1868. The statistics given for Half-time schools in the last quarter of 1868, or the last quarter a group of schools was in operation in that year, show that girls attended all of the Half-time schools that existed in 1868, generally in roughly equal numbers to boys and that overall there were slightly more girls than boys enrolled in (291 girls to 284 boys) and attending (205 girls to 192 boys) Half-time schools.261

261 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1868, p. 52.

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Conclusion

Five major events largely related to policy formation and implementation can be identified within the Half-time school system in 1868 - clarification, structuring, vision, growth and change. Inspector Johnson’s examination of the Half-time schools in the Goulburn District in March 1868 provided the Council of Education with a clear understanding of the nature of the great majority of Half-time schools existing at that point. This clarification together with Johnson’s recommendations resulted in the setting by the Council of a detailed set of regulations which provided a defined structure for the development and conduct of Half-time schools. This clarification and structuring gave the Council the information and assurance it needed to further develop and state its vision for Half-time schools, namely to extend education into the vast, sparsely populated pastoral districts of inland New South Wales and, secondly, to provide the first stage of educational facilities in newly settled farming areas until the population stabilised and grew to the point where Provisional or Public schools could be successfully established.

A further vision for Half-time schools appears to have developed, or been adopted, in 1868, namely the prediction that Half-time schools would prove to be an equal or possibly superior form of education to full-time Provisional, Public and Denominational schools. The Council devoted more space in its 1867 and 1868 annual reports to Half-time schools than to any other class of publicly funded school as it put forward and discussed what it now knew of Half-time schools, the Special Rules created for them and the role it was anticipated they would now fill within the public education system.
The growth of Half-time schools that occurred in 1868 was not a consequence of this clarification, structuring and vision. The twelve new groups of Half-time schools that opened in 1868 did so before or during these events, or resulted from applications submitted prior to the application of the Special Rules with no new Half-time schools opening after August 1868. Despite this pause in the establishment of Half-time schools, the number of Half-time schools, the number of itinerant teachers, and the number of children attending these schools grew significantly over 1868. The number of children enrolled in Half-time schools grew from 267 in 1867 to 593 or 575 in 1868. It is unclear why two different totals are given in the 1868 report. Half-time schools had also grown in terms of where they existed. From two clusters around the townships of Goulburn and Braidwood in 1867, they had spread across the large Goulburn inspectorial district and were to be found in small numbers outside this district in 1868. There were also reportedly a large number of applications for Half-time schools outstanding at the end of 1868. The new Half-time schools opened in 1868 represented twenty two percent of the 136 new schools the Council stated it had opened in 1868. The approving and opening of Half-time schools would have been a noticeable part of the Council’s and its inspectors’ activities in 1868.

While Half-time schools had almost doubled in number from the start to the end of the year and the number of students had more than doubled numerically, they were only a small part of the education system. Their

262 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1868, p. 4.
263 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1868, p. 52.
264 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1868, p. 39.
growth rate was significantly less than that of Provisional schools, the other class of school introduced to provide education in sparsely settled areas. From the end of 1867 to the end of 1868 the number of Provisional schools had more than tripled from thirty one to 103, while the aggregate number of students attending Provisional schools had quadrupled from 773 in 1867 to 3113 in 1868. Overall, the 593, or 575, students attending Half-time schools represented one point five percent of the children attending government (Public, Provisional and Half-time) schools and zero point eight of a percent of the total aggregate of 73920 students attending schools under the control of the Council of Education. If the estimated 11699 students in private schools and 8025 students being educated at home in 1868 are also factored in, then Half-time schools in 1868 were providing for just over zero point six of one percent of the children then receiving an education in New South Wales.

Half-time schools changed significantly over 1868. The work of Inspector Johns on in clarifying the nature and condition of Half-time schools and proposing a detailed structure for their conduct, together with the Council of Education’s overall approval and adoption of his scheme, plus the other forces that were already causing the work of itinerant teachers to be confined to two places, resulted in Half-time schools steadily moving from the two experimental and conflicting forms that existed at the end of 1867 towards the regulated form laid down for them in 1868. The Council of Education acknowledged in its annual report for 1868 that the structure

265 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1868, p. 4.
266 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1868, p. 4.
267 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1868, p. 5.
intended for Half-time schools was not fully in place at the end of 1868, describing Half-time schools as an ongoing experiment that was meeting with ‘increased success’ and noting that the Special Rules had ‘to some extent’ been implemented.\textsuperscript{268} Half-time schools appeared to be poised for a period of consolidation, in terms of increasing conformity to the Special Rules, and significant expansion, based on the growth experienced in 1868 and the unmet demand for Half-time schools indicated by the large number of outstanding applications noted by the Council in its 1868 report. The Council’s vision for the extension of Half-time schools into the sparsely settled pastoral districts of New South Wales was less certain given the growing trend in 1868 for Half-time schools to be used to maintain education in areas of declining population.

\textsuperscript{268} \textit{Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1868}, p. 9.
Chapter Five

1869 – Consolidation and extension of the
Half-time school system

Introduction

This chapter examines the Half-time schools that existed in 1869, both those that opened during that year and those that had opened in the previous two years and continued into 1869. It notes events within each group of Half-time schools and explores the forces that shaped and influenced these schools. It identifies the patterns and norms that Half-time schools settled into over this year and discusses the factors behind these patterns and norms. For Half-time schools 1869 was a year of consolidation into an increasing structured form that was strongly influenced by, though not entirely consistent with, the special rules for Half-time schools. It was also a year of extension as Half-time schools were established in most school districts and strongly grew in numbers.

The cessation in the opening of new groups of Half-time schools from August 1868, ended in January 1869. Twenty-eight Half-time schools were to be established in 1869 as, or as part of, sixteen groups of Half-time schools. While twelve of these schools were in the Goulburn District, nine were in the Newcastle District, four in the Bathurst District, two in the Armidale District and one in the Maitland District. Eleven of the twenty-eight Half-time schools opened in 1869 were the product of applications or decisions made in 1868. These applications may well have been the ones the Council mentioned in its 1868 report as having not been dealt with in that
year ‘as our inspectors were unable to devote the time necessary for this purpose’. The remaining seventeen resulted from applications or decisions made in 1869. Some of these Half-time schools were established much faster than in previous years. The decision that Half-time schools should operate in groups of two was clearly followed in the new schools opened in 1869. No Half-time schools with three or more teaching stations were created in 1869, a clear contrast with 1867 when half of the six groups of Half-time schools were in that form or 1868 when three of the twelve groups opened were in that form.

**New groups of Half-time schools from 1868 applications**

The first five groups of Half-time schools established in 1869 were the result of applications or recommendations made in the latter half of 1868. Six Half-time schools in three groups of two schools opened in January 1869 alone.

**Bo Bo Creek and Karuah Flat Half-time Schools**

The first Half-time schools to open in January 1869 were Bo Bo Creek and Karuah Flat Half-time Schools. These partner schools on opposite sides of the Manning River near Wingham in the Newcastle District were the first Half-time schools to be established in that district. Both Bo Bo Creek and Karuah Flat Half-time schools had both previously existed as full time government schools. Bo Bo Creek Public School, which had first opened as a National school in 1859, was not maintaining a sufficient attendance by 1868. Inspector Allpass, in charge of the Newcastle District, recommended in February 1868 that the school be closed and suggested that the people

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1 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1868, Sydney, Thomas Richards, Government Printer, 1869, p. 9.
should be allowed to apply for a Provisional school. The Council of Education did not act on this recommendation and Bo Bo Creek continued as a Public School through 1868.

At Karuah Flat an application had been submitted for a Provisional school on 26 May 1868. The proposer, Mr Edward Donkin, provided a new cottage, ‘floored and shingled … 25 feet by 18 feet’, for a school room. A local resident, Thomas Hall, was nominated as teacher despite his teaching experience being limited to having ‘taught a few children with my own during the winter evenings’. Hall was, ‘much esteemed by the people, but has been known to give way to the influence of drink. As he is what is termed a reformed man.’ Inspector Allpass supported the nomination and application and Karuah Provisional school opened in August 1868.

In July 1868 the Reverend H. G. Hawkins proposed that two Half-time schools be opened on the ‘Wollumba’ River and recommended Mr C. G Smith, the teacher at Bo Bo Creek Public School, be appointed to these schools. Hawkins stated that Smith was ‘desirous to receive the appointment’. Inspector Allpass also suggested that Smith be appointed to the Half-time schools proposed for the Wollomba River as he had a ‘fair knowledge of the country and is also a good horseman.’ Allpass recommended that if Smith was appointed to the Half-time schools

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2 State Records New South Wales, NCE/1, Miscellaneous Letters Received, 1867-1875, 1/769, Vol. 35, Bathurst – Botany, Folio 275, Inspector Allpass to the Secretary, 17 February 1868.
3 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/779, Vol. 45, Hill End - Kempsey, Folio 326, Application for the establishment of a Provisional school at Karuah Flat, 26 May 1868.
4 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/779, Folio 326.
5 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/779, Folio 326, Application for the establishment of a provisional school at Karuah Flat, 26 May 1868.
7 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/794, Folio 244, Inspector’s report on application for the establishment of Half-time schools at the Wollombi River 9 October 1868.
proposed for the Wollomba River ‘the Karuah Flat Provisional School and the Bo Bo Creek Public School be worked as Half-time schools.’ The Council evidently adopted this proposal and moved to put it in place. The people at Karuah objected to the proposal on the grounds that the Manning River which separated the two schools, ‘is sometimes impassable for weeks’ and that they ‘cannot afford to pay the fees according to the special rules for the management of Half time Schools’ Inspector Allpass supported the parents’ claim that they could not support the fees, adding, ‘considering that for a full time school they have only been paying 3d per week for each child I scarcely see how they could induced to pay a higher rate for half-time instruction’. Allpass recommended that if the schools became half-time the existing scale of fees should remain in place. However, Allpass discounted the Manning River as an issue.

The fact that the Manning River lies between the two school houses does not affect the pupils, none of them have to cross. The teacher is a good horseman and an expert swimmer. Besides the teacher might receive definite orders from the Council to teach daily in the school at Karuah Flat when the state of the river was such as would endanger life. If this were fully understood at Bo Bo Creek no confusion need arise.

Karuah Flat Provisional School and Bo Bo Creek Public School subsequently closed in December 1868 and commenced as partner Half-time schools in January 1869 with Thomas Hall as itinerant teacher. This partnership only lasted until July 1869 when Karuah Flat closed and was replaced by Killawarra Half-time School. Thomas Hall continued as the

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8 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/794, Folio 244.
9 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/779, Folio 340, Edward Donkin to William Wilkins, 27 October 1868.
10 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/779, Folio 340.
11 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/779, Folio 341, Inspector’s report on Edward Donkin’s letter, 19 December 1868.
12 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/779, Folio 341.
itinerant teacher.\textsuperscript{13} No correspondence was located on this change. However as Killawarra and Karuah Flat are both on the northern side of the Manning River and appear to be only about two miles apart it is possible that the move was to a more central location or followed a population shift, both of which were not uncommon occurrences.

**Hartley and Kanimbla Half-time Schools**

Hartley and Kanimbla Half-time Schools, which also opened in January 1869 near Lithgow in the Bathurst District, were the first Half-time schools to open in that district. It appears that Hartley was a special case, but this cannot be verified. Instead of being a remote sparsely populated area, Hartley in 1869 was an established township of growing importance on the main road across the Great Dividing Range. While there was no previous government school at Hartley, there was an established and ongoing Roman Catholic Certified Denominational School. It is possible that the Hartley Half-time School may have been replaced a private school at Hartley as a school room with attached teacher accommodation was available for the Half-time school before the application for these schools had been submitted on 24 August 1868.\textsuperscript{14} The reasons behind the establishment of a Half-time school at Hartley are not known. That the applicant and promoter of these Half-time schools was the Church of England Minister at Hartley, the Reverend Mr Mayne, suggests that religious issues may have been a factor. The application for the establishment of these schools focussed on Kanimbla and provided no information on Hartley. Inspector McCredie, in

\textsuperscript{13} New South Wales Department of Education and Training, Education and Training Information Service, Head of School Card for Killawarra.

\textsuperscript{14} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/778, Vol. 44, Gundagai - Hill End, Folio 383, Inspector McCredie to the Secretary, 11 August 1868.
charge of the Bathurst District, in his report on the application commented, ‘The particulars regarding the Hartley application are, it seems, in the Council Office.’\textsuperscript{15} No such documentation has been found. In contrast, Kanimbla, a locality in a valley eight miles south of Hartley, was evidently much more remote and sparsely settled. It appears to have had no prior educational facilities and a school was ‘urgently needed.’\textsuperscript{16}

The first itinerant teacher at these schools, Mr H Blyth, was already a teacher with the Council. He had transferred from Eurobodella Public School near Moruya on the far South Coast.\textsuperscript{17} Blyth taught in the mornings at Hartley and in the afternoons at Kanimbla, ‘so as not to have any blank days at Hartley where there is another school’.\textsuperscript{18} In September 1869 Blyth successfully applied to be appointed to the newly established Muttons Falls Public School approximately 18 miles west of Hartley because of his dissatisfaction with his current position. Blyth clearly indicated his preference for teaching in a full-time school, stated that the constant travelling was too demanding during the winter, complained that his expenses were too great because he had to board in two places and believed the forage allowance of ten pounds was ‘quite inadequate for a district like this’.\textsuperscript{19} Robert McDougall, who succeeded Blyth at Hartley and Kanimbla Half-time Schools in November 1869, was also a teacher with the Council having transferred from Crudine Public School, approximately sixty miles

\textsuperscript{15} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/778, Folio 387, Inspector McCredie’s report on the application for Half-time schools at Hartley and Kanimbla, 1 September 1868.
\textsuperscript{16} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/778, Folio 387.
\textsuperscript{17} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/778, Folio 390, H Blyth to the Secretary, 14 October 1868.
\textsuperscript{18} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/778, Folio 394, H Blyth to the Secretary, 30 December 1868.
\textsuperscript{19} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/814, Vol. 80, Gundaroo – Hunters Hill, Folio 303, H Blyth to J McCredie, 3 September 1869.
to the north west of Hartley. McDougall appears to have lived in Hartley fulltime, making the round trip of sixteen miles to Kanimbla and back on a daily basis. McDougall had evidently been transferred on Inspector McCredie’s recommendation because of his low income at Crudine. However, McDougall soon expressed dissatisfaction in his new position on the grounds that he understood he would be supplied with a horse, saddle and bridle, or ten pounds to purchase the same, and that the forage allowance provided was inadequate.

**Independent action in the Cooma District - Reverend Mr Thomas Druitt**

In August 1868 Reverend Mr Thomas Druitt, the Church of England Minister at Cooma who had taken a strong interest in Fred Blanchard’s Half-time schools at Norongo, Anembo and Whinstone Valley earlier in 1868, wrote to the Council of Education reporting that despite an enrolment of thirty-five children, the average attendance at the Church of England Certified Denominational School at Adaminaby did not exceed twelve to fifteen because of the poverty of the people. Druitt had proposed new schools be opened at Boconnoc and Coolamatong and that the three schools should be taught by the current teacher at Adaminaby, Mr Samuel Thicknesse. Druitt suggested that Thicknesse should spend ten days at each school a month and that the schools should be called ‘third time schools.’ In this way, Druitt argued, education could be maintained in Adaminaby and

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20 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/814, Folio 303, BC from J McCredie to the Secretary, 7 September 1869.  
21 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/814, Folio 311, J McCredie to the Secretary, 22 November 1869.  
22 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/814, Folio 311, R Mc Dougall to the Secretary, 4 December 1869.  
across the sparsely settled district, ‘a very much larger number of children could receive some education which they must otherwise do without.’ The Council responded on 9 September 1869 informing Druitt that ‘the Council of Education prefer restricting the service of the teacher to two localities’ and advising that a fourth locality should be identified so the two groups of two Half-time school could be formed.

Applications were subsequently submitted by Druitt on 4 November 1868 for the establishment of Half time schools at Coolamatong and Jejedzrick, near present day Berridale and on the 24 November 1868 for the establishment of Half-time schools at Adaminaby and Boconnoc. These areas were in the Goulburn District. No inspector’s report exists in relation to either application, even though Inspector McIntyre had been directed by Wilkins to finalise the incomplete application form for the establishment of Half-time schools at Adaminaby and Boconnoc. This suggests that McIntyre may have been unable to arrange to visit these localities.

**The first Adaminaby and Boconnoc Half-time Schools**

Half-time schools at Adaminaby and Boconnoc opened briefly and unofficially in January 1869. It appears that, in the absence of any official decision, Thicknesse commenced teaching at Adaminaby and Boconnoc, possibly at Druitt’s direction. While there are no records relating to the opening of these schools at this time, subsequent correspondence to the

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24 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/767, Folio 58.
25 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/767, Folio 61, Council of Education to Thomas Druitt, 9 September 1868.
26 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/810, Vol. 76, Cleveland St - Cudgewong, Folio 192, Application for the establishment of Half-time schools at Coolamatong and Jejedzrick, 4 November 1868.
27 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/767, Folio 63, Application for the establishment of Half-time schools at Adaminaby and Boconnoc, 24 November 1868.
28 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/767, Folio 66, Memorandum from the Secretary to Inspector McIntyre, 26 November 1868.
Council from both Thicknesse\textsuperscript{29} and Druitt\textsuperscript{30} alludes to Thicknesse having briefly commenced teaching at these places until his wife died and serious allegations of an unknown nature were made against him by a local resident. The parents withdrew their children and Thicknesse left his schools. After walking all the way to Sydney he returned, again on foot, and consulted Druitt. The matter was investigated by Druitt who reported the situation and his conclusions directly to the Council of Education. Druitt indicated that the allegations against Thicknesse were groundless, recommended that he be appointed as the itinerant teacher at Coolamatong and Jejedzrick, and requested that the Council appoint another teacher for Adaminaby and Boconnoc.\textsuperscript{31} Druitt also informed the Council:

A public meeting called by advertisement in the Manaroo Mercury was held at Coolamatong yesterday the 13th April at which it was resolved to open the school there and at Jejedzrick on Monday next the 19th Instant within premises lent for the purpose until the school houses are finished under Samuel Thicknesse. They will be half time schools and the teacher will divide his time so as to give a week alternatively to each. This is necessary as some of the children coming from considerable distances will have to board with residents in the immediate neighbourhood.\textsuperscript{32}

A local board had also been elected and it was requested that Thicknesse be paid from Monday 19 April and that school requisites be sent by steamer to Merimbula. Druitt also rather pointedly indicated he should ‘be very glad to know when the Inspector is likely to visit this District.’\textsuperscript{33} Druitt was to remain disappointed on this point as McIntyre’s annual report for 1869

\textsuperscript{29} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/810, Vol. 76, Folio 194, Mr S Thickness to the Council of Education, 25 March 1869 and Folio 194, 3 April 1869
\textsuperscript{30} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/810, Folio 199, Thomas Druitt to the Secretary, 14 April 1869.
\textsuperscript{31} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/810, Folio 199.
\textsuperscript{32} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/810, Folio 199.
\textsuperscript{33} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/810, Folio 199.
indicates that he did not visit any of these four schools in that year. Druit
explained his actions with the following statement:

These proceedings may seem to the Council somewhat informal but
the circumstances of the District are peculiar and we could not help
ourselves – I hope we shall be excused if we have not altogether
acted according to regulations made by Gentlemen three hundred
miles away.

Coolamatong and Jejedzrick, and Adaminaby and Boconnoc Half-
time Schools

The Council of Education accepted the decisions made by Druit and
appointed Mr Thickness as teacher of the Half-time schools at
Coolamatong and Jejedzrick, and Mr Emil Beuschel as teacher of the Half-
time schools at Adaminaby and Boconnoc. While Coolamatong and
Jejedzrick Half-time schools did commence in April 1869 under Samuel
Thickness, no date other than 1869 is given for Emil Beuschel’s
commencement of duty at Adaminaby and Boconnoc Half-time schools.

However, these latter schools were evidently in operation by June 1869 as
Emil Beuschel wrote to the Council during that month requesting forage
allowance and in July 1869 Thomas Druiit advised the Council that the
school at Boconnoc was working well under the new teacher, ‘but I fear the
Adaminaby School will take some time to recover the effects of the ill
treatment it has received’.

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34 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869,
Sydney, Thomas Richards, Government Printer, 1870, p.112.
35 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/810, Folio 199, Thomas Druiit to the Secretary, 14 April 1869.
36 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/810, Folio 199, Note on letter from Thomas Druiit to the Secretary.
37 NSW DET, ETIS, Head of School card for Coolamatong.
38 NSW DET, ETIS, Head of School card for Adaminaby.
39 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/810, Folio 210, Thomas Druiit to the Secretary, 8 July 1869.
Half-time schools in the Newcastle District

In addition to the opening of Bo Bo Creek and Karuah Flat Half-time schools in the Newcastle District in January 1869, and the reopening of Bo Bo Creek Half-time School in July 1869 with Killawarra as its new partner school, three more groups of Half-time schools opened in that District across 1869. These groups were Wallamba River Upper and Lower Half-time Schools which opened in March 1869, Lansdowne River and Mambo Island Half-time Schools which opened in October 1869, and Myall River Upper and Lower Half-time Schools which opened in November 1869. All four groups of Half-time schools were located along the Mid North Coast of New South Wales between Newcastle and Port Macquarie and the latter three groups were closely connected with coastal rivers. The Wallamba (now Wollomba) River flows into Wallis Lake near Forster Tuncurry, the Lansdowne River flows into the Manning River near Coopernook and the Myall River flows into the Myall Lakes then to Port Stephens near Tea Gardens. While Newcastle District had the second largest concentration of Half-time schools after Goulburn District in 1869, no evidence has been located of a deliberate strategy of establishing Half-time schools in this District, or in such localities.

Wallamba River Upper and Lower Half-time Schools

On 27 July 1868, The Reverend H. G. Hawkins, at ‘Tinoonee’ (now Tinonee) on the Manning River, wrote to the Council of Education
requesting the establishment of ‘two half time schools in the District of Cape Hawke on the Wollumba River’.\textsuperscript{40}

There is at the present from forty to fifty families located in that district without any means of correction and having but infrequent visits from clergymen of any denomination … this being a new district and likely to pass through some changes, it might be almost impossible to fix upon the most central and suitable place at the present time for the permanent establishment of a public school, and that for the present two half time schools would be the most desirable for this portion of the district.\textsuperscript{41}

On 3 October 1868, Hawkins submitted an application for the establishment of Half-time schools on the Wollombi River to provide educational facilities for fifty-three children who were ‘16 to 18 miles’ distant from the nearest school.\textsuperscript{42} Inspector Allpass visited the locality on 28 September 1868, inspected the buildings, advised on their completion and furnishings and anticipated they would be ready for occupation by the end of November. In his report he commented on the proposed arrangements for the conduct of the schools:

\begin{quote}
Although these schools are sought to be established as Half Time Schools, and will be so in a bonafide sense, it is intended that the children living immediate to the school houses shall attend both and thus secure the advantages of a full-time school.\textsuperscript{43}
\end{quote}

Charles Smith, formerly the teacher at Bo Bo Creek Public School, took up his position as itinerant teacher on the Wollombi River in March 1869.\textsuperscript{44} Why he did not commence teaching at these schools in January is not known.

