JAMES RULE.

A PIONEER IN TASMANIAN EDUCATION

BY

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SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF EDUCATION

AT THE

TASMANIAN COLLEGE OF ADVANCED EDUCATION
## CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>List of Illustrations</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviations used in text</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Synopsis</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 1. A Borderman comes to Tasmania.</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 2. Teaching at Battery Point.</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 3. The Problems of being an Inspector.</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 4. His Work as Inspector of Schools.</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 5. The Period of the 1883 Royal Commission.</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 6. The Education Department begins.</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 7. Chief Inspector for the Education Department.</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 8. Reaching the peak of his profession.</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 9. Conclusion</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Appendices</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bibliography</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

A. DOCUMENTS (from records of Oatlands School)

Annual Return, 1889 - Visitor's Book, 1880. 72A
The Penny Savings Regulation circular. 105A
School Fees Regulation circular. 108A
School Fees Abstract. 108B
Application form, Exemption from School Fees. 108C

B. PHOTOGRAPHS

Governors Denison and Franklin. 14A
Two ex-Pupil-Teachers of James Rule. 18A
Mr. T. Stephens. 32A
Early Settler's House - Bogged Horses*. 36A
1880's Coach Travel* - "Philosopher" Smith*. 38A
Waratah and Macquarie Street State Schools. 47A
Governor Strahan and 2 Royal Commissioners of 1883. 52A
Dr. H. Butler - Country School, 1860's **. 53A
Two Private Superior Schools. 63A
Four State Primary Schools. 86A,B.
Pupils' Slates**. 99A
Ulverstone Agricultural & Grammar School. 107A
Ulverstone Technical School - Wesleyan Ladies' College. 107B
Mr. R. Smith*** - University of Tasmania. 113A
Mr. S. Lovell - Mr. J. Masters. 114A

SOURCES

* From Loone, A.W., Tasmania's North-East (Examiner) 1929.
** From Scottsdale High School Records.

All other photographs - C.O.T.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A.A.</td>
<td>Associate of Arts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.R.</td>
<td>Annual Reports of (a) Board of Education to 1884.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(b) Education Department from 1885.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.D.B.</td>
<td>Australian Dictionary of Biography.</td>
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<tr>
<td>B. of E.</td>
<td>Board of Education.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.O.T.</td>
<td>Cyclopedia of Tasmania.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.S.D.</td>
<td>Colonial Secretary's Department.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R.C.</td>
<td>Royal Commission.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T.E.D.L.</td>
<td>Tasmanian Education Department Library, Hobart.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T.H.R.A.</td>
<td>Tasmanian Historical Research Association.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T.J.E.</td>
<td>Tasmanian Journal of Education.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T.S.A.</td>
<td>Tasmanian State Archives.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T.T.F.</td>
<td>Tasmanian Teachers Federation Library.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SYNOPSIS

Because Rule died on the day that the Duke of York reached Melbourne, newspapers of the day did not give proper recognition to a man who had served Tasmania well, both as a teacher and an administrator. Very soon after, when Neale became Director, the Tasmanian Education Department was to undergo turmoil. Writings on this early period of Tasmania's educational history have concentrated on Neale's Directorate to the extent that Rule has been largely ignored. This thesis is an attempt to right this matter.

Rule was a product of his times, being largely influenced by his early upbringing, but because of his compassion, his high intellect, and his ability to communicate with people from all walks of life he was able to build on this to the extent that the Tasmanian Education Department did not become as impersonal and bureaucratic as those on the mainland. Of course the relatively small size of Tasmania was a contributing factor to this. I have attempted to show how the influences of his birthplace, his family, his wife, his early education, and his grounding in the trade of slating, all played their part in the making of the man.

Following a brief summary of the history of Tasmanian education up to the 1860's, which I have included in order to set the scene, I describe the workings of the education system of the 1860's and 1870's with particular reference to Battery Point School, where Rule was a successful schoolmaster. It was here that he formed his ideas on compulsory, free and secular education. Here he also gained experience of the problems of a schoolmaster - staffing, salaries, teacher training, secondary education and local boards.

From his appointment as an Inspector in 1876 Rule became an administrator, first under the Board of Education and then, from 1885, under the new Department of Education. I have included information about the duties of Inspectors and the problems they encountered when carrying them out. Due emphasis is given to the searching enquiry made by the 1883 Royal Commission and the type of Education Department that resulted from it, with particular reference to the failure of the Local Boards, which Rule regretted.
During his period as Director Rule was restricted in his desire to make major improvements because of the economic depression, but I attempt to show how he exerted a positive influence in educational developments. I see Stephen's period as Director as a settling down period, with Rule's time one of consolidation and modification.

In conclusion, I have shown that Rule deserves to take his place as one of the extremely successful pioneers of the Tasmanian education system, being the first Director to work his way up from the ranks.
CHAPTER ONE.

A BORDERMAN COMES TO TASMANIA.

1.01 May 5, 1901, was a day for the people of Australia to remember. So much was happening to amuse and excite them, particularly in Melbourne, where the passenger ship "Ophir" had berthed on that fine Sunday afternoon, anchoring in Britannia Bay at 12.20 p.m. 1 On Board was the heir to the English throne, Prince George, Duke of Cornwall and York, who had journeyed to Australia to open the first Federal Parliament. He was accompanied by the Duchess, formerly Princess Mary of Teck and later to become Queen Mary. 2 Royal visits such as this create much excitement, but the newspapers of the day were speculating whether, on this occasion, there would be a Royal accouchment. 3 Melbourne was literally crammed with visitors, and although the weather on the Saturday had been bad, with drizzle during the day making way for heavy rain at night, Sunday dawned fine and clear. Melbourne was "a scene of magnificent decoration, imposing beauty and splendour". 4 Saturday had whetted the appetites of the visitors. The football season had just begun. Daly had won the Sculling Championship and Victoria had beaten New South Wales into second place in the Inter-state Eight-oared Championship. The One Thousand Guineas Stakes had been won by Arta from Fleur d'Ete and Santa Brigida and punters were upset that The Grafter had been scratched from the Jubilee Cup. On Saturday night, Carl Wirth, the famous circus proprietor, narrowly escaped death in the tiger's den in an attempt to entertain the festive crowd.

1.02 In Hobart, the citizens were proud to hear that their own troops, both mounted and infantry, had been "heartily received" 5 by Melbournians when the S.S. "Pateena" had berthed on the Saturday.

4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
These troops were to line the route on the Monday. In fact, the Tasmanian Band was to be stationed in Collins Street 1 to be heard by the passing Royal Cavalcade, which would include the new Governor-General (The Earl of Hopeton) and the Prime Minister (Edmund Barton, K.C., P.C., M.P.). Perhaps the Tasmanian Premier (the Right Honourable Sir Edward Braddon) and party, which would include the new Director of Education Mr. J. Masters, M.A., would recognise these men and take pleasure in seeing their state represented along the route. Back home in Hobart, many of the people of Tasmania were also celebrating. 2 Alfred James had won the Tasmanian Heavyweight Boxing Championship. The Palace Skating Rink in Macquarie Street had been packed. Perhaps these events had taken some of the customers from the Australis Singers who did not have a large audience at the Masonic Hall on that night. Perhaps the sporting fraternity of Glenora had journeyed to Hobart for the occasion because Mr. Ellis Dean's lecture to the Derwent electors was also not a huge success.

1.03 That Royal weekend in May, 1901 was notable for other reasons. 3 The people of Brisbane were anxiously awaiting news of any further outbreaks of plague in their city. The interstate Customs Conference was putting the finishing touches on its draft of the Customs Regulations Bill and Mr. Fegan had just resigned from the position of Secretary for the Home Department in Federal Government. The position was now vacant. With the Royal Visit and the opening of Federal Parliament, this would be a cause for Government embarrassment and discussion, to say the least. An encouraging sign for the new nation was that the comet that had been intriguing Australian observers was first sighted in England on that Saturday. The British War Office had announced that it expected an early peace in South Africa but the President of the United States had angered some by choosing this weekend to announce that he would be willing to unofficially welcome Kruger to the United States in August. Australians may have believed that his time would be better spent investigating the tremendous fire in Jacksonville, Florida, where thirty five blocks of buildings had been destroyed.

1. The Examiner, May 7, 1901.
3. Ibid.
Australian wheat farmers were discussing the new Canadian canal which would shorten the grain route to England by 800 miles; whilst students of Far Eastern affairs were worried about events to the north of Australia. Germans had fired on a British gunboat in the Peiho River in China, whilst the Russians were making heavy claims for compensation in Manchuria. What is more, the Japanese Government had just resigned, owing to internal dissensions.  

But although all of these events would be cause for lengthy discussion by knowledgable Australians at any other time, the event of prime importance was the opening of Federal Parliament and the associated Royal Visit. The editor of The Mercury stated in his editorial of Monday, May 6, 1901...

...the landing of the Heir to the Throne on Australian soil, not merely as a visitor this time, but as the representative of a great national change, is the event of the new century. ...Australasia and the Empire are united, and their union announced to the world in a fashion that the world will understand. The central ceremony is the answer to the tribe of foreign critics, who, like noxious insects, sting, buzz, and fly-blow. They are learning, reluctantly and with the worst of grace, that the British Empire is not a house of cards, ready to fall to pieces with the first breath, but a structure that is consolidated by forces which are none the less powerful because they are invisible, like the forces of nature by which the trees grow and the gem is crystallised in the dark recesses of the earth.  

The editorial was an expression of what thousands of readers believed. Australia had grown up. She was an adult member of the strongest and most influential family in the world. The birth of a new, adult nation coincided with the birth of a new century. Patriotism was at its strongest. The South African War was going well. The new leaders would take Australia into this new century with confidence. Everything pointed to a rosy future and on this exciting and memorable weekend, few, if any, were interested in the past. The present was exciting enough, but the future seemed even more so.  

Significantly, perhaps, on Sunday, May 5, 1901, when the hearts of patriotic Australians beat faster at the approach of the Duke's convoy of ships down Port Phillip Bay, in Hobart one heart stopped beating altogether. Almost unnoticed amid the flurry of news from Victoria, an obituary appeared in Hobart's Mercury on the Monday, announcing the death of Mr. James Rule, ex-Director of
Education in the Tasmanian Education Department, the first Director to have risen through the ranks to the very top of his profession. ¹ His service to his adopted land had epitomised the growth of Australia.

1.06 Tasmanian educational history is "inter-related with the political and constitutional development of the colony". ² Rule's career epitomises this fact. He began teaching when Tasmania obtained responsible government; became a Chief Inspector with the introduction of a separate Education Department; became the Director when the Departmental Regulations were revised; and retired at the time of Federation.

1.07 It was because of men like James Rule that Australia could look so confidently to the future, yet the reporter penning his obituary could only find time to copy his biography word for word from The Cyclopaedia of Tasmania. ³ His obituary did, however, add that "of late he had been somewhat failing in health, but not to the extent of causing apprehension of his immediate demise". ⁴ The Launceston Examiner was even more remiss. ⁵ Rule had served the north of the state for many years as an Inspector of Schools and had done much to assist in the development of new schools in this area, but the Northern newspaper printed an exact copy of The Mercury obituary with no reference to this work at all. In fact The Examiner report appeared on Tuesday, May 7, two days after Rule's death and one day after the Hobart report. One can be excused for believing that all the Examiner reporters were in Melbourne.

1.08 Prior to his death, Rule had been on twelve month's leave of absence from his duties of Secretary of the Education Department and Inspector-General of Schools. ⁶ Joining the Education Department in May, 1855 he had become, because of length of service, the senior civil servant under the Tasmanian Government.

¹. Ibid.
⁵. The Examiner. loc. cit.
⁶. C.O.T. loc. cit.
He had been a member of the Royal Society for over twenty-five years and was one of the members of the University Council elected by both Houses of Parliament.¹

1.09 James Rule had made a significant contribution to education in Tasmania, and it is fortunate that he did not live to see the petty bickering and in-fighting, nor feel the embarrassment of the next two Directors. Indeed, despite the solid work of the Nineteenth Century Directors, the first few years of the Twentieth Century saw the demise of Rule's successor, Mr. J. Masters, and the rather turbulent period of W. Neale's Directorship, that nearly ended in open rebellion in the teaching ranks.² The birth of the new era, that was foreshadowed at the turn of the Century, was accompanied by severe labour pains. If the otherwise pre-occupied scribes of the day could have found the time, they would have discovered that James Rule had, indeed, served Tasmania well.

1.10 Tasmania was indeed lucky when James Rule decided to make his home in Tasmania. James was also fortunate in being a product of the environment surrounding his birthplace, Norham-on-Tweed. I count five major influences on his early life. They were the influences of his family, his home district, his teacher, his teacher training and his wife. All are interwoven, the first two particularly so. James was born July 28, 1830 at Mill Farm, Norham-on-Tweed, Northumberland, to Thomas Rule and his wife Mary, nee Eadington. There were eight children—five boys and three girls. James was the youngest son. Norham was a small village near the border of England and Scotland, an area where Norman influence was never strong and feudalism never took root. Bordermen, as they still call themselves, were steeped in the tradition of independence and freedom. The influence of Scotland in this area is very strong and Bordermen for centuries have looked with disfavour on any attempt to influence them, whether from the North of the border or from the South. They have always been freemen.

1. There were 9 members elected this way, and a further 9 elected by the University Senate, making 18 in all.
As a group they are physically tall and strong, but because of their unique geographic position, have had to unite together in a close knit community to exist between the Scots and the English.

1.11 The Rule family had existed in this area for centuries and were respected and well liked. Descendants had lived at Flodden Farm and must have witnessed, if not fought in, the famous battle that took place near there. The border stream that flowed through the area was known as Rule Water. Early Rules had introduced the craft of slating with Welsh slate at a time when thatch or shingle or stone was used. The business had thrived, and slating and plastering became an hereditary trade. James' father, Thomas, was thus an hereditary slater. James himself served an apprenticeship in the family trade before deciding to be a teacher. Indeed, when he entered Tasmania in 1854 he gave his occupation as Slater and not as schoolteacher. The fact that James came from a hardworking family was significant. Every one of his brothers made his mark. George was a very accomplished gentleman, being a gifted poet, orator and student of Far Eastern affairs, as was brother David. David was also one of the founders of the Co-operative Movement in England. George, Peter and Thomas were also deeply involved in Unions and Co-operative Societies. They all lived to be old men, highly respected in their own areas and even further afield. When reading their obituaries it becomes apparent that all were keen of intellect, courteous in demeanour, sincere, possessed of clear judgment and were thorough gentlemen. All were involved in education, many being very closely involved in School Boards. James must have been influenced by these older brothers. The qualities just mentioned were all used to describe him in his obituary notices. His Chartists beliefs would have come from these brothers and the influence of others in this far northern region of England.

1. When Rule arrived on the "Mousan" on October 7, 1854, he gave the following information. Occupation - plasterer and slater, Age - 24, Religion - Church of England, Education - ability to read and write. (C.B7/13 p.172 T.S.A.)

2. In copies of the Newcastle Daily Chronicle in the possession of Mr. J. Reynolds of Hobart.

3. See under, Chapter 9.
"He took an active part in Chartist demonstrations; his father and four elder brothers were involved in radical political movements and he remained closely in touch with his brothers all his life."¹

1.12 The village of Norham-on-Trent was blessed with a capable and far-sighted schoolmaster named Richard Forsyth.² Mr. Forsyth was responsible for educating most of the Rule brothers and was instrumental in persuading James to forsake his training in slating and to enter St. John's College, Battersea, as a trainee teacher. This step was to alter James Rule's life. He passed his final examination in December, 1851.³ This College was co-founded by Dr. James Kay-Shuttleworth, the eminent English educationalist, and its products were renowned for their devotion to the cause of education and for their knowledge of the numerous advanced continental educational ideas and practices which he had introduced at the college.⁴ One of his pupils, a contemporary of Rule's in Australia, was William Wilkins, the man who possibly did more than any other to revitalise the education system in New South Wales between 1850 and 1880.

1.13 Following his graduation, Rule was enrolled on the list of certified teachers by the Committee of the Privy Council of Education. Following a year's experience as headmaster of a large school in Monmouthshire, he decided to join the long list of young Englishmen who had decided to seek their fortune in Victoria, which was, at that time, solidly in the grip of gold-fever. During his training at Battersea, James Rule met and fell in love with another student, Sarah Anne Grimley, from Birmingham.⁵ James later married her and together they brought up eight children. Sarah outlived James, and throughout his life he could rely on this energetic and highly educated woman to give him the comfort and backing that he needed.

¹ A.D.B. article as yet unpublished.
² Newcastle Daily Chronicle - date unknown - in possession of J. Reynolds.
³ C.O.T. loc. cit.
⁴ Turney, C., ed, "William Wilkins - Australia's Kay-Shuttleworth" Pioneers in Australian Education. p.194
⁵ A.D.B. article as yet unpublished.
However, before he left England, James proved his skill as an artist by sketching, in charcoal, a remarkably professional-looking portrait of this lovely girl, six years his junior. She would have been eighteen at the time. James himself was a tall, well-built, fair-headed young man of twenty four when they parted for three years.

Rule embarked on the ship "Queen of the East" and arrived in Melbourne in 1854. He did not make his fortune mining gold, as within fourteen days he had set sail for Hobart. P. A. Howell suggests that this was in response to a request by Thomas Arnold to the Victorian National Board of Education for the services of teachers among the disillusioned fortune hunters. This would appear to be doubtful, as Rule had so little time to be disillusioned with gold mining and also because he did not begin teaching in Tasmania until May, 1855. As mentioned earlier, his arrival in Tasmania from the Ballarat mines just before the Eureka Incident was as a slater, but his first employment was as a constable in the Hobart Town Police Force. His first teaching job was as a tutor for the Morrisby family at Sandford.

