

What was the motivation for Bishops Broughton and Barry in establishing grammar schools?

Samuel Anderson

INTRODUCTION

From the earliest beginnings of the colony, the Church of England in Australia was committed to the education of the young.¹ The first chaplains, Samuel Marsden and Richard Johnson, were evangelicals who believed that school education should have a strong focus on teaching Bible knowledge and impressing moral imperatives.² Until around 1815 the Anglican chaplains were virtually unchallenged in their role as supervisors of education.³ But this dominance would not last. As public opinion turned against state support of sectarian education, legislative changes meant that Anglican parochial Day Schools could no longer be maintained. Interestingly, there was still much work that could be done in the public schools through 'Religious Instruction' classes. Yet the Anglicans instead turned their attention towards the establishment of three prominent grammar schools: The King's School in Parramatta, St Andrew's Cathedral School in Sydney and Sydney Church of England Grammar School (Shore).

¹ Hereafter, The Church of England in Australia will be referred to as the Anglican Church, and the English Church as The Church of England.

² Donald George Anderson, 'Teach the Children: A History of the School Education Work of the Sydney Anglican Church with Special Reference to the Sydney Anglican Schools Corporation, 1788-1991' (PhD thesis, Macquarie University, 2014), 32.

³ Anderson, 'Teach the Children', 28.

This move towards grammar schools has been summarised pejoratively as an abandonment of the elementary schools in favour of providing for the elite.⁴ In this essay, we will assess whether this is an accurate claim by examining, as far as is possible, the motivations of those who established those grammar schools—Bishop William Broughton and Bishop Alfred Barry. We will show that both men were driven by their desire to see the new colony prosper as a Christian land. To achieve that goal, a solid, Anglican education of the colony's future leaders was crucial. In the context of the day, those future leaders would unquestionably come from the middle and upper classes. So rather than demonstrating a bias for the elite, the decision to establish grammar schools was the means to a much greater end of seeing the whole colony prosper under the direction of godly, Christian leaders.

BISHOP BROUGHTON

William Grant Broughton arrived in Sydney on 13th September 1829 to take up the position of Archdeacon of New South Wales.⁵ By 1832 Broughton had set up two Anglican grammar schools. Both were called The King's School: one located in Sydney and the other at Parramatta. Anderson states that these 'schools were established to provide for the children of the wealthy [...and] designed to provide training for the professionals of the future'.⁶ Likewise, Warren summarises their purpose simply: the schools were 'to provide a form of secondary education preparing

⁴ Riley Noel Warren, 'Instructing Them in 'the Things of God': The Response of the Bishop and the Synod of the Church of England in the Diocese of Sydney to the Public Instruction Act 1880 (NSW) Regarding Religious Education for its Children and Young People, 1880-1889', (MTh thesis, University of Sydney, 2014), 76.

⁵ Simon Rhonsley Godden, 'Founding Anglican Schools: A Study of Agents and Events Which Influenced the Formation of Five Anglican Schools Within the Diocese of Sydney', (MTh thesis, University of New England, 1996), 13.

⁶ Anderson, 'Teach the Children', 47.

its boys for future leadership'.⁷ There is no doubt that both these statements are correct, but they do not account for several crucial factors that motivated Broughton's establishment of these schools.⁸

i) Establishment

Undergirding Broughton's actions and beliefs was his commitment to the view of the Church of England as being established. This belief was founded in both law and theology. Broughton believed that the English Constitution afforded the Church 'the fullest measure of aid and support' and, therefore, 'wherever the Crown and the church be found together, the former should ensure that the latter had the means by which is would remain in its rightful place as the established church'.⁹ This was not to be limited geographically, but should encompass all British subjects wherever they may be.¹⁰ Thus, Broughton was convinced of the correctness of the established church, both in England and in her colonies.

Furthermore, Broughton was a high churchman who did not see the Church of England as beginning at the Reformation, but rather as one with its foundations in the New Testament: 'our Church had in truth no Fathers but those of the Church Catholic'.¹¹ The Church of England had been established by God's providence 'for accomplishing some singularly important end connected with the progress and final prevalence of the

⁷ Warren, 'Instructing Them in 'the Things of God'', 68.

⁸ Given that the school located in Sydney did not last even one full year, future references to The King's School will be referring to the school at Parramatta.

⁹ Godden, 'Founding Anglican Schools', 15.

¹⁰ Godden, 'Founding Anglican Schools', 15.

¹¹ William Grant Broughton, 'The Present Position and Duties of the Church of England', Sermon preached at Canterbury Cathedral, 17 September 1835, footnote pages 7-8.