\textsuperscript{40} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/794, Folio 238, H G Hawkins to the Council of Education, 27 July 1868.
\textsuperscript{41} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/794, Folio 238, H G Hawkins to the Council of Education, 27 July 1868.
\textsuperscript{42} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/794, Folio 242, Application for the establishment of Half-time schools at the Wollombi River 3 October 1868
\textsuperscript{43} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/794, Folio 244, Inspector’s report on application for the establishment of Half-time schools at the Wollombi River 9 October 1868.
\textsuperscript{44} NSW DET, ETIS, Head of School card for Wallamba Lower.
Lansdowne River and Mambo Island Half-time Schools

On 9 October 1869, Mr Newton of Mambo Island on the Manning River informed the Secretary of the Council of Education that he had received and completed an application form for Half-time schools at Upper Lansdowne and Mambo Island.\textsuperscript{45} Newton had requested he be sent an application form in June 1869\textsuperscript{46}. In his October letter Newton also requested that Mr Robert Johnson, teacher at nearby Pelican Point Provisional School, be appointed as itinerant teacher.\textsuperscript{47} Johnson had been approached and desired the appointment.\textsuperscript{48} The application form for these schools has not been located, nor has an inspector’s report on the application or any notification of Johnson’s entry on duty. Johnson took up his new appointment in October 1869\textsuperscript{49}, the same month Newton had indicated the application form had been received and returned and nominated Johnson as teacher. Johnson received his forage allowance from 1 November 1869\textsuperscript{50} and by 12 November 1869 he had moved the materials from Pelican Island Provisional School, which had closed on his transfer to his new schools.\textsuperscript{51}

Myall River Upper and Lower Half-time Schools

During 1869 the people of the upper reaches of the Myall River north of Bulahdelah organised a school committee, chose a teacher and undertook the construction of two school buildings four miles apart along the river, without any prior consultation with the Council of Education. Having

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{45} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/817, Vol. 83, MacDonald River - Merrendee, Folio 288, William Newton to the Secretary, 9 October 1869.
\item \textsuperscript{46} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/817, Folio 287, William Newton to the Council of Education, 8 June 1869.
\item \textsuperscript{47} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/817, Folio 288, William Newton to the Secretary, 9 October 1869.
\item \textsuperscript{48} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/817, Folio 288.
\item \textsuperscript{49} NSW DET, ETIS, Head of School card for Lansdowne.
\item \textsuperscript{50} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/817, Folio 289, William Newton to the Secretary, 18 November 1869.
\item \textsuperscript{51} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/817, Folio 290, Robert Johnson to the Secretary, 12 November 1869.
\end{itemize}
received ‘certain information’ Inspector Allpass visited the locality in early
October 1869.

I found that two substantial buildings were in the course of erection and it was highly probable that they would be completed by the end of the present month at the latest ... A teacher’s dwelling is attached to the upper school house ... As it is proposed to place these schools under the Council as Half Time Schools, I have in anticipation of the proper steps being taken secured the offer of service from a young man of fair scholastic abilities and of sober and reliable habits.52

William Wilkins quickly responded asking: Who is this person? Is he
known to the people and acceptable to the majority?53 Allpass briefly
identified the proposed teacher as:

1. Mr George Underwood: Age about 24 years: Married. He is
   now residing at Bulladelah.

2. He is acceptable to the majority and was brought under my notice
   by the Schools’ Committee and the District Surveyor.54

An application for the establishment of Half-time schools at Myall River
and Upper Myall River, which gave the location of the nearest school as
seven miles from Bulahdelah, was completed by George Underwood on 30
October 1869.55 Inspector Allpass reported favourably on this application
and in an addendum noted ‘A letter from the teacher states that “the schools
commenced on the 15 November” and that the enrolment and attendances
would have been higher had the weather been more favourable.’56 George
Underwood had commenced the schools without waiting on formal approval
from the Council for the schools or himself as teacher. Later correspondence
from Inspector Allpass reveals that this action was encouraged by him.

52 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/819, Vol. 85, Mudgee – New Country Flats, Folio 282, Inspector
Allpass to the Secretary, 11 October 1869.
53 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/819, Folio 282, Secretary to Inspector Allpass, 11 October 1869.
54 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/819, Folio 282, Inspector Allpass to the Secretary, 16 October 1869.
55 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/819, Folio 283, Application for the establishment of Half-time
schools at Myall River and Upper Myall River, 30 October 1969.
56 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/819, Folio 285, J W Allpass to the Secretary, 11 December 1869.

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As I was in a position [in October 1869] to know the Bishop of Maitland was doing his utmost to crush these schools by an intended one in the Roman Catholic Church I told the young man [George Underwood] to do his utmost to prepare the schools for early operation … On the 12th November the teacher commenced teaching using half worn books which I had obtained from one of the Manning River schools.57

The Council of Education, however, decided to defer consideration of the application for these schools until 1870,58 resulting in uncertainty as to when they officially commenced. The Head of School cards for these schools indicate that George Underwood’s appointment was from February 187059 while Government Schools of New South Wales simply gives the commencement dates as ‘1869’.60 Inspector Allpass clearly considered these schools as having opened in November 1869 as he included them in his annual report for that year61 and in February 1870 recommended that George Underwood ‘be paid from the date of commencement of duty (12 Novr) at, I say, 60 pounds per annum with an allowance 10 pounds for forage as he is of necessity compelled to keep a horse.’62

**Half-time schools in the Goulburn District**

Ten Half-time schools, including Adaminaby and Boconnoc, and Coolamatong and Jejedzrick, opened in the Goulburn District in 1869. Six of the additional eight schools were in three groups of two Half time schools - Kipplelaw and Run of Water, First Creek and Third Creek, Lochiel and Greigs Flat. The remaining two – Gullen and Yalbraith - were new partners for previously established Half-time schools.

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57 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/851, Vol. 119, Murrumburrah – Palmers Island, Folio 73, J W Allpass to the Secretary, 10 February 1870.
58 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/819, Folio 286, Note from Secretary, 24 December 1869.
59 NSW DET, ETIS, Head of School card for Markwell and Myall Upper.
61 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, p.154.
62 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/851, Folio 73, J W Allpass to the Secretary, 10 February 1870.
Crookwell and Gullen Half-time Schools

Gullen Half-time School opened as a new partner for Crookwell Half-time School in April 1868. After the closure of Crookwell and Laggan Half-time schools in November 1868 the Reverend Seaborn applied in February 1869 for the establishment of Half-time schools at Crookwell and Gullen, eight miles to the south of Crookwell, and recommended Mr Charles Reade for the position of teacher. Inspector McIntyre strongly supported the application, but did not support the appointment of Mr Reade because of his intemperance. As McIntyre was unable to recommend another teacher the matter lapsed. In March the Reverend Seaborn again applied for the establishment of Half-time schools at these places and this time the application succeeded, the schools opening on 1 April 1869 with Mr Reade as Teacher. McIntyre’s concerns about Reade proved well founded as three months later Reade failed to appear at an examination as he was intoxicated. Reade subsequently resigned in July 1869 and was replaced by Mr Hardinge.

Richlands and Yalbraith Half-time Schools

Yalbraith had initially been approved as the Half-time partner school for Richlands, but Richlands Half-time School had opened alone in June 1868 due to resistance from the people at Yelbraith, who continued to support their private school. The school committee at Yelbraith, in January 1869, again requested government aid for their school and launched another attack on Henry Hardinge, the teacher at Richlands, alleging:

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63 NSW DET, ETIS, Crookwell Public School 1865 to 1875.
64 NSW DET, ETIS, Crookwell Public School 1865 to 1875.
65 NSW DET, ETIS, Crookwell Public School 1865 to 1875.
There are no children at Richlands. The man stopping there has been making his boast that he is paid by the Council for doing nothing and that Mr Rich [the private teacher at Yelbraith] does all the work … Indeed all the man has been doing is training horses and teaching sparring with gloves.66

Inspector McIntyre made inquiries and found that the statement that there were no children attending the Half-time school at Richlands was false, though ‘the attendance during harvest was smaller than normal.’67 In February 1869 Hardinge resigned.68 Inspector McIntyre subsequently reported to the Secretary:

It is very difficult to make any practical suggestions for the management of the schools at these places so long as the settlers at Yelbraith employ a teacher unfit to hold a public appointment and insist upon the Council accepting his services. The people at Yelbraith object to a half-time School, although the Half-time system is admirably suited for both places.69

McIntyre recommended that the people be advised that a teacher would be appointed to Half-time schools at these places ‘as soon as they nominate a suitable person for the office or request the appointment of a proper teacher’.70 He again stated his objection to Mr Rich being appointed to the position, ‘because he has been for years and is now so far as his means will allow too much addicted to drink’.71 The people at Yelbraith finally dropped their objections and advised the Council of Education: ‘the committee at the Yelbraith School is willing to take your offer and to make a half-time of this school. Also for you to nominate a teacher. In fact they are agreeable to

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66 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/822, Vol. 88, Pipe Clay Creek - Richmond, Folio 504, Yelbraith Local Committee to the Secretary, 7 January 1869.
67 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/822, Folio 505, W McIntyre to the Secretary, 22 February 1869.
68 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/822, Folio 508, Henry Young Harding’s resignation, 1 February 1869.
69 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/822, Folio 510, W McIntyre to the Secretary, 6 March 1869
70 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/822, Folio 510.
71 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/822, Folio 510.
leave everything your hands." Alex McNiven subsequently entered on
duty at the Half-time schools at Richlands and Yelbraith in October 1869.

**Kipplelaw and Run of Water Half-time Schools**

Kipplelaw, which was situated on the north bank of the Wollondilly River
approximately eight miles west of Goulburn, had a Certified Church of
England Denominational School in 1867. This school struggled to maintain
an adequate attendance, particularly when the river was in flood as it
prevented children on the southern side of the river from attending. This
school evidently closed in 1867. In January 1869 George Milne, who had
previously taught at the Certified Church of England Denominational
School at Pejar, wrote to William Wilkins informing him that he intended
reopening the school at Kipplelaw as a Provisional School. This was
quickly followed by an application for a Public School which listed fifty
three children that could attend. Inspector McIntyre supported the
application as he believed that Milne, who had already commenced
teaching, was suitable as a teacher, the stone ‘English Church’ building was
suitable as a school room, a teacher’s residence was available and ‘ the
settlers at Kipplelaw are all in favour of a Public School.’ Kipplelaw
evidently opened as a Public School in or before April 1869 with Milne
receiving a salary of sixty pounds a year. By May 1869 Kipplelaw Public

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72 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/822, Folio 511, John Cameron, Yelbraith to the Secretary, 27 March 1869.
73 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/822, Folio 515, Alex McNiven to William Wilkins, 12 October 1869.
74 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/744, Vol. 10, Kangaloon - Lismore, Folio 192, Inspector Harris to the Secretary, 27 July 1867.
75 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/816, Vol. 82, Kiama - Luddenham, Folio 123, George Milne to the Secretary, 1 January 1869.
76 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/816, Folio 125, Application for the establishment of a Public school at Kipplelaw, 4 January 1869.
77 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/816, Folio 129, Inspector McIntyre’s report on the application for a Public school at Kipplelaw, 16 February 1869.
78 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/816, Folios 132 and 134.
School was struggling to maintain an adequate attendance, with the flooded state of the Wollondilly River again being given as the principal cause.\footnote{SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/816, Folio 136, Andrew Cameron to the Secretary, 13 May 1869.} However in making this explanation Andrew Cameron, the Secretary of the Local Board, also wrote of attitudes towards schools as a problem.

It is a matter of deep regret that our country schools are so irregularly attended. In a neighbourhood like this the daily attendance ought to be 40 instead of 21 … It is a sad thing to see Education so indifferently supported in an agricultural district like this. The clergy ride about but have no time to visit either the schools or the parents of the children attending them. The teacher of the Kipplelaw Public School Mr Milne has been in no way lukewarm in his endeavours to form a school and it is pitiful that he and others do not meet with better support.\footnote{SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/816, Folio 136.}

In June 1869 Milne wrote to William Wilkins reporting that he had been directed by Inspector McIntyre to organise a Half-time school at Run of Water, which was about four miles from Kipplelaw, ‘in consequence of the attendance at Kipplelaw being small’ and asked the Council not to reduce his salary until ‘I have given the two places a trial’.\footnote{SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/816, Folio 139, George Milne to the Secretary, 28 June 1869.} Run of Waters was evidently a locality on the southern side of the Wollondilly river near children who were unable to regularly attend the school at Kipplelaw because of floods. This conclusion is supported by the present location of ‘Run-O-Waters’, the fact that it was on the ‘Yass Road’,\footnote{SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/816, Folio 142, Inspector McIntyre’s report on the application for the establishment of Half-time schools at Kipplelaw and Run of Water, 8 July 1869.} that MacIntyre described these schools as being to the south west of Goulburn in his 1869 annual report\footnote{Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, p. 125.} and that the Run of Water school later changed its name to
‘Yarra’, a locality on the southern side of the Wollondilly River west of Goulburn.84

On 3 July 1869 Milne wrote to McIntyre informing him:

af ter much difficulty I have succeeded in getting the Primitive Methodist Chapel at Run of Water for the purpose of holding a Half time School according to your instruction and I am happy to say that the average daily attendance at that school alone will be over 30.85

In contrast very few parents nominated their children to attend a Half-time school at Kipplelaw and Milne anticipated the attendance there would ‘be very slack.’ However Milne did not attribute this diminished attendance to the school becoming a Half-time school. He only reiterated the difficulties children on the south bank of the Wollondilly River had in attending the Kipplelaw school, because of flooding, and spoke of the coldness of the school building in the winter because of the absence of a stove.86

An application for the establishment of Half-time schools at Kipplelaw and Run of Water was submitted by Andrew Cameron on 3 July 186987 and was quickly and positively reported upon by McIntyre.88 Kipplelaw and Run of Water formally became Half-time schools that same month. Kipplelaw is not recorded as having been a Public School in 1869 in either Government Schools of New South Wales89 or on the Head of School card for Kipplelaw.90 The earliest entry in both sources is the Half-time school at Kipplelaw which opened in July. The fact that Kipplelaw Public School was

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85 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/816, Folio 143, George Milne to Inspector McIntyre, 3 July 1869.
86 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/816, Folio 143.
87 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/816, Folio 140, Application for the establishment of Half-time schools at Kipplelaw and Run of Water, 3 July 1869.
88 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/816, Folio 142, Inspector McIntyre’s report on the application, 8 July 1869.
90 NSW DET, ETIS, Head of School cards for Kipplelaw and Yarra.
only open for a short period in 1869 before it became a Half-time school may have helped obscure the existence of this Public School.

First Creek and Third Creek Half-time Schools

In March 1869 residents of the Pejar Woodhouselee area, about seven miles south of Crookwell, wrote to the Council of Education requesting aid for a Provisional school they had established at First Creek and recommended Edward Brooker, who was already conducting the school, as teacher. Inspector McIntyre did not support the application as he felt the attendance would be too low and instead suggested the establishment of Half-time schools at First Creek and Third Creek, about four miles distant. McIntyre strongly supported the establishment of schools in these localities.

These districts … are noted for cattle stealers and bushrangers. The persons who stuck up the mail from Yass to Goulburn on 26th May last have been traced to this locality, and I need not say that education for the children in these districts is much needed. McIntyre commented on Edward Brooker, ‘The teacher at First Creek is, I understand, a sober man of good moral character, and I believe competent to perform the duties required.’

An application for Half-time schools at these places was completed by members of the local board on 1 July 1869 and was supported by McIntyre. In his report McIntyre recommended that school materials from the closed school at Pejar, which was approximately two miles from First Creek, could be used in the Half-time schools, and that Edward Brooker,

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91 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/812, Vol. 78, Emu Plains – Freemans Reach, Folio 225, Samuel Mortimer and others to the Council of Education, 24 March 1869.
92 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/812, Folio 228, Memorandum from William McIntyre to the Secretary, 15 July 1869.
93 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/812, Folio 228.
94 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/812, Folio 230, Application for the establishment of Half-time schools at First Creek and Third Creek, 1 July 1869.
who had ‘taken a great deal of trouble in this matter’, be appointed from the day of his report ‘at 60 pounds per annum’\(^95\) This was approved\(^96\) and Brooker formally commenced as teacher of First Creek and Third Creek Half-time Schools on 15 July 1869. On 31 November 1869 Brooker informed the Council that he was teaching full time at Third Creek, where there was an average attendance of eighteen children, as at First Creek the enrolment had dropped to six and the average attendance ‘for the past week has been “Nil”’.\(^97\) He also reported that his horse had been stolen.\(^98\)

**Lochiel and Greigs Flat Half-time Schools**

The origins of Lochiel and Greigs Flat Half-time Schools are somewhat obscure. On 5 July 1869 the Council of Education was asked to consider, at the direction of the President, the following case.

> It is proposed to establish two Half-Time Schools in the neighbourhood of Pambula, but no formal application for aid will be made until the result of the experiment has been ascertained. Should it prove successful the schools will be placed under the Council’s supervision in the usual way. The persons interested in the matter desire to be informed whether, under these circumstances, the Council will grant a supply of the usual school books.\(^99\)

The Council agreed to supply the books, but only if the schools ‘be subject to inspection by the Council’s officers and that such schools do not interfere with any other existing school supported by the Council’ and indicated that the Reverend Mr Thorn of Pambula would be advised of this decision.\(^100\)

The nature of the intended experiment is not known, and it may well not

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\(^95\) SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/812, Folio 232, Inspector McIntyre’s report on the Application, 15 July 1869.

\(^96\) SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/812, Folio 233, Note from William Wilkins, 22 July 1869.

\(^97\) SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/812, Folio 237, Edward Brooker to the Secretary, 31 November 1869.

\(^98\) SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/812, Folio 237.


\(^100\) SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/813, Folio 341.
have taken place as the Reverend William Thorn of Pambula notified William Wilkins on 11 August 1869 that he would be forwarding a formal application for Half-time schools at Lochiel and Greigs Flat while the requisition for school materials for these schools were not submitted until 19 August. The application for Half-time schools at Lochiel and Greigs Flat was completed by Reverend Thorn on 5 September 1869, but there is no record of Inspector McIntyre having reported on the proposed schools.

Lochiel was approximately ten miles west of Pambula, Griegs Flat was about three mile south of Pambula and the two localities were about seven miles apart.

Mark Johnson the teacher at the Half-time schools at Wyndham and Burragate applied to be appointed to the new schools on compassionate grounds. Johnson stated his health had been much impaired by his living conditions and the accident he had experienced the previous year, that he was unable to obtain medical advice and could rarely attend church, and for these reasons he wished to be closer to Pambula. The Council agreed to his transfer. This does not appear to have been part of the Reverend Thorn’s plans as Thorn soon enquired of the Council who would take Johnson’s place at Wyndham and Burragate, as ‘they need an active and self denying man to keep them up’. Johnson transferred from Wyndham and

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101 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/813, Folio 344, William Thorn to the Secretary, 11 August 1869.
102 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/813, Folio 342 and 345, Requisitions for school materials, 19 August 1869.
103 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/813, Folio 347, Application for the establishment of Half-time schools at Lochiel and Greigs Flat, 5 September 1869.
104 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/813, Folio 349, Mark Johnson to William Wilkins, 6 October 1869.
105 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/813, Folio 349.
106 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/813, Folio 350.
Burrage Half-time schools to Lochiel and Greigs Flat Half-time schools in late November when the school buildings had been completed.\footnote{SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/813, Folio 352, Mark Johnson to William Wilkins, 1 November 1869 and Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, p. 126.}

**Teesdale and Coombing Creek Half-time Schools in the Bathurst District**

A total of four Half-time schools were to open in the Bathurst District in 1869. In addition to the schools of Hartley and Kanimbla, two further partnering schools opened at Teesdale and Coombing Creek after a complex process. On 19 July 1868 an application was received for a Provisional school at Teesdale, approximately twelve miles east of Carcoar in the Bathurst District. The nearest school was Five Islands Provisional School which was approximately three and a half miles to the west of Teesdale.\footnote{SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/791, Vol.57, Taralga – Training Master, Folio 107, Application for the establishment of a Provisional School at Teesdale, 19 July 1868.}

In his report on the application Inspector McCredie suggested that as no teacher was nominated for the school ‘the most efficient and economical course’ would be to make Teesdale and Carrawa Public School, eight miles to the south of Teesdale, partner Half-time schools.\footnote{SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/791, Folio 109, Inspector McCredie’s report on the application, 3 August 1868.} McCredie warned however that the current teacher at Carrawa would not be suitable, ‘A younger man of greater energy and activity is desirable’.\footnote{SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/791, Folio 109.} This arrangement was approved but evidently lapsed for want of a suitable teacher.\footnote{NSW DET, ETIS, Head of School card for Long Swamp} Carrawa continued as a Public School.\footnote{NSW DET, ETIS, Head of School card for Long Swamp}

In September 1868 the residents of Coombing Creek, about five miles south east of Carcoar, notified the Council of Education that they had almost

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\footnote{SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/813, Folio 352, Mark Johnson to William Wilkins, 1 November 1869 and Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, p. 126.}
\footnote{SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/791, Vol.57, Taralga – Training Master, Folio 107, Application for the establishment of a Provisional School at Teesdale, 19 July 1868.}
\footnote{SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/791, Folio 109, Inspector McCredie’s report on the application, 3 August 1868.}
\footnote{SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/791, Folio 109.}
\footnote{NSW DET, ETIS, Head of School card for Long Swamp}
\footnote{NSW DET, ETIS, Head of School card for Long Swamp}
completed a school building for a Provisional school, at a cost of sixty four pounds, and requested to be supplied with a teacher and an application form for a Provisional school. Inspector McCredie, in charge of the Bathurst District, noted in his report on the application:

Taken as a whole the premises are superior to the majority of bush schools of the provisional kind. The school room is tolerably suitable and there are three rooms set apart for the teacher. The school is provided with a Black Board and Easel and a sufficient quantity of forms and desks … though a provisional school is applied for the Committee are quite willing to accept a half time school.

Inspector McCredie suggested that the nearby Five Islands Provisional School would make a suitable partner, but expected resistance from the people there. Alternatively he believed that Teesdale, approximately nine miles to the east, would make a suitable partner. The matter remained unresolved.