By April 2, 1856 he had been appointed as headmaster of the new school at Kangaroo Point as a Third Class Teacher with a monthly salary of £6.13.4. Rule did not stay long at this Eastern shore (Bellerive) school as he was required to start a new school at Hamilton on May 18, 1857. His move was annoying to the people of the Eastern shore school, because it was obvious that his talents were being put to good use. As early as January 6, 1857, Mr. E. Abbott, Stipendiary Magistrate for the district, had written to the Colonial Secretary requesting that he remain at Kangaroo Point.

5. Section 1.11
8. C.S.D. 2/4 3435 Correspondence of the Colonial Secretary's Dept. T.S.A.
But this was not to be. Rule moved to Hamilton, and with the move came promotion to the rank of Second Class Teacher, and a salary of £120 a year, with £20 house allowance. This must have been pleasing to James, but if money was to be his main motive in life, he would have moved from Tasmania to the more affluent colony of New South Wales where William Wilkins and wife were being paid £300 per annum, \(^1\) a sum which school Inspectors received in Tasmania. \(^2\)

1.6 Having started the Hamilton School to the Board of Education's satisfaction, he was transferred to the important inner-suburban school at Battery Point, taking up duties in January, 1859. Rule was to remain at this school until 1876, when he was promoted to the position of Inspector of Schools. When he left, the school had developed into becoming one of the largest in the state.

1.7 When Rule began teaching in May, 1855, education in Tasmania was undergoing a period of change. When Sir John Franklin left the colony in 1842, he could feel proud that a successful attempt had been made to put education on a solid footing, but by 1847 his system had slipped into disrepair. The number of public schools had fallen off from 33 in 1837 to 23 in 1847. In 1839 a Board of Education "of a nominee character" \(^3\) had been formed to take charge of public education, which was to be of an undenominational character, but on March 23, 1846, Gladstone, as Colonial Secretary, sanctioned a penny-a-day system of payment to denominational schools for each child daily present. \(^4\) This encouraged the denominational schools to increase their numbers. At the same time, Governor Denison re-introduced a scheme whereby the Board now controlled public schools only. In September, 1848, the Board resigned and in October of the same year, public schools came under the direct control of the Colonial Secretary. In effect, it meant that these schools were under the control of the Inspector.

2. E.D. 45/46 op. cit.
3. C.O.T. loc. cit
4. Reeves, C. op.cit. p.41.
Sir William Thomas Denison, R.E.
Governor of Tasmania 1847-55.
Re-organised the Education System.

Sir John Franklin, R.E.
Governor of Van Diemen's Land 1837-42
Formed the Board of Education.
It was fortunate indeed that in 1850 the Government obtained the services of Thomas Arnold, son of the famous Dr. Arnold, of Rugby, as Inspector of Schools. He realised that the regulations of 1848, which had replaced the teachers fixed salary with a system of payment by attendance of pupils based on the penny-a-day system, was resulting in many qualified teachers leaving the colony. In an effort to tighten up, Governor Denison issued a new Code of Regulations in 1851. In 1853, the year that transportation of convicts to Van Diemen's Land ceased, Arnold succeeded in drawing the Legislative Council's attention to the need for "a vast extension of the school system in quantity, and reformation in quality of teaching." 1 A Board of travelling Inspectors was appointed to investigate the colony's education system. 2 As a result, a Draft Bill was submitted to the Legislative Council but allowed to drop, but a Select Committee on Public education was appointed. 3 They recommended:

1. That the charge for Public Education be met out of General Revenue rather than a local rate.
2. That the penny-a-day system be abolished.
3. That the Denominational system, recommended by the Board of Inspection for Hobart and Launceston, be not adopted. 4
4. That control of the Education system be entrusted to a Central Board, consisting of members of the Executive Council and Legislative Council, who should be empowered to regulate fees and classify teachers; such Board being assisted by an Inspector, who should be Secretary also. 5

The Board was constituted by Government Notice No. 140 of October 31, 1853, wherein it was explained that the main aim was to establish a system under which a sound education could be given to "those classes who have it not in their power to combine to provide adequate instruction for their children". 6 Thus it was never intended that the colonial government should attempt to do more than educate those who could not, or would not, send their children to private schools. This Board continued until 1857.

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2. It comprised Archdeacon Davies, Rev. Dr. Lillie, Rev. W. Hall, and Inspector Arnold.
3. 11 men under Sir Richard Dry.
4. A blow for the clerical members of the Board.
5. 1883 R. C. Report. op. cit. p.11.
1.20 When Rule took up duties in 1855, this Board, under Arnold's direction, had made several dramatic changes. Franklin's non-sectarian system had been substantially re-introduced in 1853.  
A teacher could expect a fixed minimum salary, supplemented by fees paid by parents. 2 The Board would make up for any child too poor to provide fees. Books, maps and other school requisites were supplied by the Board. Examinations were conducted to ensure that teachers were suitably qualified before entering the service. 3 As supervision of schools by local boards was not a complete success, the role of the Inspector became even more important "... in the first place as a check and encouragement to the teacher, and secondly as a help to the teacher and district". 4

1.21 The single Board was replaced in 1857, when the control of schools was vested in two Boards, one in the South and one in the North. This arrangement lasted until 1863, when control was re-invested in the one Board, with its headquarters in Hobart. The Regulations were revised in 1862, but substantially, no major change was effected until after the 1867 Royal Commission, and the 1868 Act which followed. However, because of the economic depression, 5 teachers' salaries were cut by 20% in 1861. Teachers were compensated by being allowed to increase school fees. 6 However, these fees proved difficult to collect. The Royal Commission of 1860 recommended the revision to control of education by a single Board and this came about in 1863. 7 In 1864 this Board adopted new courses, modelled on the English Revised Course of 1861. New rules and regulations were issued in 1865 but these proved unsatisfactory.

1.22 The next major change was that which followed the 1883 Royal Commission, and the 1885 Education Act which followed this.

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1. Reeves, C. op. cit. p. 56.
2. Fees in 1855 averaged 15/6 per scholar. Reeves, C. op. cit. p.61.
3. Tasmania is credited with being the first colony of Australia to introduce these examinations.
5. This depression in Tasmania lasted from the 1850's gold rushes in Victoria to 1874.
7. Reeves, C. op. cit. p.68.
The following table gives an indication of the growth rate of schools in and around the major educational changes in Rule's career.

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<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of Schools</th>
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<td>181</td>
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<td>204</td>
<td>10,531</td>
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<td>1895</td>
<td>255</td>
<td>14,594</td>
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<td>1899</td>
<td>305</td>
<td>17,682</td>
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CHAPTER TWO.

TEACHING AT BATTERY POINT.

2.01 The story of James Rule as a headmaster is really the story of Battery Point school. Indeed, he spent only a short time in any one of his three previous appointments, the first two lasting only 11 months each and the third just 19 months. In that time he had obviously impressed his Inspectors and this gained him promotion to the rank of Teacher, Second Class. 1 His January, 1859 move to Battery Point must have given him immense satisfaction, as even then this was one of the best schools in the colony.

2.02 Throughout the time he spent at Battery Point, Rule was given the responsibility of training pupil-teachers. Very few teachers in the state were given this honour 2 but in 1871 Rule was training five. During this time Rule must have formed the ideas on the pupil-teacher system which he expressed in no uncertain terms in his Inspection Reports of later years. The extra allowance he received would help during the depression years following 1860, particularly when salaries were cut by 20% in 1861, 3 but the fact that his lectures to these students would not commence until after normal school hours indicates that he was not unwilling to share his gift for teaching with others.

2.03 The fact that he did have a gift for teaching can be gauged from the number of pupils from Battery Point who were successful in Exhibitions - 14 being successful between 1860 and 1874. 4 These pupils needed extra coaching and Rule would not hesitate to give it, although in a later section of this thesis I will show that he realised that other pupils may have suffered because of the time spent with these favoured few. 5 However, everyone shared in the joy and relief when one was successful. Half-holiday applications flowed in from Battery Point with monotonous regularity, 6 this being another practice that Rule

2. 12 in 1864 - 8 in 1874.
3. Reeves, C. op. cit. p.67. (Actually this was an average. The top salary of £150 was reduced to £100)
4. See Appendix B.
5. See Section 7.29
6. C.S.D. 2/4 3435 General Correspondence Files of the C.S.D. 1862-1905 T.S.A.
Two ex-Pupil-Teachers of James Rule

1. Mr. W. A. Downie P/T under Rule 1874-5. Principal of Scottsdale School 1891-1900.

was to frown upon when he became an Inspector. In fact, he incurred the displeasure of the Colonial Secretary and the Board of Education by taking one half day without prior permission. This event gives a clue to the character of James Rule. His pupils had petitioned him to take a half day off from lessons in order to play a game of cricket in celebration of one William Smith's success in gaining an Exhibition to one of the Superior Schools. Rule obviously felt that his pupils' wishes should be listened to and that here was an opportunity to demonstrate to the whole school that winning an award such as this was a significant achievement. Whether he knowingly forgot to send in the application for a holiday or not we shall never know, but he must have been somewhat crestfallen to receive the note requesting an explanation. The explanation was accepted by the Board.

2.04 During his time at Battery Point, Rule's wife joined the teaching staff. Following a year's teaching in 1860, she recommenced on February 20, 1863, and taught until mid-October, 1868, when she obtained leave-without-pay. She was replaced by Mrs. Mary Balfe, who remained at Battery Point throughout Rule's headmastership. Mrs. Rule did not return to teaching, but during her time at her husband's school she was paid at the rate of £50 per year, which was a very high salary for an Assistant Teacher and which was due, no doubt, to the fact that she was Battersea trained. At one stage, throughout 1864, they were the only teachers at the school.

2.05 The 1883 Royal Commission gives an insight into the reason for this. The assistant is only recognised as wife of the male teacher, or someone acting as assistant in the absence of a wife ... If we include board and lodging in the estimate of wages of domestic servants, the highest salary of assistant teacher is no better than that of a cook - the lowest would not be accepted by a scullery maid.

Thus Rule, and other masters of the Nineteenth Century, would realise that attracting high quality assistants to the profession

1. Ibid.
2. A Superior School was a secondary school which normally taught all the approved subjects, including Classics, and which taught the pupils up to Associate of Arts (A.A.) Level.
would be an extremely difficult thing to do. But James was luckier than most, in that his wife was a well educated, pious and energetic young lady.

James made a very wise decision when he wrote to Sarah Ann Grimley and asked her to join him in Tasmania. Although he was now teaching at Hamilton, his friends were still at Kangaroo Point and his wedding took place in this settlement on August 12, 1857. They lived in the schoolhouse at Hamilton where James set about building his own furniture. Whilst at Hamilton, their first child, Alice, was born. In 1860, after one year living in de Witt Street, Battery Point, Sarah joined her husband on the teaching staff, but this was to last only one year as she then left teaching to continue her family, with Thomas (1861), and William (1862) following in quick succession. With three small children to look after, she returned to teaching, but retired in 1868. Even in this short period (1862-68) she had found time for the births of Frances (1863) and George (1867). Perhaps the physical exertion of full-time teaching and rearing a young family had its effect on Sarah, as twin daughters born in 1868 both died within a year. The family of ten was complete with the arrival of Frank (1869), David (1871) and James (1873). James' large family was fortunate in possessing the Rule family genes as Thomas (1873) and William (1874) both gained Exhibitions whilst attending their father's school. Of course Sarah's family could claim an equal share of the credit as she, too, was extremely intelligent. She was a voracious reader, her friends sending out works by the Brontes, Thackeray and Browning. As proof of her interests, and also of her popularity and ability as a teacher, she was presented with a four volume edition of the "History of the Reformation" by the students at Birmingham on the occasion of her emigration.

1. A very fine cedar table made by James Rule is in the possession of Mrs. Ken Rule, the widow of James' grandson.
2. See Appendix J.
3. See Appendix J for a brief summary of the lives of this family.
4. Her brother did very well in Sydney in the merchant business.
5. These books are in the possession of J. Reynolds, Hobart.
She also received a presentation from her Sunday school class. That Sarah could teach, rear children, assist James and still keep up her reading is attributed to the fact that the Rule's were able to afford domestic help, and their housekeeper-nanny, a convict's daughter called Mrs. Partridge, stayed with them for most of their time in Tasmania, outliving James. I imagine this is why Sarah insisted on living in Hobart, even when James was a Northern Inspector.

2.07 Staffing was then, as it is today, a continual source of worry to the headmaster. Pupil-teachers and paid monitors were expected to do the work of teaching, which was grossly unfair on the pupils, as well as the young teachers, but it also meant that the onus was on the headmaster to ensure that proper supervision was being carried out. Mrs. Rule and Mrs. Balfe were the two stabilising influences on the staff of Battery Point from 1860 to 1876. They provided the main task force at Rule's disposal. Other staff members moved with startling regularity. Because most of his assistants over the years were female, it is understandable that some, like Sarah Marshall who stayed for nearly three years, would leave to get married, but others were moved after only a very brief period. A study of the staff list of 1875 indicates the problems that beset the schoolmaster of that time. Rule himself was employed as an organising master for a few weeks in March, whilst his school was closed for repairs, but apart from himself he was assisted by the ever reliable Mrs. Balfe; Miss H. Fuller, an ex-pupil-teacher who was transferred on November 1; Miss H. Harris, a promoted pupil-teacher who took up duties in February, but who had three months sick leave during the year; Mr. C. G. Ramsay, who took up duties when Miss Fuller left; and Mr. James Carmichael, who taught from July 1 until July 15 before resigning. Only Mrs. Balfe was there for the full year.

1. These books are also in the possession of J. Reynolds, Hobart.
2. From conversations with J. Reynolds.
3. The Royal Commission Enquiry of 1882 was interested in this fact — p.12, but James was able to show that by keeping a home in Hobart he was able to meet with the Board of Education and thus keep abreast of the latest information. I suspect that he would also be interested in maintaining contact with his literary friends of the Minerva Club.
4. £12 per annum.
6. Education Department Register of Correspondence 1855-1905 T.S.A.
2.08 Rule was unfortunate that he did not obtain the services of more male assistants. A Mr. Francis Darcey lasted ten months in 1869-70, and Mr. James Dear arrived in June, 1872 but these men did not stay long before they were moved off to schools of their own. James Rule and Battery Point were being used to give young men and women an insight into the arts of the teaching profession rather than teachers being appointed to help Rule run the school.

2.09 Despite all the changes in staff, and despite the fact that Rule's organising and teaching ability enabled the Board to fill teaching gaps with so many monitors and pupil-teachers, in 1876 Battery Point had, along with Elizabeth Street School, Launceston, the largest staff in the state, with 8 staff members, including monitors and pupil-teachers. The salary bill of £331 was second only to that of Elizabeth Street, which was £336.

2.10 However, staffing a school in the Nineteenth Century must have been a headache to the Education Board. Even if there was an abundant supply of suitably qualified teachers, it was almost impossible to estimate the number of pupils who would be in attendance. In 1876, Battery Point had 396 distinct scholars on the rolls during the year, but the average number on the rolls was only 260. Many pupils moved from school to school, started late or left early. But the average daily attendance was only 182, less than half of the first-mentioned figure. This still made Battery Point the second largest school in the colony at this time, Elizabeth Street having an average daily attendance of 249. But the difference in the figures does not compare with those of Trinity Hill, Hobart, where the number on the rolls during the year was 496 and the average daily attendance was 156!

2.11 Because the number in attendance partly determined the headteacher's salary, it was important that the master should not only attract a large school population but that he should also hold them. According to the figures from Inspectors' Reports of the time, Rule did this better than most. Although his annual salary from the Board did not vary during his sixteen years at Battery Point -

2. Which there was not, as no teaching college existed.
4. See Appendix C.
it remained at £100, although during his wife's teaching career it was shown as a combined salary of £150 - he would have been one of the highest salaried schoolmasters in the state. In 1876, the Chairman of the Board of Education conducted a survey of 48 schoolmasters in the state and found that the average annual income was £133.13.9, with the maximum being £455.8.3. Rule would have been very close to the maximum salary. Added to the basic salary of £100 were fees charged by the school of which the headteacher kept two thirds; gratuities, allowances for books, maps and other requisites; payments for pupil-teachers; house allowance, cleaning allowance and fuel allowance.

2.12 It is interesting to note that by 1876, Battery Point, or more particularly Mr. James Rule, was not receiving a penny allowance for free scholars. In 1861, Rule had received £7.2.3. from this source, which was designed to recompense teachers for educating children whose parents could not afford to pay school fees. Over the years following 1861 this amount had grown progressively to £32.6.0 in 1871 but this dropped dramatically to £9.15.3. From this date on the amount was nil. This was partly due to the opening of the free school in Murray Street which would no doubt have attracted away many of Rule's students. It also meant that all of his pupils were now paying students, with the pauper element eliminated. This, plus Rule's reputation as an excellent schoolmaster, would attract the type of client who could afford to pay well for its education.

2.13 When given the opportunity later in life, Rule constantly put forward the argument for free education. This may have been because of his experiences at Battery Point where he not only found that many pupils who should have attended school did not, in fact, do so, presumably partly due to the inability to pay, but also because those who paid highly would expect more favourable treatment for their children. Throughout Rule's later writings it becomes increasingly apparent that his sympathies lay with the common man, and it was a disappointment to him that even on his retirement, free education was not yet a reality.