Gospel'.¹² The Church of England was the true Christian church, and the ever expanding British Empire was evidence that she went out with God's blessing to promulgate the gospel to the ends of the earth:

We are therefore to consider ourselves not as placed here accidentally, nor even for the fulfilment of a temporary purpose, but as conducted by the providence of God to bear our part in the execution of that eternal purpose which was laid in Christ Jesus before the world began!¹³

This was the primary motivating factor for Broughton and, even before its creation, Broughton saw The King's School as advancing this goal by 'training up the rising generation [...] in this Colony for ever in the Faith of Jesus Christ'.¹⁴ For Broughton this was essential to the fortunes of the colony itself as he saw 'an inseparable connection between prosperity and obedience'.¹⁵

ii) Social morality

Yet this colony could hardly be described as one marked by Christian obedience, and Broughton perceived that its future prosperity was under threat. He was greatly concerned with the spiritual health of the new colony, and particularly with regards to two great dangers: intellectual liberalism and moral depravity.¹⁶ He saw the 'spirit of

¹² Broughton, 'The Present Position and Duties of the Church of England', 3.

¹³ G. P. Shaw, 'William Grant Broughton and His Early Years in New South Wales', (PhD thesis, Australian National University, 1970), 82.

¹⁴ William Grant Broughton, 'Plan Prepared by the Venerable Archdeacon Broughton, Upon Which to Form Grammar Schools and Eventually a College in New South Wales', Sub-enclosure No. 1 in Darling to Murray, 10 February, 1830.

¹⁵ Shaw, 'William Grant Broughton and His Early Years in New South Wales', 81.

¹⁶ Godden, 'Founding Anglican Schools', 20.

the age' as being a refined scepticism; one which was more indifferent to Christianity than openly hostile. This refined scepticism was, however, diametrically opposed to the Church as an institution.¹⁷ If this intellectual danger posed a great problem for the educated middle and upper classes, equally dangerous was the 'degraded state of morals which unhappily characterises too great a proportion of the inhabitants of this town'.¹⁸ In Broughton's view, almost every corner of the colony was full of vice, lewdness, drunkenness and un-chastity. The recent three-year drought was, according to Broughton, the judgement of God on the iniquity of the people. But when the drought broke towards the end of 1829, Broughton interpreted the rains as a sign that that God had not given up on this nation: 'It is the counsel and pleasure of God, I repeat, to raise up here a Christian nation'.¹⁹ But, if this colony was to be used and blessed by God, then reform was required. This could only come through the gospel: 'The great purpose of the gospel [...] is to bring back man to God; to renew in his mind the image of his Creator in righteousness and true holiness'.²⁰

Broughton was convinced that a lack of sound religious instruction was the cause of so much immorality in the colony.²¹ The only hope of a solution, therefore,

rest[ed] on the continuance in full efficiency of those parochial schools wherein, while the elements of instruction are liberally afforded, the youthful mind is trained up "in the nurture and admonition of the Lord." To these we must look

¹⁷ Godden, 'Founding Anglican Schools', 21.

¹⁸ Godden, 'Founding Anglican Schools', 21.

¹⁹ Shaw, 'William Grant Broughton and His Early Years in New South Wales', 83.

²⁰ W.G. Broughton, 'A Charge Delivered to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of New South Wales at the Primary Visitation' in the Church of St James, in Sydney on Thursday 3 December, 1829, 7.

²¹ Godden, 'Founding Anglican Schools', 22.

as to so many fountains which will gradually purify the waters of bitterness, of which this land has been made the receptacle.²²

For Broughton, the importance of the education system in the future of the colony could not be overstated: ‘the future religious character, I repeat, and therefore the real greatness and security of Australia, will greatly depend on the continued efficiency of these institutions’.²³

iii) Catholicism

When Broughton arrived in Sydney he might have expected that the establishment of Anglican churches and schools in Australia would not be a difficult task. The Church and School Lands Corporation’s Charter allowed for the generous provision of one seventh of all revenue from land to be directed towards the financial support of bishops, clergy, land, buildings, and schooling.²⁴ Thus, although not technically established, the Anglican Church was in a highly privileged position in a time when approximately thirty one percent of the colony was Catholic.²⁵ Broughton was unaware, however, that on his journey to the colony he carried with him the revocation of the Church and School Lands Corporation’s Charter.²⁶ This deprived the Church of much funding and significantly weakened the position of the Anglican Church. In these circumstances Broughton saw Catholicism as a real threat to the future of the colony: ‘The revival of

²² Broughton, ‘A Charge Delivered to the Clergy’, 21-22

²³ Broughton, ‘A Charge Delivered to the Clergy’, 22.

²⁴ Godden, ‘Founding Anglican Schools’, 13.