In February 1869 Thomas Chisholm of Teesdale wrote to the Secretary requesting a school for the thirty children in the locality. Inspector McCredie reported that there were insufficient children for a Public school and recommended that Teesdale and Five Islands become partner Half-time schools. As the people at Five Islands objected to the idea of their Provisional school being converted to a Half-time school, McCredie recommended that Teesdale and Coombing Creek should become partner

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113 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/773, Vol.39, Cleveland St – Crown Flat, Folio 224, James Hoadley to the Council of Education, 16 September 1868.
114 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/773, Folio 229, Inspector McCredie’s report on the application for the establishment of a Provisional School at Coombing Creek, 30 March 1869.
115 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/773, Folio 229.
116 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/826, Vol.92, Tarlo - Ulmarra, Folio 36, Thomas Chisholm to the Secretary, 6 February 1869.
117 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/826, Folio 37, Inspector McCredie’s report on Thomas Chisholm’s letter, 22 February 1869.
Half-time schools. This was approved and Arthur Burton, a teacher with the Council, commenced teaching at these schools in June or July 1869.

**Beechwood and Huntington Half-time Schools in the Armidale District**

Beechwood and Huntington Half-time schools which opened in August 1869 were the first Half-time schools to open in the Armidale District and the only Half-time schools to open in that district in 1869. Huntington had been established as a Provisional school in July 1868. However attendance was poor. The teacher, Kendal Hume, reported in December 1868 that the average attendance was below twelve and he did not expect the attendance to increase in the future. In January 1869 an application was submitted for the establishment of Half-time schools at Huntington and Beechwood. Both localities were on the Hastings River, Beechwood on the north bank and Huntington on the south bank. These places were about four miles west of Wauchope and approximately three miles apart. Inspector Jones in his report of 19 January 1869 commented, ‘the physical character of the district and the number of children at both places renders the establishment of the two schools necessary’. He recommended they be established. The Council agreed to the establishment of these schools on 26 May 1869. However, Hume evidently continued to teach only at Huntington. When Inspector Jones visited Huntington on 21 April 1869 the Beechworth School had not

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118 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/826, Folio 39, Inspector McCredie to the Secretary, 24 May 1869.
119 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/826, Folios 40 – 45.
120 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/815, Vol. 81, Hunters Hill - Kiama, Folio 41, K Hume to Inspector Jones, 8 December 1868.
121 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/815, Folio 37, Application for the establishment of Half-time Schools at Huntington and Beechwood, 5 January 1869.
122 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/815, Folio 39, Inspector Jones’ report on the application, 19 January 1869.
been established. On 1 August 1869 Huntington and Beechwood Half-time Schools finally opened with Hume as the teacher.

**Watagon Creek Half-time School in the Maitland District**

One further district, Maitland, was to gain a Half-time school in 1869, but in this instance it was only a single school. Watagon Creek Public School, located about three miles south of Wollombi, in the Maitland District closed in December 1868 when the teacher left. In March 1869 Inspector Dwyer, in charge of the Maitland District, proposed that the school be reopened as a Provisional school. The position was offered to Thomas Gullen, a pupil teacher at Wollombi Public School. Cullen declined the position, preferring to enter the Training School in Sydney, ‘With a view to obtaining classification before being appointed to the charge of a school’. In July 1869 Sarah Lynch, who had formerly been a pupil teacher at Wollombi, requested to be appointed teacher at Watagon Creek Public School. Inspector Dwyer suggested that this application be allowed to ‘stand over’.

I do not think an average attendance of 20 scholars can be maintained throughout the year, but as there is another locality named Dairy Arm within about 5 miles by a very rugged mountain track it struck me that a half Time School might be opened in each place … Bearing this in mind I am inclined to think that an active

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123 *Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869*, Sydney, p. 56.
124 NSW DET, ETIS, Head of School cards for Huntington and Beechwood.
125 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/827, Vol.93, Ulmarra - Waterloo, Folio 591, Inspector Dwyer to the Secretary, 13 March 1869.
126 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/827, Folio 591.
127 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/827, Folio 592, Thomas Gullen to the Secretary, 13 April 1869
128 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/827, Folio 593, Sarah Lynch requesting appointment to Watagon Creek Public School, 17 July 1869
129 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/827, Folio 594, Inspector Dwyer to the Secretary re Miss Lynch’s letter, 27 July 1869
young man would be a more eligible teacher than Miss Lynch. Otherwise I have no objection to her appointment. 130

Inspector Dwyer had left information with the residents, but no application for Half-time schools at these places was submitted. In October 1969

Inspector Dwyer in responding to further correspondence on reopening the school at Watagon Creek stated that he now believed a full time school at Watagon Creek was no longer viable.

The people of Dairy Arm where the number of children is much greater are satisfied with the prospect of a Half Time School and so I think should the others be. I see no objections to Miss Lynch undertaking the duties of both schools. She has friends in both places, knows the country well and would have no difficulty making the short journey required. I am in daily expectation of receiving the formal application from Mr Shaw [the Reverend B. S. Shaw at Wollombi] and on receipt shall duly report. In the meantime Miss Lynch’s services might be expected, provided she is willing to take charge at Watagon Creek and Dairy Arm as Half Time Schools and if so she might be instructed to commence duty at the former school. 131

The Council of Education acted on Inspector Dwyer’s recommendation, appointing Sarah Lynch to Watagon Creek, ‘on the understanding that she would be prepared to take charge of the Half Time Schools proposed to be established at Dairy Arm and Watagon Creek.’ 132 Sarah Lynch took charge of the Watagon School in November 1869. 133 Despite the fact that no application for Half-time schools at Watagon Creek and Dairy Arm had been received the Council and Inspector Dwyer choose to classify the full time school at Watagon Creek as a Half-time school and included it as such in the Annual Report for 1869. 134

130 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/827, Folio 594.
131 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/827, Folio 598, Inspector Dwyer to the Secretary, 15 October 1869.
133 SRNSW, NCE/17, 1/488, Vol Z, 69/10067 and NSW DET, ETIS, Head of School card for Wattagon.
134 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, pp. 27 and 126.
Summation of Half-time schools opened in 1869

In all, fourteen new groups of Half-time schools opened through 1869: Bo Bo Creek and Karuah Flat (January), Hartley and Kanimbla (January), Adaminaby and Boconnoc (January/April), Wollombi River (Upper and Lower) (March), Coolamatong and Jejedzrick (April), Teesdale and Coombing Creek (June/July) Bo Bo Creek and Killawarra (July), Kipplelaw and Run of Water (July), First Creek and Third Creek (July), Huntington and Beechwood (August), Lansdowne River and Mambo Island (October), Myall River and Upper Myall River (November), Lochiel and Greigs Flat (November) and Watagon Creek (November). Each of these groups comprised two Half-time schools except Watagon Creek which commenced without Dairy Arm, its anticipated partner. Bo Bo Creek formed half of two of these groups, first opening with Karuah Flat than Killawarra. Karuah Flat was the only Half-time school opened in 1969 to also close in that year. A further two new Half-time schools commenced in 1869. Gullen opened as a new partner for Crookwell (April) which had commenced with Laggan as its original partner in 1868. Yelbraith (October) opened as the long planned partner for Richlands which had opened in 1868.

The 1867 opening Half-time schools in 1869

Of the six groups of Half-time schools established in 1867, the three groups established with two Half-time schools – Bullamalita and Springfield, Jamboye and Jerricknorra, and Rock View and Long Reach – continued to operate in that form throughout 1869 under the direction of their founding teachers – Charles Tudor, George Szarka and Denis Louis. No 1869 correspondence from Bullamalita and Springfield Half-time Schools has
been preserved in the Council of Education’s miscellaneous files 135, nor did Inspector McIntyre visit and report on these schools during that year 136. Hence events at these schools in 1869 are unknown. Similarly, little is known of events at Jamboye and Jerricknorra Half-time Schools in 1869, other than that George Szarka was paid 144 pounds a year to teach these schools 137, as little correspondence exists and, again, Inspector McIntyre did not visit and report on these schools during that year. It is not clear why Szarka was receiving such a high salary for his schools at this time, almost as much as Henry Cobb had been paid and more than Edmund Smith was paid, which had previously been the highest salaries for this class of school. The lack of correspondence and reporting on these schools may reflect their relative stability during this period.

However, Denis Louis, the itinerant teacher of Rock View and Long Reach Half-time Schools, corresponded with the Council on a range of matters. As a probationary teacher on a salary of forty eight pounds per annum he purchased textbooks from the Council at half cost to further his teacher skills, 139 requested a forage allowance as the dry weather meant that he needed to purchase fodder for his horse and he could not afford to do so and support his family and himself on his salary, 140 and explained his failure to attend examination in Goulburn on his fear of failing the examination and losing his position, as he had had little time to study. 141 Despite this, Inspector McIntyre reported that the standard achieved by Louis’s students

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135 SRNSW, NCE/13, Contents Lists to In-letter Books, 1867-9, Folio 381, Spring Field and Bullamalita.
136 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, Sydney, p. 117.
137 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/815, Folio 136.
138 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, p. 112.
139 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/816, Folio 591, Denis Louis to the Secretary, 1 August 1868.
140 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/816, Folio 591, Denis Louis to the Secretary, 29 December 1868.
141 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/816, Folio 591, Denis Louis to Inspector McIntyre, 7 July 1869.
was ‘passable’ and indicated his overall satisfaction with these schools.\textsuperscript{142}

These affairs, while recorded, were relatively routine matters which can be viewed as indications of the stability of Rock View and Long Reach Half-time Schools. All three of these groups of Half-time schools were to continue into the 1870s with the same teachers.\textsuperscript{143}

Henry Cobb’s group of five Half-time schools in the Jingeras which, following his resignation in 1868, had reformed as two groups of partnering Half-time schools - Fairfield and Stony Creek, and Oranmei and Jerrabatgulla - experienced further change in 1869. Fairfield and Stony Creek Half-time Schools closed in April 1869 due to unsatisfactory attendances.\textsuperscript{144} The teacher at these latter schools, Hugh Ryan, readily accepted the Council’s decision to close the schools declaring the people at these places ‘most unworthy of the consideration of the Council of Education’.\textsuperscript{145} Ryan wrote of his difficulties in getting the parents to send their children to school because of competing pressures, such as placing the children on new land claims to increase the family’s holdings, stating ‘“Free Selection” first, “Education” of secondary importance with most of those people.’\textsuperscript{146} Oranmei and Jerrabatgulla Half-time schools continued as partner Half-time schools with Patrick Dwyer as itinerant teacher through 1869 and into the 1870s. Again the correspondence preserved for this group of Half-time schools is minimal and entirely routine\textsuperscript{147} and Inspector McIntyre did not visit in 1869.

\textsuperscript{142} Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, Sydney, p. 124.
\textsuperscript{143} NSW DET, ETIS, Head of School cards for Springfield, Rock View and Jamboye.
\textsuperscript{144} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/812, Folio 126, Hugh Ryan to the Secretary, 30 April 1869.
\textsuperscript{145} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/812, Folio 126.
\textsuperscript{146} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/812, Folio 126.
\textsuperscript{147} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/822, Folios 495 – 497.
The two remaining of the three groups of multi-station Half-time schools established in 1867 continued the pattern of change commenced in 1868 of altering to groups of two Half-time schools during 1869. Despite the clear preference for and dominance of the two school model in 1869 this process was neither straight forward nor simple for the Half-time schools at Ballalaba, Nithsdale, Farrington and Jinglemoney which were officially known as Farrington and Ballalaba Half-time Schools. While these schools officially began 1869 as a group of four Half-time schools under two names, in actuality the teacher of these schools, George Lacy, had unofficially ceased teaching at Ballalaba and Nithsdale at the end of 1868. From the beginning of 1869 Lacy confined his teaching to Farrington and Jinglemoney (also known as Gingomonia or Gingomoney). Lacy wrote to Inspector McIntyre on 22 January 1869 giving his reasons for making this change.

I have not attended the two schools at Bellalaba (sic) this quarter for reasons which were explained to you by Mr Stewart, Member of the Local Board.

1. That we consider it unreasonable that I should devote ½ the week to one side of the river where for two months during the last quarter there was not an average attendance above six scholars in each school, and ½ the week to the Farrington side where there are three times the numbers in each.

2. The attendance at the four schools necessitated my working on the Saturdays, which, from the small remuneration which I receive from the Council and the trifling fees from the scholars, I consider does not justify me in doing.

3. The work I have hitherto done compelled me to feed two horses, one not being equal to the work – the country all around has been burnt, there is no feed – hay is 8 pounds per ton in this District and it is impossible I can feed two horses.

4. We have endeavoured to conform to the Special Rules for Half Time Schools which I received about six months back – 1. That we are to teach where groups of not less than ten can be collected – 2.
As a Rule, the number of schools placed under one teacher will be limited to two.

5. For two months of the year generally the river cannot be crossed on horseback.

6. I have one most substantial reason, which I would prefer not to record in writing, for refraining from attending the Belallaba (sic) School.

It was my intention to carry on my schools as formerly, as recommended by you, until you visited us again, but the insufferable heat of the weather and the increased price of fodder, and also my receipt of a letter from the Council granting aid in the erection of a school house in Farrington decided me toconfine my labours to that locality.¹⁴⁸

George Lacy also wrote to William Wilkins on the 5 February 1969 advising him that he was now teaching at Farrington and Gingomonia (previously known as Jinglemoney) instead of Farrington and Ballalaba.

In explanation of the alteration in the name of one of my schools I beg to state that I do not now attend at Bellalaba (sic) where the average attendance of scholars had diminished to six. At present I confine my labours to 2 schools only, Farrington and Gingomoney the numbers of scholars on the roles being 38. This arrangement was explained to Mr Inspector McIntyre during his late visit to this locality [December 1869] by Mr Thomas Stewart J.P. Member of the Local Board.¹⁴⁹

However, the Council of Education first heard of this altered arrangement through a letter from Charles Crommelin, sent from Braidwood on 29 January 1869, applying:

for the post of Itinerant Schoolmaster at Ballalaba rendered vacant by the former schoolmaster having resigned in order to confine his teaching more especially to one side of the Shoalhaven. The children at Ballalaba (about 20 or 30) being without any instruction.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁸ SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/812, Vol.78, Folio 188, George Lacy to W. McIntyre, 22 January 1869.
¹⁴⁹ SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/812, Folio 188, George Lacy to the Secretary, 5 February 1869.
¹⁵⁰ SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/812, Folio 185, Charles E. Crommelin to the Council of Education, 28 January 1869.
The Council of Education requested an explanation from Inspector McIntyre who responded by forwarding Lacy’s letter, ‘as to the facts of the case’\(^{151}\), written on 22 January 1869 and recommending, ‘Unless 10 pupils attend at each of the Ballalaba Schools I am of opinion it would not be advisable to appoint another teacher or for Mr Lacy to attend them.’\(^{152}\) The Council disapproved of Lacy’s independent actions and directed that he be informed ‘his duty is to carry out the directions given him by the Council. Refer to letter of appointment and caution him about disobeying instruction in future.’\(^{153}\) Lacy subsequently wrote to Wilkins on 2 April 1869 indicating that he was ‘quite willing to resume my duties as formerly (i.e. 4 schools) but do not think I could undertake the work without a considerable increase in salary’.\(^{154}\) Lacy acknowledged that he should not have altered his schools without permission but continued to justify his actions citing the high cost of fodder and the need for two horses stating he had been travelling 270 miles per month.\(^{155}\) On 14 April 1869 Lacy informed the Council that he had resumed teaching at one Ballalaba school and would attend the fourth school on the following week.\(^{156}\)

Following complaints from the parents at Farrington on the reopening of the Ballalaba schools\(^{157}\) Inspector McIntyre again advised Wilkins on 24 April 1869 that separate teachers on either side of the Shoalhaven River would be the best solution to the situation, providing the number of students attending the schools on the Ballalaba side of the river warranted it. McIntyre

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\(^{151}\) SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/812, Folio 186, William McIntyre to the Secretary, 22 February 1869.

\(^{152}\) SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/812, Folio 186.

\(^{153}\) SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/812, Folio 186, Note on letter from William McIntyre to the Secretary, 22 February 1869.

\(^{154}\) SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/812, Folio 193, George Lacy to the Secretary, 2 April 1869.

\(^{155}\) SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/812, Folio 193.

\(^{156}\) SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/812, Folio 194, George Lacy to the Secretary, 14 April 1869.

\(^{157}\) SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/812, Folio 196, Letter from parents at Farrington, undated.
suggested that Lacy should continue to conduct the four schools to ascertain what attendance could be secured on the Ballalaba side. The Council appears to have promptly reversed its previous decision without following McIntyre’s suggestion to first test the attendance on the Ballalaba side of the river.

Charles Crommelin was appointed as teacher of the Half-time schools at Nithsdale and Ballalaba with a salary of sixty pounds per annum, ‘to take effect from date of entering on duty’. Crommelin had clearly taken up his teaching duties at these schools by mid May 1869 when he wrote to the Council requesting permission to open a third school at Jembaicumbine Creek (sic), ‘where there are 18 to 20 children’, as he had only fifteen scholars at his two existing schools. In July Crommelin responded to a complaint that he had taken it upon himself to open a third school at Berlang by stating, ‘it was only on a/c [sic] of my not having the sufficient number of pupils at Ballalaba that I opened a half Time School at Berlang, there being a great want of a school there (which I did with an attendance of 29).’ Crommelin discontinued teaching at Berlang in August 1869 and apologised to Wilkins for having acted independently, ‘It was solely with the view of affecting a larger amount of good and to make up the numbers required in the Regulations that I commenced teaching at Berlang’.

158 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/812, Folio 201, William McIntyre to the Secretary, 24 April 1869.
159 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/812, Folio 185, Note on letter from Charles E. Crommelin to the Council of Education, 28 January 1869.
160 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/812, Folio 203, Charles E. Crommelin to the Secretary, 20 May 1869.
161 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/820, Vol.86, New Country Flats – Panbula, Folio 165, Charles E. Crommelin to the Secretary, 27 July 1869.
162 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/820, Folio 165, Charles E. Crommelin to the Secretary, _ August 1869.
Inspector McIntyre visited and inspected both groups of schools in mid August 1869. His brief summaries of these schools in his annual report indicate that they were then operating as two groups of two Half-time schools with the enrolment at Crommelin’s Nithdale and Ballalaba schools being nineteen with an attendance of seventeen on the day of inspection. McIntyre noted that six of the students at Ballalaba were children of Mrs Clarke (the mother of the bushrangers Thomas and John Clarke).¹⁶³ Lacy’s Farrington and Gingomonia schools had an enrolment of thirty-two children with thirty-one being present on the day of inspection.¹⁶⁴

Very little information exists on the other multi-station group of Half-time schools established in 1867 which still had more than two schools at the beginning of, and for much of, 1869. This was the Jingera group of four Half-time schools, taught by Edmund Smith, which in 1867 had comprised Larbert, Douro, Manar and Mulloon. Evidently the Larbert and Manar schools closed in 1868 and were replaced by Arnprior and Black Range.¹⁶⁵ The evidence that the Jingera group still comprised more than two schools in 1869 comes from McIntyre’s inspection report for that year. On 9, 10 and 20 August 1869 Inspector McIntyre visited and examined the Half-time schools at Arnprior, Douro, Mulloon and Black Range.¹⁶⁶ As a result of his inspection McIntyre directed the teacher, Edmund Smith, ‘in order to make his teaching more beneficial’, to teach only at Arnprior and Black Range

¹⁶³ Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, p. 124.
¹⁶⁴ Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, p. 125.
¹⁶⁵ NSW DET, ETIS, Head of School cards for Douro and Government Schools of New South Wales 1848 – 2003, pp. 85 and 90.
¹⁶⁶ Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, p. 124.
‘where the majority of the scholars can attend.’\textsuperscript{167} That only Arnprior and Black Range were listed as being in existence at the end of 1869\textsuperscript{168} indicates that McIntyre’s directive was carried out. It appears that Arnprior and Black Range Half-time schools closed at the end of 1869.\textsuperscript{169} This conclusion is supported by the lack of any documentation on these schools for 1870. There is no correspondence recorded under the names of these schools in Miscellaneous Letters Received for 1869. The only correspondence found was two letters filed under ‘Jingera’ which relate to a cheque for the teacher, Edmund Smith.\textsuperscript{170}

The six groups of Half-time schools established in 1867 in the Goulburn district near Goulburn and Braidwood, which had initially comprised three groups with two partnering Half-time schools and three groups contained four or five teaching stations, or Half-time schools, and had altered over 1868 to five groups of two Half-time schools and two groups with four Half-time schools, changed again over 1869 to seven groups of two partnering Half-time schools. Four Half-time schools which had commenced in 1867 closed during 1869. This pattern of change to the original six groups of Half-time schools reflects the evolution of Half-time schools from 1867 to 1869, from two experimental models to near conformity with the Council’s preferred model of two Half-time schools under an itinerant teacher.

\textsuperscript{167} Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, p. 124.
\textsuperscript{168} Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, p. 27.
\textsuperscript{169} NSW DET, ETIS, Head of School cards for Douro and Government Schools of New South Wales 1848 – 2003, pp. 24, 32 and 79.
\textsuperscript{170} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/815, Folios 253-254, Correspondence from the Australian Joint Stock Bank at Braidwood.
The 1868 opening Half-time schools in 1869

The twelve groups of Half-time schools established in 1868 also experienced this pattern of change over 1869. Of the three multi station groups of Half-time schools opened in 1868 only one – Harolds Cross, Vernally and Long Flat in the Goulburn District survived in this form until and through 1869.

Harolds Cross, Vernally and Long Flat Half-time Schools

The multi station nature of this group of Half-time schools continued through much of 1869 and remained in place at the end of that year as a result of the Council of Education trying to accommodate the circumstances of the locality while receiving conflicting advice from Inspector McIntyre, the teacher and the residents. In early 1869 this group of three Half-time schools, which had been opened in this form, was known officially by two names, Harolds Cross and Vernally. This discrepancy was drawn to the notice of the Council of Education following the resignation of the teacher, John Merest, in April 1869. Merest resigned because of his dissatisfaction with what he felt was the unwarranted interference of the wife of a member of the Local Board. ‘I cannot put up with a female inspector and her bush telegrams’. The schools were closed until May 1869 when Hugh Ryan, who had previously taught the Half-time schools at Fairfield and Stony Creek, took charge. Ryan wrote to the Council requesting instructions:

My letter of appointment only specified Harolds Cross and Vernally H. T. schools. There is another – Long Flat – about 5 miles from Vernally and 3 miles from Harolds Cross which has been attended

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171 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/827, Folio 66, J. G Merest to the Secretary, 6 April 1869.
by my predecessor in turn with those under my charge on account of the distance from the latter place.\textsuperscript{172}

The Council’s response was to close Long Flat Half-time school from the time of Merest’s resignation in April 1869.\textsuperscript{173} When Inspector McIntyre visited and reported upon these schools in August 1869 Harolds Cross and Vernally were functioning as partnering Half-time schools with an overall enrolment of eighteen children.\textsuperscript{174} However there was clearly local dissatisfaction with this arrangement as Inspector McIntyre was directed by the Council to review the situation following the receipt of a letter from residents at Long Flat. McIntyre advised the Council, in September 1869, to reopen the third school at Long Flat.