2. £235.13.0 in 1876.
When Rule began duty at Battery Point he was forced to put up with temporary quarters, as the previous building was condemned on November 1, 1858 because of its defective state. When the school was re-opened in January, 1860 in more spacious premises, his Inspector, J. J. Stutzer, was extremely impressed with the standard of work being reached by Rule's pupils. In his annual report he noted that the school had the best order of all town schools; its range of study was above average and its pupils were well advanced in geography, grammar and arithmetic. Rule was judged as being energetic and clever and had gone to great pains to ensure punctuality. Although the 1858 report had shown that scholars were mostly of the labouring class, Stutzer noticed that by 1860 this had changed. Rule's ability had attracted a better class of student. But even in this year, 24.87% of the pupils in Southern Tasmania had attended school for less than one year. But by 1865 Battery Point had gained 90 passes in the Annual Class Examinations, out of the 125 who sat. This was second only to Elizabeth Street School, Launceston. This pass rate of 72% had improved to 81.3% in 1867. For a time, in 1872, Battery Point was the largest school in the state.

In 1863 the curriculum was extended. Upper classes now had to have a basic knowledge of grammar and geography. Reading was to be from the Irish National Reading Books. For a very short period a system of payment-by-results, based on the English Revised Code of 1861, was attempted, but the Public Schools Act of 1868 effectively put an end to the worst features of this system. Also, in 1863, the single Board of Education, which had replaced the Dual Boards at the end of 1862, classified its teachers into three grades, viz.

1. 1st Class - £80 - £100 per annum.
2. 2nd Class - £60 - £80 per annum.
3. 3rd Class - up to £50 per annum.

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1. See Appendix D.
2. 1860.
3. Reeves, C., op. cit. p.69.
4. See Appendix E.
The school masters were placed in one of these three categories by the following criteria — literary qualifications, testimonials of character, school tone, school standard, and the numbers in attendance at the school. Thus a form of examination of teachers was introduced. But perhaps the events that influenced the state of education in Tasmania most during Rule's period at Battery Point and later as an Inspector under the Board were those that surrounded the 1867 Royal Commission and the 1868 Education Act which followed.

2.16 In 1867, a seven man Royal Commission was appointed to do three things. They were to consider, enquire into and report on:

1. The system of Public Education in the colony.
2. How best to reduce government expenditure on education.
3. How to secure the greatest benefit from "the advantages placed at the disposal of the community for educational purposes".

2.17 The Commission had a most difficult task. Obviously, the effects of the economic depression, which had earlier resulted in Rule's salary being cut, had influenced the government, and it is to the Commission's credit that its Report showed that a reduction of outlay on the part of the Government "was impracticable unless with the most objectional consequences". From their recommendation came the 1868 Act, which was to determine Tasmanian education for the next 17 years. The main recommendations were as follows:

1. Compulsory education — the state to defray the cost of expenses if parents could not afford it.
2. Schools to be licensed and teachers to be certificated into different grades.
3. Provision for Education by a fixed grant instead of an annual vote and that this should not be below the 1868 amount of £11,000.
4. Local Boards to be set up.

1. Reeves, C., op. cit. p.68.
2. The underlining is mine.
4. Ibid.
2.18 The licensing of private schools, although suggested, was not regarded as being within the scope of the enquiry. Because of the small number of qualified teachers, the Government also thought it unwise to proceed with the recommendation to disqualify uncertificated persons from teaching.

2.19 In 1867, there was by no means unanimity that all the children should be compelled to go to school, or that the state had a responsibility to see that it was done. Many would have been influenced by that highly respected educationalist Matthew Arnold who, in his Report of 1859 upon the French system, said "... for a Government to be able to force its people to school, that people must either be generally well-off, as in America; or placid and docile, as in Germany; or ardently desirous of knowledge, as in Greece." 3

2.20 One submission to the 1867 Commission even stated that "The education imparted at the Public Schools exceeded what was necessary or befitting the station and prospects of the larger class of scholars who attended them." 4 Fortunately the Commissioners disagreed. Rule would also have disagreed, as he later stated 5 that a minimum standard of education viz. Grade III standard in the three R's, was needed by all for their better self-cultivation. Perhaps the Commissioners swayed the Legislative Council by using the rather unique argument put forward by the President of the Economics, Science and Statistics Section of the British Association, who, in the opening address to the body in 1862 had considered that money spent on the education of children was an economic investment, and that "even in its present rude form" 6 was highly remunerative in that educated labourers:

(a) accomplish work faster and better than ignorant ones,
(b) could handle the new machines being introduced into industry whereas the ignorant could not.

1. Ibid. p.29.
2. Ibid. p.13.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid. p.22.
5. See 4.05.
The chairman also estimated that a pauper, or a thief, would cost the government at least £450 in a lifetime, and he supplied proof that the chances of a lad becoming either of these would drop from 60% to 2% if he was properly educated. This line of reasoning was followed by many in this and succeeding years - that education of the masses would result in better workmanship and less crime.

2.21 A suggestion put forward by the Commission to overcome the problem of the rural teacher, who received little in the way of school fees, was to gradually diminish government assistance to urban schools, where school fees were considerable, and use the money thus saved to provide an adequate standard of remuneration to the country teacher. This was not done, but Rule tried desperately to improve the situation of the teacher in the small rural school throughout his time as an educational administrator. However, as a headmaster, it is obvious that, financially at least, a move from Battery Point to a rural school would be an unwise one for him to make.

2.22 In Rule's evidence to the Commission, it is interesting to note that he had attracted adult pupils to his school. He also believed that although there was some repugnance to the Government Schools, this was disappearing, perhaps due to the fact that so many women on Battery Point were conducting their own inferior private schools. Rule was outspoken in later years about these inefficient dame schools. In his evidence, Rule was also critical of the fact that many children in Hobart received no education at all, and the first mentions of compulsory, free education were made. One anomaly was that Rule, at this stage, was opposed to the licensing of private schools.

2.23 Following the recommendations of the Commission came the Public School Act of 1868 and the new Regulations, the latter being issued on February 9, 1869. The curriculum was enlarged to include the three R's, spelling, grammar, geography, history, object lessons, singing and sewing. The principle of compulsory attendance was accepted, but the exemption clauses made its application "more or less a farce". Local Public School Boards were set up, in an

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2. See 4.21 for his views on private schools.
3. Reeves, C., op. cit. p.69.
4. Ibid. p.71. See also Section 4.19 of this thesis.
attempt to foster local interest and supervision. Ostensibly they were to:

(a) supervise all records.
(b) carry out minor repairs.
(c) help the teacher with attendance and fees.
(d) investigate complaints against the school.

The Boards were not a complete success, although Rule was willing to admit that some Boards did have a positive influence on education. Towards the end of 1870, examinations were held to determine classification of teachers. The teacher had to first satisfy the Board as to teaching skill and then sit for an examination in literary proficiency. This also, was not a complete success, in that many of the older teachers, apprehensive of the exams, did not bother to sit.

2.24 In 1875, Rule's last year as a headmaster saw the introduction of night schools. Night schools were held in the Public School buildings and were open to students over 12 years of age. The student paid 6d a week, and this was supplemented by a Government grant of 6d. The teacher kept this. Free scholars were admitted, the Government paying the teacher 3d per week. The minimum period of attendance was fixed at six hours a week. They were instituted in an attempt to make it possible for working lads to obtain a basic education.

2.25 By 1875, James Rule had impressed the Board of Education with his undoubted ability. He was employed by them on occasions as Organising Master, or acting-Inspector. He did this type of work for six weeks prior to February 26, 1870, and again when the Battery Point school was closed for repairs on March 25, 1875. It is probable that his experience was used when the general examination for teachers was being prepared in 1870. During his stay at Battery Point he had been active in literary circles and had made many influential friends. He was one of the intellectuals of Hobart. With his wife and large family he had become an established and permanent citizen of the colony. He was to now

1. See 4.14 and other sections.
2. Education Department Register of Correspondence 1855-1905 T.S.A. - from Secretary, Board of Education, to J. Rule.
4. See 8.12.
embark on a phase of his career which would allow this benevolent and kindly man to influence the whole of the teaching profession. His influence up to this point had been restricted to the South, but the experience at Battery Point would stand him in good stead in the future. No superior, at this time, had the teaching experience in Tasmanian schools that Rule possessed.
CHAPTER THREE

THE PROBLEMS OF BEING AN INSPECTOR

(Rule's appointment, his duties and his problems)

3.01 In 1872, after 16\(\frac{1}{2}\) years serving the colony as Assistant-Inspector, Mr. Murray Burgess' services were withdrawn, leaving Mr. T. Stephens as the only Inspector in the colony. This state of affairs lasted until 1876, much to Mr. Stephen's annoyance. 1 On May 13, 1874 he stated very clearly in a report to the Board that he could no longer be expected to carry out all his duties efficiently.

The most abnormal feature of the present arrangements is that the Inspector of Schools, the chief executive Officer of the department, and the only one who can furnish the Board with full information respecting most of the questions which engage its attention, is often absent in some remote part of the country, when matters of the greatest importance are being discussed and settled. 2

3.02 The Board finally realised that Stephens was correct in this matter. Perhaps the fact that he was often late in getting his reports to the Board may have influenced them, 3 but eventually applications for the position of Inspector were called. James Rule, who had previous experience as an organising teacher in 1870 and 1875, applied for the position on December 10, 1873. 4

3.03 There were 45 applicants with several coming from Victoria and one from Adelaide. Included in the list were the names of several clergymen. It is interesting to note that at this stage it was intended that two Inspectors would be appointed, so the over-worked Stephens recommended to the Board, even before applications for the other positions closed, that a Chief Inspector be appointed, 5 presumably this person to be Stephens himself. On this point I disagree with Clifford Reeves who several times refers to Stephens prior to 1876 as being Chief Inspector. 6

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1. Burgess had acted as Secretary to the Board of Education, and had thus done most of the paper work.
3. Education Department Register of Correspondence 355-1905 T.S.A.
4. Ibid. E.D. 3/4 6883
5. Ibid.
6. Reeves, C. op. cit.
3.04 On December 30, 1875, James Rule and a Mr. M. Fearnley were provisionally appointed to the positions, but Fearnley later declined the offer. His position was then offered to Mr. W. J. Reynolds, headmaster of Goulburn Street. Between the end of 1875 and September, 1876 the Board must have decided that an extra two Inspectors would be too generous, as on September 9, 1876 the Governor-in-Council gave assent to only the one position, and James Rule became the new Inspector on the salary of £350 per year. Rule was to be based in Launceston to supervise all schools in the north of the colony.

3.05 Rule took up his duties in October, 1876. The Board members at least, were pleased with his appointment, but were still bemoaning the non-appointment of the third Inspector in their report dated July 30, 1877. "We anticipate that this branch of the Service will be fully efficient as soon as a Third Inspector shall have been appointed in conformity with the urgent recommendations which have already been made by us in this respect". 1 The pupils of Battery Point, however, were far from pleased that their very popular and talented master had left them. 2

3.06 It might be expected that Chief Inspector Stephens would be overjoyed to once again have another Inspector to assist him, but even in his first report following Rule's appointment, there are indications that this was not so. 3 He showed pique at the fact that his system of individual examination of pupils could no longer be properly evaluated, because "... there are no means available for the purpose, the establishment of two separate inspection districts without any provision for uniform practice, having so soon followed my introduction of the system ...", and again from the same report "... the island has again divided into two independent inspection districts, and there will no longer be such uniformity of practice in inspection and examination as will allow any comparison to be made". But he was more optimistic in his opening paragraph when he stated that "the appointment of an additional Inspector enabled me to hold a second general Examination of Pupil-Teachers at its proper time ... and will in future relieve me from a portion of the routine work ..."

2. See Appendix F.
3.07 But this optimism did not last for long. He began his report for the following year with these two sentences.

The appointment of an additional Inspector, if it has not lessened the amount of my work, has at least greatly improved the economy of time. So long as the whole time of a public officer is given to certain duties it is not a matter of much moment to him whether the area of his district be large or small ... (but) ... an advantage is gained by the Inspectors having to spend less time in the actual business of journeying from place to place. 1

Stephens constantly remarked about the time spent in the saddle, a pastime he did not enjoy, so to him, Rule's appointment merely relieved him of saddle soreness enough for him to better savour the delights of his never-ending paper work. He did, however, add that with the two Inspectors at work, more time could be spent in the classroom, actually observing the teachers at work.

3.08 Be that as it may, Stephens did not waste words in his reports complimenting Rule on the work that he was doing. Perhaps he had imagined that with the hoped for appointment of two Inspectors, he himself would be relieved of much of the correspondence consequent upon his position, or that a larger slice of his district would be trimmed. For the next few years, until Mr. A. Doran was appointed in 1882, Mr. Stephens constantly returned to the subject of overwork. In the first year he really did have a legitimate complaint that Rule was not spending enough time at his work because it was not until the beginning of August, 1877 that the new Inspector could take up residence in the North. For ten months he had been based in Hobart and "greatly exceeded the travelling expense amount voted". 2 Rule continued to maintain his house in New Town, thus sharing his time between the two.

3.09 However, there always seemed to be some rivalry, or jealousy between these two men who were of almost identical ages, but both of them gave so much to the cause of education in the second half of the Nineteenth Century. Stephens did not serve an apprenticeship in Tasmania as Rule had done. When he arrived in Tasmania in 1857 at the age of 27, he had been appointed an Inspector.

2. Ibid. p.17.
Mr. T. Stephens
First Director of Education in the Tasmanian Education Department.
Like Rule, his first Inspectorship was in the newly created Northern District, which stretched from Ross to Lisdillon in the south and from Montague in the west to George's Bay in the east. Apart from the very early years he was virtually both Director of Education and Secretary of Education for the whole period of his work in Tasmania. He retired in 1895 at the age of 65, thus enabling Rule to take his place. He enjoyed 18 years of retirement, outliving Rule by some 12 years. However, Rule did have 21 years experience as a headmaster before his appointment to the North, and it may be that Stephens was apprehensive of such an experienced successor moving into an area that for many years had been his. In 1882 Rule stated to the Royal Commission that he was responsible to and received instructions from, the Central Board of Education; and that the Inspectors co-ordinated their work and in joint work only did the Chief Inspector take precedence. He obviously believed that he worked with, and not for, Mr. Stephens.

3.10 But what was the new job that Rule had entered in 1876? Stephens had drafted out a scheme of inspection which was included in his "Instructions" which he had prepared for the Board of Education in 1868. In his 1876 Report he summarised them as follows:

The object of inspection, as distinguished from examination, is to view the school in its ordinary working condition; to notice the planning, construction, and condition of the buildings; and to ascertain the qualifications of the teacher by observing his system of organisation, his methods of instruction, and his discharge of the miscellaneous duties included under the head of "general management," - the efficiency of which is readily tested by paying attention to the order and discipline, the relations subsisting between the children and their teachers, and the numerous other features which combine to form what we call the "tone" of the school. The conclusions thus formed, besides their independent value, have another special use as a check upon, and supplement to the subsequent examination, by which the results of instruction are more formally tested. In the course of these inspections opportunities occur for taking part in the routine work of the school, and thus giving an indication of what is expected to be taught in a particular branch of study. This, however, is a matter in which great tact and caution are required. The old notion that an

1. Under various titles. He actually became Director in 1885.
inexperienced or unskilled teacher may be trained in the
presence of his scholars has long been given up in the
profession, if not in the outside world, and there are few
Inspectors who have not learned from their own experience the
importance of abstaining from any course of action which is
likely to lead the children to criticise or think slightingly
of the teacher under whose charge they are placed. 1

As the Annual Reports were issued to all schools, to be initialled
by all teachers as having been read, and then filed as a school
reference, it can be assumed that the Reports were not written for
the benefit of the Governor alone. Teachers were expected to follow
the suggestions made in these reports, and I imagine that the
co-incidence of Stephens deciding in 1876 to include an explanation
of what he believed to be the work of an Inspector, and Rule's
appointment to this position was not unintentional, and would not be
ignored by Rule. Indeed, in the next year's Report he began with a
summary of the work he had done, and ended with "a few remarks,
generally, on the work of inspection, and particularly on my own
experience during the past year". 2

3.11 In 1885, Inspector G. Bourdillon added his definition:

The system of inspection adopted in Tasmania has always
appeared to me to be a peculiarly sensible one. According
to this system, two separate visits for distinct purposes are
to be paid by the Inspector in every year to each school in
his district, besides incidental visits for special purposes.
The object of the visits of examination is plain to all. The
work done in the past year is tested by a careful examination
of the whole school. The results of the examination of each
individual child are recorded in the case of the three most
essential subjects of Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic; and
by a reference to the nominal lists the progress of any child
may be traced for a series of years. In the other subjects
of instruction the examination is as a rule more general, and
the progress recorded of each class as a whole. But here,
too, in the case of all written work, the papers of children
in the fourth and higher classes may at any time be referred
to. The use of the other regular visit, that of inspection,
may not be quite so clear at first sight, but to my mind these
visits are fully as important as the former. Beyond the
inspection of premises, furniture, and apparatus, and the
occasional detection of irregularities, the Inspector has an
opportunity of quietly watching the usual work of the school.
Defects in methods of management and instruction can be noted,
and suggestions made to the teacher. The mode of giving
instruction in any particular subject can be compared with
the results obtained in the last examination, and where the
results have been unsatisfactory, the cause may frequently be

2. A.R. 1877. p.35.
found in defective methods. The Inspector often notices room for slight changes and improvements, and I have invariably found suggestions well received by teachers.  

Thus the two visits have different objects: the one being designed to test results, the other to observe how these results are obtained.