²⁵ Godden, ‘Founding Anglican Schools’, 18

²⁶ Godden, ‘Founding Anglican Schools’, 13.

the influence of the Church of Rome [...] is proceeding among us with a rapidity almost incredible'.²⁷

The Catholic influence would compel people to 'bow down and venerate the graven image' and Broughton feared they would attempt to reinstitute 'a tribunal founded on the usurpation of the rights of men and invasion of the prerogatives of God'.²⁸ Godden comments that 'it is not surprising that he felt it necessary to shore up his church's position against the threat of other denominational influence by ensuring a continuity of leadership provided by a quality school'.²⁹ However, Broughton saw a strong and established Anglican Church as vital, not just out of partisan loyalty to his Church, but for the sake of all Protestant denominations in the colony. Catholic doctrines were a threat to true biblical interpretation and only the Anglicans, with all the great resources of their universities, were in a position to defend true protestant faith.

No reflecting man, whether churchman or dissenter, can shut his eyes to the reality of the danger which has been pointed out from the revived exertions of Romanism [...] which is stealing over the land. It is consequently with a view to support Christianity itself, that all are interested in maintaining an establishment, to which, after all, the task of encountering these adversaries must principally be confided.³⁰

²⁷ Broughton, 'The Present Position and Duties of the Church of England', 5.

²⁸ Broughton, 'The Present Position and Duties of the Church of England', 6.

²⁹ Godden, 'Founding Anglican Schools', 18-19.

³⁰ Broughton, 'The Present Position and Duties of the Church of England', 20.

Thus, for Broughton, robust Christian education, provided primarily by the Anglican Church, was needed to defend all in the colony against the real threat of the Roman church. For this, Broughton looked beyond parochial Day Schools. They would not suffice in this respect; higher education was required.

iv) The solution: Religious education

The solution, for Broughton, to these devastating problems of immorality and Catholicism was to be found in religious education. It was not enough that education be simply in doctrinal matters but ‘in the nurture and admonition of the Lord’.³¹ Only this type of education could change a person from within and thereby restrain sinful behaviour.³² But what form would this religious education take?

The opening of Sydney College in January 1830 made Broughton more anxious than ever to establish an Anglican grammar school in Sydney. Sydney College had made provision for a museum and a natural philosophy department and looked to be following the path of modern educational theorists by enlarging the classical curriculum with a broad study of the sciences.³³ This interest in the relatively novel, and increasingly popular, subject of science was of great concern for Broughton. He believed that, rather than developing skills of reasoning and patient habits of investigation, science simply filled a boy’s head with facts, producing a strong memory but weak judgement. Broughton described this as an intellectual and moral disaster: the student, puffed up with pride, was ‘prone to contravene all established opinions, to

³¹ Broughton, ‘A Charge Delivered to the Clergy’, 22.

³² Godden, ‘Founding Anglican Schools’, 23.

³³ Shaw, ‘William Grant Broughton and His Early Years in New South Wales’, 103-4.

despise the authority of former times, and to decide without any hesitation upon points which have exercised for ages the minds of the most reflective men'.³⁴

Broughton was not comforted by the fact that the boys at Sydney College received a Bible and time to read it, for mankind was bent towards vice rather than virtue and, unless instructed by elders, they would use the Bible itself to justify all manner of sinful behaviour.³⁵ So great was his fear of this type of secular education that he wrote that if such schools 'should ever obtain general acceptance in this colony, they will render it, I venture to predict, the most frightful moral spectacle that has ever been exhibited upon earth'.³⁶

Broughton believed it was absolutely necessary to provide an alternative but he was anxious that he might not be given the opportunity: the Colonial Office had provided instruction to establish a grammar school in Sydney but, with the opening of Sydney College, Broughton was concerned they might consider their objectives met and not require another. He wrote to Governor Darling arguing that the opening of Sydney College did not lessen, but rather heightened, the need to establish another school. Broughton strongly advocated for establishing two Anglican grammar schools that might act in direct competition with Sydney College.³⁷

Broughton's schooling would take a different approach to education. He advised Governor Darling that the two proposed schools should follow the system of classical

³⁴ Shaw, 'William Grant Broughton and His Early Years in New South Wales', 105.

³⁵ Shaw, 'William Grant Broughton and His Early Years in New South Wales', 100.

³⁶ Shaw, 'William Grant Broughton and His Early Years in New South Wales', 101.

³⁷ Shaw, 'William Grant Broughton and His Early Years in New South Wales', 102-103.

studies found in the public schools in England.³⁸ In addition, religious education and worship would form a major component of each day. The school would, for pragmatic reasons, be non-denominational but the boys must involve themselves in daily morning prayers, attend a place of worship, and participate in general religious education classes.³⁹ Broughton was keen that the boys learned from the Bible, from selected expositions, and from a general and inoffensive catechism. As they progressed through the school they would move to the apologetic arguments for design and scriptural reliability of William Paley in the hopes that it would produce in pupils a 'lively faith'.⁴⁰

To this end, Broughton proposed a day school for one hundred students in Sydney, and a mixed day and boarding school 'strategically placed at Parramatta, for no less a purpose than fostering the growth of a class of landed gentry'.⁴¹ While visiting the County of Cumberland, Broughton had observed that the isolation meant that one's closest neighbour also became one's most needed friend, regardless of their class. In a letter to Governor Darling, he reported landowners 'sacrificing all their respectability and influence by associating habitually with their own convict servants'.⁴² This was not a happy situation for Broughton, and education was the remedy: 'Such a forgetfulness of what is due to themselves and society, I need scarcely remark, could not occur, if their minds were duly cultivated'.⁴³

The temptation should be resisted to view these remarks as pure snobbery or classism. Broughton believed that the peace and sobriety of England was in large part due to the

³⁸ Shaw, 'William Grant Broughton and His Early Years in New South Wales', 105.