I do not consider it advisable for any Half-time Teacher to attend more than two places, but in this case, I am of opinion, it would be advisable for Mr Ryan to teach half his time at Vernally and at Harolds Cross and Long Flat alternately daily, during the other half, and that the children at those two places should attend the school at each place alternately in order that they may be under instruction half-time.\textsuperscript{175}

In effect, McIntyre was proposing that the two school model be effectively maintained while being spread over three places. The Council accepted McIntyre’s advice and Long Flat reopened as the third school in the group in September 1869.\textsuperscript{176} In October 1869 McIntyre was again asked by the Council to report on a request from residents at Long Flat that Harolds Cross and Vernally Half-time schools be merged into one because most children were attending both of these schools, while the children at Long

\textsuperscript{172} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/827, Folio 72, Hugh Ryan to the Secretary, 17 May 1869.
\textsuperscript{173} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/827, Folio 72, Note on letter from Hugh Ryan to the Secretary, 17 May 1869.
\textsuperscript{174} Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, p. 125.
\textsuperscript{175} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/827, Folio 84, Inspector McIntyre to the Secretary, 6 September 1869.
\textsuperscript{176} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/827, Folio 84, Note on memorandum from Inspector McIntyre to the Secretary, undated.
Flat were only being taught three days in ten.\textsuperscript{177} McIntyre responded that the proposal was actually his, but the schools that should be merged differed. ‘It is desirable, as I suggested to the applicants, that the schools at Long Flat and Harold’s Cross should be merged into one at the Cherry Tree.’\textsuperscript{178} The Council adopted McIntyre’s recommendation\textsuperscript{179}, but some residents at Long Flat clearly didn’t. In November they wrote to the Secretary indicating, ‘two acres of bushland at the Cherry Tree has been selected equidistant from Harolds Cross and Vernelly – viz 1 ½ miles from each.’\textsuperscript{180} They indicated that the partner Half-time school should be maintained at Long Flat three miles from the Cherry Tree site. A letter from Hugh Ryan to the Council supported the argument of the Long Flat residents, but it is unclear if this support was intentional or coincidental. Ryan reported that the enrolment at his three schools was, ‘Harolds Cross 8 Vernelly 7 Long Flat 13’ but the average attendances were, ‘Harolds Cross 11.75 Vernelly 10 and Long Flat 10.5’ Attendances were higher than enrolments at Harolds Cross and Vernelly because, ‘some of the children attend at both places.’\textsuperscript{181} In responding to the latest letter from the Long Flat residents, McIntyre adopted a new position advising the Council, ‘I am of opinion a provisional school at or near the Cherry Tree, equidistant from Harold’s Cross, Vernelly and Long Flat would be sufficient to meet the educational requirements of the three localities, if the settlers were agreeable, but this is not very likely …each person wants the school as near his own door as possible.’\textsuperscript{182} At the

\textsuperscript{177} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/827, Folio 88, James Dunn and others to the Council, undated.
\textsuperscript{178} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/827, Folio 89, Inspector McIntyre to the Secretary, 23 October 1869.
\textsuperscript{179} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/827, Folio 89, Note dated 3 November 1869 on memorandum from Inspector McIntyre to the Secretary, 23 October 1869.
\textsuperscript{180} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/827, Folio 92, John Dunn and others to the Secretary, 27 November 1869.
\textsuperscript{181} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/827, Folio 90, Hugh Ryan to the Secretary, 27 November 1869.
\textsuperscript{182} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/827, Folio 93, Inspector McIntyre to the Secretary, 29 December 1869.
end of 1869 the situation remained unresolved with the three schools at Harolds Cross, Vernelly and Long Flat still being taught by Hugh Ryan.183

**Burrarorang Half-time School**

Burrarorang Half-time School in the Camden District, which had been open briefly in early 1868 with seven teaching stations, reopened again in January 1869 but this time with two teaching stations, or partnering Half-time schools – Hayes and Lynchs. Both teaching stations, or Half-time schools, remained under the single title Burrarorang Half-time School, maintaining the practice which dated back to the Roman Catholic Denominational school at Burrarorang.

In October 1868 Maurice Hayes, a resident of the Burrarorang Valley, had written to William Wilkins applying, ‘for the position of Itinerant Teacher at Burrarorang vacant by the resignation of Mr Lacy some months ago.’184 There was evidently confusion in the Council’s offices as to the location as the request for a report was initially sent to Inspector McIntyre at Goulburn.185 Inspector Huffer, in charge of the Camden District, visited the Burrarorang Valley on 27 and 28 November 1868. He advised that two Half-time schools (each with two stations) were needed.186 It is unclear if Huffer meant four teaching stations, or Half-time schools, taught by one itinerant teacher, or two groups of two Half-time schools taught by two itinerant teachers. His final recommendation, however, was that only two of the proposed stations should open, with Mr Hayes teaching in his own home.

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184 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/771, Vol.37, Brushgrove - Camperdown, Folio 205, Maurice Hayes to the Secretary, undated (received on 16 October 1868).
185 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/771, Folio 205.
186 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/771, Folio 207, Report from Inspector Huffer on His visit to Burrarorang on 27 and 28 November 1868.
and in the Lynch home some six miles distant. Huffer’s recommendation was adopted by the Council and Hayes commenced teaching at these two places from the beginning of 1869. The Burragorang Half-time School officially operated at these two places throughout 1869, but Huffer reported in early 1870 that Hayes had ‘not performed more than three or four months of proper work.’ Burragorang Half-time School, in this form, effectively closed at the end of 1869 as Hayes was on sick leave in January and February 1870 and was dismissed from the end of February 1870.

**Norongo and Whinstone Valley Half-time Schools**

Norongo and Whinstone Valley Half-time Schools in the Goulburn District evidently operated as partnering Half-time schools in 1869 after the closure of Anembo in 1868. Norongo and Whinstone Valley are the only two Half-time schools mentioned in both correspondence and McIntyre’s inspection report for 1869. McIntyre’s 1869 report gave a clearer idea of the location of these schools describing them as ‘situated in the Jingera district, about 40 miles from Braidwood, near the base of the main Gourock Range, about 20 miles apart’. Fred Blanchard continued to teach these schools

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187 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/771, Folio 207.
188 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/771, Folio 207, Note on report from Inspector Huffer on his visit to Burragorang on 27 and 28 November 1868.
189 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, p. 27 and Government Schools of New South Wales 1848 – 2003, p. 41.
190 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/841, Vol.109, Boro – Burrawang, Folio 498, Memorandum from Inspector Huffer, 5 February 1870 on application for leave from Maurice Hayes to the Secretary, 31 January 1870.
191 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/841, Folios 496 and 498.
193 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, p.124
throughout 1869 and beyond\textsuperscript{194} despite his ongoing discontent with the forage allowance he was being paid.\textsuperscript{195}

The remaining 1868 opening Half-time schools

The eight groups of two partnering Half-time schools which had opened in 1868, plus Richlands which operated as a single Half-time school, continued into 1869 with the exception of Cobborra and Buddenbelar. Two of these groups – Richlands, and Crookwell and Laggan - have already been treated with the 1869 opening schools as one partner in each case, Yelbraith with Richlands and Gullen (as a replacement for Laggan) with Crookwell, opened during that year. Of the remaining six groups - Carwoola and Foxlowe, Bolong and Cooks Vale Creek, Burra Burra and Snapook, Corang and Nerriga, Burrugate and Wyndham, and Colo Upper and Wheeney Creek – only Bolong and Cooks Vale Creek Half-time Schools did not continue in this form through and beyond 1869.

On 1 February 1869, Charles Reade resigned his position as teacher at Bolong and Cooks Vale Creek Half-time Schools in the Goulburn District.\textsuperscript{196} Shortly after, the Reverend Seaborn at Crookwell reported to William Wilkins that, as a consequence of the teacher’s resignation, ‘the Half-time schools at Bolong and Cooks Vale have failed’ and requested that a Provisional school be established at Bolong.\textsuperscript{197} Inspector McIntyre supported the subsequent application\textsuperscript{198} and on 1 June 1869\textsuperscript{199} Bolong

\textsuperscript{194} Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, pp. 27-28 and NSW DET, ETIS, Head of School cards for Norongo and Whinstone Valley.
\textsuperscript{195} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/820, Folio 170, F. Blanchard to the Council of Education, 31 May 1869.
\textsuperscript{196} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/807, Vol.73, Binda - Branxton, Folio 109, Charles Reade to the Secretary, 1 February 1869.
\textsuperscript{197} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/807, Folio 98, Reverend Seaborn to the Secretary, 22 February 1869.
\textsuperscript{198} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/807, Folio 105, Inspector McIntyre’s report on the application for the establishment of a Provisional School at Bolong, 31 May 1869.
Provisional School opened in the ‘poor stone building adjoining the English Church at Bolong’ which had previously housed the Bolong Half-time School and its predecessor, the Bolong Certified Church of England Denominational school. The Half-time school at Cooks Vale Creek remained closed.

For the other five groups of Half-time schools the main change in 1869 was a change of teacher in three of the five groups. On 15 April 1869 Inspector McIntyre reported to William Wilkins that John Hepple, the teacher at Burra Burra and Snaphook Half-time schools in the Goulburn District, had been drinking to excess and neglecting his duties. McIntyre recommended that Hepple be removed and replaced by Hugh Ryan, teacher at Fairfield and Stony Creek Half-time Schools also in the Goulburn District. Ryan, however, would take up the position at Harolds Cross, Vernally and Long Flat Half-time schools, again in the Goulburn District. The Council of Education dismissed Hebble and appointed John O’Connor, who appears to have been resident in Majors Creek near Braidwood. O’Connor apparently commenced teaching from 1 June 1869, the schools having been closed since Hebble last taught them on 15 March 1869. In early November 1869 O’Connor requested a transfer to another position as an itinerant teacher closer to Braidwood because of his father’s declining health.
health, but was informed there was no likelihood of a vacancy. O’Connor subsequently submitted his resignation, which was accepted by the Council, on 1 December 1869. A local resident, Osborn Wrightson, applied for the position of teacher on 11 December 1869 and was appointed temporarily on Inspector McIntyre’s recommendation from 22 January 1870.

Christian Kohlhoff, the teacher at Colo Upper and Wheeny Creek Half-time Schools in the Cumberland District, was transferred from and left those schools in October or November 1869. The parents petitioned for a new teacher to be appointed and Henry Hill accepted an offer of appointment to those schools on 8 December 1869. The actual dates of these changes are unknown as the Head of School cards for these schools give Kohlhoff as teaching these schools until 1 January 1870 and Hill commencing on the same date.

Mark Johnson, teacher at Wyndham and Burragate Half-time Schools in the Goulburn District, tendered his resignation due to ill health, at the end of March 1869, and requested another teaching position on the north coast of New South Wales. Johnson’s resignation was accepted, but he was evidently not offered another position, as in May he requested that he be

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206 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/808, Folio 346, John O’Connor to the Secretary, 6 November 1869 and undated Council note on that letter.
207 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/808, Folio 348.
208 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/808, Folio 353, Osborn Wrightson to the Secretary, 11 December 1869.
209 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/808, Folio 352, Inspector McIntyre to the Secretary, 3 January 1870 and NSW DET, ETIS, Head of School cards for Burra Burra and Snaphook.
210 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/810, Folio 125-130.
211 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/810, Folio 131, Petition from John Gosper and residents to the Council of Education, 1 December 1869.
212 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/810, Folio 135, Henry Hill to the Secretary, 8 December 1867.
213 NSW DET, ETIS, Head of School cards for Colo Upper and Colo Central.
214 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/829, Vol.95, Windsor – Yass, Folio 396, Mark Johnson to the Secretary, 30 March 1869.
215 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/829, Folio 396, Council note on resignation from Mark Johnson to the Secretary, 30 March 1869.
allowed to retain his position if he had not already been replaced. The Council agreed to this, but evidently only until another teacher was appointed. In October 1869 George Riley was appointed to the position. Riley took up the appointment on 8 November 1869, apparently at a fortuitous time, as he reported to Inspector McIntyre that ‘Mr Johnson has received a severe fall from his horse and is laid up in consequence thereof.’

By the end of 1869 the twelve groups of Half-time schools established in 1868, comprising nine in the Goulburn District and one each in the Camden, Cumberland and Maitland school Districts, had altered from three multi-station groups, eight groups of two Half-time schools and one single Half-time school to nine groups of two Half-time schools and one group of three Half-time schools. Eight of these groups were in the Goulburn District while one was in the Camden District and one in the Cumberland District. Two of three of these groups which were closed at the end of 1868 had reopened in 1869, Crookwell with a new partner and Burragorang with two schools or stations. The single Half-time school had gained a partner school in 1869 and one group of two partnering Half-time schools had closed in 1869. Again the pattern of change to the Council’s preferred model of two Half-time schools under an itinerant teacher was evident.

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216 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/829, Folio 397, Mark Johnson to the Secretary, 3 May 1869.
217 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/829, Folio 397, Council note on letter from Mark Johnson to the Secretary, 3 May 1869.
218 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/829, Folio 403, Minute from William Wilkins to the Council, 18 October 1869.
219 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/829, Folio 413, George Riley to Inspector McIntyre, 8 November 1869.
The nature of Half-time schools in 1869

During 1869 a total of sixty-seven Half-time schools were in operation in thirty-three groups. Alternatively it could be regarded as thirty two groups if Bo Bo Creek’s change of partner school from Karuah Flat to Killawarra is viewed as one group instead of two. The first approach has been taken here. Thirty of these groups comprised two partnering Half-time schools, one group had four Half-time schools, one group had three Half-time schools, and one group was comprised of a single Half-time school. With the closure of six Half-time schools and the change of one Half-time school to a Provisional school during 1869 the number of Half-time schools was sixty at the end of the year. These sixty Half-time schools were in thirty groups. Twenty-eight of these groups were comprised of two Half-time schools, one group of three Half-time schools and one group comprising one Half-time school. Four of these sixty schools would not reopen in 1870: the partnering schools Arnprior and Black Range in the Jingeras and the two Half-time schools operating under the single name Burragorang.

In its 1869 annual report the Council of Education, for the first time, individually acknowledged, counted and listed Half-time schools as entities.220 In its 1867 report the Council had placed groups of Half-time schools under one name and counted each group as one school, while in the 1868 report the use of the term ‘Half-time school’ and the recording and counting of these schools was in a transitional phase. In the 1869 report the Council had corrected and clarified its previous ambiguous use of the term ‘Half-time school’ and now recognised that each place where an itinerant

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220 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, pp. 5 and 27-28.
teacher taught was a separate Half-time school. This change was not entirely complete. The single name Burragorang was still being used to describe the two places at which the itinerant teacher taught in the Burragorang Valley in 1869, and Burragorang was listed in the same manner as in the 1867 report.\(^{221}\) Also the word ‘station’ was still used by the Council in the 1869 report though now it was being used interchangeably with ‘Half-time school’.\(^{222}\)

While the 1869 report clarified what a Half-time school was and identified and counted these schools on an individual basis, its calculations on how many Half-time schools existed during and at the end of that year were slightly inaccurate. The Council stated that thirty-eight Half-time schools had continued from 1868 (actually thirty-seven), thirty-one Half-time schools had opened during 1869 (actually twenty-eight), sixty-nine Half-time schools had operated in 1869 (there were sixty-seven), eight Half-time schools had closed during that year (seven schools had closed) and there were sixty-one Half-time schools at the end of 1869 (there were sixty).\(^{223}\) The Council did not provide figures on the number of groups in operation. The Council may have calculated the number of Half-time schools opening in 1869 by recounting Bo Bo Creek when it changed partners, Crookwell when it reopened with a new partner and Richlands when it gained a partner. However as Burragorang is listed as one school in the 1869 report this gives a total of thirty rather than thirty-one. The number of schools closed could have been calculated as eight by including Bo Bo Creek as a

\(^{221}\) Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, p. 27.
\(^{222}\) Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, p. 5.
\(^{223}\) Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, p. 5.
closure when Karuah closed. However, this differing approach does not fully resolve the numerical error.

The Council had calculated the number of Half-time schools opened in 1867 on an entirely different basis to the method evolving in the 1868 report and applied in the 1869 report, yet continued to quote and build its figures upon the numbers listed in the previous two reports as though there had been no change in the manner of counting. As a result the yearly totals for the number of half time schools, shown in the 1869 report as: six Half-time schools in 1867; thirty-eight in 1868; and sixty-one in 1869. These results were based on varying ways of calculating the number of schools and are not reliable. More valid comparisons could have been based on the actual number of schools or stations open at the end of each year, namely nineteen schools or stations in 1867, thirty-seven in 1868 and sixty schools in 1869 or, alternatively, the number of groups open at the end of each year, namely six groups of schools in 1867, seventeen groups in 1868 and thirty groups in 1869.

The 1869 report listed sixty-one Half-time schools in alphabetical order from Adaminaby to Yelbraith. The names listed were of individual Half-time school except in the case of Burrargorang. Partner schools were not indicated. The list neither accurately represented the Half-time schools in existence during 1869 nor the Half-time schools in existence at the end of that year. The five Half-time schools which had existed in 1869 but were not listed were Douro, Mulloon, Cooks Vale Creek, Karuah Flat and Bolong. The first four had closed during the year while Bolong had become

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224 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, p. 5.
a Provisional school and was listed as such in the report. The Half-time schools listed comprised those open at the end of 1869 plus two partner schools which had closed in April 1869, namely Fairfield and Stony Creek Half-time Schools. It was normal practice that such lists created for the annual report contained only those schools open at the end of the year. The absence of other Half-time schools closed during 1869 suggests that this was meant to be the case here and the inclusion of Fairfield and Stony Creek was most likely a clerical error.

In 1869 the two partner Half-time schools model has clearly become the expected and predominant arrangement. The single Half-time school at Watagon Creek was the only Half-time school to be opened in 1869 which did not conform to the two partner model. However, when Watagon Creek Public School was reopened as a Half-time school it was in anticipation that it would soon have a partner Half-time school at Dairy Arm. This did occur and Wattagon Half-time School operated alone for only two months. Dairy Arm Half-time School opened in February 1870 and operated in partnership with Watagon for over five years. The group of four Half-time Schools in the Jingeras which survived into 1869 – Arnprior, Black Range, Douro and Mulloon – was evidently rationalised into two partner schools by Inspector McIntyre in August of that year. The group of three schools at Harolds Cross, Vernally and Long Flat had by 1869 become an unwanted variation from the two partner Half-time schools model. The Council viewed the group as operating temporarily in three places until it could be rationalised into two Half-time schools. This appears to have been

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226 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, p. 23.
227 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/856, Vol.124, Ulladulla-William St, Folio 391, Sarah Lynch to the Secretary, 28 February 1870.
228 NSW DET, ETIS, Head of School cards for Dairy Arm and Wattagon.
achieved by February 1870 through the closure of Long Flat Half-time School.\textsuperscript{229} As all Half-time schools opened in 1870 were in pairs,\textsuperscript{230} it appears that by February 1870 all Half-time schools were operating in groups of two.

The decision in the Special Rules for Half-time Schools that, ‘As a rule, the number of schools placed under one teacher will be limited to two’,\textsuperscript{231} was clearly being fulfilled. This decision, as stated, could potentially be interpreted as allowing some leeway, so that in some instances larger groups could exist if special circumstances warranted it. This view might be seen as having some qualified support from the Council of Education in its overview of Half-time schools for 1869:

\begin{quote}
When this limit is passed [two Half-time schools in a group], as has been done in some cases, the amount of benefit accruing is greatly lessened; and either the teacher must be a very superior person, or the surrounding circumstances particularly favourable, to secure with one master to three or four stations, substantial good, and an adequate return for the money expended.\textsuperscript{232}
\end{quote}

Perhaps there remained pressure from some quarters for the Council to allow further multi-station groups of Half-time schools such as those that had been created in the Jingeras in 1867 and 1868. The Council, however, in the same overview committed itself to the two school model, stating, ‘in order to secure full efficiency, the efforts of the teacher should be concentrated upon not more than two stations’.\textsuperscript{233} The determination of the Council to move to the two school model can be seen in the events at

\textsuperscript{229} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/856, Folio 76, Inspector McIntyre to the Secretary, 29 July 1870.
\textsuperscript{230} Determined by consulting Government Schools of New South Wales 1848 – 2003 and an analysis of Head of School cards and Miscellaneous Letters for Half-time schools opened in 1870.
\textsuperscript{232} Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, p. 5.
\textsuperscript{233} Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, p. 5.
Farrington and Ballalaba in the Jingeras. While early in 1869 the Council was initially supportive of the four teaching station model being maintained in these localities it changed its support to two groups of two Half-time schools, then acted against the growth of one of these groups to three schools, even though the third school made the group much more viable in terms of enrolments. The flexibility and freedom of operation that the Council had previously allowed itinerant teachers in the Jingeras had gone.

**The location of Half-time schools**

A noticeable change for Half-time schools opened in 1869 was the larger number of school districts in which they appeared. All six groups of Half-time schools opened in 1867 were in the Goulburn District. In 1868, ten of the thirteen groups of Half-time schools opened that year were in the Goulburn District, with one further group in each of the Maitland, Camden and Cumberland Districts. By the end of 1868 the number of groups of Half-time schools outside the Goulburn District had fallen to one. In contrast, five of the fourteen new groups of Half-time schools opened in 1869 were in the Goulburn District. For the first time the majority of new Half-time schools opened in a single year, nine of fourteen, were in other school districts other than Goulburn. The colony of New South Wales was at that time divided into nine school districts – Albury, Armidale, Bathurst, Camden, Cumberland, Goulburn, Maitland, Newcastle and Sydney. In 1869 Half-time schools were for the first time established in the Newcastle District (five groups), Bathurst District (two groups) and Armidale District (one group). A group was also opened in the Maitland District.
While the majority of Half-time schools continued to be in the Goulburn District in 1869 a lessening of the concentration of Half-time schools in this district was evident. Of the groups of Half-time schools open during 1869, twenty-two of thirty-three were in the Goulburn District while the remaining eleven were distributed across the Armidale (one group), Bathurst (two groups), Camden (one group) Cumberland (one group), Maitland (one group, the previous group in this district having closed in 1868), and Newcastle (five groups) Districts. At the end of 1869, twenty of the thirty groups of Half-time schools were in the Goulburn District while the distribution of the remainder was unchanged except that the number of groups in the Newcastle District was four. In 1867 all Half-time schools were in the Goulburn District, in 1868 four-fifths were, and in 1869 two-thirds were. While the Goulburn District still held most of the Half-time schools existing in 1869, the extension of the Half-time school system into other districts was clearly both occurring and growing. Within the Goulburn District itself Half-time schools were also spreading across this extensive region. In 1867 they were primarily concentrated around Braidwood and Goulburn, in 1868 they continued this pattern but also extended across the District to the South Coast and northward to the Crookwell area. During 1869 the area around Cooma was added to this distribution.