Rule believed that the Programme of Instruction for schools, and the Instructions to Inspectors were so definitive that there could be little chance of mis-interpretation and a certain amount of uniformity would, in fact, take place, but the Inspectors did confer on any doubtful point.  

3.12 Rule himself never bothered to detail an exhaustive list of duties which he thought an Inspector should follow. It is possible that he thought Mr. Stephens was doing this too frequently as it was. It is true that his annual reports indicated that his methods of inspection varied little from the accepted pattern as prescribed by Mr. Stephens, and both men could see the same problems that needed to be overcome before a satisfactory standard could be reached, but there seemed to be a fundamental difference between the two men as to the means of reaching this standard. To Stephens, the answer seemed to be in teacher training. If all teachers were suitably qualified then standards must rise. To Rule, the answer seemed to be to make education free, to release the teacher from the unpopular burden of collecting fees in order to make a living, and to make it possible for all pupils to attend school free from monetary worries. This, plus an improvement in teacher housing, would attract a better quality of person to the profession and thus ensure an improvement in standard. This, of course, is a very simplistic view of Rule's ideas on education, but I am of the opinion that he was a small "1" liberal-humanitarian who believed that a person could improve himself by his own efforts. It was up to the Inspector to assist.

3.13 It could be argued that Rule was a socialist at heart because of his belief in the dignity of the common man, but as he was from the middle class in Victorian times, I think it more logical to believe that his philosophy encompassed a strong belief in the dignity and worth of all men. This was not typical of the middle class thinking of that time, but Rule's background, which included his apprenticeship as a Slater and plasterer, must have

1. A.R. of 1885. p.10
influenced him tremendously. However, many of his ideas would be regarded as controversial even today. Because of this, I will not attempt to define, in one small paragraph, how Rule saw his job as Inspector. Rather, I will isolate his ideas on many aspects of his work. In this way I hope to show how the man himself shows through. However, by the end of Rule's period as an Inspector, the system 1 had not changed dramatically. 2 The first inspection was still unannounced, whilst that for examination need have two days warning only, but for this visit, the Chairman of the Board of Advice had also to be notified. Results of the tests were communicated to the Chairman and, of course, discussed with the teacher. In regard to local matters requiring the attention of the Board of Advice, the Inspector was to confer with the Chairman. Thus, any criticism that the Boards were not doing their work, should also have been criticisms of the Inspectors for not ensuring that the Boards did, in fact, act promptly on matters of their particular concern.

3.14 A glance at the chart 3 will show the areas of responsibility undertaken by James Rule from his appointment as Inspector until his retirement. Because of the precarious state of the colony's finances, it was not always possible to employ as many Inspectors as was desirable and because of this, James Rule, along with the others, had to undertake more than his fair share of travel.

3.15 Throughout the second half of the 19th Century, Inspectors complained that their jobs would be more efficiently done if more Inspectors were appointed to relieve them of the number of schools that had to be visited and the corresponding paper work that the large number of schools generated. Indeed, in 1976, just 100 years after Rule's first appointment, the Superintendent of High Schools in the north of the state, with only 14 schools in his district, makes the same complaint, and he has the advantages of modern means of transport and communication. It should also be remembered that Rule was 46 years of age when he accepted the appointment and 65 when he became Director. The vicissitudes and vagaries of the weather, coupled with the primitive means of transport available to Rule, particularly in the early days when in some rural areas roads would have been no better than tracks, would have ensured that the early inspectors were hardy men. Throughout his time as

1. As mentioned in 3.10 and 3.11.
2. Education Department Regulations 1894
3. Appendix A.
1. An Early Settler's House in N. E. Tasmania.

2. "The primitive means of transport available!"
Horses in trouble in the mud of Branxholm Lane - 1889.
Inspector, Rule took very little time off through ill health, proving that he must have been gifted with stamina and a strong sense of loyalty to his employers, and to the teachers and children in his district.

3.16 A glance at the following table will give some indication of the amount of travel undertaken by Rule in his first few years as an Inspector.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Horseback</th>
<th>Coach, etc.</th>
<th>Rail</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1876 (½ yr)</td>
<td>1582</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>2275</td>
<td>3986</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>3156</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>4017</td>
<td>7410</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>2850</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4708</td>
<td>7558</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>3247</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2762</td>
<td>6099</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>2392</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3506</td>
<td>5898</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Distances in Miles)

3.17 It can be seen that rail travel was used extensively, but it must be remembered that when this means of transport was used, the Inspector often had to hire a horse to get from the railway station to the surrounding schools. In some cases, where facilities for hiring horses did not exist, the Inspectors found it more convenient to ignore the train and do the whole trip in the saddle. But in his first full year as an Inspector, Rule covered 7,410 miles, nearly half of which were travelled by horse transport, and in 1880 travel on horseback actually exceeded that done by rail. In those early years the amount of travel done figured prominently in Annual Reports. In his first year Rule also complained bitterly about the meagre allowance given for this purpose, but he did not continue with this. He did, however, continue to publish his total mileage figures until 1881, when he discontinued the practice. This may have been due to the fact that 1882 saw his Inspectorate diminished, with the appointment of Mr. A. Doran, B.A., LL.B., as a third Inspector. It may also have been because now that he had turned 50 he was not travelling as much, or it could have been that he saw no useful purpose in continually bringing to the notice of the Board of Education that being an Inspector of half of Tasmania was too much for any one man to handle, now that the third Inspector had been appointed. The problem of travel time did not

1. A.R. 1876
2. See chart 3.16.
rear its head again in his Annual Reports except for a brief grumble in his report for 1886. Conversations with a descendant of Rule, Mr. J. Reynolds, resulted in many interesting anecdotes being told. These had been obtained by Mr. Reynolds from discussions held in early childhood with relatives who had known Rule well. At one stage he owned a white horse which insisted on rolling in the mud at every opportunity. After one embarrassing visit to a school, mounted on his energetic but filthy steed, Inspector Rule made it a practice to tie him up by the school fence, away from temptation. The horse saw much of Tasmania, as visits to the far North-West were done without the aid of roads. Several times he was left at home whilst Rule travelled on the supply ketches to Smithton and Stanley. Mrs. Rule joined her husband on many of these safaris, and one of the most interesting of these would have been that to the West Coast, where James was called upon to investigate the possibility of starting several schools. With no bridges, the party was required to swim the horses over the King River and to cross the Pieman by dinghy. On visits to the North-West Coast Rule would call on "Philosopher" Smith, a kindred spirit, with whom he had many discussions.

3.18 Never-the-less, the large amount of time spent in travel was time spent away from the business at hand and could therefore be regarded as wasted. It must have required a super-human effort for the Inspector to give an unbiased report of an isolated school's work after an uncomfortable night spent in a strange bed with a long ride in the early morning to follow, in order to get to the school. The Inspector would have to spend long periods of time away from his home and comfortable fireside. Because of the large number of schools to visit and the distances involved, Rule could not stay long in any one school. In fact, in 1879 he averaged 1 hour and 40 minutes with each visit, in 1880 one hour and 51 minutes and in 1881 this had been extended to 2 minutes less than two hours. Even with these short visits, Rule admitted that "much of the correspondence had to be made night work".

3.19 It was expected that Inspectors should visit each school

1. Coach travel in the 1880's.

2. Mr. James "Philosopher" Smith, a friend of Rule who discovered the famous Mt. Bischoff Tin Mine in 1871.
at least twice in a year — once to inspect the school as to methods of approach in educating the pupils, and once to examine the children to determine standards reached. However, Rule had not been inspecting long before he was at loggerheads with the Board over the number of visits required. He did not dispute the fact that it was essential for the Inspector to visit each school to ascertain the amount of work done and the standards to which the pupils had been brought forward, but he felt that

If every teacher were thoroughly competent, one annual visit for this purpose would be enough; but, as there are junior teachers in training whose progress has to be observed, and untrained or half-trained teachers whose mistakes in management have to be corrected, while a few schools for other reasons require special observation, the Board have instructed their Inspectors to make at least one additional visit without warning in the course of the year, and as many more as time permits. It has, moreover, been suggested that four regular visits should be made to every school, two being visits of examination. With the latter part of the suggestion I entirely disagree. It requires a full year to bring children forward, under favourable circumstances, from one standard to the next; so one annual examination is enough to ascertain results for general information; any more would only be calculated to relieve the teachers of a wholesome responsibility, — that of determining fitness for promotion from class to class. An increase in the number of visits of inspection for the purpose of helping the backward in school methods would be useful; but grave financial difficulties stand in its way. To make four journeys through the same districts, instead of two, would just double the amount of travelling expenses.

3.20 It is of interest to note that in the following year he had, however, attempted to satisfy the Board's request. In 1879 9 schools were visited once, most of these not being open for a second visit; 49 twice, 23 three times, 7 four times, 2 five times and 2 eight times. This pattern was continued throughout Rule's Inspectorship, indicating that more than the required effort was given to the schools which were in dire need of assistance.

3.21 In addition to the visits for the purpose of inspection and examination, Rule, like other Inspectors, was required to attend to many other matters that would all use up valuable time. In 1879 he had conducted 15 incidental examinations for employment and promotion, the annual examination of pupil-teachers in drawing, the usual work as one of the examiners in the general examinations of teachers and pupil-teachers, seven special visits into districts requiring

2. Ibid.
schools, the preparation of reports for the Board, and miscellaneous correspondence. In addition to this, he was often asked to attend meetings of the local boards, to attend to requests for school supplies, to supervise the building of new schools and residences, and to supervise the examination of pupils for Exhibitions.

3.22 James Rule, therefore, made a decision to dedicate his life to the teaching profession when he accepted the position of Inspector of Schools. The long years of experience as a headmaster supplied him with the background knowledge necessary to make a success of his new job, but in no way can the two parts of his career be compared. This was completely different from anything he had experienced before, and, coming at an age when many men have become settled on their way of life, it speaks volumes for Rule's character that even at the time of retirement he had not forgotten about the problems of the classroom teachers. Their welfare, and that of the students, remained at the forefront of his thinking.

CHAPTER FOUR.

HIS WORK AS AN INSPECTOR OF SCHOOLS.

4.01 One of the main functions of the Inspector, as far as the Board, and later the Education Department, was concerned, was the examining of pupils. The reason for the importance placed upon this aspect of the work was that it seemed to be the best and easiest way of comparing standards in all subjects within a school and also between schools. Rule had stated in his first full report that "the public have a right to be informed as to these (examination) results in order to estimate the good done by the Education vote". ¹ The statistics obtained from these inspectors' examinations were put to many uses. They could be used by the Board to justify an increase in the annual grant from Parliament. They could be used by the general public to estimate the capabilities of the local schoolmaster. They could be used by the Inspector to judge the quality of work being covered in the classroom, and, of course, they could be used by the teacher for the same purpose.

4.02 Unfortunately, the original purpose of the examination as far as the schoolmaster was concerned was soon forgotten. Perhaps it was a carry over from the dreadful days of the mid 1860's when the payment-by-results scheme was given limited trial, but the schoolmaster realised very quickly that his school, and therefore his ability as a teacher, was being judged by results obtained from the Inspector's examination. He must, therefore, concentrate on the subject matter that was to be examined, so a direct result of this examination system was that education was placed in a straight-jacket. Much depended on the type of question put by the Inspector. Obviously, if the Inspector favoured one aspect of the subject, then that aspect was given extra attention. In this way, an Inspector could control almost exactly what was to be taught in schools and even how. He could determine the important subjects and those that did not warrant much attention. Obviously, whether he wanted it to happen or not, Rule would be regarded with fear by

¹ A.R. '1877. p.17.
many teachers and at least apprehension by the rest.

4.03 Most of the visits Rule made to schools were unannounced, as was the practice in the Nineteenth Century, but the usual procedure for visits for the purpose of examining was that prior warning would be given, so that the teacher could ensure that all pupils were present. No doubt the ambitious but unsuccessful teacher would ensure that a full attendance was not obtained on this day!

4.04 The examinations conducted by Rule did not vary much from those of the other Inspectors. It was essential that they did not if colony wide figures were required. Pupils were examined in the three R's individually, so that the number of pupils who had reached a certain level of attainment could be ascertained regardless of class placement by the teacher. In other subjects, they were examined in class groups. Valuable as these other subject may be, Rule, like others of his time, emphasised the importance of the three R's. The results of individual pupils in these three subjects were noted, and checked against preceding years' results to ascertain the speed of accomplishment. Rule was extremely methodical in his compilation of the results of these tests. He used tables of results and percentages to illustrate his reports, a practice that Chief Inspector Stephens occasionally copied.

4.05 Rule believed, in his early years of inspecting, that a pupil must reach Grade III standard in the three R's as the minimum standard required for a groundwork for self-culture by a child leaving school. According to his reports usually made some comment about the number reaching this standard. In 1877, of all the pupils examined who were over ten years of age, and who could be expected to reach this standard, only 11% did so. And this was only 11% of the pupils attending public schools. Thousands of others did not attend school at all. It can be seen that Rule, rather than merely presenting to the Board a table of results, was using these figures to push one of his social beliefs — that everybody, regardless of his station in life, needed a minimum level of literacy and numeracy in order to make proper use of his adult life. Many in Tasmania, at this time, 2

1. Ibid. p.12.
2. Where convict life was still regarded with shame.
would be amazed to think that even the common farm labourer needed "the ground work for self-culture". 1

4.06 Coming straight from his own schoolroom, Rule was quick to point out that his tables could not take into account many circumstances that would mitigate against higher results and that comparisons between schools should not therefore be made. 2 He does, however, take two opposing views on the efficiency of the teacher under his command. Speaking as an ex-headmaster, he stated that "... it is wrong to infer that the teachers must necessarily be inefficient ... many teachers deserve high praise for their ability and energy". 3 But he continues the Report in the vein of an Inspector who knows that better results can be obtained viz. "Still it cannot be denied that in too many schools the teacher's inefficiency keeps the standards lower than they would under tolerable management ...".

4.07 A comparison of Rule's examination results may be made by studying the following tables taken from his Annual Reports. For the Year 1877 (Rule's first full year as Inspector in the North).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Standards</th>
<th>In Read</th>
<th>Writ</th>
<th>Arith</th>
<th>Read only</th>
<th>Writ only</th>
<th>Arith only</th>
<th>Two subjects only</th>
<th>All three sub.</th>
<th>Per-centage on Total up to the Standards in three subjects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Not up to</td>
<td>1209</td>
<td>1317</td>
<td>1329</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1531*</td>
<td>41.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard I</td>
<td>1092</td>
<td>990</td>
<td>1270</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>1184</td>
<td>32.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Up to Stand. I</td>
<td>674</td>
<td>697</td>
<td>540</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>530</td>
<td>14.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Up to Stand. II</td>
<td>417</td>
<td>407</td>
<td>347</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>285</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Up to Stand. III</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Up to Stand. IV</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Up to Stand. V</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Up to Stand. VI</td>
<td>3656</td>
<td>3656</td>
<td>3656</td>
<td>432</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>841</td>
<td>3656</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. A.R. 1877. p.12
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid. p.17
For the year 1885 (Rule's last year in the North).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Read Writ Arith</th>
<th>Read Writ Arith Two subj.</th>
<th>All three subjs. subj.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Per-cent.</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not up to full work of Class I</td>
<td>984 921 912</td>
<td>- - -</td>
<td>1050 28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Up to full work of Class I</td>
<td>801 961 1191 32</td>
<td>4 14</td>
<td>132 1135 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Up to full work of Class II</td>
<td>868 887 981 93</td>
<td>1 64</td>
<td>310 947 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Up to full work of Class III</td>
<td>521 536 338 95</td>
<td>- 24</td>
<td>372 332 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Up to full work of Class IV</td>
<td>343 288 229 93</td>
<td>- 19</td>
<td>166 198 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Up to full work of Class V</td>
<td>151 124 92 57</td>
<td>- 2</td>
<td>62 83 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Up to full work of Class VI</td>
<td>93 44 18 49</td>
<td>- -</td>
<td>30 16 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>3761 3761 3761</td>
<td>- - -</td>
<td>3761 -</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the year 1886 (Rule's first year in the South)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numbers below the full standard of the Upper First Class</th>
<th>Read Writ Arith</th>
<th>All three subjects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Per-cent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1347 1388 1364 1478</td>
<td>34.32</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numbers up to the full standards of the Upper First Class</td>
<td>839 889 1148 1119</td>
<td>25.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numbers up to the full standards of Class II</td>
<td>926 953 966 922</td>
<td>21.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numbers up to the full standards of Class III</td>
<td>582 583 419 417</td>
<td>9.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numbers up to the full standards of Class IV</td>
<td>383 341 328 294</td>
<td>6.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numbers up to the full standards of Class V</td>
<td>174 124 77 73</td>
<td>1.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numbers up to the full standards of Class VI</td>
<td>56 29 5 4</td>
<td>.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>4307 4307 4307 4307</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
For the year 1894 (Rule's last year as Inspector)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>All three subjects</th>
<th>Read</th>
<th>Writ</th>
<th>Arith</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Per-cent age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Not up to full work of Class I, Div. I</td>
<td>760</td>
<td>653</td>
<td>752</td>
<td>907</td>
<td>19.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Up to full work of Class I, Div. I</td>
<td>643</td>
<td>735</td>
<td>691</td>
<td>659</td>
<td>14.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Up to full work of Class I, Div. 2</td>
<td>651</td>
<td>761</td>
<td>730</td>
<td>724</td>
<td>15.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Up to full work of Class II</td>
<td>876</td>
<td>891</td>
<td>1146</td>
<td>1101</td>
<td>23.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Up to full work of Class III</td>
<td>681</td>
<td>706</td>
<td>730</td>
<td>671</td>
<td>14.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Up to full work of Class IV</td>
<td>495</td>
<td>490</td>
<td>322</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>6.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Up to full work of Class V</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>255</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>4.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Up to full work of Class VI</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total examined</td>
<td>4603</td>
<td>4603</td>
<td>4603</td>
<td>4603</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.08 If the first two tables are compared, they show that regardless of the age of the pupil, only 11.5% had attained Grade III standard in 1876 but this figure had jumped to 16% by 1885. This may not seem a huge leap, but greatest progress is in the infant area where in 1876 74.2% had not reached Grade II standard. In 1885 this percentage had improved to 58. The percentage of pupils who exceeded Grade III standard in 1885 was double that of 1876, but was still only 7%.