³⁹ Shaw, 'William Grant Broughton and His Early Years in New South Wales', 108.

⁴⁰ Shaw, 'William Grant Broughton and His Early Years in New South Wales', 110-111.

⁴¹ Shaw, 'William Grant Broughton and His Early Years in New South Wales', 106.

⁴² Shaw, 'William Grant Broughton and His Early Years in New South Wales', 106.

⁴³ Shaw, 'William Grant Broughton and His Early Years in New South Wales', 106-107.

involvement of the gentry in civil matters such as acting as Justices of the Peace, serving on juries and sitting in the House of Commons. There were currently few such duties in the colony, but these responsibilities would increase for the sons of the gentry, and Broughton was anxious to get the boys away to a quality institution to train them with ‘sound learning and awaken a yearning for excellence that would flow into good government’.⁴⁴ Thus Broughton saw a crucial link between a well (Christianly) educated upper class and well run government. In Broughton’s context, it was without question that the colony’s future leaders would come largely from the gentrified classes.

The repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts in 1828, and the Roman Catholic Relief Act in 1829, meant that there could be no established church in the colony. However, as Shaw comments, ‘Broughton was determined to do everything in his power to make certain that New South Wales at least had a general Christian Establishment’.⁴⁵ This, of course, gave up on the notion of Church Schools training up the young in loyalty to their particular sect, yet he believed that a general Christian influence would be for the good of all society—not just the elite—and would fulfil God’s great plans for this colony.⁴⁶

Overall, since institutions such as Sydney College were likely to produce men of arrogant and ungodly character, the need for a solid, Anglican grammar school became urgent for Broughton. By establishing such a school, he saw that he could help to produce men of godly character to fill those leadership roles that could only be held by men of a certain class. Ultimately, Broughton saw that a system of Anglican grammar

⁴⁴ Shaw, ‘William Grant Broughton and His Early Years in New South Wales’, 107.

⁴⁵ Shaw, ‘William Grant Broughton and His Early Years in New South Wales’, 108.

⁴⁶ Shaw, ‘William Grant Broughton and His Early Years in New South Wales’, 109.

school education would counter the threats of immorality and Catholicism, and above all would cause the colony to prosper, both materially and spiritually, as God blessed the Church's endeavours.

INTERLUDE: THE DECREASING DOMINANCE OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCH

Much was to change in the fifty years between the establishment of The King's School and the next two Anglican grammar schools that would be established in Sydney. The first fifty years of the colony saw education largely controlled by Anglicans, but even by Broughton's time, things had started to change. As other denominations—Catholics, Methodists, Presbyterians and others—grew in number, so did dissatisfaction with Anglican dominance.⁴⁷ In time, all denominational schools became state funded and, in 1847, Governor Fitzroy provided state funding for a non-sectarian state school system.⁴⁸ The reduplication of education was seen by many as wasteful and divisive and, in the 1850s and 1860s, there was resistance to public funding of denominational institutions, particularly by liberals who argued that religion could and should be taught at home.⁴⁹ Politicians sought many ways to resolve the problem of education, but policy gradually turned against the denominational schools, particularly with the Public Schools Act of 1866 which limited state funding to cover only teacher salaries in church schools.⁵⁰ The churches could not bear the financial burden of maintaining their schools and, by 1874, the number of denominational elementary schools had fallen from 140 to 80, 44 of which were Anglican.⁵¹

⁴⁷ Anderson, 'Teach the Children', 43, 45-46.

⁴⁸ Anderson, 'Teach the Children', 49.

⁴⁹ Anderson, 'Teach the Children', 54.

⁵⁰ Anderson, 'Teach the Children', 55.

⁵¹ Anderson, 'Teach the Children', 60.