No specific reasons emerge to explain the change in the distribution of Half-time schools. For example in the Newcastle District where five Half-time schools were established in four localities in 1869 there was no indication of a decision being made to introduce Half-time schools into this district in order to achieve some objective. Rather the inspectors of Districts such as Newcastle and Bathurst made no special reference to Half-time schools.
being introduced into their Districts and, within the available
documentation, treated these schools in an entirely routine and unremarked
manner. The impression is given that Half-time schools had been accepted
as a useful means of extending education into sparsely settled areas along
with Provisional schools. Among the inspectors, only Inspector McIntyre in
the Goulburn District continued to view these schools as warranting special
attention.234

Similarly, in the two school districts where no Half-time schools had been
established in 1869 or previously – Sydney and Albury - there was no
indication of any opposition to Half-time schools. Sydney, the smallest and
most closely settled district in the Colony, can be seen as the least likely
District to contain Half-time schools or Provisional schools. The absence of
Half-time schools from Albury, a large rural district with thinly populated
areas in the south west of New South Wales, is more surprising. However,
Inspector Coburn in charge of the Albury District had supported the
application for Half-time schools at Billabong and Little Billabong within
his District in August 1869 and had urged the Council to immediately grant
a salary to the private teacher who was already teaching in both places.235
The Council had chosen instead to defer their decision until the proposed
school buildings were erected.236 The buildings were still not in place at the
end of 1869237 and these Half-time schools never eventuated. If these Half-
time schools had been established in 1869 then Albury District would have

234 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869,
p. 116.
235 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/806, Vol.72, Bank of N.S.W-Binda, Folio 451, Inspector J. Coburn
to the Secretary, 25 August 1869
236 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/806, Folio 451, Council note on memorandum from Inspector J.
Coburn to the Secretary, 2 September 1869.
237 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869,
p. 26 and p. 29.
had one group of Half-time schools, as did the Armidale and Maitland Districts.

The use of Half-time schools to replace other types of schools that occurred in 1868 was again evident in 1869. However, the types of schools that were being replaced were dissimilar. For the first time Half-time schools were replacing Public and Provisional schools, namely at Bo Bo Creek, Karuah Flat, Huntington, Kipplelaw and Watagon Creek. Only one of the Half-time schools established in 1869, Adaminaby, had been a Church of England Denominational school immediately prior to becoming a Half-time school and only one, Yelbraith, had clearly previously been a private school, First Creek Half-time School had existed briefly as a private school though this was evidently part of the bid by the residents for the establishment of a Provisional school there. The inability of the existing publicly funded schools to maintain the required enrolment and/or attendance for their type of school appears to have been the major factor in their replacement by Half-time schools.

Half-time schools were also indirectly replacing other schools. First Creek Half-time School was in the same locality, but not the same location, as Pejar Church of England Denominational School which had closed shortly before a Provisional school was applied for at First Creek; Pelican Point Provisional school closed with the opening of Half-time schools at Mambo Island and Landsdowne and Killawarra which replaced Karuah Flat as the partner for Bo Bo Creek was evidently only about two miles from Karuah Flat. Half-time schools were also appearing among Provisional and Public schools. In the Bathurst District, for example, the process of establishing Coombing Creek and Teesdale Half-time Schools involved consideration of
three other schools in the area, namely Carrawa Public School, Mt Macquarie Public School\textsuperscript{238} and Five Islands Provisional School. The itinerant teacher at Coombing Creek and Teesdale would have ridden by Five Islands Provisional School as he travelled between his schools.

As noted for 1868, where a Half-time school replaced another school the partner school was normally in a locality where there was no clear evidence of previous educational facilities. This was certainly the case for Boconnoc (with Adaminaby), Gullen (with Crookwell), Beechworth (with Huntington), Run of Water (with Kipplelaw) and Dairy Arm (the proposed but unopened partner of Watagon Creek). As in 1868 the motivation for establishing partner Half-time schools in these localities appears to have been more, or equally, the desire to maintain educational facilities where they had previously existed as against providing educational facilities where they had not previously existed. The exceptions were Karuah Flat and Bo Bo Creek which partnered each other and Yelbraith which opened as a partner for Richlands. In each of these places a school had previously existed.

Unlike in 1867 and 1868, however, many of the groups of Half-time schools established in 1869 were in locations where there was no evidence of previous schools. There is a lack of evidence of preceding private schools compared with 1867 and 1868. This does not mean there were no preceding private schools in any of these places, but rather the evidence of private teachers, especially of such teachers applying to become teachers for the Council where they taught, was much less then in previous years. The possible presence of a school building for use as a Half-time school at

\textsuperscript{238} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/773, Folios 225-227.
Hartley suggests there may have previously been a private school there, but this evidence is tenuous. Additionally there is some documentation that supports the premise that education facilities were not previously present in several localities. Mr Blyth, the teacher at Hartley and Kanimbla Half-time Schools, described the children in the latter place as ‘in a deplorable state of ignorance’. The children at Coombing Creek were described as, ‘living without education for want of a convenient and properly conducted school’. At Coolamatong and Jejedzrick the nearest school was twenty-five miles distant and school rooms needed to be provided. Inspector McIntyre described the children at Lochiel and Greigs Flat Half-time Schools as ‘beginning to learn the mere elements of reading, writing and arithmetic’. At other places such as Beechwood and Myall River Upper and Lower the evidence is largely limited to the need for school rooms to be built or obtained. The clearest evidence given that some Half-time schools were fulfilling their original aim of providing educational facilities in area where there had previously been none was at Wollamba River, a newly settled district where ‘forty to fifty families … [are] without any means whatever of correction.’

There was also a shift in the pattern of closures of Half-time schools in 1869. During 1867 no individual schools/stations or groups of Half-time schools had closed. In 1868 some individual schools closed as groups were reduced to two schools or changed partners, but only one group – Cobbora

239 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/814, Folio 291, H Blyth to the Secretary, 30 January 1869.
240 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/773, Folio 231, Mr Beddie on behalf of Coombing Creek to Inspector McCredie, 5 March 1869.
241 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/810, Folio 192, Application for the establishment of Half-time schools at Coolamatong and Jejedzrick, 4 November 1868.
242 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, p. 126.
243 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/794, Folio 238, Reverend Hawkins to the Council of Education, 27 July 1868
and Buddenbellar - closed. In 1869 the rate of closures of individual schools lessened - Burragorang reopened with two schools or stations, in the Jingera group of Larbert, Armprior, Black Range and Mulloon both Larbert and Mulloon closed, and Karuah Flat Half-time School closed. However, the number of groups that closed increased to two – Bolong and Cooks Vale Creek and Fairfield and Stony Creek. Bolong became the first Half-time school to change to another class of school instead of just disappearing. Evidently the departure of the itinerant teacher, Charles Reade, which precipitated this change, was not due to a lack of students. Inspector McIntyre anticipated that Bolong Provisional School would have an enrolment of thirty and an average attendance of fifteen.²⁴⁴ Larbert and Mulloon schools closed as most students could attend the other two schools in the group while Fairfield and Stony Creek failed due to low enrolments. Karuah Flat may have largely been subsumed by Killawarrah which replaced it in the group with Bo Bo Creek. The distance between Karuah Flat and Killawarrah was only about two miles, so they may effectively have served the same locality. All the Half-time schools that closed in 1869 were in the Goulburn District. Inspector McIntyre did not mention the closure of Half-time schools or the change at Bolong to a Provisional school in his annual report although he reported changes in the other classes of schools in his district.²⁴⁵ The reason for this omission is unknown.

The promoters of Half-time schools

As in 1867 and 1868 clergymen played a leading role in the establishment of a significant number of Half-time schools in 1869 – Adaminaby and

²⁴⁴ SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/807, Vol. 73, Folio 106, Inspector McIntyre’s report on the application for a Provisional School at Bolong, undated.
²⁴⁵ Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, p. 110.
Boconnoc, Coolamatong and Jejedzrick, Hartley and Kanimbla, Lochiel and Greigs Flat, and Gullen as a new partner for Crookwell. The shift of the clergy involved from Roman Catholic to Church of England noted in 1868 continued in 1869. The five clergymen involved in 1869 – Druitt, Mayne, Hawkins, Thorn and Seaborn- all belonged to the Church of England. This change could possibly reflect the antipathy between many Roman Catholic clergy and the Council of Education during this period. As in the previous two years the requests and opinions of clergymen were treated with respect by the Council and their influence was in some instances not dissimilar to that of the inspectorate.

As in previous years a high proportion of children attending Half-time schools promoted by clergy belonged to the same denomination. Consequently the statistics given for Half-time schools in the last quarter of 1869, or the last quarter a group of schools was in operation in that year, reflect the continuing involvement of Church of England clergy with Half-time schools. 246 Children belonging to the Church of England were the most numerous group in the majority of Half-time schools. The denominational composition of Half-time schools shifted markedly in 1869, significantly increasing the trend noted in 1968. Roman Catholic children went from being the majority in 1867, to the largest single group in Half-time schools in 1868, to a third of enrolments in Half-time schools in 1869. Children who belonged to the Church of England now comprised the clear majority of children in Half-time schools, totalling 629 children compared with 386 Roman Catholics, ninety-six Presbyterians, forty-four Wesleyans and eight others. The antipathy of Roman Catholic clergy towards the Council of

246 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, p. 28.
Education could also have been impacting on the enrolments in other Half-time schools and the composition of the population in the range of areas where Half-time schools were opening could also have been a factor.

A major change in the promoters of Half-time schools in 1869 was the significantly increased number of instances in which the district inspectors themselves proposed the establishment of Half-time schools. Inspector Allpass put forward the proposal that Bo Bo Creek Public School and Karuah Flat Provisional School be changed to partner Half-time schools. Inspector McIntyre directed George Milne, the teacher at Kipplelaw Public School, to open a Half-time school at Run of Water, maintained that Yelbraith should become a partner Half-time school for Richlands despite the parents desire for a Provisional school, and recommended that a Provisional school should not be granted at First Creek but that Half-time schools should be established there and at Third Creek. Inspector McCredie advised that the applications for Provisional schools at Teesdale and Coombing Creek should not be granted but that they should become Half-time partners. Inspector Dwyer maintained that Watagon Public School was no longer viable and should instead become a Half-time school with a partner Half-time school to be established in the nearby locality of Dairy Arm. These inspectors were clearly using the Half-time school system to keep or establish education in areas where Provisional or Public schools were not maintaining, or were unlikely to achieve, a satisfactory attendance, as well as bringing education to nearby localities where there was not currently a school.

Unlike in 1868, Lansdowne and Mambo Island, and Myall River Upper and Lower Half-time Schools appear to be the only Half-time schools
established in 1869 that resulted from the action of local residents. It is unclear if the application for Half-time schools at Huntington and Beechwood resulted from the desire of the teacher of Huntington Provisional School, Kendal Hume, to save his job, the advice of Inspector Jones, the wishes of the community, or a combination of two or three of these possible causes. The people and reasons behind the closure of Karuah Flat and the opening of Killawarra as a partner school for Bo Bo Creek are unknown.

The itinerant teachers

Of the twenty-one itinerant teachers appointed to new or existing Half-time schools in 1869 twenty were men. For the first time a women, Sarah Lynch, both accepted and took up a position as itinerant teacher of Half-time schools, though initially, in 1869, she taught full time at Watagon Creek Half-time school. When the partner school, Dairy Arm, opened in February 1870 Lynch taught both schools. She remained the itinerant teacher at these schools until she resigned in April 1873.²⁴⁷ Sarah Lynch had not applied for appointment as an itinerant teacher but had requested appointment to Watagon Creek Public school. Inspector Dwyer, however, had recommended that Watagon Creek be downgraded from a Public to a Provisional school, but then felt it could not sustain an average attendance of twenty students and would be more sustainable worked half time with Dairy Arm.²⁴⁸

Initially Inspector Dwyer had some doubt about appointing Lynch as teacher of these schools: ‘I am inclined to think an active young man would

²⁴⁷ NSW DET, ETIS, Head of School cards for Dairy Arm and Watagon.
²⁴⁸ SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/827, Folio 594, Inspector Dwyer to the Secretary re Miss Lynch’s letter, 27 July 1869.
be a more eligible teacher than Miss Lynch. Otherwise I see no objection to her appointment." However in later correspondence Dwyer actively recommended Lynch for the position, providing she was willing to take up the appointment: ‘I see no objection to Miss Lynch undertaking the duties of both schools. She has friends in both places, knows the country well and would have no difficulty making the short journey required’. The Council acted on Inspector Dwyer’s recommendation: ‘Miss Sarah Lynch was instructed to commence duty … [at Watagon Creek] on the understanding that she would be prepared to take charge of the Half Time schools proposed to be established at Dairy Arm and Watagon Creek.’

This instance, and the appointment of Mrs Caravough as itinerant teacher at Upper Colo and Wheeny Creek in 1868 (a position Mrs Caravough chose not to take up) demonstrates that the Council of Education did not have a policy of preventing women from becoming itinerant teachers in charge of Half-time schools. While there was an evident preference for men, perhaps because of the perceived physical rigours of the job, they were willing to appoint women recommended for the position. While some women may have felt discouraged from applying for such positions because of social expectations, parental attitudes or other factors, there was evidently no official decision that they could not be employed in such positions. The Council in its 1869 report, as in its 1868 report, again regretfully noted the widespread preference in the community for male teachers.

In America young women are much employed, and apparently perform very fair average work, but here they are not in demand, the parents as a rule seeming to have comparatively little confidence

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249 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/827, Folio 594.
250 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/827, Folio 598, Inspector Dwyer to the Secretary, 15 October 1869.
either in the firmness of their discipline or in the thoroughness of their teaching. The vacancies to which they can be appointed are consequently few …

The teaching backgrounds of itinerant teachers appointed in 1869 was markedly different from that of teachers appointed in the previous two years. For the first time teachers of Provisional and Public schools were taking up positions as teachers of Half-time schools, and doing so in significant numbers. Eight of the twenty-one teachers appointed to Half-time schools in 1869 had been teachers in government schools immediately prior to becoming itinerant teachers. These teachers were Thomas Hall (Karuah Flat Provisional to Karuah Flat and Bo Bo Creek Half-time), Mark Johnson (Wyndham and Burragate Half-time to Greigs Flat and Lochiel Half-time), H. Blyth (Eurobodella Public to Hartley and Kanimbla Half-time), Robert McDougal (Crudine Public to Hartley and Kanimbla Half-time), Kendel Hume (Huntington Provisional to Huntington and Beechwood Half-time schools), George Milne (Kipplelaw Public to Kipplelaw and Run of Water Half-time), Robert Johnson (Pelican Point Provisional to Lansdowne and Mambo River Half-time) and Charles Smith (Bo Bo Public to Wollamba River Upper and Lower Half-time). Two main causes can be seen behind most of these moves: in three instances low enrolments lead to the opening of a second school to keep the teacher’s position viable; in the other cases it appears to have been the attraction of a better position in terms of viability, payment or location. There is no evidence that the vision prompted for Half-time teachers in 1868 played any part in the appointment of these teachers to Half-time schools, though it is possible that Half-time

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252 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, p. 9.
schools were viewed as a more acceptable appointment by existing teachers now that they were more formally organised.

There is little or no information about these teachers in the applications for or inspectors’ comments on these schools as, as current employees, they were already known to the Council. Some information exists on Geoffrey Milne, Charles Smith and Thomas Hall. Before becoming an itinerant teacher Geoffrey Milne had been, from 1868, a Church of England Denominational teacher, a private teacher, and a teacher of a Public school. He was described by Inspector McIntyre as, ‘a sober man of good moral character and competent to perform the duties.’253 As an untrained or ‘unclassified’ teacher he was paid sixty pounds per annum.254 Because of his age, Milne, who was fifty four in 1869, was not required to undergo examination for classification.255 Charles Smith when in charge of Bo Bo Creek Public School was described by Inspector Allpass as a trained teacher whose practical skills were ‘indifferent’. He was classified as class ‘3C’ but not recommended for promotion to class ‘3B’.256 Thomas Hall in being recommended for the position of Provisional teacher at Karuah Flat was described by Inspector Allpass as ‘a man of fair information … he is much esteemed by the people but has been known to give way to the influence of drink. He is what is termed a reformed man’.257 When concern was expressed that Bo Bo Creek and Karuah Flat were on either side of the

253 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/816, Folio 129, Inspector McIntyre’s report on the application, 16 February 1869.
254 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/816, Folio 132.
255 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/816, Folio 145, G. Milne to the Secretary, undated.
256 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/769, Folio 276.
257 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/779, Folio 327, Inspector Allpass’s report on the application for a Provisional School at Kasuah Flat, 9 June 1868.
Manning River, Allpass also described Hall as ‘a good horseman and an expert swimmer’.

In contrast, Church of England Denominational school teachers who became itinerant teachers to save their positions, a significant trend in 1868, decreased to one clear instance in 1869. Samuel Thicknesse unofficially went from being the teacher at Adaminaby Church of England Denominational School to the itinerant teacher of Adaminaby and Boconnoc Half-time Schools in January 1869. In April 1869 Thicknesse went on to become the itinerant teacher at Coolamatong and Jejedzerick Half-time Schools, so effectively he was the first teacher of both these groups. The only other instance of a Denominational teacher being appointed as an itinerant teacher in 1869 was Henry Hill who was at the Parramatta Church of England Denominational School before his appointment to Colo Upper and Wheeny Creek Half-time Schools. It is possible that Hill had been a pupil teacher or a trainee teacher at Parramatta. In that sense Hill would also belong in the following group.

A further seven of the Half-time teachers appointed in 1869 had, or had possibly, trained or taught under the Council or trained elsewhere. Sarah Lynch had formerly been a pupil teacher at Wollombi Public School. Watagon Creek may well have been her first appointment as a trained teacher. George Riley who travelled from Sydney to take up his position at Wyndam and Burragate Half-time Schools by steamer and coach at a cost, to the Council of three pounds five shillings, was a trained teacher ‘Class III

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258 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/779, Folio 341, Inspector Allpass to the Secretary, 19 December 1868.
section C” and was to be paid a salary of seventy-two pounds a year. Arthur Burton appointed to the Half-time schools at Teesdale and Coombing Creek was paid eight pounds five shillings in transfer expenses and was also to be paid an annual salary of seventy-two pounds. Alex McNiven at Richland and Yelbraith and Emil Beuschel at Adaminaby and Boconnoc were both appointed by the Council to take up those positions in the absence of a suitable local applicant. It is quite likely the latter four appointments, like Sarah Lynch, had some training under the Council, either as a pupil teacher, a short traineeship in a Public or Denominational school or through the training school in Sydney, but may not have previously held a teaching position. There is no further description of them in the available documentation as they were evidently already recognised and accepted by the Council. Edward Brooker, itinerant teacher at First Creek and Third Creek, was different having ‘trained at Pursey Grammar School Cambridge’ but was ‘Never employed a teacher in this Colony.’ He was also thirty-five, married and ‘a sober man of good moral character.’ These details exist because Brooker was put forward as teacher by the residents applying for a Provisional School at First Creek. It is possible that some of these appointments may have been influenced by the attitudes expressed in 1868 on the level of training needed for itinerant teachers of Half-time schools.

Despite this trend towards the appointment of trained and/or experienced teachers to Half-time schools, untrained and inexperienced residents in the

259 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/829, Folio 397, George Riley’s travelling expenses, 30 October 1869.
260 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/829, Folio 403, William Wilkins - Minute for the consideration of the Council, 18 October 1869.
261 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/826, Folio 44, Arthur Burton to the Secretary, 20 July 1869.
262 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/812, Folio 227, Teacher’s details in application for a Provisional school at First Creek, 24 March 1869.
263 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/812, Folio 228, Inspector McIntyre’s report on the application for a Provisional school at First Creek, undated.
area were also still being appointed as itinerant teachers. Three of the itinerant teachers appointed in 1869 were evidently of this type. Because of the need for the applicant, community and/or the district inspector to make a case for appointment in these circumstances’, a brief description of these itinerant teachers tends to be available in the existing documentation.

Maurice Hayes who commenced as itinerant teacher in the Burragorang Valley in January 1869 was described by Inspector Huffer as, ‘intelligent’ and ‘a very respectable man who has long been resident in the area’. 264 Hayes was a farmer, about forty five years of age, whose livelihood had been destroyed by floods. His educational credentials were:

- in reading, writing and arithmetic he is qualified to conduct a school with advantage to its pupils. He was educated at the R.C. school at Southwark, London. 265
- Additionally he was also evidently a Roman Catholic as he was recommended by the Rev. Dean Rigney, the local Roman Catholic clergyman. 266 This would have been a near compulsory requirement in this almost exclusively Roman Catholic community.

George Underwood who became the itinerant teacher at Myall River Upper and Lower Half-time Schools was twenty-four, married, resided in the district and was described by Inspector Allpass as, ‘acceptable to the majority and was brought under my notice by the Schools’ Committee and the District Surveyor’. 267 His attributes for teaching were, ‘fair scholastic abilities and … sober and reliable habits.’ 268 Osborne Wrightson, in

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264 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/771, Folio 207, Report from Inspector Huffer on his visit to Burragorang on 27 and 28 November 1868.
265 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/771, Folio 207.
266 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/771, Folio 207.
267 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/819, Folio 282, Inspector Allpass’s response to the Secretary, 16 October 1869.
268 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/819, Folio 282, Inspector Allpass to the Secretary, 11 October 1869.
applying for the position of itinerant teacher at Burra Burra and Snaphook, after the resignation of John O’Connor, described himself; ‘I have been educated at Christ Hospital, London, have resided in this district for the last several years and I am married with children’. 269

Inspector McIntyre had no knowledge of Wrightson other than the residents requested his appointment. The Council adopted McIntyre’s recommendation that Wrightson should be appointed temporarily until McIntyre had an opportunity to visit and assess him and that in the meantime:

He should be instructed to attend the Church of England School at Moruya for one week, in order to learn how to keep the school records and fill in the necessary documents. He should also carefully observe the system of school management for his own guidance in the discharge of his duty. 270

Unlike in 1867 and 1868, the only instance of a private teacher previously working in a locality where he went on to become an itinerant teacher was Edward Brooker at First Creek. However Brooker had evidently taken on the position in anticipation of the school becoming a Provisional school and only served briefly as a private teacher.