4.09 When comparing the third and fourth tables it must be realised that these are taken from the south of the state and follow the dissolution of the Board of Education in favour of an Education Department, but the same facts may be noted. Steady improvement was being made in Rule's districts. The other Inspectors did not keep records of these percentages and comparisons cannot be made. The following is a summary of the previous tables:

- Reached Grade III standard: 1886 18.29% 1894 26.33%
- Not reached Grade II standard: 1886 60.30% 1894 49.75%
- Exceeded Grade III standard: 1886 8.61% 1894 10.75%

The fact that the percentage of children who had not reached Grade II standard declined from a staggering 74.2% in 1876 to 49.75% less than 20 years later indicates a big improvement, but it still left almost 50% of the school population below Grade II level.
4.10 Another interpretation that Rule put on his examination of school results in the North is worthy of note. Following each individual child's results from year to year he would grade its progress as good, fair, moderate, very slow or nothing appreciable. "Good" meant that the child had mastered the next highest class standards in the three R's in one year. "Moderate" meant that this was done in two years. \(^1\) Three progress charts are shown below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Progress Level</th>
<th>1879%</th>
<th>1883%</th>
<th>1885%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Good</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fair</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>20.1</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slow</td>
<td>30.7</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None appreciable</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this context, too, it can be seen that there was a slight uplifting of standards. This was not maintained in 1883 but Rule maintained that this was not due to less industry on the part of the teachers. \(^2\)

4.11 If Rule, throughout his period as an Inspector, could see that standards were low, and that improvement was slow, why, then, did he still maintain that the blame could not be directed at the teachers, who remained, in his eyes, hard working, diligent and improperly rewarded human beings? The answer lies in the many defects of the educational system which were in existence. His first full report to the Board, that of 1877, was his first real opportunity to make an important statement of policy. In it, Rule not only selected the areas of weakness in the system as it existed at that time but he also stated many of his own beliefs, opinions and suggested remedies. As it followed so closely upon his appointment, it is probably the most candid of all his reports. Later documents merely clarified this early one. Of course Rule's value as an Inspector would be minimal if he was not open to new ideas, and later reports did include many of these, but his basic beliefs did not alter.

4.12 The greatest worry to Rule was that public school education was not reaching every child who could benefit from it. This worry constantly nagged at him throughout his whole career. It was closely allied to the fact that pupils had to pay for their

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1. A.R. 1884. p.11.
education. He could never see how it was possible to have compulsory education and not have free education. Except for the brief period of payment-by-results, which was a dismal failure and which happened before Rule's period of Inspectorship, the government of the colony in the second half of the Nineteenth Century always insisted that pupils should be charged for the right to be educated. From the Education Act of 1868 it had also insisted that attendance for all pupils between the age of 7 and 12 be compulsory.¹ Rule realised that the two were incompatible, particularly in poor and remote rural areas, and insisted that the answer lay in removing the fees.

4.13 The Government on the other hand also realised that the two were at times incompatible but took the cheaper way out by providing clauses in the 1868 Act by which certain pupils could be exempt from attendance. Briefly summarised, they were as follows:

1. Private education in reading and writing.
2. Ability to read and write.
3. Education at another public or private school.
4. Ill health.
5. Parents unable to do without help at home.
6. Unable safely to attend school.
7. Distance – if a pupil lived more than one mile from the nearest school he/she was not compelled to attend.

4.14 Poverty was not regarded as a reason for non-attendance, as the government agreed to pay fees to the teacher if the Local Public School Boards decided that circumstances warranted it. To ensure that the exemption rules were not ill-used, the Local Boards were given the authority to enforce attendance with the legal power to enforce a £2 fine after two warnings.² Rule did not hesitate to fire all guns in an attempt to right the obvious (to him) injustices being done to schoolmasters and children. In 1877, as in subsequent years, he furnished ample proof that many thousands of children were being denied their right to proper schooling. In the year 1877 he estimated that 5,000 children of schoolable age had never been regularly on the rolls of any school. He blamed parents, the Local School Boards and the magistrates for this.

The unwilling parent seems to endeavour, by experiment, to ascertain the minimum attendance required by law; and as this has not been fixed by the Act, or the Boards Regulations,

1. Reeves, C. _op. cit._ p.70.
The simple lines of schools which Rule helped design are shown clearly in these photographs.

1. Waratah residence and school - built 1878.

2. Macquarie Street School in 1899.
magistrates naturally shirk the responsibility of settling it by precedent.

He follows on a stronger line still.

The compulsory law will have no general application till it is made more definite, and its administration put in responsible hands. The members of School Boards are often personally interested, and therefore inclined at a breach of the law.  

Because of the extremely weak enforcement of the rather generous compulsory clauses, teachers were forced to put up with children over ten commencing school for the first time, and many children were attending less than 1/4 of the number of days. Rule realised that many pupils would gain no benefit from such poor attendance and would actually lower the general standard of proficiency of those who did attend regularly.

Throughout his writings it becomes apparent that Rule does not favour strict enforcement of the compulsory clauses except as a last resort. A measure of the man is obtained from his Report of 1881, 2 where he insists that true education will not come about unless the pupil comes willingly to school. Because of this he believed that the teacher should refrain from coercion and

... should not even mention the law by way of threat ... as threats beget a spirit of antagonism to the school and all connected with it ... It is gratifying to find here and there an enthusiastic teacher, supported by the sympathy of influential members of the community, who actively encourage a healthy public opinion as to the duty of parents in the education of their children, securing a very satisfactory attendance without a hint of penalties from any quarter. 3

Rule had many suggestions to improve the attendance.

Because of his belief that all children should attain a minimum standard of education in order to raise the general standards of life in society as a whole, it was imperative that he do so. It was fundamental to his whole philosophy of life, and of education in particular. In 1882 he put forward three suggestions. 4

1. Fees should be eliminated.

2. That where the number of children in thinly peopled districts is not sufficient for half time schools, but where three groups of at least seven children could be found in reasonably close proximity, itinerant teachers

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3. Ibid.
should be found for these groups of three. This was in an attempt to overcome the government's unwillingness to provide schooling in remote areas, where they first refused to grant aid to schools with an attendance of less than 20 and then extended this to two schools of at least 10 pupils being taught half time by the one teacher.

3. That the principle of local self-government in education be adopted, within such limits as would ensure efficiency and uniformity of standards.

The last mentioned point was a very advanced one. Rule had been very critical of local School Boards, but his criticism was usually directed at their lack of real power, and the poor quality of their members. Here, at a time when new regulations were being formed, and when the Education Board itself was about to be replaced, he thought the time opportune for him to air some of his more democratic ideas.

4.18 To take his first point, that of fees for education, it is superfluous to add that he regarded it as a matter of principle that you should not demand fees if attendance was compulsory. This was expressed in many of his writings. In 1883, however, he tried a different tack. Perhaps the politicians who would be framing the new legislation 1 would listen to an argument based on expediency even if they had ignored his pleas for a change on the matter of principle. He even admitted that "as to the justice of school attendance being made compulsory but not free, there is much to be said on both sides". 2 This statement must have caused him some heart-searching, but it did show that he was willing to use all weapons in his fight for an uplifting of educational standards. He went on to state what his experience had shown him to be the facts of the matter.

4.19 He made the following point: 3 that the exaction of fees has an injurious influence on the attendance. He gave as examples:

1. The exemption of poor parents had a pauperising effect on the minds of others able to pay who, in truth, demanded, and sometimes obtained, free certificates from the local School Board.

1. For the 1885 Act.
2. Some of the local boards exercised little discretion in these grants of free certificates. It should be noted that in the case of free certificates, the government from 1868 was responsible for the payment of a fee to the teacher – approximately half of that demanded from others. Thus the teacher did not receive the reward for teaching that he would normally expect. Rule instanced one extreme example of a school board which granted free certificates to all forty of the school's pupils and yet two of the parents were on the board!

3. Those boards that attempted to uphold the law found it difficult to check the growth of the pauper spirit.

4. Teachers could not force parents to pay. This could only be done by legal proceedings.

5. Teachers, as recipients and collectors, must thereby antagonise parents. Children, hearing their parents' comments about the teacher, would in turn be influenced.

6. Not all teachers were endowed with business tact or unflinching firmness in extracting their due. The argument that a teacher's ability in his profession was correctly indicated by his success in obtaining fees was fallacious, as Rule's experience did not justify it.

7. Some children were humiliated by teachers who demanded fees.

8. School work was interrupted by fee collections.

9. The teacher must admit a child even if the parent refused to pay.

Later, in 1885, Rule added further arguments. ¹

1. It is not true that if all children were admitted free the attendance would become irregular.
   (a) It is true that many free scholars are irregular in their attendance but if forced to pay they would not attend at all.
   (b) In countries where free education is in operation, attendance has risen.
   (c) It is a fallacy to argue that if parents pay fees they will send their children to school regularly in order to get full value for their money. In some schools fees are paid quarterly in advance. If, because of sickness or accident, the child misses

the first part of the quarter he is kept home until the next quarter so as to avoid payment for schooling not obtained. Similarly, when parents pay at the end of a week it is not uncommon to find them keeping the child home for the rest of the week when sickness has meant an absence in the beginning.

2. Many small schools close because of lack of numbers. The statutory age for schooling being from 7 to 12, parents are unwilling to pay for those children from 4 to 6 and those over 12. Many schools could have remained open if these children were enrolled.

4.20 Following on from this last point, Rule emphasised in his next year's report that "children with average ability who are ignorant of letters at the age of 7 require an uninterrupted course of instruction up to their 15th year to reach the higher standard ... few can be expected to carry on the work of self-improvement after leaving school". Unfortunately, Rule was not successful in his efforts to obtain free education. In 1894 he repeated most of his arguments, but to no avail. Thus this was to be his greatest frustration. In his eyes a successful education system for all children, independent of means, was impossible without having a free education.

4.21 Rule was particularly critical of the poorer quality private schools. These schools provided a means by which children could avoid the compulsory clause. If children enrolled at a private school, the local boards had no jurisdiction over them. The dame schools came under intense criticism from Rule. These were run by young women with little or no teacher-training and their attainments were low. They often prevented public schools being built in the same area if the population was low. From Education Office figures, Rule estimated that in 1878 the 96 private schools in the North had a nominal attendance of 2,332 children but only 1,500 attended schools "worthy of the name". Add to this the 3,500 bona fide Public Schools pupils and only 5,000 obtained a worthwhile education. Rule estimated that there were approximately 9,000 children of school age in the North. Attendance and the fact that fees were compulsory were a continual worry to Rule and almost all of his Annual Reports made some mention of these two problems.

1. Ibid. p.10.
3. Ibid. p.12.
CHAPTER FIVE.

THE PERIOD OF THE 1883 ROYAL COMMISSION.

5.01 By the end of 1882, it was apparent that others, besides Rule, had realised that very serious problems existed in the education system of Tasmania. Both Stephens and Rule were constantly reminding the Board that there were defects in the system, not the least of which was the fact that the number of schools had increased to such an extent as to overload the existing one. The system of control from the Chief Secretary's Office was under fire from many quarters. The system based on the 1868 Education Act was in need of review. Accordingly, on January 30, 1883, the Governor, Sir George Cumine Strahan, K.C.M.G., issued an invitation to six prominent citizens to make diligent enquiry into the existing systems of Public Education in Tasmania and the neighbouring colonies, and the manner in which provision for the same is made, and to offer such suggestions as may to them appear calculated to secure increased advantages to the Public of Tasmania in the matter of Education. The Report of this Royal Commission was to be in the Governor's hand by June 1, 1883. Because of its importance to education in the colony, and to James Rule's influence in the new Department which it created, this Royal Commission will be dealt with in some detail.

5.02 The members of the Commission were Mr. E. N. C. Braddon, Speaker of the House of Assembly (Chairman), Mr. W. H. D. Archer, M.H.A., Mr. B. S. Bird, M.H.A., The Honourable C. H. Brumby, the Rev. R. D. Poulet-Harris, and the Rev. J. Scott. The Commission had a very limited time to complete its work, even though the Governor granted two extensions, but the Report was duly handed over on July 9, 1883.

5.03 The Commission was quick to point out that it did not get complete co-operation from the Government Departments. Necessary material was withheld from them, thereby "restricting our field of enquiry". The refusal of the Government to allow R.C. members to travel to other colonies in Australasia and thus glean information first hand was regretted. They particularly wanted to visit N.S.W., where the N.S.W. Education Act of April, 1880 had anticipated the

1. 1883 R.C. Report. p.10
2. Ibid. p.6.
3. Ibid. p.9.
The 1883 Royal Commission

1. Governor G. C. Strahan, K.C.M.G. formed the Commission.

2. Two Commissioners, both of whom were Ministers of Education whilst Rule was Director.

(Chairman)
Tasmanian moves. The Tasmanian Parliamentary Select Committee of 1882 had called witnesses and had gleaned much useful information which was used by the R.C., but as to the results, successes and failures of other colonial systems, they "only derived partial knowledge from cursory reading and unauthenticated information". However, the extent of the enquiry can be gauged from the fact that they made enquiries into:

(a) All existing institutions which were in some degree supported by the State, e.g. Public Primary Schools, aided Refuges, Educational Prizes, and the Council through which the Prizes were awarded.

(b) All Institutions which may later have come under State control.

Schools were visited and witnesses heard in an attempt to "fairly and fully represent every shade of public opinion". They tabulated educational statistics of Australasian Colonies, the salient features of systems of Public Education in the Australian Colonies and other countries and a synopsis of written replies put to teachers of Public Schools, Local School Boards, masters of Superior Schools and others interested in education.

As a preliminary, the Report acknowledged the debt that Tasmanians owed to previous educational administrators. In tracing the history of Tasmanian Education, it must have become apparent that this important field of activity could no longer be controlled by amateurs, no matter how "able and upright". "... In the process of time, and by the light of experience, the views of educationalists have undergone considerable changes, and educational systems have been remodelled to meet more recent opinions".

1. Ibid.
2. Exhibitions and Scholarships.
3. The substitute for a University.
4. e.g. Reformatories, Schools of Agriculture and Mines, Libraries.
5. 1883 R.C. Report p.11.
6. Ibid. Appendix 19.
7. Ibid. Appendix 18.
8. Ibid. Appendix 20, 21, 22,
9. Particularly to Mr. H. Butler who had given his services gratuitously as Chairman of the Board of Education for many years.
A typical class of the Nineteenth Century with pupils of varying ages present.
5.05 A basic tenet of the R.C. Report was that education would have to be compulsory. They repeated the arguments put forward by the 1867 Commission. Not only did they show that England, France, Canada and the Australasian colonies already had compulsory education, but blamed the "partial failure of American public education" on the absence of a compulsory clause in that country. However, the evidence before them, whilst recognising that the State had a duty to provide for primary education and that it should also be compulsory, showed that a doubt existed as to the desirability of making public education free. Accordingly, several pages of the report were used to prove the point that it was in the State's economic interests to educate the masses.

5.06 Matthew Arnold was quoted to instance the fact that education was necessary to supply the masses with the humanising element "without which the finest race in the world is but a race of barbarians". He believed that unprejudiced intelligence and equitable moderation did not come naturally and must therefore come from above i.e. from a compulsory state education system. Rule had referred to this as self-cultivation and he believed that a child well versed in the three R's would continue to educate himself even after he left school. The theoretical aspect of the question of the economic effect of education was copied from the 1867 Report but Point 24 of the R.C. Report seems to summarise the Commissioner's feelings on the matter.

24. That improvement in the efficiency of labour must naturally attend improved intelligence of the labourer seems too self-evident a proposition to require discussion; nor can it be necessary to show how elevation of the effectiveness of labour is inseparable from enhancement of the national wealth, or how pauperism is the not improbable consummation of ineffective labour. But the controlling influence of education as a preventive of crime, is to some minds at least, a debatable question, and as to this we deem it advisable to advance such argument and evidence as may justify the opinion we hold.

1. See 2.20.
2. Including Tasmania.
4. Ibid. p.21.
5. Ibid. p.13.
The Report then spent considerable space on evidence to show that crime could be prevented by education, but mainly merely showing that most criminals were illiterate, therefore proving that illiterates were potential criminals, which is not a conclusive argument. Indeed, they had to go back to Paris in 1738 to find proof that education had, indeed, resulted in less crime, and a 25% saving in police revenue. The Commissioners even tested 43 inmates of the Hobart Gaol, proving, amongst other things, that the prison school was achieving success in its literacy programme. They conclude this section of the report by stating:

The evidence of fact; then, as well as theoretical reasoning, points conclusively to the necessity of a sound primary education as an antidote to crime, - to the desirability, on material as also on moral grounds, of a voluntary expenditure upon Public Schools, rather than an enforced expenditure upon gaols and the necessary machinery for the detection and punishment of crime. It must be accepted as an unavoidable obligation of the Constitutional Government, that exists by the will and in the interests of the people, to secure for the masses, a sound elementary education — (1) That the national wealth may be increased by elevation of the labour standard; and (2) That the national wealth may not be depleted by pauperism, the development of ineffective labour; or crime, the outcome of degraded ignorance.