By 1880 it was generally accepted that the state was the only appropriate provider of education. The Public Instruction Act was passed that year, removing state funding from denomination schools altogether.⁵² This was the death blow to many schools, and by 1884 only seven Anglican elementary schools were still functioning. As Anderson correctly remarks, the Sydney diocesan parish school structure that had taken over 90 years to establish was clearly largely incapable of surviving without government support.⁵³

BISHOP BARRY

It was into this situation that Alfred Barry walked when he was installed as the third Bishop of Sydney in 1884. Synod statistics from the time reveal that the previous bishop, Frederic Barker, had been successful in his attempts to salvage as much as he could for Anglican education. The Public Instruction Act 1880 allowed for up to one hour per day for specific religious instruction and, by 1885, approximately 18,500—or 87 percent—of Anglican children were receiving Religious Instruction in public schools.⁵⁴ Furthermore, in the year that Barry arrived, there were over 18,500 children on the rolls of the parish Sunday Schools, with an average weekly attendance of over 12,000.⁵⁵ Barry recognised these plentiful opportunities. In his first presidential address to Synod in 1884 he devoted over 40 percent of his time to educational

⁵² Kenneth J. Cable “The Church of England in New South Wales and its Policy Towards Education Prior to 1880” Part II, (MTh thesis, University of Sydney, 1962), 111.

⁵³ Anderson, ‘Teach the Children’, 70.

⁵⁴ Warren, ‘Instructing Them in ‘the Things of God’, 40.

⁵⁵ Warren, ‘Instructing Them in ‘the Things of God’, 53.

matters.⁵⁶ He spelled out his understanding of a comprehensive three-tiered Anglican education system:

In the elementary schools, which lie at the root of it all; in the middle schools and grammar schools, which occupy the next place; in the University and college, crowning the educational structure—in each and all of these I trust that the Church of England, as she has done in the old days [...] so now will throw herself heartily into the common work, and will do whatever special part devolves on her.⁵⁷

Barry made no secret of the fact that he believed in the importance of thorough Christian education for the middle and higher classes, in the style of the English public schools, to prepare boys for university education: ‘We want schools of the type of our English Public Schools, to train our boys of the upper and middle classes and to be feeders for the more advanced education of the colleges’.⁵⁸ Just like Broughton, Barry saw that these men would be the future leaders of society and it was ‘of transcendent importance’ that they received the right education.⁵⁹ To this end, Barry would work tirelessly to promote and expand on his middle tier of education: the grammar school.

⁵⁶ Warren, ‘Instructing Them in ‘the Things of God’, 42.

⁵⁷ Proceedings of the Second Session of the Sixth Synod of the Diocese of Sydney, 23.

⁵⁸ Proceedings of the Third Session of the Sixth Synod of the Diocese of Sydney, (Sydney: Joseph Cook & Co., 1885), 23.

⁵⁹ *Proceedings of the Second Session of the Seventh Synod of the Diocese of Sydney*, (Sydney: Joseph Cook & Co., 1887), 20.

i) An English public school system for the colony

Although Barry's inaugural address to Synod contained only a brief reference to grammar schools, his statement set the agenda that would dominate his term. He set out his beliefs clearly when he stated: 'I believe there is abundant room, without interference with any existing institution, for such higher schools as the old King's School at Parramatta was designed to be, and has been, only of the day school type'.⁶⁰

In this short statement, several things are evident: Firstly, at this point, The King's School was not functioning as an English public school. Secondly, by implication, Barry intended reform this school in accordance with its design. Thirdly, he intended to create additional institutions of its type.

All three of these themes were revisited the following year. In his 1885 address, Barry reminded the Synod of Broughton's desire to have a King's School in Sydney itself, and he proposed establishing another school to realise this vision.⁶¹ The new grammar school would be 'a great school of the highest character, having various departments for the needs of the various classes of the community—open, of course, to all, but under the full religious teaching on the principles of the Church of England'.⁶² Barry also suggested the establishment of a Cathedral School; 'an institution which, as I need hardly tell you, has always formed from old times part of a right Cathedral system'.⁶³

⁶⁰ *Proceedings of the Second Session of the Sixth Synod of the Diocese of Sydney*, (Sydney: Joseph Cook & Co., 1884), 26.

⁶¹ *Proceedings of the Third Session of the Sixth Synod of the Diocese of Sydney*, 24.

⁶² *Proceedings of the Third Session of the Sixth Synod of the Diocese of Sydney*, 24.

⁶³ *Proceedings of the Third Session of the Sixth Synod of the Diocese of Sydney*, 24.

Finally, the reform at The King's School was made more explicit as Barry, while commending the school, at the same time suggested that it might need developing.⁶⁴

Barry had already had considerable success in reforming schools in England: under his headship, Leeds Grammar, Cheltenham College, and King's College, London, had been developed according to the educational principles of Thomas Arnold.⁶⁵ Each of these schools had seen growth in numbers and reputation. Sherrington describes Barry as being 'in the forefront of mid-century English public school reform'.⁶⁶ Turner comments that, in England, it was reformers such as Barry who had 'saved the public school movement'.⁶⁷ Barry set about applying these principles at The King's School under a new headmaster, Reverend Arthur Gray, an Oxford graduate whose reforms were drawn from his experience at Clifton College.⁶⁸ By the following Synod, Barry was able to report full confidence in the future of the school:

under the able and enthusiastic direction of its new head master, [it] will go on continually extending the scope and raising the standard of its usefulness, rendering to our community something of the priceless service that the great public schools of England have so nobly rendered to the higher education of the old country.⁶⁹

⁶⁴ *Proceedings of the Third Session of the Sixth Synod of the Diocese of Sydney*, 23.