One result of the change in the backgrounds of itinerant teachers appointed in 1869 was an increase in the number of trained or ‘classified’ teachers recorded as being in Half-time schools. In the Goulburn District at the end of 1869 eight of the twenty itinerant teachers were ‘classified’ as against twelve who were ‘not classified.’ 271 This change was clearly a positive one. McIntyre commented, ‘The schools under trained men are much more

269 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/808, Folio 353, Osborn Wrightson to the Secretary, 11 December 1869.
270 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/808, Folio 352, Memorandum from Inspector McIntyre to the Secretary, 3 January 1870.
271 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, p. 117.
efficient than the schools under untrained men’.\textsuperscript{272} The comparative rate of trained to untrained itinerant teachers in other districts is not known except for Camden District where the only itinerant teacher, Maurice Hayes in the Burragorang Valley was classed as a ‘Probationer.’\textsuperscript{273}

The very few existing comments of the teaching abilities of itinerant teachers appointed in 1869 are moderately positive. Edward Brooker was ‘Industrious and attentive to his duties’,\textsuperscript{274} Kendel Hume demonstrated ‘tolerable skill’\textsuperscript{275} Charles Smith’s organisation and discipline was ‘satisfactory’,\textsuperscript{276} Geoffrey Milne was ‘tolerably efficient’\textsuperscript{277} and H. Blyth’s discipline was ‘effective and the instruction is fairly regulated’.\textsuperscript{278} No comments or statements were found linking the teaching abilities of Half-time teachers with the visions for Half-time teachers put forward in 1868. Nor were these visions repeated in 1869.

**Subjects taught and student proficiency**

As for 1868, available information on the subjects taught in Half-time schools in 1869 is largely limited to brief comments by inspectors on some schools in their annual reports. It is clear from this limited evidence that the regulation in the special rules for the management of Half-time schools that ‘The Course of Secular Instruction will be the same as that prescribed for

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{272} Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, p. 116.
  \item \textsuperscript{273} Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, p. 85.
  \item \textsuperscript{274} Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, p. 125.
  \item \textsuperscript{275} Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, p. 56.
  \item \textsuperscript{276} Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, p. 154.
  \item \textsuperscript{277} Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, p. 125.
  \item \textsuperscript{278} Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, p. 79.
\end{itemize}
Public Schools\textsuperscript{279} was not yet fully implemented. The range of subjects taught in Public schools appear to have generally comprised reading, writing, spelling and dictation, arithmetic, grammar, geography, object lessons, needlework, singing and drawing. Inspector McCredie described the subjects taught in schools in the Bathurst District as, ‘those prescribed by the Council, and include reading writing, dictation, arithmetic, grammar geography, object lessons, needlework, in the majority of schools, together with singing and drawing where the teachers are competent to teach them.’\textsuperscript{280} These ‘prescribed subjects’\textsuperscript{281} were evidently being taught in a small number of Half-time schools in 1869, but with the exception of needlework, singing and/or drawing. Half-time schools where this range of subjects may have been taught were Huntington and Beechwood in the Armidale District,\textsuperscript{282} Colo and Wheeny Creek in the Cumberland District,\textsuperscript{283} and Long Reach and Long View\textsuperscript{284} in the Goulburn District.

Most Half-time schools appear to have been teaching fewer subjects. In the Goulburn District, where the majority of Half-time schools existed, Inspector McIntyre commented, ‘The pupils are chiefly learning reading, writing and arithmetic, and in some cases the elements of grammar and geography, with drawing and vocal music in two or three.’\textsuperscript{285} Comments by inspectors on the range of subjects taught in individual or groups of Half-

\textsuperscript{280} Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, pp. 61-62.
\textsuperscript{281} Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, p. 56.
\textsuperscript{282} Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, p. 56.
\textsuperscript{283} Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, p. 110.
\textsuperscript{284} Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, p. 125.
\textsuperscript{285} Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, p. 116.
time schools tend to largely reflect the situation described by McIntyre. For example, at Arnprior, Douro, Mulloon and Black Range there was ‘tolerable progress in reading, writing and arithmetic. The knowledge of grammar and geography is small’\textsuperscript{286} while at Nithdale and Ballalaba the students could ‘read and write well, and know the simple and compound rules of arithmetic. They can distinguish the parts of speech and know the relative positions of the continents and oceans’\textsuperscript{287} In a few Half-time schools the instruction was limited to the fundamentals of reading writing and arithmetic. At Lochiel and Greigs Flat the children were just ‘beginning to learn the mere elements of reading, writing and arithmetic’\textsuperscript{288} at Third Creek, ‘some progress has been made in reading, writing and arithmetic’\textsuperscript{289}

The Half-time schools where a greater range of subjects were taught were frequently those where the itinerant teacher was trained and/or the school had previously been a full time school or the Half-time school or schools were well established. An example of the latter case was Farrington and Gingomonia where George Lacy, an experienced but untrained teacher, had conducted Half-time schools since 1867:

\begin{quote}
The elder pupils can read with considerable ease and intelligence, and the writing is neat and legible. They have some knowledge of the elements of English grammar, geography and arithmetic. Drawing is taught with fair success. Many of the younger pupils have recently been admitted.\textsuperscript{290}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{286} Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, p. 124.
\textsuperscript{287} Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, p. 124.
\textsuperscript{288} Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, p. 126.
\textsuperscript{289} Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, p. 125.
\textsuperscript{290} Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, p. 125.
The Council of Education was evidently not disconcerted that Half-time schools were not teaching the full range of subjects required in the special rules. Instead they publicly supported a different position to that put forward in the rules, namely that limiting instruction to ‘the more useful subjects’ was a practical stratagem for this class of school. They supported Inspector McIntyre’s opinion that ‘Half-time Schools can be managed as efficiently as full-time schools, so far as regards the progress of the pupils in reading, writing and arithmetic; and a knowledge of these subjects is surely of great value to children who without such schools must grow up to be men and women without any education.’ Such a pragmatic position would have been more achievable considering the limited time available for instruction in Half-time schools, the lack of prior education of many students, the fact that many itinerant teachers were untrained and the limited nature of the facilities and school buildings available.

The level of proficiency achieved by students in these ‘useful subjects’ in Half-time schools is difficult to determine as, again, available comments about student proficiency are largely limited to very brief comments in inspectors’ annual reports. Inspector McIntyre who had inspected twenty-five of the forty-one Half-time schools in the Goulburn District in 1869 noted that, ‘The attainments of the pupils in some of the schools inspected were truly gratifying.’ Generally, however the level of proficiency achieved appears to have been judged as tolerable. The terms normally used in measuring the proficiency of students in schools were ‘good’ at the top of

291 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, p. 5.
293 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, p. 116.

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the scale to ‘fair’, then a mixture of ‘satisfactory’ or ‘moderate’ or ‘tolerable’ or ‘passable’, and finally ‘indifferent’. McIntyre commented of the Half-time schools he had inspected, ‘In two of the schools inspected the pupils are beginning to learn the mere elements of reading and writing with easy mental calculation, but in fifteen schools the progress is tolerable, in six fair and in two good.’

The proficiency achieved in Half-time schools inspected that year outside the Goulburn district also tended to adequacy. At Huntington and Beechwood Half-time Schools in the Armidale District the generable proficiency of the students was described as ‘passable’, while at Hartley and Kanimbla Half-time Schools in the Bathurst District the attainments or proficiency was ‘satisfactory’. In the Newcastle District the attainments in reading, writing, dictation and arithmetic at Killawarra Half-time School ranged from ‘tolerable to fair’ while the progress made in reading and writing was ‘small’ at Wallamba River Upper and ‘moderate to fair’ at Wallamba River Lower. In the Cumberland District progress in the ‘more ordinary subjects’ was ‘tolerable to fair’ at Colo and ‘moderate to tolerable’ at Wheeny Creek. The proficiency achieved by students in Half-time schools would generally have placed them in the lower third of schools under the Council of Education. Considering that Half-time schools were

295 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, p. 56.
296 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, pp. 78-79.
297 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, p. 154.
298 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, p. 110.
299 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, p. 8.
in most cases recently established and that a number of itinerant teachers would have been relatively inexperienced in the processes and expectations of inspection this was an understandable and reasonable result. There was no evidence to suggest that the vision expressed in 1868 that Half-time schools could produce equal or better results than full time schools was being pursued or achieved.

**Inspector McIntyre’s attitude towards Half-time schools**

Inspector McIntyre continued his enthusiastic support for what he believed Half-time schools could achieve in terms of high educational standards: ‘I am of opinion Half-time schools can be managed to produce very satisfying results’. As in 1868, he drew a comparison with English half time schools in factories to support his case for the equality, and possible superiority, of Half-time schools when compared with full time schools, quoting from what he referred to as ‘the Report of the Royal Commissioners’.

That for children under the age of twelve, twenty-four hours a week is nearly the limit of profitable studies involving mental effort. That eighteen hours a week is often a more useful period of mental effort than twenty four. That fifteen hours a week – the utmost that is obtained by the factory children – is to use the most unfavourable expression, not insufficient. That much may be done in twelve hours a week, or two hours a day, providing that those two hours be two fresh hours in the morning.

While maintaining this viewpoint McIntyre now qualified it somewhat stating:

I am of opinion that Half-time schools can be managed as efficiently as full-time schools, so far as regards the progress of the pupils in reading writing and arithmetic; and a knowledge of these subjects is

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300 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, p. 116.
301 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, p. 116.
surely of great value to children who without such schools must grow up to be men and women without any education.\textsuperscript{302}

Inspector McIntyre continued his practice of including a special report on Half-time schools within his District in his 1869 annual report, a practice which he did not extend to other classes of schools. McIntyre did note that Half-time schools ‘promise to do much for the education of the sparsely populated districts of the Colony’\textsuperscript{303} but focussed his comments on Half-time schools on their growing efficiency and the educational standards being achieved, and potentially achievable, by these schools. Other than the comment by Inspector Jones quoted previously, the other district inspectors referred to Half-time schools in a purely routine manner in line with other classes of schools, in their annual reports for 1869. In the annual report for the Newcastle district, for example, Inspector Allpass makes no special or particular reference to Half-time schools despite the fact that Half-time schools were first established in that district in that year, that eight of the fourteen new schools established in the district that year were Half-time schools and that they outnumbered the Provisional schools existing in the district.

**Teaching patterns and distances between partnering schools**

Very few indications are given as to the teaching patterns used in Half-time schools opening in 1869. It is therefore not possible to determine how many conformed to the pattern suggested ‘where practicable’\textsuperscript{304} of teaching mornings in one school and afternoons in the other. At Coolamatong and

\textsuperscript{302} Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, p. 116.

\textsuperscript{303} Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, p. 117.

Jejedzrick the schools were to be taught on alternate weeks; ‘This is necessary as some of the children coming from considerable distances will have to board with residents in the immediate neighbourhood.’ At Hartley and Kanimbla both Blyth and McDougal taught at Hartley in the morning and at Kanimbla in the afternoon doing the round trip of sixteen miles each day and residing in Hartley. The brief inspection reports on Half-time schools contained in the *Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869* indicate that of the sixteen groups of Half-time schools visited, half of the partnering schools, generally those only a few miles apart, were visited on the same day while half were visited on separate days or the partner school was not open on the day of inspection. While this suggests that a number of partnering schools may have been taught morning and afternoon, it is also possible special arrangements were made, in some instances, for the purposes of inspection.

The distances between the partnering Half-time schools opened in 1869 were generally consistent with the pattern set in 1867 and 1868, namely, where an itinerant teacher taught two Half-time schools those schools were generally within ten miles of each other and consequently met the requirements of Regulation Nine. Only the Adaminaby and Boconnoc Half-time schools were further apart, twelve miles, while their neighbouring Half-time schools at Coolamatong and Jejedzrick were a full ten miles apart. Both these schools were in the sparsely settled Monaro region around Cooma. The other partnering schools established in 1869 were less

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305 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/810, Folio 199, Reverend Druitt to the Secretary, 14 April 1869.  
306 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/778, Folio 394, H Blyth to the Secretary, 30 December 1868 and 1/814, Folio 304, R. McDougal to the Secretary, 2 November 1869.  
307 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/805A, Vol. 71, Aberdeen – Bank of N.S.W., Folio 14, Reverend Druitt to the Secretary, 19 January 1869.  
308 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/810, Folio 205, Arthur Blomfield to the Secretary, undated.
than ten miles apart, ranging from three miles between Richlands and Yelbraith Half-time Schools\(^{309}\) to nine miles between Teesdale and Coombing Creek Half-time Schools.\(^{310}\) The average distance between partnering schools opening in 1869 was seven miles.

**Means of transport and forage allowances**

In 1869, as in 1867 and 1868, the horse seems to have been the almost universal form of transport for itinerant teachers. It is possible that a few itinerant teachers, especially those with schools were only a few miles apart may have walked in 1869, as applications for forage allowance are not contained in the records of all Half-time schools. However, these records are not necessarily complete and it is also possible that some itinerant teachers may not have applied for a forage allowance as it was only to be given in the case of proven need and some may not have felt they had a strong enough claim. The growing number of Half-time schools along coastal rivers also raises the possibility that some itinerant teachers may have used boats. However there is only one known reference to the use of a boat that may apply to 1869. In correspondence of October 1870 relating to the Half-time schools at Mambo Island and Lansdowne and the proposed change of these schools to form the base of two groups of Half-time schools – Lansdowne and Johns River, and Mambo Island and Pelican Point – reference is made to the fact that the itinerant teacher, Robert Johnson, had used a boat to reach his schools.\(^{311}\) Johnson had been granted a forage allowance of ten pounds per annum in 1869 ‘for the maintenance of his

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\(^{309}\) SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/788, Richlands - St Leonards, Folio4, Inspector McIntyre’s report on application for a Provisional school at Yelbraith, 10 June 1868.

\(^{310}\) SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/826, Folios 44, Arthur Burton to the Secretary, 20 July 1869.

\(^{311}\) SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/849, Vol. 117, Limekilns-Merimbula, Folio 274, William Newton to the Secretary, 29 October 1870.
horse as the distance between the two schools is nearly eight miles. He has been provided with a yard at each place’.\textsuperscript{312} Whether both the horse and boat were needed or if they were alternative means of transport is unknown. The majority of itinerant teachers commencing in 1869 applied for a forage allowance to help feed their horses or an application was submitted on their behalf. The amounts applied for and the amounts recommended by district inspectors varied but the response of the Council was unwavering – ten pounds per annum. As in 1868 there was some discontent with this amount. Blyth, the itinerant teacher at Hartley and Kanimbla, argued that the drought, cold conditions and the need to stable his horse meant that the allowance of ten pounds per year was quite inadequate.\textsuperscript{313} Blyth’s successor R. McDougal also regularly pointed out the inadequacy of the forage allowance, his claim complicated by an understanding given to him by Inspector McCredie that he would be supplied with a horse, saddle and bridle for his work and that he evidently didn’t have the money to purchase a suitable horse.\textsuperscript{314} Inspector McCredie supported McDougal’s claim suggesting, ‘About fifteen pounds would be more reasonable’\textsuperscript{315} and Reverend Mayne borrowed a horse for him after his own went missing or was stolen.\textsuperscript{316} The Council evidently remained resolute against Blyth’s offer to settle for a forage allowance of twenty-six pounds a year to meet his fodder costs of 10 shillings a week, with Blyth providing his own horse in return.\textsuperscript{317}

\textsuperscript{312} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/817, Folio 289, William Newton to the Secretary, 18 November 1869.
\textsuperscript{313} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/814, Folios 274-276.
\textsuperscript{314} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/814, Folio 304, R. McDougal to the Secretary, 2 November 1869.
\textsuperscript{315} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/814, Folio 310, Inspector McCredie to the Secretary, 22 November 1869.
\textsuperscript{316} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/814, Folio 311, R. McDougal to the Secretary, 4 December 1869.
\textsuperscript{317} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/814, Folio 311.
Other requests or recommendations for higher forage allowances included the following. Inspector McIntyre’s recommendation of twelve pounds per annum\(^{318}\) in response to Milne’s request for a forage allowance at Kipplelaw and Run of Water and the support of the Local Board who advised, ‘No horse will do the work on the scanty feed he can pick up in the bush at this time of the year.’\(^{319}\) Thomas Hall’s calculation when requesting a forage allowance for Karuah Flat and Bo Bo Creek that it would cost him eleven pounds five shillings a year for maize and the use of a horse paddock during the school week.\(^{320}\) Inspector McCredie’s suggested fifteen pounds for forage at Teesdale and Combing Creek in response to a request from the Council of Education for his opinion on what would be a fair allowance.\(^{321}\) Hugh Ryan’s request for thirty pounds a year for forage as, ‘The state of the country about this district is truly lamentable, owing … to the drought … forage is very scarce’.\(^{322}\)

While many such requests for a higher forage allowance were probably soundly based, in at least one instance the teacher was judged to be making an excessive claim. Charles Smith, itinerant teacher on the Wollomba River, in applying for a forage allowance indicated he had to yard his horse and feed it on corn at a cost of seven shillings and sixpence a week.\(^{323}\) William Wilkins forwarded this request on to Inspector Allpass with the comment, ‘There ought to be paddocks for the Teacher’s horse.’\(^{324}\) Allpass supported

\(^{318}\) SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/816, Folio 150, Inspector McIntyre’s recommendation on Milne’s forage application, 6 September 1869.
\(^{319}\) SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/816, Folio 149, Note on George Milne’s application for a forage allowance, 3 July 1869.
\(^{320}\) SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/815, Folio 337, Thomas Hall to the Council, 2 January 1869.
\(^{321}\) SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/826, Folios 44 and 45.
\(^{322}\) SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/812, Folio 126, Hugh Ryan to the Secretary, 13 January 1869.
\(^{323}\) SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/829, Folio 55, Charles Smith to the Secretary, 27 April 1869.
\(^{324}\) SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/829, Folio 56, Memorandum from William Wilkins to Inspector Allpass, 27 April 1869.
Smith on the matter of paddocks reporting: ‘The settlers are Free Selectors of the poorest kind and have just managed to enclose patches of land for cultivation. Horses have to be sought for in the Bush when wanted as a general rule.’ However Allpass disagreed with Smith’s estimate on the amount that needed to spent on corn.

A horse if kept in a paddock may be well fed on a bushel of corn for a week which at its highest price in the locality will not exceed three shillings per bushel. Ten pounds per annum would be a fair allowance.

The council also stayed resolute in the face of continued appeals from Fred Blanchard, the itinerant teacher at Norongo and Whinestone Valley, for a higher forage allowance for travelling his extensive and mountainous district. In May of 1869 he again appealed to the Council for a higher forage allowance. ‘I am now feeding three horses and shoeing them to do my work and [ten pounds per annum] is scarcely sufficient.’ While the Council again declined his request it also decided that Inspector McIntyre should, ‘visit the District and report what arrangements are best adopted to supply the means of education through the medium of Half time schools.’

While the Council had not determined a set amount for a forage allowance, when warranted, in its special rules for Half-time schools, ten pounds per year had evidently become the set amount to be granted. While in most cases this amount could well have been adequate, the inflexibility of the Council on this matter may have caused real financial hardship for some teachers and may have become a factor that negatively affected the Council’s ability to maintain Half-time schools in some districts.

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325 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/829, Folio 56, Inspector Allpass’s response to Wilkins memorandum, 8 May 1869.
326 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/829, Folio 55, Charles Smith to the Secretary, 27 April 1869.
327 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/820, Folio 149, Fred Blanchard to the Secretary, 31 May 1869.
328 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/820, Folio 149, Undated Council note on Fred Blanchard’s letter.
The perceived and actual roles of Half-time schools

As for the previous two years, there is little information on the people served by Half-time schools that opened in 1869. Again the impression gained is that they were mostly small, frequently struggling, farmers and in a few instances employees on pastoral properties. The people at Wallamba River were described as ‘Free Selectors of the poorest kind’ and ‘free selectors of a very needy stamp, and the school is subordinated to the farm’. At Adaminaby the major cause of the low attendances at the Church of England Denominational School was reportedly that the parents often kept the children home to assist with domestic duties and on the farm. The Half-time schools at Boconnoc, Coolamatong and Jejedzrick appear to have been on sheep ‘stations’ – large pastoral properties. The school at Jejedzrick closed twice for several weeks in 1869. The first time, ‘in consequence of the lambing season as all the children are required to assist in that occupation’ and the second time due to the school building ‘being required for the shearers.’ At Richlands the attendance was smaller than normal during harvest and the people at Kipplelaw were described as ‘settlers’ and the area described as ‘an agricultural district’.

329 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/829, Folio 56, Inspector Allpass’s response to Wilkins memorandum, 8 May 1869.
330 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, p. 154.
331 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/767, Folio 58, Thomas Druitt to the Council of Education, 25 August 1868.
332 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/810, Folio 219, Samuel Thicknesse to the Secretary, 7 October 1869.
333 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/810, Folio 221, Samuel Thicknesse to the Secretary, 1 November 1869.
334 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/822, Folio 505, Inspector McIntyre to the Secretary, 22 February 1869.
335 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/816, Folio 193, Inspector McIntyre’s report on the application for a Public school at Kipplelaw, 16 February 1869.
336 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/816, Folio 136, Andrew Cameron to the Secretary, 13 May 1869.
committee for Huntington Provisional School, before it became a Half-time school, was composed of a grazier and four farmers.\textsuperscript{337}

As in the Jingeras, it was suspected that some of the people at First Creek and Third Creek, who were described by Inspector McIntyre as ‘settlers’\textsuperscript{338} had links with bushrangers.

These districts … are noted for cattle stealers and bushrangers. The persons who stuck up the mail from Yass to Goulburn on the 26\textsuperscript{th} May last have been traced to this locality, and I need not say that education for the children in these districts is much needed.\textsuperscript{339}

Hartley was the exception to the norm as it was a township and consequently the families whose children attended the Half-time school there may have been involved in a variety of occupations.

Girls and boys continued to be enrolled in and to attend Half-time schools in roughly equal numbers in 1869. The statistics given for Half-time schools in the last quarter of 1868, or the last quarter a group of schools was in operation in that year, show that girls and boys were enrolled in and attended all of the Half-time schools that existed in 1869. As in 1868 overall there were slightly more girls that boys enrolled in (551 girls to 511 boys) and attending (375 girls to 318 boys) Half-time schools in 1869.