The R.C. did not, however, find any universal demand for free education, and it is to its credit that it made its decision based on its members' personal beliefs, supported only by a small minority of those more highly educated authorities whose opinions were sought. James Rule was one of these, and the arguments for free education differ only slightly from those brought forward by him. The arguments for free education may be summarised as follows:

1. The State forces education upon the people not so much for the individual benefit of the scholar as for the advantage of the whole community. "The cost of education," they argued, "should not be regarded as the price paid by an individual for so much teaching, but as an insurance premium to be paid by the public for immunity from the evils that would arise from widespread ignorance."

2. When the state thus forces an unwilling parent to send

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1. Ibid. p.14.
2. Ibid. p.16.
his child to school it is unreasonable to expect him to contribute the whole cost of his child's education. As it is in the interest of the whole community, then the whole community should contribute through some form of tax or rate.

5.08 The R.C. then attempted to answer the arguments put forward by opponents of free education, which were:

1. That the parent should not be relieved of his responsibility.
2. That the cost is thrown in part upon a class which does not obtain any educational return for the outlay through its own children.
3. That education would not be appreciated if nothing were paid for it.
4. That the State enters into competition with private enterprise.
5. That local interest would decline under a free system.
6. That it tends to pauperise a community.
7. That with free education the tone of attendance is lowered. ¹

The R.C. were forced to admit they had no strong argument to oppose Point 1. Why should a parent escape the cost of his child's education when he was expected to pay for his food and clothing? They could merely state that legally a parent had only to supply the bare minimum food and clothing so it was unreasonable for the state to expect him to pay for the whole of his child's education. Point 2. has already been answered ² but they added that the prisons and poorhouses of the day were not maintained and financed by the prisoners and paupers, so why should the pupils pay for education? Point 3. was dismissed by the Commissioners. In a compulsory system appreciation, to them, was just a "sentimental accessory". Point 4. was opposed by the Commissioners as an argument in that the Public System would not be able to compete with the superior private schools unless the standard of instruction were very considerably elevated and they believed that no such elevation was at the time practicable or desirable. This indicated a fundamental difference between the R.C. thinking and that of James Rule, whose whole life was devoted

¹. Ibid.
². See 5.07.
to that of raising standards. However, even Rule would have admitted that he was having only limited success at that time. In reply to the argument that free education would cause a decline in local interest, the R.C. explained that interest was at an all-time low anyway, and also that school fees only formed 12\% of the whole expenditure on education at the time, thus proving that local interest did not extend to the pocket. As far as Point 7. is concerned the R.C. believed there was no connection whatsoever between compulsory education and charitable relief. It "be no more pauperising to open our public schools free of charge than to open our churches for gratuitous religious teaching". The final point, that the tone of the school would be lowered, the R.C. dismisses as ridiculous. They believed that a mixture of classes of society in the schools would have an uplifting effect.

5.10 The Commissioners rounded off this section of their Report by moving from the philosophical arguments to the more practical effects of free education. Obviously, the majority of those questioned could cope with the practice, if not the theory, as most were in support of R.C. conclusions i.e. that inferior private schools would close; that the evils arising from the distinction between fee paying and free scholars would be eradicated; that there would be a larger and more regular attendance; and that the position of the teacher would be improved in that his income would no longer depend on fees and he would thus be able to enforce the compulsory clause more vigorously. Rule obviously sided with his teachers on the question of free education. Of the 127 teachers surveyed, 93 were for free education, whereas only 6 of the 32 'persons of superior attainments' agreed with them. 88 out of the 123 teachers thought that attendance would improve dramatically with the change. In conclusion, it was pointed out that U.S.A., France, Prussia, Switzerland, Victoria, N.S.W., Queensland and N.Z. already had free education.

5.11 Having disposed of the opponents of free education, the R.C. next turned to the problem of finding the extra 12\% that had previously been supplied by parents in the form of school fees. The

1. 1881 figures.
3. Tasmania had the lowest average attendance in Australasia in 1883, being 72.6\% of those on the rolls from month to month.
4. £7,026 in 1881.
evidence obtained by them was strongly in favour of the whole charge being met out of consolidated revenue. 16 of 20 masters of Superior Schools favoured this, as did 73 of 123 public school teachers. The Commission believed that local rating would make education unpopular, that it would touch only one class, that it would vary from district to district, and that the local bodies would claim the entire control of the education system including the right to appoint teachers, fix salaries and define the scope of education. It is interesting to note Rule's views on this question, which were in favour of local rating. As far back as 1877 he had observed "the mischievous effects of voluntaryism" in the shortage of school accommodation, resulting in overcrowded rooms, or no rooms at all, or rented rooms being used. Minor repairs were being financed partly from the teachers' own pockets. The teacher was often expected to pay for part cost of purchasing small items of furniture, as well as paying the complete cost of cleaning and warming the classroom, and Rule believed that local rates should be struck to cover this cost.

The system of religious education in existence prior to the 1883 enquiry was that Ministers of Religion were given access to schools if they cared to take advantage of it, in order to teach their particular flock; and that teachers were required to set aside part of each day for unsectarian religious instruction as ordered by the Board of Education. This system had worked well, although 7% of the schools had never been visited by the clergy. In fact, evidence put forward that the existing system caused friction, was only made by 3 of the 82 Local Boards plus "those few vague and unimportant contingencies referred to by Mr. Inspector Rule." The R.C., therefore, recommended the retention of the existing practice of secular education with the deletion of the clause compelling the teacher by regulation to impart Scripture lessons. Mr. Inspector Rule was thus rebuffed, but he would have been pleased with the inclusion of the non-compulsory clause.

2. See 6.05.
4. Ibid. Also see under.
5. See 6.05.
preachers who were also teachers might find it difficult to avoid propagating their dogmas in class. He felt that if there was no scripture reading prescribed for schools, the danger would be less. \(^1\) Rule would have come to these conclusions not because of any anti-religious conviction, as he was a regular church-goer. He would have taken the philosophical viewpoint that a man should be able to believe as he wishes, and if this caused ill-feeling in the schools, then it would be better not to attempt the subject at all.

5.13 Thus the R.C. recommended free, secular and compulsory public education. It now had to see that the compulsory clauses were enforced. The 1868 Act had been weak in that it evaded the questions of minimum attendance necessary and effective penalties for evasion of the law. The R.C. recommended a minimum of 40 days per quarter, except in the case of half time or third time schools, provided local authorities were empowered to reduce the minimum to 60 days for the half year during seed and harvest time. The penalties suggested were as follows:

- **First Offence:** 5/- fine or 7 days imprisonment.
- **Second Offence:** £1 fine or 14 days imprisonment.

5.14 Rule had been very critical of Local Boards on this question, feeling that they were not serving the purpose of seeing that children went to school, but he usually insisted that if schooling was free, the situation would improve. He felt that coercion was not the answer. \(^2\) He had suggested for several years that annual holidays should be taken at a time to suit local conditions \(^3\) and half time and third time schools had also been suggested at this time. Also, he had pointed out the weaknesses of not having a minimum attendance figure, \(^4\) so it is easy to see Rule's influence on the R.C. recommendations. Although 67 teachers made other suggestions, the R.C. agreed with the 57 who thought the compulsory ages should be retained, i.e. 7 years to 14 years. No arguments were put forward for these figures. From a variety of suggestions, \(^5\) the R.C

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2. See 4.16.
3. 1st in 1877.
prescribed a radius of 2 miles \(^1\) as the area where attendance would be compulsory. They did suggest that local authorities should be given the power to increase this limit to 3 miles.

5.15 It was apparent to the R.C. that the local bodies needed a more definite exemption law than that which then existed, instead of throwing upon them the entire responsibility of what constituted sufficient ground for exemption. It should be realised that "exemption" meant "exemption from attendance" and not "exemption from fees" as had appeared in most Education Acts prior to this. The R.C. recommended the laws of N.S.W. \(^2\) which were:

1. That the child is receiving regular and efficient instruction otherwise than at a public school.
2. Sickness, infirmity, fear of infection or other unavoidable cause.
3. That there is no public school within the prescribed distance.
4. That the child has attained the standard of efficiency.

The fourth exemption was the only one that was new. It had been put forward by the 1882 Select Committee and was endorsed wholeheartedly by the R.C. The Standard of Efficiency was not fixed, but it was vaguely suggested that every child who passes "a fair Fourth Class examination would qualify". \(^3\) The Inspector was to grant the certificate but it had to be endorsed by the District Board.

5.16 As an extension to the Compulsory Clauses it was suggested that a Factory Act be passed prohibiting the employment in factories of children less than 12 years of age. Rule had advocated initially that Grade III standard was necessary before a child could expect to be able to cope with adult living, but he later lifted this to Grade V. He also believed that the earliest a child should be allowed to leave school was at age thirteen.

5.17 The R.C. studied the question of standards of education in depth. It commented that the first object of public instruction was to provide the necessary minimum of elementary education for the masses, and that they neither wished to see the standard raised nor lowered. Here they disagreed with the 1862 Select Committee.

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1. Not 2 miles by road.
2. Which were also in operation in Victoria, Queensland and South Australia.
which recommended that standards be raised to enable Exhibitioners to enter Superior Schools on equal terms with those coming from the better class of Private Schools. They argued, with conviction, that the bulk of Tasmanian students could not cope with the existing standards. Their proof was that in 104 schools surveyed, only eleven could expect 75% of their students to pass the Grade V course. Indeed 14 schools would get none and another 46 schools would find that 75% would fail to reach this standard. That the average child should be able to progress through the 6 Grades was not disputed by many but the reason for them not doing so was given as irregularity or non-attendance. But the Commission pointed out that the reason lay "partly to insufficient force of the compulsory law, and partly to inefficient teaching power". Rule could not help but agree with these findings. He could not ignore the fact that many teachers were inefficient.

5.18 The R.C., in surveying heads of Superior Schools, found that Exhibitioners from Public Schools suffered little in comparison with those from Private Schools but they reflected Rule's belief that the teacher who concentrated on the improvement of his prospective Exhibitioners would materially assist in lowering the standard of his other pupils by his neglect of the latter. Rule also came to the conclusion that most Exhibitioners gained little from their four years secondary schooling.

5.19 The Commissioners made some interesting recommendations in the field of teaching. Teaching by object lesson was to be insisted upon and a "more technical turn should be given to Education, with the utilitarian intention of better qualifying the youth of the State Schools for those labour, trades and handicrafts in which the great majority of them are to make their career". They also put out a plea for the retention of the Irish National Board Books at least as an adjunct to the use of the new Australian Readers, their criticism of the latter being that in an effort not to offend people on religious grounds they had "gone overboard" and eliminated

1. Ibid. p.23.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid. p.12.
4. Ibid. p.23.
5. See 6.13.
much that was worthwhile and which could safely have been left. Other school appliances were obviously either outdated or missing from schools and the R.C. recommended that sufficient up to date equipment be supplied as soon as possible.

5.20 The Commission, in the short time that they had at their disposal, realised that Infant Teaching was at a low ebb. Reference was made by Reeves that Froebel's methods had been introduced into the lower classes in 1881. But the R.C. pointed out that the gift of Kindergarten appliances, which had been imported some years before, had lain idle. They went on to recommend that the Kindergarten method be introduced with the help of imported teachers. They believed that

"...The value of the Educational effect of the Kindergarten system can hardly be over-estimated: it develops, without unhealthily taxing, the infant intellect; it fertilizes the mind for the reception of after teaching in a manner that must prove of eminent advantage to the children and their subsequent teacher. So great is the importance we attach to this agency that we would advise making Kindergarten teaching a part of the model school training."

5.21 The Commissioners believed that drill instructors should be appointed for Hobart and Launceston, who could visit schools easily accessible from these two districts, presumably to try to emulate the German schools where discipline "is excellent with complete and rigorously enforced silence observed, except in so far as school work necessitates speech". The R.C. observed in some Tasmanian schools "mechanical obedience to the word of command which proves the efficacy of drilling" ..."uniform silence and uniform movement". In 1883 these qualities were regarded as being of prime importance, and retired army officers were in great demand, particularly by the private Superior Schools.

5.22 The attention of the Commission was directed to the large number of destitute and neglected children in the state. Although the suggestions embodied in their Report were aimed at eliminating this type of child they did not turn away from the present facts and the obvious "necessity of State action for the preservation or reclamation of scores of Tasmanian Street Arabs", as they so quaintly called them. Not unexpectedly, the economic argument

1. Reeves, C. loc.cit. p.74.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
was used again, to show that
(a) maintaining 200 children would cost less than the
charge they would later make on society if left to
become helpless pensioners or criminals, and
(b) these children were potential workers and the money
used in their education and upkeep could come from
the £10,000 a year which the Government spent on
importing workers from the Mother Country.

It was also pointed out that many of these children were unfit to
mix with ordinary pupils 1 and thus would have to be educated in
special institutions. Evidence before the Commission showed that
in England 75% of reformatory cases and 80% of industrial cases
turned out well. Rule believed 2 that as a last resort, police
should be empowered to enforce the compulsory clauses.

5.23 Half time and third time schools, as suggested by Rule,
were recommended as a step to overcoming the problem of isolated
areas. Evening Schools, first begun in 1875, but which had not
proved successful, were again recommended as a means by which adults,
as well as older children, could gain an education. However, no
suggestions were put forward to overcome the problem of supervision
of these schools, first mentioned by Rule in 1877. 3

5.24 Despite Dr. H. Butler's petition, it was not recommended
that the State construct a Superior School, the R.C. believing
that the private sector was supplying the need in this quarter.
However, the liberality of the Government in regards to Exhibitions
and Scholarships was noted. 4 The Exhibitions were awarded to
Primary School students for education at Secondary level at a
Private Superior School. A successful student would eventually be
awarded an Associate of Arts, which although being roughly equivalent
to the present 1976 Higher School Certificate Matriculation
Qualification, was regarded in those days as the substitute for a
University Degree. The degree of Associate of Arts was awarded by
the Council of Education. The R.C. advocated that the number of
Exhibitions be unchanged i.e. 6 for boys and 6 for girls but that
if either sex did not present enough qualified candidates, then the
other sex could have more than 6 - so long as the total did not

1. Ibid. The evidence of Pastor White p.25.
2. Ibid. p.13.
4. Superior to all other Australian colonies except N.Z.
Two Private Superior Schools

1. Officer College, Glebe (Presbyterian) - 1888. Its pupils gained many academic successes.

2. Broadland House Ladies' Educational School 1886.
Scholarships were for tertiary education at a British or Colonial University. The R.C. recommended that two additional Scholarships of £100 each be awarded.

5.25 Stephens objected to the Exhibitions in his 1874 Report. Chief objections to these Exhibitions were, that there was no general competition amongst teachers, for few had pupils up to the standard of the examination; and there was no general emulation amongst the children, for nine-tenths left school before they reached Class VI; that the subjects of the examination were not part of the school curriculum, and special work was necessary, favouring the neglect of general school work; that poor children were not able to compete owing to the expense at the secondary school.

Rule agreed with these findings.

5.26 Once again, a R.C. attempted to have all private primary schools licensed. The 1883 R.C. very strongly advocated that a close check should be made of these schools with the view to closing many of them. It appeared that many parents enrolled their children at these schools merely to avoid the compulsory clause and thus avoid sending them to school regularly or even, in some cases, sending them at all. Rule had seen this from the first and even suggested that the Inspector should have the right to move a pupil from an inferior private school to a Public School. But notwithstanding all this, the 1885 Education Act made no mention of it. Obviously, Parliament had decided that it was not a matter that could legitimately be covered by an Act to cover public education, or that too many votes would be lost if they did pass the legislation.

5.27 The Commission realised that if its suggestions for Tasmanian Public Education were to be put into practice, then an "improvement of the teaching power is necessary for its complete success". They stated that many teachers were not doing a satisfactory job because:

1. The entrance examination for teachers was not high enough.
2. No regulations compelled teachers to sit for examinations in order to gain promotion from grade to grade.
3. There was no training school for teachers.
4. Pupil-teachers were required to spend too much time in teaching and not enough in learning.

1. See 8.06
2. Previously recommended in 1867.
5. Salaries were too low, failing to be sufficient to attract and hold eligible persons.

Their recommendations were as follows:

1. That all Teachers of Public Schools not specially exempted be required to qualify for appointment and promotion by examination; and that after a period of grace of two years "... no teacher shall be retained ... unless he holds the necessary certificate of his grade". 1

2. Whilst supporting the establishment of a training school for teachers, the Commission felt that this would be very expensive, so their recommendation was that teachers should be trained in the best Public Schools with the supervising teacher gaining an allowance of £10 for each successful candidate under his tutelage.

3. More pupil-teachers be employed to enable more time to be spent in learning about teaching. The R.C. found that many ex-pupil-teachers had risen high in the ranks, and agreed with Matthew Arnold in that if sacrifices had to be made in the cause of financial difficulty, the pupil-teacher system should not be touched. 2 It was too successful.

4. Because teachers' salaries were the lowest in Australia, the R.C. recommended that these be increased. They stated that "Mr. Rule speaks strongly upon this point" as well they might, because Mr. Rule had been saying this for years. The R.C. did publish one of the Board's tables showing these miserable salaries.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Class</th>
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<th>Number</th>
<th>£</th>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 Male</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>105</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These include salaries of teacher and wife

Fees of male teachers, subject to deductions of 1/4 for female assistant teacher when teacher has no wife to act in that capacity.