⁶⁵ Kenneth J. Cable, 'Barry Alfred (1826-1910)', in *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (ed. Douglas Pike; Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1969), 105.

⁶⁶ Sherrington, *Shore*, 10.

⁶⁷ David Turner, *The Old Boys: The Decline and Rise of the Public School* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 92.

⁶⁸ Sherrington, *Shore*, 13.

⁶⁹ *Proceedings of the First Session of the Seventh Synod of the Diocese of Sydney*, 22.

Barry's confidence was not unfounded: within two years, enrolments at The King's School had more than doubled.⁷⁰

He was relentless in his pursuit of further institutions of higher education. Also in 1886 he noted with approval that St Catherine's had opened its doors to non-clergy daughters and consequently enrolments had more than doubled.⁷¹ Even so, he was certain there was still room for another school for girls, akin to the Girls' High Schools in England.⁷² Barry was confident that there would be enough students to populate all these new schools because he was convinced that 'there are still very many parents who, even at a higher cost, prefer the fuller security for a sound religious education, which the Church can give'.⁷³

Perhaps Barry's most enduring legacy's was the establishment of Sydney Church of England Grammar School (Shore). In 1838 Broughton had founded the St James Grammar School, but it was never successful and eventually closed in the late 1850s.⁷⁴ When the government later acquired the lands, a substantial sum of £33,209 was paid in compensation. Barry used £10,000 to relocate Moore Theological College from Liverpool to Newtown, and proposed that the remaining monies be used to establish 'a great school of the highest character'.⁷⁵ This required considerable legal manoeuvring, including an Act of Parliament, and Godden describes Barry's involvement as vital: 'he

⁷⁰ Sherington, *Shore*, 13.

⁷¹ Anderson, 'Teach the Children', 77.

⁷² *Proceedings of the First Session of the Seventh Synod of the Diocese of Sydney*, (Sydney: Joseph Cook & Co., 1886), 23.

⁷³ *Proceedings of the First Session of the Seventh Synod of the Diocese of Sydney*, 24.

⁷⁴ Geoffrey Sherington, *Shore: A History of Sydney Church of England Grammar School* (North Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1983), 5.

⁷⁵ Godden, 'Founding Anglican Schools', 43-44.

was the driving force behind the establishment' of Shore.⁷⁶ Barry was personally involved in all the major decisions regarding Shore, working tirelessly to select the best site, establish the school name, appoint the architect, draw up the school constitution, and appoint the first headmaster.⁷⁷ It was entirely appropriate that Barry personally laid the foundation stone on 28th April 1888, and he gave the formal address at the opening of the school on 6th May 1889.⁷⁸ The Sydney Morning Herald reported that Barry's intention was for the school to be a place of high intellectual teaching, and a place which would also train the boys' character, remind them that they had spirits as well as souls and minds, and teach them that 'there was something higher than even the higher things of this world, and that there was a training which belonged not merely to time, but to eternity'.⁷⁹

ii) An elitist system?

Barry's approach to education has been criticised as being elitist, favouring the middle and upper classes. Warren is particularly critical: he understands Barry to have a hierarchy of importance in education—St Paul's College, Moore College, The King's School, Shore, the Cathedral School, Girls' High School, parish Day Schools and lastly Religious Instruction in state schools—and that this 'reveals his attitude to the education of young people in his Diocese'.⁸⁰ Warren analyses Barry's presidential addresses to Synod and draws attention to the simultaneous decrease in space given to Religious Instruction in state schools, and the increasing focus on the grammar

⁷⁶ Godden, 'Founding Anglican Schools', 44.

⁷⁷ Sherington, *Shore*, 19.

⁷⁸ Sherington, *Shore*, 24.

⁷⁹ *Sydney Morning Herald* (6th May 1889). Cited in Sherington, *Shore*, 28.

⁸⁰ Warren, 'Instructing Them in 'the Things of God'', 68

education.⁸¹ He describes Barry's attitude to these 'lower' forms of education as dismissive, declaring it 'extraordinary' that he could overlook the tens of thousands of children receiving Religious Instruction in the public schools in order to focus on the upper classes.⁸² Warren notes the high prevalence of words such as influence, prestige, power, privilege and phrases such as 'children above the working classes' and 'men of higher culture', concluding that Barry was an elitist who 'showed only a passing interest in the education of those he considered lower or working class—that is, the majority of the children of his flock'.⁸³

Warren is indeed correct to notice that less attention was given to the public schools, despite the plentiful opportunities that Barry inherited there thanks to the prior work of Bishop Barker. But Anderson brings some balance to this very negative portrayal: rather than a means to curry favour with the powerful by providing elitist educational institutions for their children, Barry saw education (post Public Instruction Act) as providing a way to build relationships with the non-churched community.⁸⁴ Barry's actions need to be understood in the context of the day: 'the only way the Anglican Church could reconnect with young people via schooling was to establish schools which would attract the support of families who were able and willing to pay for religious-based education, such as offered by many English "corporate" schools'.⁸⁵ These schools were the means by which 'the Church's relationship with the community

⁸¹ Warren, 'Instructing Them in 'the Things of God'', 44-45.