The vision of Half-time schools extending education across sparsely settled pastoral districts and into newly developed sparsely settled farming districts put forward in 1868 was only partly being realised in 1869. This vision received little attention in the 1869 report of the Council of Education. Only Inspector Jones in charge of the Armidale District, where but two Half-time

\textsuperscript{337} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/815, Folio 39, Inspector Jone’s report on the application for Half-time schools at Huntington and Beechwood, 19 January 1869.
\textsuperscript{338} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/812, Folio 228, Inspector McIntyre’s report on the application for a Provisional school at First Creek, undated.
\textsuperscript{339} SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/812, Folio 228.
schools has been established during 1869, lyrically, if not entirely clearly, enunciated that vision for his district.

The present year has been a prosperous one in regard to the establishment of Public and Provisional schools in districts previously destitute of the means of education; but there still remains much to be done in many squatting districts where Half-time schools or itinerant teachers are much needed; and it behoves squatters and landed proprietors to “be up and doing” to stem the tide of ignorance among the pitiable children of their workmen and tenantry.\(^{340}\)

The Council did note a ‘marked improvement’ in ‘the establishment of new schools in destitute localities’ in 1869 and listed this foremost in its summary of achievements for the year.\(^{341}\) It also placed ‘extending schools’ first in its list of things that needed to be addressed in the future.\(^{342}\) However it was Provisional schools that the Council noted for the ‘considerable augmentation that has taken place in the number of these schools’ and their tendency to ‘supply many destitute and thinly populated localities with the means of elementary education’.\(^{343}\) In contrast, the Council’s summary on Half-time schools, other than noting ‘a decided increase in Half-time schools’, drew its content almost entirely from Inspector McIntyre’s comments on Half-time schools in his report and did not comment on the role of Half-time schools in extending education into sparsely settled areas.\(^{344}\) Quite possibly the Council was not downplaying the role of Half-time schools in this area but rather choosing to focus on aspects raised by McIntyre, namely their potential for efficiency, their popularity and the

\(^{340}\) Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, p. 39.
\(^{341}\) Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, p. 13.
\(^{342}\) Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, p. 13.
\(^{343}\) Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, p. 4.
\(^{344}\) Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, p. 5.
desirability of itinerant teachers teaching no more than two ‘stations’ (Half-time schools). It is also possible that the Council may have noted that while Half-time schools were playing a role in extending education into new areas they were also increasingly playing a role in retaining educational facilities in areas of falling or fluctuating population. However it is felt the first possibility is the more likely.

**Accommodation for Half-time schools**

Five of the buildings used for Half-time schools opened in 1869 had previously been used for Provisional and Public schools, a marked change from 1867 and 1868. It is unclear if the buildings previously used for Public schools at Bo Bo Creek and Watagon were owned by the Council or privately owned, or were purpose built school buildings or buildings of another nature being used for this purpose. The building at Kipplelaw was the Church of England Church which, prior to being used for a Public school, had previously housed a Church of England Denominational school. The school building at Huntington had been purpose built for the Provisional school, while the Karuah Flat building was a private cottage which had been made available for the Provisional school. In contrast to events in 1868 only one Denominational school was converted to a Half-time school in 1869. It was housed in the Church of England Church at Adaminaby.

These building were readily deemed suitable for Half-time schools and generally had the advantage of having more than sufficient furniture for

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345 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, p. 5.
their new role. The ‘schoolhouse’ at Bo Bo Creek was described as, ‘in a tolerable state of repair and is fairly furnished.’ The church at Kipplelaw was described as ‘an excellent stone building in good repair and suitable for the purposes of teaching.’ At Huntington the slab walled and floored school building with its bark roof, two windows and fireplace was described as ‘tolerably suitable’. The cottage at Karuah Flat was new, ‘floored and shingled.’ The condition of the Church building at Adaminaby and the nature and condition of the school buildings at Watagon is not known. The Half-time school at Yelbraith may also have continued in the privately owned building that housed the private school that it displaced.

For the remaining twenty-one places where Half-time schools were established in 1869 no mention is made of prior schools and in many of these places a building to house a school would have needed to be found or built for the first time. In at least ten places an existing building was used. For the first time a church which had not previously housed a Denominational school, the Primitive Methodist Chapel at Run of Water, held a Half-time school. At Boconnoc, Coolamatong and Jejedzrick the schools were evidently housed in existing buildings on sheep stations. At Gullen a large room was provided, at First Creek a farmhouse, at Third Creek a hut, at Wollamba River Lower a former dwelling house, at Kanimbla a slab hut, and at Hartley a room in a private house. These

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346 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, p. 154.
347 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/816, Folio 129, Inspector McIntyre’s report on the application for a Public school at Kipplelaw, 16 February 1869.
348 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/815, Folio 37, Application for the establishment of Half-time schools at Huntington and Beechwood, 5 January 1869.
349 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, p. 56.
350 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/779, Folio 327, Inspector Allpass’ report on the application for a Provisional School at Kasubah Flat, 9 June 1868.
building were generally deemed appropriate for use as school rooms. The Primitive Methodist Chapel at Run of Water was described as an ‘excellent’ building. The buildings at First Creek and Third Creek were ‘substantial slab huts’ though the Third Creek building was ‘small and not well furnished’. At Wollandra River Upper the school building was ‘a bark building with a slab floor. It is of suitable size and fairly furnished’. The building at Kanimbla was described as ‘suitable, and has been recently enlarged and improved’, while the room used at Hartley was described as ‘fairly suitable’. The condition of the school buildings at Gullen, Boconnoc, Coolamatong and Jejedzrick is not known.

In the eight places where purpose built school rooms were constructed by the local community most were of a satisfactory standard. The building constructed at Coombing Creek cost the community sixty four pounds. Inspector McCredie described the building as ‘Slab; plastered: floored and shingled’ and gave the size of the school room as sixteen feet by sixteen feet. He commented:

Taken as a whole, the premises are superior to the majority of bush schools of the provisional kind. The school room is tolerably suitable and there are three rooms set aside for the teacher. The school is

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351 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, p. 125.
352 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/812, Folio 230, Application for the establishment of Half-time schools at First Creek and Third Creek, 1 July 1869.
353 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, p. 125.
354 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, p. 124.
355 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, p. 79.
356 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, p. 78.
357 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/773, Folio 224, James Hoadley, Secretary, Local Committee to the Council of Education, 16 September 1868.
358 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/773, Folio 229, Inspector McCredie’s report on the application for the establishment of a Provisional school at Coombing Creek, 30 March 1869.
supplied with a blackboard and easel and a sufficient quantity of forms and desks.\textsuperscript{359}

The two Half-time school buildings Myall River were described by Inspector Allpass as:

Substantial … slab buildings with board floors and shingled roofs. Each of the school rooms is 16 feet by 16 feet … both have a proper number of sash lights and will be properly furnished. A teacher’s dwelling is attached to the upper school house.\textsuperscript{360}

The building at Beechwood was described as twenty feet by ten feet, built of slabs with a slab floor and having two windows and a fire place\textsuperscript{361} while the Wollamba River Upper building was a ‘rough slab building’\textsuperscript{362} that was ‘moderately satisfactory in size and condition but is badly furnished.’\textsuperscript{363}

Other than the fact that the school buildings at Teesdale, Lochiel and Greigs Flat were constructed by the community no other details are known.

At Killawarra the school building was described as ‘sufficiently commodious’\textsuperscript{364} but it is not known if it was purpose built or not. Nothing is known of the school buildings provided at Lansdowne and Mambo Island.

In contract to the more mixed reactions in 1868 the district inspectors appeared to be generally satisfied with the standard of the buildings used for Half-time schools opened in 1869 and in some instances were quite positive in their comments. Where descriptions of buildings were given some seem to be broadly in accord with the requirements of the special rules for Half-time schools that they be ‘ten feet at least in width, be floored, be provided

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\item\footnotesize 359 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/773, Folio 229.
\item\footnotesize 360 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/819, Folio 282, Secretary to Inspector Allpass, 11 October 1869.
\item\footnotesize 361 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/815, Folio 37, Application for the establishment of Half-time schools at Huntington and Beechwood, 5 January 1869.
\item\footnotesize 362 SRNSW, NCE/1, 1/794, Folio 242, Application for the establishment of Half-time schools at the Wollombi River 3 October 1868.
\item\footnotesize 363 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, p. 154.
\item\footnotesize 364 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, p. 154.
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with a fireplace, and be properly lighted and ventilated. However no references to these rules were found. While the inspectors were evidently operating to a standard it is possible that they were judging the buildings against a more universal set of expectations for housing small bush schools.

**Conclusion**

Half-time schools despite their significant growth in numbers and spread in 1869 received less comment in the 1869 report of the Council than Provisional and Public schools, a reversal of the situation in the annual reports of the previous two years. Perhaps this was an indication that Half-time schools had become an accepted part of the system playing their role along with Public and Provisional schools in providing educational facilities in areas they were appropriate to in their increasingly standardised form, but clearly fewer in number and impact than the other classes of schools. The Council focussed the section of its report relating to Half-time schools on briefly commenting on some aspects of their growth and operations over 1869 in the fairly standardised manner also used for Public and Provisional schools.

In 1869 the impact of the principles put forward by Inspector Johnson for the conduct of Half-time schools which largely became adopted by the Council as the Special Rules for this class of school became evident but they were not yet fully applied. The two school group became the almost universal form for schools conducted by itinerant teachers and other aspects such as school buildings, forage allowance, subjects taught and what was expected of teachers moved increasingly towards a common form. Half-time schools now had a distinct nature which, in a sense, separated them

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365 *Half-time Schools*, p. 201.
from and placed them between Public schools and Provisional schools. The educational expectations for Half-time schools were higher than for Provisional schools but lower than for Public Schools.

Their form also gave them a distinct niche in the educational landscape which may well have assisted their expansion into a growing number of areas. Half-time schools could serve areas where there were two groups of as few as ten children within ten miles of each other whose parents were prepared to send them regularly to school. This need for fewer children in a school clearly made them more sustainable than other classes of schools in many rural areas where shifting populations and the variable support of parents as well as low population densities were endemic. This meant Half-time schools increasingly appeared in areas where educational facilities had previously existed but were no longer sustainable in that form, as well as in areas where government and denominational and possibly private schools had not previously penetrated.

However the reduced flexibility in the way itinerant teachers could be employed may have limited the ability of Half-time schools to penetrate some areas such as thinly populated pastoral districts. Half-time schools also evidently did not have a distinct advantage over Provisional school in providing education in many sparsely settled areas as Provisional schools were established in significantly greater numbers. It may be that in gaining a more regulated form Half-time schools could have limited their advantage, or possibly even handed the overall advantage in penetrating sparsely settled areas to Provisional schools.

The period of experimentation in the use of differing models of Half-time schools came to an end in 1869. The form and nature of Half-time schools
increasingly consolidated during that year. In terms of processes and practices, Half-time schools increasingly reflected and interrelated with other types of schools operating under the Council of Education, and administrative issues such as what constituted a Half-time school, how they should be counted, and how many there were, became clarified. 1869 was also a significant period of expansion for Half-time schools. The number of Half-time schools grew steadily during 1869 resulting in an almost doubling of their numbers. This expansion was not only numerical but also applied to the location of Half-time schools. While many of the schools established in 1869 were in the Goulburn District, Half-time schools increasing appeared in other school districts. The 1044 children attending Half-time schools constituted three point four percent of the 31065 children attending government (Public, Provisional and Half-time) schools and just under two percent of the 56974 children attending schools under the Council of Education. This represented a significant increase on 1867 and 1868 figures. Despite this growth Half-time schools remained a relatively small part of an expanding public education system in New South Wales. At the end of 1869 the sixty Half-time schools in operation comprised eleven percent of the 542 government schools and less than eight percent of the total of 807 Public, Provisional, Denominational and Half-time schools which operated under the Council of Education.

366 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, p. 5.
Chapter Six

Conclusion

This chapter discusses the degree to which the objective of the thesis has been achieved and overviews the answers to the principal questions addressed over chapters two to five, which form the critical narrative history of the origins and early development of Half-time schools. The chapter concludes with an examination of further research opportunities raised by this thesis and a summation of the thesis.

The objective of the thesis, to examine the origins and early development of Half-time schools in New South Wales from 1866 to 1869 and to identify the causes and effects that shaped Half-time schools at this time, has been realised. The origins and early development of Half-time schools have been documented to a previously unachieved and significant level using pertinent primary sources, particularly the early records of the Council of Education. The narrative of these events is not complete as the available evidence is partial and the sources, while authentic, are limited in the perspectives they present on events. Within these constraints the critical narrative developed is a valid interpretation of the available evidence which provides considered insights into the foundation period of Half-time schools. Possible causes and effects leading to the creation of Clause Twelve of the Public Instruction Act of 1866 and which influenced the evolution of Half-time schools from 1867 to 1869 have been identified and analysed within the constraints of the available primary sources and of the critical narrative methodology employed.
The critical narrative methodology proved crucial to the realisation of this thesis. It enabled the close interrogation of pertinent archival sources within the context of the times and events that created them and their consequent representation through a clear and strongly supported narrative. The underlying Rankean methodology, reinforced by the work of modern narrative historians such as Tosh, Lang, Evans and Rushbrook, who have tested their approach against the criticism of postmodernist writers, permitted the creation of a probable chronological account of events grounded upon close analysis of the available evidence, which acknowledges what Evans describes as ‘the provisional and uncertain nature of interpretation and the need to test it constantly against the source materials used as evidence in its favour.’\(^1\) With regard to the origins of Clause Twelve of the Public Schools Act of 1866, the conclusions reached are clearly tentative due to the limited and fragmentary nature of the available evidence. However, the methodology enabled the emergence, documenting and analysis of narrative possibilities, based upon the available evidence and the nature of that evidence, which provide considered insights into events which preceded and potentially underpinned the establishment of Clause Twelve. Within the foundation period of 1867 to 1869 the greater depth and breadth of documentary evidence enabled the construction of a more structured, firmly grounded and closely analysed narrative history of the formation of Half-time schools.

Elements of the process of nomadic inquiry espoused by Adams St Pierre proved central to the methodology. The writing of the narrative proved an emergent process involving constant re-evaluation and the regular arising of

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new possibilities and discoveries. An example was the emergence, during
the writing process, of a possible relationship between events surrounding
the bushranger brothers Tom and John Clarke and the formation of a
divergent form of Half-time schools in the Jingeras in 1867. Re-evaluation of
the available Council archives and the consequent analysis of a range of
secondary and primary sources relating to the Clarkes led to the systematic
development of a sound consistent case demonstrating a highly probable
interrelationship between the two events. The work of Silver on educational
policy formation in the historical context proved an apt guide in the
exploration of the emergent process of policy formation which was integral
to the formation period of Half-time schools. His reflections on the interplay
between values and goals and economic and social realities, the nature of
the decision making process, and the establishment and implementation of
rules and regulations, provided insights into, and affirmation of, the policy
formation process driven by the visions, circumstances, pragmatism,
organisational needs and political realities of the people involved in the
formation and regulation of Half-time schools.

The focus within the methodology on individuals and the part they played in
the formation of Half-time schools proved a powerful element of the
narrative. The story is primarily one of people and their interaction. Through
their actions people of differing social status, role, opinion and purpose
impacted upon and shaped Half-time schools. The general absence of the
‘voice’ of some groups, particularly women and children, and also
Aboriginal peoples who might have been served by itinerant teachers but
were evidently not, is acknowledged and regretted. The relevance and
appropriateness of the critical narrative methodology as a means of
conducting initial research into this neglected aspect of rural educational history is felt to have been effectively demonstrated through the narrative developed and the analysis provided.

The formative period of Half-time schools from 1866 to 1869 marked the beginning of the extensive use of itinerant teachers in the New South Wales government education system which was to continue for a further eighty-one years. Elementary schools taught by itinerant teachers were numerically a significant part of the education facilities provided in rural New South Wales in the latter half of the nineteenth century and the first quarter of the twentieth century. It is probable that the decisions made in the foundation period of 1866 to 1869 had a critical impact on the long term role and viability of Half-time schools and helped shape other forms of rural education that were concurrently or subsequently introduced or modified.

**The origins of Clause Twelve in the Public Schools Act**

The origins of Clause Twelve in the Public Schools Act of 1866, which allowed the use of itinerant teachers to reach children in sparsely populated areas, remain unclear. The available documentation relating specifically to Clause Twelve was largely limited to a paragraph within Parkes’s speech supporting the second reading of the Public Schools Bill. The statements presented in this largely unsupported and subjective evidence were explored using a wide range of primary and secondary sources. While it was not possible to definitively identify who was responsible for the development of Clause Twelve, what the idea embodied in Clause Twelve was based upon, or what form of schooling was envisioned in Clause Twelve, several
possibilities were examined which provide a level of understanding of the circumstances surrounding the development of Clause Twelve.

The three individuals identified as playing, or potentially playing, a role in the development of Clause Twelve, namely Henry Parkes the Colonial Secretary and chief instigator and developer of the Public Schools Bill, William Wilkins, Secretary of the National Schools Board and William McIntyre, inspector of the Northern District under the National Schools Board, subsequently played evident roles in the initial development of Half-time schools under the Council of Education. Parkes in his duel roles as Colonial Secretary and President of the Council of Education would have, at the least, endorsed and supported developments such as the creation of Regulation Nine and the special rules for the conduct of Half-time schools.

Because of his close involvement in the appointment of the special constables who were murdered while in pursuit of the Clarke gang and the creation of the commission of inquiry into crime in the Braidwood District, Parkes is also likely to have played an active role in instigating the introduction of itinerant teaching into the Jingeras following the Commission’s report and the capture and execution of the Clarke brothers.

William Wilkins as Secretary of the Council played a critical administrative role in the development of Half-time schools. He issued many of the directives that shaped Half-time schools on an individual or group basis and as a type of school. For example, Wilkins directed and prompted Inspector Harris to recommend instructions for the conduct of Half-time schools, briefed Inspector Johnson before he visited the Half-time schools in the Braidwood District, and issued specific instructions to itinerant teachers such as directing George Szarka to teach at two places in the Braidwood
District instead of the four places Szarka had evidently commenced teaching at in October 1867. Wilkins is also the person most likely to have drawn up Regulation Nine, turned Inspector Johnson’s recommendations into the special regulations for the conduct of Half-time schools and may well have written the article on Half-time schools in the *Australian Journal of Education*.

William McIntyre made no obvious contribution to the development of Half-time schools in 1867, but from 1868 when he was transferred to the Goulburn District as Inspector he adopted a very prominent role in promoting the Half-time school system, as well as directly administering the great majority of Half-time schools in existence. It was in this period that McIntyre put forward his claim to be the ‘father’ of Half-time schools on the basis of a proposal for the use of itinerant teachers in the Northern District that he indicated he had submitted to the Board of National Education in 1864. The significance of McIntyre’s enthusiastic support for the Half-time school system is difficult to gauge. His support appears to have given Half-time schools a higher profile within the Council’s annual report for 1868 then they might otherwise have had, as the Council’s comments on Half-time schools for that year are largely drawn from McIntyre’s annual report. In 1869, however, McIntyre’s continued attention to Half-time schools within his annual report was not reflected in the Council’s much more constrained comments on Half-time schools. McIntyre’s interest and support for Half-time schools might also have contributed to the number of Half-time schools in the Goulburn District and the quality of the education they provided, but there is no direct evidence that this was the case.
Events in the period 1867 to 1869 do not shed any further light on what the idea of using itinerant teachers given in Clause Twelve was based upon. For example, while several private teachers became itinerant teachers under the Council of Education there is no evidence that any of these teachers had previously been working as private itinerant teachers, except where they had commenced teaching in this manner in a private capacity in anticipation of being appointed the itinerant teacher in charge of Half-time schools in that district. With regard to what form of itinerant schooling was envisioned, McIntyre’s 1864 proposal for schools taught by itinerant teachers bears some quite specific similarities to Regulation Nine and the final form adopted in the special regulations for Half-time schools, namely two places no more than ten miles apart with the teacher spending half their time at each place each week and the residents providing the school rooms and furniture. Unfortunately the lack of any documentation on this proposal within the records of the National Schools Board, other than McIntyre’s comments within his 1864 and 1868 annual reports, mean that there is no other evidence of this proposal or of it being discussed, by whom it was discussed, and what conclusions were reached. The multi-station model of Half-time school that developed in 1867 and 1868 can also be seen to have similarities with the Burragorang Roman Catholic Denominational School. However there is no evidence of a link other then the possibility that the George Szarka who taught at this school was also the George Szarka who taught at Jamboye and Jerricknorra Half-time Schools.
How itinerant teaching and Half-time schools evolved and changed in the 1860s

Itinerant teaching began in 1867 as an unorthodox idea that was initially steadily shaped by orthodox Council practices towards a regulated form where each itinerant teacher would teach at two places within ten miles of each other and the processes for establishing schools would largely replicate those used for other classes of schools. This incremental process of policy development was disrupted in mid 1867 by the abrupt emergence in the Jingeras of a quite different approach to itinerant teaching. In this model each itinerant teacher was appointed to a district and subsequently established a circuit of several places at which they then taught. This was a radical departure both from the previously emerging model of Half-time school and the normal policy and practices of the Council of Education. Two quite different experimental forms of Half-time schools had emerged, creating a state of confusion and uncertainty as to what a Half-time school was, how itinerant teachers should operate, and the process for establishing Half-time schools.

The initial effort to clarify and resolve the situation was left incomplete and ineffectual when the Goulburn District Inspector Mr Harris, failed to both effectively administer the situation in his district and to fully furnish the Council with the information and guidance it needed to consider his recommendation to return to and develop the first model. This left the Council largely in the hands of local interest groups when establishing new Half-time schools and the conduct of Half-time schools residing chiefly with the itinerant teachers themselves. In early 1868 the Council moved to resolve the policy vacuum that encompassed Half-time schools by sending
the Inspector for the Sydney District, Mr Johnson, to visit the itinerate teachers operating around Goulburn and Braidwood. At the Council’s direction, Johnson clarified the situation and made a series of recommendations for the systemisation of Half-time schools.

The Council largely adopted these recommendations which effectively instituted the first model in a closely regulated form. These regulations were issued in mid 1868 and over 1869 brought Half-time schools under the effective control of the Council. Half-time schools became an increasingly regulated and integrated part of the government education system and in doing so may have largely lost the flexibility needed to fulfil an initial goal of extending education to children in the thinly populated pastoral districts.

An example of the evolving management process was the clarification of what a Half-time school was. Into 1868 the Council of Education was using the term Half-time school in two quite different and conflicting senses – either for each place where an itinerant teacher taught or to collectively describe the places at which an itinerant teacher taught. By the end of 1869 the term was being used almost entirely in the first sense, with the exception of Burrarorang Half-time School.