2. Ibid. p.31.
3. Ibid.
10 Female probationers, Div. A. 70 19 9
24 Male probationers, Div. B. 74 5 3
11 Female probationers, Div. B. 38 2 0

And it seems to us that efficiency of the teachers cannot be reasonably expected or justly insisted upon when the remuneration is so miserably low. 1

5.29 Teachers' remuneration formed a very important part of the Commission's Report, as the success of the scheme depended on the quality of teacher attracted to it. Whilst realising that teachers should be compensated for loss of fees, they suggested that future emoluments consist of

(a) a fixed salary according to grade.
(b) payment by results, not exceeding half salary.
(c) bonuses for training teachers and pupil-teachers.
(d) house or house rent.

It was also suggested that the formation of a pension scheme would help retain good teachers and that the practice of reducing a teacher's salary when attendance fell below 20 should stop.

5.30 Finally, on the subject of salaries, the R.C. recommended an extremely complicated classification and salary grid, based on the Queensland salary scale and the N.Z. classification pattern. Teachers were to be classified both according to attainments and method of teaching - attainment being classified by a five letter rating (A, B, C, D, E.) and method by five numerals (1, 2, 3, 4, 5.). Nine grades or classes were obtained. The Inspector was to do the classifying 2 but worse was in store for him. A Mr. Mundella 3 had suggested an improvement to the Payment-by-Results scheme which had impressed the R.C. By this, the Inspectors were also to grade into three degrees (fair, good, excellent) three aspects of the teachers performance (i) Organisation and discipline (ii) Intelligence in method of instruction (iii) General quality of the school work, and thereby award extra payment to the teachers for superior work. This differed from the previous system of Payment-by-Results whereby schoolmasters received less payment if average attendance dropped.

1. Ibid. p.32.
2. The teacher also had to sit for a qualifying examination.
3. Mr. Mundella was an English M.P. who, as Vice President of the Office of Council on Education, was instrumental in introducing the Revised Code of Britain.
Rule must have read this section carefully, as he had continuously complained of the amount of work that an Inspector had to cover in a year. I doubt if either Stephens or Rule had been asked about the Classification Scheme. Surely a person who had previous teaching experience would not have allowed a person to reach Grade 5 merely on method alone. Surely he would not progress through five grades on the lowest level of attainment, when for years they, as Inspectors, had judged a teacher largely as a result of the performance of the pupils in examinations. Rule would, however, have been flattered by the praise given to Mr. Stephens and himself in the following extracts from the R.C. Report.

Our observations tend to the conclusion that Tasmania may be felicitated on the quality of her School Inspection. As far as our enquiry has extended this would seem to be one of the strongest points of the present system. And we would desire to place on record this tribute to the zeal, ability, and admirable impartiality of the Chief Inspector and Mr. Inspector Rule, the two officers of the Department whose official characters and capacities have been familiarised to us during our investigations. So much of the success of our Public Education depends upon the character of the inspection that no means should be neglected of perfecting this branch of the service ... the Inspectorship should be made a prize of the Educational Service, to be awarded to teachers of superior merit as the reward of exceptional excellence. ¹

¹. 1883 R.C. Report, p.35.
CHAPTER SIX.

THE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT BEGINS.

6.01 The R.C. recommended that the control of education be taken from the Chief Secretary and the Central Board and given to a Minister of the Crown, assisted by a Director of Education and a Board of Patronage and Advice. The Chief Secretary had had no real power over education for many years and "as to the vital details of public education, he is as powerless and as irresponsible as the children who attend the schools". It was felt that the Board had also outlived its usefulness. The recommendation of the R.C. was that central control would be in the hands of a Minister, aided by a paid Director and a Board of Patronage and Advice; the Board "in conjunction with the Minister and Director, having sole and entire authority in respect of the appointments, promotion, reduction, dismissal, reward and punishment of teachers". The Board of Patronage and Advice was to be elected by and from the various District Boards. The Minister was to be Chairman and this committee was to decide on all but routine matters. Dr. Butler, the Chairman of the old Board of Education, was not in favour of the Director being responsible to an individual Minister, preferring that he be responsible to the Governor-in-Council. The teachers of the state were almost equally divided on the question of whether central control be vested in a Central Board or in a Minister of the Crown. The Education Act of 1885 decided in favour of the Minister, the Board of Patronage and Advice not being mentioned in this document. This was a major alteration to the R.C.'s recommendation indicating an unwillingness on the part of the Parliament to hand over control of the Education Department to a group of interested lay members. The Minister would, in future, run the Education Department, assisted by his professional advisers.

1. 1883 R.C. Report. op. cit. p.34.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid. p.44.
4. Ibid. p.35. Dr. Butler realised that in England, the H.M.I's were technically regal appointments, thus avoiding the possibility of political interference.
5. Ibid.
It was obvious to the R.C. that the Local Board system had failed. Ten Boards had never met in 5 years, 51 out of 81 had never visited their schools and 55 had never sent in the compulsory report to the Central Board. Ninety eight of 126 teachers surveyed had indicated that Local Boards had shown no great interest in their schools and 91 indicated that the system of Local Boards worked unsatisfactorily. The R.C. acknowledged the fact that the Central Board had made no effort to encourage greater participation by Local Boards. It felt that part reason for their failure was the inferior nature of their personnel, particularly in underdeveloped areas. It felt the District Boards would overcome this problem in that there would be more to pick from. Controlling a larger number of schools, the District Board would be less likely to cause injustices to be done to teachers, as local ill-feeling would not play so large a part in the decision making. The principle of election to the District Boards as recommended by Dr. Butler was accepted by the R.C. as being consistent with the "great principle of constitutional government, that the people who provided the funds for maintaining our school system - the tax payers - should have a voice in the election of that agency which controls education". The recommendations of the R.C. re District Boards were as follows:

1. To meet at least once a month for the dispatch of business.
2. To inspect each school twice a year, and submit report of such inspection to the Director of Education.
3. To exercise general care of the school buildings and appliances.
4. To effect petty repairs within limit of sanctioned independent expenditure, and recommend to Minister of Education all necessary repairs and improvements that are beyond that limit.
5. To see that the schools of their district are conducted in accordance with regulation, and to report to Director any breach of rule.
6. To take active steps for enforcement of the compulsory clause against all persons liable thereto who may evade or defy the law.
7. To investigate any complaint against the teacher and report result to the Board of Patronage.

1. Ibid. p.36.
2. It is obvious that Rule's comments re Local Boards were noted. These may be found throughout his evidence to the 1883 R.C. pp.11-14.
8. To keep up a register of all children of school age in each school area in prescribed form; such register for each school to be kept in the school concerned, and open to inspection of departmental officers.

9. To endorse certificates of efficiency granted by Inspector, and note in register above referred to.¹

All were substantially accepted by Parliament in the 1885 Regulation.

The R.C. rounded off its report with recommendations about school buildings, libraries, land reserves, Schools of Mines and Agricultural Schools, adding some comments about the inefficiency of Christ's College. In general, the R.C. in the short time at its disposal, had prepared a very comprehensive report. Its recommendations had far reaching effects on Tasmanian education. However, all of its recommendations were not followed. In particular, the participation of lay members of the public in major policy making decisions did not come about.

The Royal Commission's Report was followed by the Education Act of 1885, the latter coming into effect on January 1, 1886. An Education Department was created under the Minister, and, because only minor amendments to the Act were made during the latter years of the Nineteenth Century, it is obvious that this was to influence education in Tasmania for many years. Re-organisation followed. Chief Inspector T. Stephens became the first Director and James Rule was promoted to the position of Senior Inspector. They were assisted by Inspector J. Masters. A new code of Regulations was compiled in 1887 and again in 1894, but throughout the rest of Rule's period in the Education Department, he was to be bound by the Act of 1885.

The Act closely followed the recommendations of the R.C. Public schools, previously under the control of the Board, came under the jurisdiction of the Department but were renamed State Schools.² No full time school could be formed unless there existed 20 or more pupils over five years of age, but in sparsely populated areas, provisional schools could be created with itinerant teachers. Night schools could be created. No provision was made for the creation of a teacher training institute, but the policy of training pupil-teachers in Model schools was extended. Fees for schooling were still to be paid, but the fees were to go into Consolidated Revenue ³

1. Ibid. p.39.
2. Reeves, C. op. cit. p.77 states that this was to avoid the bias against "public" schools.
3. This did not take place until after Rule's retirement.
except in the case of Assisted Schools\(^1\) where fees were to be kept by the teacher. It is interesting to note that a maximum number of pupils at any school was provided for. Secular instruction, which had to include history, was compulsory for all pupils between the ages of 7 and 14 for a minimum of four hours each day. Religious instruction for one hour per week was provided for, but not made compulsory. Clauses for the exemption of pupils from schooling was included and followed the R.C. recommendations\(^2\) but also included provision for a child to be kept home for up to two days if the parent needed the child's assistance at home. The compulsory distance was extended from one to two miles but provision was made for free train travel if a pupil lived more than two miles from school. Penalties based on R.C. recommendations\(^3\) were provided for, but once again no fixed minimum attendance was mentioned.

District Boards of Advice were provided for. The Boards were given more definite powers than their predecessors but had little control over the actual administration of the school making for much better relations between teacher and Board. The powers and duties of each Board of Advice were as follows:

1. To advise the Minister in all matters connected with the education of the children of the District:
2. To exercise general supervision over the schools in the District, and to visit such schools from time to time:
3. To protect the teachers of the District from frivolous complaints:
4. To suspend any teacher for misconduct in cases not admitting of delay, and to report immediately the cause of such suspension to the Minister:
5. To appoint, during pleasure, one or more qualified persons, whether members of the Board or not, as Special Visitors to each school, within the District, to advise the Board in reference to any matters mentioned in this Section:
6. To alter from time to time, subject to the provisions of this Act, the radius within which parents are by this Act required to cause their children to attend school whenever special circumstances render an alteration desirable:
7. To use every endeavour to induce parents to send their children regularly to school, and, subject to the provisions of this Act, to institute legal proceedings in the name of the Minister against parents who neglect to cause their children to be regularly and efficiently instructed:
8. To allow the school buildings vested in the Minister to be used for other than school purposes after the children

\(^1\) Attendance of less than 12 pupils.
\(^2\) See 5.15.
\(^3\) See 5.13.
are dismissed from school, or on days when no school is held therein, subject to the terms and conditions prescribed by the Regulations made under this Act: and such fees as may be received for the use of any school buildings under this Section may be disposed of in such manner as the Minister shall from time to time direct:

9. To cause any necessary petty repairs to schoolhouses vested in the Minister to be effected, and to undertake such other expenditure as may be prescribed by the Regulations from time to time: Provided that the total expenditure for such petty repairs, and such other work as may be prescribed, shall not exceed in any one year an amount to be fixed by the Minister:

10. To recommend to the Minister the reduction of school fees or exemption from the payment of school fees in cases in which, in the opinion of the Board, parents are unable to pay, and to recommend to the Minister the remission of arrears of school fees when the circumstances of the parents, in the opinion of the Board, justify such remission:

11. To grant exemption from attendance at school to any child for any period not exceeding four consecutive weeks, and from time to time to grant to any school, a holiday for the whole day or for half a day, in accordance with the Regulations. 1

The new Department was to be responsible for the erection of schoolhouses using government funds for this purpose, thus ensuring that future schools would be built to a suitable standard. In general, the wide powers given to the new Department were incorporated in the provisions of the Regulations. 2

6.06 Of course, not all were acted upon at once, but the Act gave sufficient room for the Education Department to grow. In an attempt to see that all children in the colony were educated, even private school principals were required to furnish annual attendance figures, a provision that James Rule would have thoroughly approved.

6.07 From the time of the Enquiry into Education of 1882 until the Education Department Regulations were framed late in 1886, James Rule was very eloquent on matters which required change. He left no stone unturned in an effort to influence the results of the various enquiries. Even after the Act had been passed, he was still trying to influence what would be included in the Regulations. Earlier he had indicated in his Inspection Report for 1880 that legislation was needed to overcome the "circumstances adverse to efficiency in the public schools". 3 He and others were listened to, because in 1882 the Enquiry into Education followed. Not to miss an opportunity,

2. The 1885 Regulations may be seen in Appendix H.
The Problems of Country Teachers

(a) From original rough draft of Annual Return - Oatlands 1889
(Alterations in original.)

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<td>Reuben</td>
<td>46</td>
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</tr>
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(b) From Visitor's Book - Oatlands (originals of (a) and (b) in author's possession).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Memo</th>
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</thead>
</table>
| 1880 | July 30 | School closed today on account of dangerous illness in the Master's family.
|      |        | W.F. Mitchell |
|      | Aug. 16 | School reopened today having been closed since July 30 due to number of deaths in the Teacher's family. |
|      |        | W.F. Mitchell |
Rule referred to the forthcoming enquiry in his 1882 Report, regarding it as his duty to embody in this report "remarks and recommendations on debatable subjects pertinent to that question", the question being "Witherward education?".  

In his 1882 Report, Rule's remarks and recommendations touched on aspects of education which were to be discussed in full by the 1883 R.C. Summarised, he felt that instruction should be made more effective and that attendance should be improved so that advantage by all pupils could be obtained from this improved teaching. He advocated better training of teachers, increased salaries for teachers in small schools with the elimination of the dependence on fees, the abolition of fees, these to be substituted by a subsidy from local rates, and an increase in the number of assistant teachers in city schools to relieve the student-teachers of their heavy loads. He advocated the use of itinerant teachers in half and third time schools. He believed that the principle of local self government in education be adopted, "within such limits as will ensure efficiency and uniformity of standards".  

Here he prophesied much that the R.C. was to recommend, not all of which was incorporated in the Act. He believed in District Boards which could relieve the Board of Education of many of the trifling matters such as maintaining school premises and furniture, granting occasional holidays, choosing the exact dates of the annual vacation and non-educational use of school buildings. However, his idea that the District Board should levy a rate in order to do this was not accepted by parliament. His idea that the District Board should hire teachers and pay them a bonus above their normal salary was novel. In fact, it was not accepted, although Rule believed that it would encourage healthy competition and lead to an improvement of teacher qualifications. He did not favour giving the local board authority to dismiss teachers but he accepted that teachers could be suspended prior to an appeal to the control authority. He advocated greater powers being given to the Boards to compel attendance. In an attempt to do something about the poorer type of private school he felt that some means should be found to ascertain their sanitary condition, their attendance and their standards of efficiency. Rule had expressed dissatisfaction

2. Ibid.
with this type of school from the first year of his Inspectorship, but unfortunately, nothing was done to improve them for many years. Religious education was also discussed in full, but his recommendation was merely that the Public Schools should be more neutral on the subject of debatable religious questions than they were at the time. He inferred that good moral teaching could be done by a good teacher in normal lessons without Bible reading forming part of the curriculum. 1 His lengthy discussion of Religion in his 1882 Report makes me believe that Rule was unwilling to allow indoctrination to take place in the schools and that to avoid this it would be better not to have scripture taught at all. He did not, however, actually state this.

6.09 Following these statements, it would be expected that his 1883 Report would be used to re-inforce these statements. It is unusual that he did not do so. In fact, his report was extremely brief and, for once, contained only facts and figures. Perhaps he believed that his submissions to the R.C. were enough. Perhaps he had been advised to "ease off". There are certainly indications in the next two Reports, those for 1884 and 1885, that Rule and Stephens were not in complete agreement on many matters.

6.10 It is surprising, in view of the R.C. recommendations, that Stephens should report on May 2, 1885 that "many of the imperfections in the working of the system of Public Instruction are such as may be remedied under existing regulations". 2 Stephens also saw a need for "customary professional supervision, without which uniformity in the application of rules and standards in different districts cannot possibly be secured". 3 Only nine days later, Rule contradicted these statements, following the line of the R.C., stating that if uniformity of interpretation was required then what was needed was professional superintendence over the whole working of the Public School System. He therefore believed that existing regulations would not permit this, quite contrary to Stephen's statement. Rule went on to disagree with Stephens in even stronger terms, amounting

3. Ibid.
to open criticism. Rule was too careful a man to make statements to the Central Board without carefully choosing each word and it is interesting to note that in the following statement taken from his 1884 Report he not only criticises Stephens for interfering with his work but also queries the basic premise that uniformity in matters of education was essential.

As I suggested inter alia in a special report, if at any time a regulation should be considered ambiguous or insufficiently definite, a conference of inspectors ought to be held for the purpose of agreeing upon an amendment to be recommended, or upon a uniform interpretation to be acted on. This, with our small staff of inspectors, seems to me preferable to giving a chief inspector authority to revise or interfere with the work of others.\(^1\) Exact uniformity in educational matters is both unattainable and undesirable under any system of administration.\(^2\)

Rule then quoted a Mr. Fitch, speaker at an International Educational Conference.

The greater variety we can have in the types of schools, the larger the number of able and enthusiastic men and women whom we can contrive to leave free to carry out their own theories, and even to try new experiments in education, the better for the community.\(^3\)

In 1885 Rule was again running contrary to Stephens. Stephens, for many years, had stated that in teacher-training lay the answer to the colony's education ills and in 1885 he noted "with pleasure" that a Model School was being considered. In the same report, Rule agreed that it was desirable that teachers in lower grades should improve their qualifications but stated that any improvement in teacher qualifications would result in an increased difficulty in filling small schools unless a moderate degree of certainty in making a living was offered at the same time.