⁸² Warren, 'Instructing Them in 'the Things of God'', 70.

⁸³ Warren, 'Instructing Them in 'the Things of God'', 71.

⁸⁴ Anderson, 'Teach the Children', 67.

⁸⁵ Anderson, 'Teach the Children', 80.

could be developed [... in order that] the Christian faith could be implanted in the youth of the Colony'.⁸⁶

iii) A competitive spirit?

Godden takes a different view again. He understands Barry's emphasis on establishing grammar schools for the upper classes to be motivated, not primarily by elitism, but by two other factors: first, the declining role of the Anglican Church in education, and secondly, the prominence and expansion of the Roman Catholic schools.⁸⁷ The several years surrounding the passing of the Public Instruction Act 1880 saw a number of fee-paying high schools established in Sydney. The Methodists had reopened Newington in Stanmore in 1880, and the government opened Sydney Boys and Girls High Schools in 1883.⁸⁸ The Catholics had opened three schools within two years: St Aloysius (1879), St Ignatius (1879), and St Joseph's (1881). According to Sherington, the efforts of the Anglicans in secondary education 'now appeared somewhat tardy'.⁸⁹ Godden concludes that the establishment of Shore cannot be understood without these two influences.

The influence of these factors on Barry's motivations, however, should not be overstated. Barry's view of other denominations is not immediately apparent, but several factors suggest that he was not as concerned about the progress of other denominations as Godden suggests. Barry was a self-confessed adherent to a 'Broad Church' approach to theology who 'could not join any one church party because he

⁸⁶ Anderson, 'Teach the Children', 81.

⁸⁷ Godden, 'Founding Anglican Schools', 37.

⁸⁸ Sherington, *Shore*, 8-9. Warren, 'Instructing Them in 'the Things of God'', 23.

⁸⁹ Sherington, *Shore*, 9.

could see truth in all the major church parties'.⁹⁰ This is reflected in his last two presidential addresses to Synod which he ended with impassioned pleas for unity.⁹¹ Comments in Barry's inaugural address indicate that he was less committed than Broughton had been to the view that the Anglican Church was the true church; rather he spoke positively of a 'common Christianity'.⁹² So, while the Public Instruction Act, and the subsequent loss of many parochial Day Schools, was a 'disastrous change', this was 'not so much for the Church of England as to the whole cause of true education'.⁹³ Finally, Barry much preferred the previous system of education, not simply because it gave money to Anglican education, but because it was 'the fairest system in relation to religious liberty and conscientious conviction'.⁹⁴ Thus, it is difficult to maintain that Anglican pride and fear of Catholicism were the primary motivating factors in Barry's pursuit of grammar schools.

iv) Advancing the Kingdom

There is certainly a great deal of truth in Warren and Godden's views, but both are inadequate—the former is overly simplistic and the latter incomplete. Both fail to appreciate Barry's overriding concern for the future glory of New South Wales as a Christian State. Loane observes that Barry was more like Broughton than any other bishop in the history of the Diocese.⁹⁵ They both shared a staunch commitment to

⁹⁰ *Australian Record*, 21 January 1888, in Anderson, 'Teach the Children', 71.

⁹¹ *Proceedings of the Second Session of the Seventh Synod of the Diocese of Sydney*, 36-37.

Proceedings of the Third Session of the Seventh Synod of the Diocese of Sydney, (Sydney: Joseph Cook & Co., 1888), 32-33.

⁹² *Proceedings of the Second Session of the Sixth Synod of the Diocese of Sydney*, 24.

⁹³ *Proceedings of the Second Session of the Sixth Synod of the Diocese of Sydney*, 25.

⁹⁴ *Proceedings of the Second Session of the Sixth Synod of the Diocese of Sydney*, 25

⁹⁵ Marcus L. Loane, *Hewn from the Rock: Origins and Traditions of the Church in Sydney* (Sydney: Anglican Information Office, 1976), 127.

education, and both saw the Church's role as vital for the health and progress of society.