Half-time schools developed initially around Goulburn and Braidwood in the Goulburn District. They subsequently appeared across the Goulburn District and to a lesser extent in many of the other inspectorial districts. The reasons for the Goulburn District being the first and primary inspectorial district in which Half-time schools were established in the 1860s is, with the exception of the Jingeras situation, unclear. Half-time schools initially provided education in areas where there had not previously been government funded educational facilities and even private education was
limited. Over 1868 and 1869, however, they increasingly maintained
education in areas where full-time schools were no longer viable because of
shifting population patterns. Not all Half-time schools of the late 1860s
were in remote locations. Some were near towns and many served areas
near and between full-time schools.

Geographically many Half-time schools of the late 1860s were in
mountainous areas or on coastal rivers. It is likely that the physical obstacles
in such areas added to the difficulty of a sufficient number of children being
able to gather together to form a full-time school and favoured the
development of Half-time schools. General population density also appears
to have been a factor in the location of Half-time schools. The census of
1871 indicates that the Half-time schools of the late 1860s were generally
located in electorates which had a population density of between one and
ten persons per square mile. The vast areas of New South Wales,
particularly in the west, south-west and north-west where the population
density was lower may have been generally too sparsely populated to
sustain Half-time schools. This is consistent with the population served by
Half-time schools who were generally small farmers or selectors and only
occasionally workers on large pastoral holdings. The foundation period of
Half-time schools was also predominantly a period of growth with only a
small percentage of Half-time school opened in this period closing or
becoming full-time schools by the end of 1869.

All but one of the itinerant teachers in the period 1867 to 1869 were men.
Women teachers do not appear to have been deliberately excluded, but there
does seem to have been a general expectation that itinerant teachers would

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Sydney, Charles Potter, Government Printer, 1894, Unpaged map section.
be men. Untrained and private teachers appear to have predominated in the earliest Half-time schools. In 1868 this altered with the influx of former denominational teachers and teachers who had received some initial training, and changed again in 1869 with several experienced Public school or Provisional School teachers plus a number of others who had received initial training under the Council becoming itinerant teachers. This shift may have been influenced by Johnson’s proposals with regard to the training of itinerant teachers but it is likely that the growing interrelationship of Half-time schools with other classes of schools under the Council was an equal or greater factor. The forage allowance received by most itinerant teachers may also have been a factor that influenced some teachers to work in Half-time schools. However the unofficial limit of ten pounds a year imposed by the Council when weighed against the cost of maintaining a horse may have made the value of this allowance problematic for many itinerant teachers.

The gradual expansion of the range of subjects taught in the Half-time schools of the late 1860s was clearly influenced by Johnson’s detailed guidelines in this area. However the subjects taught in most Half-time schools at the end of 1869 was not consistent with the curriculum of public schools, with inspectors acknowledging the reality that the focus generally needed to remain principally on reading, writing and arithmetic. No evidence was discovered in the documentation available of Johnson’s proposal, and the Council’s decision, that children attending Half-time school should do home lessons. If this proposal was developed it may have been the earliest systemised forerunner of distance education in New South Wales.
The standard of accommodation provided for Half-time schools through the period 1867 to 1869 also frequently failed to meet Johnson’s vision of purpose built school houses. While an increasing number of Half-time schools were accommodated in buildings built specifically for them, and some inherited the purpose built building of a previous full-time school, many remained accommodated in private dwellings, churches or farm buildings. The Council evidently accepted that providing the district inspector deemed the buildings appropriate then a reasonable degree of latitude could be allowed for this class of school where the need was likely to be temporary and where the costs of buildings and furnishings were normally borne by the local community.

The foundation period of 1867 to 1869 can be summarised as a period of clarification systematisation and expansion following initial experimentation. Half-time schools had developed from an idea into two variant experimental forms which were then regulated into a form which the Council had clear control over and which sat reasonably comfortably with other classes of government schools for the purposes of conduct and administration. Some of the elements of this resulting form were evidently to prove durable and long lasting. The Half-time schools of the 1940s, the last decade in which Half-time schools operated, were still in groups of two schools which were almost universally within ten miles of each other. These schools were generally around Braidwood and Goulburn and they largely served the children of farmers and some workers on pastoral properties. The teachers were all men and they received a travel allowance to assist them with the expenses of travelling between their schools. Half-time schools of this period were mostly found among full-time schools in sparsely settled
areas with a fluctuating population. Many of the Half-time schools of this period had previously been Provisional or Public schools and some would go on to be Public or Provisional schools again. Other aspects had changed, for example, fewer children were required in each place and the main means of transport used by teachers was the motor car.\textsuperscript{3} It is likely that some of the durable elements had varied at times over the decades in between. However the basic principles of Half-time schools that had emerged by 1869 were evidently to prove a useful means of sustaining the provision of education in some thinly settled areas of New South Wales for several decades.

**The influences that shaped itinerant teaching and Half-time schools**

A clear and strong influence in the development of Half-time schools in the late 1860s was the Council of Education’s need for regulation of, and control over, Half-time schools. The system of education that developed under the Council of Education was a highly centralised one. To be able to effectively administer itinerant teaching the Council needed clear guidelines and standards with regard to what form Half-time schools would take, how they were to be established, and how they were to operate. This influence had a powerful effect on the way Half-time schools developed. It heavily influenced the manner in which Half-time schools moved towards fulfilling their stated role, the extension of education into thinly populated areas, by imposing other requirements that reflected what the Council stood for and considered to be important, such as the standard and amount of education.

that was to be provided, the scope of the curriculum, the quality of accommodation that was to be provided, the minimum number of children to be taught by an itinerant teacher, the number of places at which itinerant teachers could teach and the distance between them, and the financial support that itinerant teachers were to receive in travelling between their schools.

The Council of Education needed to be pragmatic and to respond to competing influences. It had to work within a budget and there was concern with the emerging high cost of itinerant teaching. It had to extend education into sparsely settled areas and to balance and appropriately develop the instruments that it had been empowered to use to achieve this goal, namely smaller Public schools, Provisional schools, Half-time schools and boarding schools. It had to build a viable and effective education system and to be seen to be providing an acceptable standard of education while appropriately responding to social and political forces that challenged it, such as the antipathy of the Catholic clergy to the Council’s control over Roman Catholic Denominational schools. The Council’s task was complex, multi-faceted and demanding. The Council needed Half-time schools to be clearly regulated and their place and role within the education system clarified.

A second powerful influence on the early development of itinerant teaching was the events in the Braidwood District in 1867 which lead to the abrupt introduction of a radically different model of itinerant teaching to what had been emerging. It is highly probable that the creation and introduction of the multi-station form of itinerant teaching in the government school system of New South Wales was initially and primarily driven by a political and
administrative imperative to respond to the findings of the commission of inquiry into crime in the Braidwood District in relation to the lack of educational facilities in the Jingeras, and the later capture and execution of the Clarke brothers which probably made it urgent to respond to the situation.

These events emphasised other aspects of the Council’s role, particularly the moral imperative to introduce education to ameliorate the influences of crime and the Council’s possible vulnerability to political pressures. The seemingly rushed and largely unplanned nature of the introduction of itinerant teaching into the Jingeras can be seen as highly divergent from, and significantly disruptive to, the structural and administrative processes that had been developing for the conduct of itinerant teaching. It inadvertently diminished the Council’s control over itinerant teaching and created tensions and conflicting expectations that then needed to be resolved. The influences which had previously held sway gradually re-asserted themselves. Without the events in the Braidwood District Half-time schools may have quietly developed into a similar form to that laid down under the special rules for Half-time schools without any major disruptions other than needing to control local pressures to teach in more than two places, and to accommodate or change the established system of itinerant teaching that existed at Burragarorang.

Some groups or individuals were also influential in shaping the early Half-time schools. The potential influence of Parkes, Wilkins and McIntyre has already been discussed. In the initial period when itinerant teaching was first emerging and was then disrupted by events in the Jingeras, a few itinerant teachers such as Henry Cobb, George Lacy and Fred Blanchard were able to
largely shape the form of itinerant teaching they undertook. The Catholic priest at Braidwood, Edward O’Brien, and Catholic clergy at Goulburn were able to use itinerant teaching to provide education primarily for the children of Catholic parents. Church of England clergy then became significantly involved in using Half-time schools to maintain education where Church of England Denominational schools had failed through want of numbers, or to establish education in areas where the children of adherents to the Church of England were frequently a significant part of the population. Local residents also played a decisive role in the establishment of some groups of Half-time schools.

The most influential group to emerge however were district inspectors. They were the eyes and ears, as well as the voice, of the Council within their inspectorates. Inspectors not only carried out Council policy but aided in its development through discussions at the annual inspectors’ conferences, through individual recommendations they made to the Council and through tasks assigned to them by the Council. Thomas Harris, the first inspector for the Goulburn District, played a far less incisive role then he might have in the initial development of itinerant teaching. Harris could have been instrumental in setting the standards and requirements for Half-time schools and for guiding their development before, through and following the disruption caused by the Council’s intervention in the Jingeras. His inaction was a major contributor to the state of limbo that Half-time schools fell into in 1867 and early 1868. Edwin Johnson, the inspector in charge of the Sydney inspectorial district, subsequently played the decisive role of clarifying the situation with regard to itinerant teaching in the Goulburn District and putting forward a series of recommendations for the
systemisation of Half-time schools that were substantially adopted. With the establishment of clear guidelines for Half-time schools district inspectors played an increasingly significant role in the establishment and conduct of Half-time schools. They also increasingly used them to maintain educational facilities in thinly populated areas where full-time schools had proved unviable.

Other influences also played a role in shaping the Half-time schools of this foundation period. The population density of school age children in an area, the stability or otherwise of that population, the willingness of parents to send children to school in this period of non compulsory education, and the availability of two groups of at least ten children within ten miles of each other, for example, all emerged as factors in determining where and whether Half-time schools were established. The factors which led to the establishment of Half-time schools rather than a Provisional school appear not to have been population density or attendance levels alone as some single Half-time schools of this period had enrolments and attendances which matched or exceeded those of some Provisional schools. There are indications that negative parental attitudes towards part-time education, as against full-time education, may have also been an influential factor in some cases. Knowledge of events in other classes of schools serving thinly populated areas in this period, particularly Provisional schools, is needed to be able to make effective judgements on these influences. The lack of available research on rural education in New South Wales in the late 1860s precluded fuller investigation of these aspects.
The vision for Half-time schools and the extent of its realisation

What Half-time schools of the foundation period were intended to achieve was not definitively and consistently stated. There were a number of statements of an official nature relating to their purpose made from 1866 to 1868. In the Public Schools Act of 1866 Clause Twelve was one of four measures designed to extend education into sparsely settled areas. Parkes, in his second reading of the Public Schools Bill, predicted that itinerant teaching might be able to reach some children who could not be reached in any other way. He also described itinerant teaching as an imperfect means of instruction, possibly because of its part-time nature. Wilkins in stating the Council’s goal of extending educational facilities to every child, in his circular of March 1867, foresaw that Half-time schools would extend educational facilities into areas beyond the reach of full-time - Public, Denominational and Provisional – schools. Johnson in his report on the Half-time schools in the Goulburn District acknowledged that Half-time schools of the form he was recommending would not reach very small and isolated groups of children and recommended their needs be met by the establishment of Boarding schools.

The subsequent 1867 annual report of the Council and the article on Half-time schools in the *Australian Journal of Education* adopted a more optimistic stance seeing Half-time schools as a practical means of extending educational facilities into sparsely settled areas beyond the reach of full-time schools, including Provisional schools. It was predicted they would successfully extend educational facilities into the vast pastoral districts that other classes of schools had not penetrated and to a lesser extent provide
education in some new and sparsely settled agricultural districts. The article in the *Australian Journal of Education* also introduced a vision for Half-
time schools that would be strongly promoted by McIntyre and echoed by the Council, that Half-time schools could produce results as good as a full-
time school. The basis for this vision was the reported success of a system of part-time education used for children working in English factories and mills.

Within these varying views there are some common or overlapping themes. Half-time schools were seen as a means of extending education into sparsely populated areas. They were seen as being able to penetrate areas that could not be reached by full-time schools. There was an implication that they would appear in areas where educational facilities had previously been absent and if the population of a locality grew they would be replaced by full-time schools. Half-time schools would primarily serve the vast sparsely settled pastoral districts of New South Wales.

The reality of what occurred in the foundation period of 1867 to 1869 only partly matched this vision. Half-time schools did serve some sparsely settled areas where government and denominational schools had previously not penetrated, particularly in 1867 and 1868, though some of this success came through the multi-station model of Half-time schools. Increasingly however Half-time schools also served a different need, namely maintaining educational facilities in areas of declining or fluctuating population. They more commonly replaced full-time schools, then were replaced by full-time schools. The vision of Half-time schools as a major solution to the problem of providing educational facilities in sparsely settled pastoral districts bereft of educational facilities does not correspond with the role Half-time schools
actually played. In reality Half-time schools were beginning to fill a new unstated role, maintaining educational facilities in primarily agricultural areas where already established schools were no longer viable in addition to extending education into farming rather than grazing areas, or into districts where both were present, and where there had frequently previously been private schools or private tutors.

The Council reports of 1868 and 1869 may have indirectly acknowledged the real emerging role of Half-time schools and their unsuitability for serving the vast sparsely settled pastoral districts. While Half-time schools are given considerable attention in the 1868 report, optimistic projections that Half-time schools would meet the needs of sparsely settled areas are absent. Instead the Council acknowledged there were more then 25 000 children, mostly in sparsely populated rural areas, beyond the reach of educational facilities for whom no means had yet been found to extend education to them. The Council acknowledged the significant growth in the number of Half-time schools in its 1869 report, but in noting the marked extension of schools into thinly populated areas that had previously been destitute of education during that year focussed its comments on the contribution of Provisional schools.

**The contribution of Half-time schools**

By 1869 Half-time schools had a distinct niche in the educational landscape of New South Wales serving areas where there were two groups of as few as ten children within ten miles of each other whose parents were prepared to send them regularly to school. This need for fewer children than required to maintain a full-time school made them more sustainable than other classes
of schools in many rural areas where shifting populations and the variable support of parents, as well as low population densities, were endemic. While this form did allow, to an extent, the achievement of their stated purpose, namely the provision of educational facilities in some areas where government, church and possibly private schools had not previously penetrated, it also, significantly, made them a useful means of maintaining educational facilities where full-time schools had previously existed but were no longer sustainable. Half-time schools had become part of a network of small government schools providing and maintaining government educational facilities in many thinly populated rural areas.

This role was to prove a viable and durable one that Half-time schools were to play for eight decades. Many rural schools in New South Wales were to be Half-time schools at some point in their existence when the number of children was insufficient, or became insufficient, to sustain a full time school and there was another locality with a small but viable group of children within ten miles. A typical example is the Government school at Bellawongarah near Berry in south eastern New South Wales which between 1874 and 1944 commenced as a Provisional school, became a Half-time school with Wattamolla (which had previously been a Provisional school and a Public school) as its Partnering Half-time school, a Public school, a Half-time school with Wattamolla again (which had been a Provisional school and a Public school in the intervening period), a Provisional school again and finally a Half-time school for the third time first with Budgong Gap (which had previously been a Provisional school then a Public school) and then Woodhill (which had previously been a Provisional school, a Public School, and then twice a Half-time school with
Bendella then Wattamolla) Bendella had previously been a Public school, a Half-time school with Woodhill, a Provisional school, and a Half-time school with Budgong Gap. A second example is the small bush school at Limekilns near Bathurst in the central west of New South Wales which was attended by Ben Chifley who went on to become a famous Labor Prime Minister of Australia. During the nine years Ben Chifley attended this school in the 1890s it went from a Public school to a House to house school (another form of school conducted by itinerant teachers) in conjunction with the nearby localities of Dullaberry and Wheatfield to a Half-time school in conjunction with Dullaberry Half-time School.

It is probable that the restriction of two Half-time schools within ten miles of each other per itinerant teacher and the demise of the multi teaching station model of itinerant teaching in the period 1867 to 1869 reduced the ability of Half-time schools to extend into more sparsely populated areas. This restriction may well have resulted in a more stable, controllable, and organised form of part-time schooling with a higher level of educational achievement and a greater quality of physical facilities, but the cost was that smaller and more scattered groups of children were left without educational facilities. The combination of the approved form for Half-time schools with the evident, but unlegislated, requirement that Provisional schools should maintain an average attendance of fifteen children, and the non appearance of bush boarding schools meant the Council’s aim of extending government educational facilities to every locality and within the reach of every family was unfulfilled in the late 1860s.

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To what degree the maintenance of a more flexible model of itinerant teaching in the 1860s may have taken the Council closer to achieving its goal is uncertain. The development of the House to house school system in the 1880s saw the return of the multi teaching station model of itinerant teaching to the government education system in New South Wales as part of a new push to extend educational facilities into sparsely settled areas beyond the reach of existing educational facilities, including Half-time schools. However this system met with mixed success and faded away in the 1920s. Travelling schools were a further extension of the idea of using itinerant teachers but only three were ever established. It was primarily through the development of improved forms of transport, the introduction of free transport to schools, the lowering of the required attendances for full time schools and the development of correspondence (later distance) education in the twentieth century that the government education system finally realised its goal of extending access to education to all, no matter how isolated.

Provisional schools were also designed to extend educational facilities into thinly populated areas and it is likely there were circumstances where either a Provisional school or a Half-time school could have served the needs of a locality. Where the anticipated attendance was sufficient to support either a Provisional school or a Half-time school, but not a Public school, it is probable that local factors such as the existence, or not, of a nearby locality with sufficient children to only form a Half-time school or the preference of parents for a full-time education over a part-time education were significant.

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factors. The preference of the district inspector or possibly the attraction for teachers of the higher salary and forage allowance they might receive as itinerant teachers could also have also been decisive factors in some circumstances. Where this choice existed the decision made may well have impacted on the prevalence and distribution of Half-time schools in the period 1867 to 1869.

The special rules for the conduct of Half-time schools with their clear standards and the emphasis on conducting them as far as possible in the same manner as Public schools, in a theoretical sense at least, separated them from and placed them between Public schools and Provisional schools in terms of educational standards. By the end of 1869 it was clear that these rules were having some impact in this direction. However there is no evidence from this period to support the idea espoused by McIntyre and possibly others in the late 1860s of Half-time schools potentially proving the equal or superior of full-time schools in terms of the quality of education they provided.

Half-time schools were a small but growing component of the government school system of the late 1860s. From a base of 259 Public (former National) schools and no Provisional or Half-time schools at the beginning of 1867 when the Council of Education commenced operation, the Government education system grew significantly in the late 1860s, to comprise 336 Public schools, 146 Provisional schools and sixty Half-time schools at the end of 1869. Denominational schools certified by the

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9 *Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869*, Sydney, Thomas Richards, Government Printer, 1870, p.5. The number of Half-time schools has been adjusted from 61 to 60 to reflect the actual situation.
Council of Education as publicly funded and operated church schools, by contrast, declined from 317 at the end of 1867 to 264 at the end of 1869. At the end of 1869 Public schools comprised sixty-two percent, Provisional schools twenty-seven percent and Half-time schools eleven percent of the government schools in operation. Public schools had grown steadily throughout the period 1867 to 1869 from their already existing base, Provisional schools had grown rapidly in number, and Half-time schools, with their diverse beginnings and need for a period of clarification, had, overall, grown steadily in number.

The pattern of the number of Half-time schools growing steadily but remaining numerically less than Public and Provisional schools established in the period 1867-1869 was to continue. Only in the 1890s did the number of Half-time schools briefly match and surpass the number of Provisional schools when the number of Provisional schools fell while the numbers of Half-time schools continued to grow. In 1894 the number of Half-time schools in operation reached a peak of 497 and comprised nineteen point four percent of the Government schools of New South Wales. From 1902 this trend abruptly reversed with Provisional schools growing markedly in number and Half-time schools steadily falling in numbers. Public schools always existed in significantly greater numbers than Provisional and Half-time schools.

The presence and extent of Half-time schools within the nine inspectorial districts at the end of 1869 varied considerably. Half-time schools were a

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10 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1867, Sydney, Thomas Richards, Government Printer, 1868, p.3.
11 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869, p.5.
12 Government Schools of New South Wales 1848 – 2003, pp. 209-211.
significant part of the publicly funded education being provided in the
Goulburn District and were playing a growing role on the Newcastle
District, but played only a minor role, if any, in the other rural districts.
Albury, Armidale and Bathurst Districts which included the most sparsely
settled areas of New South Wales had very few Half-time schools, as did the
Maitland and Camden Districts. The absence and near absence of Half-time
schools from the largely closely settled Sydney and Cumberland Districts
was logical. Of the two types of school specifically intended for sparsely
settled areas Provisional schools had clearly been far more widely adopted
than Half-time schools. Only in the Goulburn and Newcastle Districts did
Half-time schools outnumber Provisional schools.13

Opportunities for further research

The development of this thesis has raised a number of possibilities for future
research in relation to rural education in New South Wales, but two issues
predominate. First, the picture presented in this thesis of the provision and
extension of education in thinly populated areas during the early period of
the Council of Education is incomplete. The development and role of
Provisional schools in particular and their interaction with Half-time
schools, as well as the role of smaller Public schools and the failure to
develop Boarding schools, need to be explored to more fully understand the
nature of the Council’s efforts to meet the major goal of extending
education to children in rural areas who it perceived to be beyond the reach
of existing facilities. Second, this thesis only investigates the formation
period of Half-time schools. The following eight decades in which Half-

13 Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of the Public Schools for 1869,
pp. 29, 40, 57, 81, 88, 111, 126 and 138.
time schools proved the most extensive and most enduring of the forms of itinerant teaching used in New South Wales to provide elementary education in sparsely settled areas, particularly the 1890s and early twentieth century when they formed a considerable portion of the government schools in rural areas, have been the subject of very little research and their place and relative importance in the provision of education in New South Wales remains largely unknown.

**Summation**

This critical narrative of the foundation period of Half-time schools has provided a detailed insight into a previously unexplored aspect of the New South Wales government education system in a critical period of its development. It has given a perspective not previously available on decision making and policy formation within the newly established Council of Education, the first major educational bureaucracy developed in New South Wales, which has deepened our understanding of these historical processes. Our knowledge of the factors behind the drive to extend educational facilities to all children and the means employed to achieve this aim, a major long term theme of rural education in New South Wales, has been extended through the telling of this story and the analysis of the events revealed. The mystery of why during this foundation period some itinerant teachers taught in three to seven places while others were restricted to two places, and also why teaching in two places became the norm for itinerant teachers in charge of Half-time schools, has been substantively resolved. The human side of this story, the interactions and impact of individuals involved, including local residents, teachers, clergy, inspectors,
administrators, politicians and even bushrangers, has been examined to the extent allowed by the available documentation. This is a story of people and events that has relevance beyond its immediate context of the educational history of New South Wales. Through its revelation of the forces such as local demand and political pressures that shaped these events it enhances our understanding of events of this nature in other Australian colonies/states and internationally.
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Head of School card for Cobbora

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