Barry spoke in lofty and rousing terms—the Church was:

to diffuse everywhere the light of His truth, the power of His grace, the reproduction of His life, divine at once and human, in the lives of men. It is to bring all these powers to bear on the progress of humanity—which is to us a working out of the dispensation of God...against all the powers of ignorance, sin, and unbelief, which check that progress, and degrade the spiritual life of humanity.⁹⁶

Barry recognised that the Anglican Church could not hope for the same established position as the Church of England for the context of the colony was very different to that of England. But these differences lay on the surface, and there were great similarities at the heart: 'we are unquestionably the heirs of its mission and traditions [[...]] modified, indeed like our political constitution, by transplantation to a new soil, but in their essences the same'.⁹⁷ And therefore, 'the old prestige is partially inherited—something of the privilege and responsibility of leadership is still ours'.⁹⁸ Thus, Barry exhorted his hearers to 'be true to our old traditions by throwing [themselves] heartily into the promotion of education in all its grades and forms. [...This] is, perhaps, the chief need of a community'.⁹⁹

⁹⁶ *Proceedings of the Second Session of the Sixth Synod of the Diocese of Sydney*, 18.

⁹⁷ *Proceedings of the Second Session of the Sixth Synod of the Diocese of Sydney*, 19.

⁹⁸ *Proceedings of the Second Session of the Sixth Synod of the Diocese of Sydney*, 21.

⁹⁹ *Proceedings of the Second Session of the Sixth Synod of the Diocese of Sydney*, 23.

The Anglican church may not have been established, and Barry may not have feared the success of other denominations, yet he still believed that the church had a vital part to play in God's plans, for she was charged with caring for the welfare, and especially the Christian welfare, of the whole community. The Anglican church had to spread out 'so as to cover the whole area of the land', and take Christian education with it: 'we must strive, any way and every way, so far as we may rightly do so, to make the education of the country a Christian education—in substance, in spirit, in tone'.¹⁰⁰ And, like Broughton, Barry believed that God in his providence had established, blessed, and kept both the British Empire and the Anglican Church to achieve his great gospel work in the world:

As I cannot but think that for some high purpose the wonderful history of our English power and sway has been developed under the Providence of God, so it is to me incredible that our Church of England should have been so wonderfully guided and preserved—brought through a thousand dangers from without, and revived again and again from deadness within—growing and spreading over the world with the growth of our Empire, and adapting itself to new needs and new conditions of existence—unless it has before it some great future of work for God, and of glory, not its own, but His.¹⁰¹

This was not for the sake of sectarian advance, but for the much higher purpose of the advance of the gospel for the sake of the colony:

¹⁰⁰ *Proceedings of the Second Session of the Sixth Synod of the Diocese of Sydney*, 20-21, 23.

¹⁰¹ *Proceedings of the Third Session of the Sixth Synod of the Diocese of Sydney*, 38.

In the education of the whole man, in body, mind, heart, and spirit—the education by contact with Nature, Humanity, God—lies the master-key of the future, both for our own Church and for the whole community. In every sphere of education we should strive and pray for this advance.¹⁰²

CONCLUSION

It is clear that in the establishment of grammar schools, both Broughton and Barry were motivated by deeply held beliefs about the role of the Anglican Church, specifically with regards to Anglican education, in furthering the Kingdom of God in the colony of New South Wales.

Broughton was convinced that, in the providence of God, the Church of England had been blessed to spread the Christian Empire to the farthest reaches of the globe. In the colony of New South Wales, the Anglican Church would carry out this important task. He believed that social ills, immorality, and Catholicism threatened not only the eternal destinies of individuals in the colony, but also God's continued blessing of wealth and prosperity. Broughton saw that God had given the Anglican Church primary responsibility for the spiritual state of the colony, and that education played a vital role in reforming its citizens and producing Christian leaders. He was greatly concerned that the general education on offer at Sydney College would lead to arrogant and ungodly men, and was thus spurred on to establish a rival grammar school to train in godliness and religion the young men who would soon play significant roles in the

¹⁰² *Proceedings of the Third Session of the Sixth Synod of the Diocese of Sydney*, 20.

colony. Broughton believed that the best way to serve the interests of the whole colony was to ensure that its future leaders were of sound Christian character. That would most effectively be achieved by a thoroughly Anglican education.

Similarly, Barry saw Anglican grammar schools as a means by which God would bless the whole country of Australia, both now and eternally. It is undeniable that his focus was more on grammar schools than Religious Instruction in state schools. But Barry was not an elitist for elitism's sake. Neither was he only concerned with the threat of Catholicism, and the waning Anglican influence. Rather, Barry hoped that 'when this colony came to celebrate its second centenary there would be living generations of men who had been trained in this school according to the old traditions of the State and the Church of England, who would be loyal servants of God and their country, true both to the Church and the State'.¹⁰³

Thus, of neither bishop can we simplistically say he sought to establish grammar schools because he cared only for those he considered to be of a 'respectable' class. Both bishops had solid gospel convictions; both were driven by a deep desire to see the new colony prosper Christianly; and both saw that the establishment of quality, Anglican grammar schools was strategically important to make that happen.

¹⁰³ *Sydney Morning Herald* (6th May 1889). Cited in Sherington, *Shore*, 28.

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