Indeed, in Rule's last report as an Inspector, and on Stephen's retirement, he concludes by saying

With regards to Mr. Stephens, whose retiring marks an epoch in the history of the Department, I only echo the feeling of all ranks of the service in expressing a wish that he may long be blessed with health to enjoy the leisure which he has earned by a life long devotion to the direction of primary education in Tasmania.\(^4\)

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1. Underlining mine.
3. Ibid.
From my readings, I believe Rule chose the phrase "direction of" with care, in that he believed Stephens liked to direct, rather than to allow too much responsibility to fall into the hands of subordinates. Rule, 1 liked diversity and innovation to develop from teachers left free to experiment. In fact Rule advocated the building of movable schoolhouses to overcome the problem of shifts in population - advanced innovation for 1885.

6.13 In 1884, after the R.C. report had been completed, but before parliament had finally passed the Education Act, Rule's Annual Report included references to several of his old beliefs. The abolition of school fees was again advocated. The prevalence of rote learning was condemned. He re-iterated his belief that the main aim of a public school should be to teach the three R's and that if this was accomplished, the child would be able to fill up any gaps in geography or history, for example, after he left school. There was no doubt that Rule did not believe that all subjects were of equal importance. In case the new Education Department was to include Regulations about homework, Rule stated his belief that this was unnecessary if the child worked hard at school. He obviously believed that all education was not done at school, as he suggested that home time should be spent by girls in learning housework from their mothers and by boys in getting through "the light work out of doors that most families require." 2 His strongest criticism was reserved for the Superior, or Grammar, School and the system of Exhibitions whereby the Public (State) School pupil could gain a scholarship to attend these schools. Rule's materialistic or utilitarian views show through.

Parents and teachers are too often ready to overtask the candidates preparing for examinations. Success in this competition is generally over-estimated. The attendance of four years at a grammar school is found to be a very doubtful advantage to all but a few pupils of extraordinary ability and application. The average exhibitioner is old enough, before the end of his term, to begin learning a trade or business, for which the smattering of Greek and Latin he acquires is useless, while his mathematical training ignores the application of theory to the business of common life, and does not reach a point from which he can make practical rules for himself. The system of exhibitions would be more satisfactory, and it would be also a general good, if in the

1. As indicated in 6.10.
secondary and higher schools there were a choice of a sound training, with a technical direction, in elementary science, in addition to, or instead of, instruction in classics. 1 He obviously foreshadowed a more practical type of secondary education, in that quote from his 1884 Report.

6.14 When the Act was finally passed, politicians, educationalists and the general public expected an immediate improvement in the whole system of education. Unfortunately, immediate action did not follow. In fact, changes came very gradually, as officers responsible for implementing the changes felt their way. The new Director did not feel it necessary to include a report in the 1886 Education Department Report to the Governor. Perhaps the masses of paper work that Mr. Stephens had always abhorred had proved too great a problem to overcome. It was left to the new Minister, E. Braddon and the Senior Inspector Mr. J. Rule, to lead the attack on the application of the new Act.

6.15 Mr. Braddon, writing on May 31, 1887 2 was critical of the fact that there had been an "inexplicable delay" in the framing of the Regulations under Section 36 of the Act. 3 He commented that the Act provided for Regulations for 13 purposes, but by May, 1887 Regulations had only been framed for 5 of these, even though regulations on all 13 were required if the Act was to be properly administered. He added, in respect of the five regulations already framed,

And of these five, that for the exemption of parents from the payment of fees might, for all practical purposes, have been as well left unmade. For, in respect of the remission of fees, a regulation was made and gazetted whereby it was provided that children under certain conditions as to parentage might be admitted free, or at a reduced school fee: but this regulation was wholly insufficient, inasmuch as it did not prescribe the authority by whom remission or reduction should be ordered, and, in the absence of any provision of this sort from the Act, there is no-one competent at the present time to make such order; consequently all the remissions and reductions made since 1st January, 1886, have been made without legal sanction. 4

6.16 Very good service was given during this time by the Chief Clerk, Mr. Richardson. His experience as Secretary of the late Board of Education enabled him to give excellent service to the new Education Department. His promotion to another branch of the Public

1. Ibid.
3. See 6.02.
Service in 1889 was much regretted by Director Stephens. But the year 1886 saw a change, that should have been foreseen, in administrative costs of running the new Education Department. Costs of Inspection decreased, because Mr. Stephens had not been replaced by another Inspector, but costs of Administration increased from 2/4d per head of average daily attendance in 1885 to 3/8d per head in 1886. The average amount of Government Aid, exclusive of the cost of Administration, Inspection, Building and Repairs of Schools actually decreased from £2.17.9 per head of average attendance in 1885 to £2.15.9 in 1886 but had increased rapidly to £3.4.6 in 1887. The total expenditure upon State Education likewise continued to rise e.g. from £25,558 in 1886 to £30,367 in 1887. Indeed, in 1894, when the state was in a severe recession, £38,000 was expended on Education although, by severe pruning, this amount was nearly £2,000 less than the estimate for that year. A bureaucracy had been established and it was costing money to run.

The Regulations which had been established in the years following 1885 were proving to be inadequate, and new ones were brought into being in 1894, the year of Stephens' retirement. The new Regulations quickly proved of great advantage in the general management of the Department and, in Mr. Stephens' mind at least, would "eventually effect a great saving of time and labour in correspondence". Thus Mr. Stephens retired, still bemoaning the paper work that seemed to follow him in his employment. He did, however, indicate that the Education system was suffering from the fact that many of the important provisions were out of print or were not formulated in a shape which admitted of easy reference, making it inevitable that the teachers and the executive officers often were working at cross purposes. I feel, therefore, that the Education Department, from 1886 to 1894, was undergoing a settling in stage. Stephens himself had been hopeful that things were improving. In 1892 he expressed this very well.

All real reform in education is a thing of slow and gradual development, and the progressive improvement in general efficiency which is created and fostered by inspection and management is on the whole highly satisfactory.

However, by May 1887, the Minister could honestly say that the Education Act had not been properly administered nor even brought thoroughly into operation. Nowhere was this more true than in the sphere of the District School Boards. I have already stated that the R.C. had envisaged much more power being put in the hands of the lay members of the public with District Boards and the Board of Patronage and Advice. But this had not come about. Rule's suggestion that fees be eliminated, to be replaced by a local rate was also ignored. Yet in 1886 the Minister believed that "When the Legislation passed the Education Act it was with the full intention of very considerably extending the powers and functions of the Local School Boards, and, by dignifying those bodies, to constitute them important factors in the departmental machinery". Braddon rightly believed that if they were to carry weight they should at least have been constituted by January 1, 1886, when the Education System came into operation. But this did not happen. By August, 1886, only five Boards had been appointed, and by May, 1887, eight of the 121 Boards had still not been created. This was amazing in that the Boards were the sole agents for several of the Department's activities.

James Rule, and the R.C., believed that District Board members should be elected, in an attempt to get the right type of member on the Board, but the first Minister made a unilateral rule that Municipal Councils should be ex-officio District Boards. M.P's and Ministers of Religion were disallowed permission to serve on the Boards. The ridiculous situation existed where expediency overruled common sense. It was obvious that many citizens might be willing to serve on the Education Board, but not on a Municipal Council, and vice-versa. Thus, most of the District Board members were either too busy with their Municipal Council duties to spend much time on educational matters, or were not suitably qualified to play an intelligent and significant role in the development of education in their districts. It was inevitable that the influence of these Boards would decline. Where no Council existed, Stipendiary Magistrates were consulted in order to select up to seven suitably qualified people. But during the first year of operation, one

1. See 6.01.
2. See 6.08.
Municipal Council refused to act, another accepted office but subsequently resigned and numerous individuals declined the offer to accept membership of Boards. By April, 1887 not one Board had sent in the prescribed half yearly report, a striking commentary on the efficiency of the Boards and the Departmental administration of the Act.

6.20 In 1888, Rule was still smarting about the fact that the Boards had not been given enough power and the following report indicates a pessimistic outlook on their general work.

In those Districts where the Boards of Advice have taken an interest in popular education, and made the best use of the limited power conferred on them by law, there has been a noticeable improvement in the condition of the school-houses. But some of the Boards have hitherto shown very little interest in the schools. They take no notice of the need for petty repairs, and continue to leave upon the teachers the onus of making arrangement for the emptying of closet pans and cesspits, and the cleaning of school-rooms, the Boards only reimbursing the expense. In such cases the extra machinery gives added friction without improved work. ¹

Indeed, it is significant that as the Nineteenth Century drew to a close, references to District Boards in Annual Reports of the Education Department declined in number and amount. It would appear that the Department realised that all it could reasonably expect from the average District Board was that it keep the school buildings in reasonable repair and that it make an effort to see that children attended school. One positive feature that Director Stephens noted was that where Boards existed, the Department was not burdened by as much correspondence, showing that to some extent the Boards were enabling the Department to spend more time on the business of education.

6.21 The District Boards did not contribute greatly to the educational scene of the late 1800's. By 1890 James Rule had come to the realisation that the functions entrusted to the Boards by the Act did not require, nor did they attract, the wealthier and more liberally educated members of society. In his report of 1889 he admitted that

The truth is, that the functions devolving on the Boards of Advice do not require in the members more than ordinary education, with a knowledge of business, common sense, and an honest desire to help forward the work of popular education. ²

2. A.R. 1889. p.11.
The Boards were hampered financially by the insistence of the Auditor-General that their allowances be spent strictly according to Regulation. Money could not be held over to the next year nor used for any other purpose than that for which it was given. Thus, money was being returned to Consolidated Revenue whilst urgent repairs could not be done because of the lack of finance.

6.22 However, the Boards did succeed in eliminating many abuses connected with the non-payment of fees. Although Rule still disagreed with the principle of the payment of fees he had to admit that the Boards, in most instances, were ensuring that citizens did not avoid their payment. But some of the larger districts found it difficult to convene meetings of members whilst others still did not visit schools regularly. In fact some schools were not visited once in several years. The Education Department, however, relied on the Boards to see that the Compulsory Clauses of the Act were adhered to. Attendance, therefore, was a responsibility of the various Boards. The system existing was that teachers reported cases of non-attendance to the local Boards. The Secretary of the local Board was paid an allowance to enable him to investigate each case. If he was unsuccessful in persuading the parent to send his child to school more regularly, he could recommend prosecution of the offending parent. In Hobart and Launceston this work was done by Departmental Truancy Officers. The latter were particularly successful, but many of the local Boards were singularly ineffective, much to the despair of the teachers concerned. Indeed, poor attendance was a feature of the period, particularly during the recession of the early 1890's. In 1894, attendances were much lower than usual because impoverished citizens were forced to keep their children at home to avoid paying school fees.

6.23 In 1894, 2,258 of the 14,181 scholars on the rolls of state schools were free scholars, of which 527 attended Free State Schools in Hobart and Launceston. This was exclusive of those attending Ragged Schools and kindred institutions subsidised by the Government. The number of free pupils in country areas increased by 285 between 1893 and 1894 and the cost to the Department for the payment of fees for country children rose from £553.14.8 in 1893 to £699.4.0 in 1894. Thus, economic circumstances made it increasingly difficult for local Boards to remain objective in their decisions about whether to allow a remittance of fees or not.

1. See 6.20.
Chapter Seven.

Rule as Chief Inspector for the Education Department.

7.01 Rule was quick to realise that being Chief Inspector had its problems. Following the 1885 Act, the matter of the erection of school buildings was left entirely to the Education Department, with the Boards sharing in the work of servicing and repairing them. Rule, and others, began to realise that this decision meant that there was a marked increase in the demand for new schools, sometimes by parents who were unwilling to send their children two miles to existing schools. There was a steady increase in the number of schools, although percentage attendance varied. 1

7.02 Prior to the formation of the Education Department, schools erected in Hobart and Launceston were at no cost to the local inhabitants, whilst in the country, local contributions had to form at least one third of the cost. 2 This made it difficult for schools to be erected in small, developing areas. In 1878, Rule foreshadowed development of rural areas with a planned, rather socialistic method. He stated that the problem of establishing schools in developing rural areas would be overcome if the areas were colonised by a sufficient number of families settling simultaneously. But that suggestion was not taken up. When he began his Inspectorate in the North, Rule could only comment that the majority of school premises were "barely tolerable, and a considerable number are bad" 3 He abhorred the fact that boys and girls did not have separate playgrounds. The schoolrooms themselves were very unhealthy places in which to spend time. Being overcrowded, the rooms were either full of vitiated air or subject to cold draughts from open doors or windows. Hats, coats and spare books were often heaped in a corner of the room because of lack of pegs; door mats and mud scrapers often did not exist and this resulted in dirty, muddy floors. Rule's suggestion that children bring slippers to school on wet days was taken up by many parents. Rule believed there was a consequent rise in attendance figures in such areas.

1. See Appendix G.
He deplored the "mischievous effect of voluntaryism in the matter of public schools". 1 In 1877 parents were expected to pay one third of the cost of petty repairs and small additions to furniture as well as the whole cost of cleaning and warming the schoolroom. Where voluntaryism existed, the teacher was often left to supply these himself from his own pocket.

7.03 The actual size of the schoolroom 2 left a lot to be desired. Tasmanian schools were built on the specifications of the Committee of Council in English schools, viz. a minimum of 8 square feet of floor space per person. Rule suggested that "a hygienist would be glad of more but an educationist must demand it". 3 His suggestion for a class of 90, with the nine feet parallel desk common at the time, was a room with an inside measurement of 54 feet by 18 feet, thus giving 10 4/5 square feet per child. However, Rule preferred the newer type dual desk, which, when properly graded in size, enabled pupils' posture to improve; and with these desks, the school room would have to measure 42 feet by 22 feet - thus averaging 10 4/15 square feet per child. Rule, therefore, was not oblivious to the fact that proper working conditions were necessary if better results were to be obtained. He also believed that teachers should have a desk and press of their own, indicating that furniture was generally not supplied for the teacher. It is no wonder that he complained that infectious diseases were prevalent in the public schools of those days.

7.04 In the 1870's, the Board of Education often rented buildings such as church halls for use as schools. They were often inadequate in size and equipment, and the added problem of weekend use made teaching in such areas extremely difficult. This type of rented accommodation was gradually eliminated in the latter part of the century, but for many teachers it was the only type of school that they knew.

7.05 But even the Board's own schools were inadequate, because most parents believed that once having assisted in the cost of erecting the school, they should not also be expected to pay for maintaining and servicing. Where Boards were parsimonious in this respect, they found that they could only obtain inferior teachers, as the better teachers went elsewhere. With their children obtaining

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1. Ibid., p.15.
2. As indicated by Rule's report of 1877.
an inferior education, parents were even less willing to assist with upkeep. Thus many schools before 1885 were seriously neglected, and many were in a state of disrepair. Several school yards were not yet cleared of stumps and boulders. Several teachers' residences consisted of only two small rooms. By 1881, Rule could note, with satisfaction, that some of the newer schools even had verandahs. In 1881, Rule controlled 95 schoolrooms - 52 being Board property, 26 belonged to the churches and the others by various other bodies. Of the Board's schools, only 4 were built of stone, seven were brick and 41 were of wood. Of the latter, many had paling walls, and several had wooden blocks for foundations. Teachers' residences and non-Board schools were also mainly of wooden construction, some of them being very flimsy dwellings. Sanitation was very poor, as cesspits were in common use. In the matter of land for school purposes, the old Board of Education had also been remiss. When Crown land was offered for sale in new districts, the Lands Department made no effort to reserve property for future school use, with the result that many populous areas had grown up with nowhere central for a school to be erected. Rule had seen this danger and had advocated the early possession of such land.

7.06 Following the implementation of the 1885 Act, the building programme improved. The following table shows the amounts spent on updating existing schools and erecting new ones.

Table of Government Expenditure of School Buildings 1886-1898.
(Erection and modification.)

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Amount</th>
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<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>£8,265.5.3</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>£4,704.7.10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.07 With the availability of Government money, the number of makeshift classrooms decreased, but Rule complained that the Department was allowing makeshift rooms to be used long after it had

1. For a period in 1894 no money was spent on new building due to the existing economic climate.

2. A.R. 1889 and 1891.
been established that the minimum number of 20 pupils could be maintained. In fact, he noted that some had grown to the stage where additions were needed. With the formation of the new bureaucracy, it was inevitable that the Inspector would find that his influence was to be curtailed by the activities of other officers. This was the case in regards to the erection of schools. Rule noted that "It seems to be now considered unnecessary to refer proposed plans of school buildings to Inspectors of schools". 1 In 1892 he added that this also applied to the selection of school sites, with the school building being erected before the Inspector knew of plans for its site or for its erection. This was also a criticism of the administration of the Education Department. The practice established following the 1885 Act, was that the Public Works Department drafted plans for the erection of buildings on sites selected by the Lands Department, often with disastrous results, but in 1890 a decision was made to ensure that the Education Department was consulted before sites were chosen and surveys made. In the same year Director Stephens suggested that the P.W.D. should employ a professional adviser to assist when schools were being planned. This, however, did not stop either Stephens or Rule from offering comments, complaints and criticism in their Annual Reports. 2

One of the perennial criticisms concerned lack of adequate ventilation and sanitation in schools. In 1887 both Stephens and Rule made detailed suggestions on how to improve ventilation, but by 1891 no substantial improvements had been made. 3 Tobin tubes had been in use in some school ceilings from about 1886 but they were not entirely successful, mainly due to incorrect use. Mr. Stephens believed them to be ineffective unless a fire was burning. 4 As soon as he became Director he "improved" the system by introducing open roofs, with ventilating sashes high up in the gables which the teachers could vary according to needs. Rule, true to form, took his Director to task in the same issue of the Education Report by stating that Tobin tubes were successful if not frustrated

2. As far back as 1877 the Board of Education had requested that the P.W.D. relieve the Inspector of the onerous job of supervising the erection of new buildings.
3. In the Nineteenth Century when schoolrooms were overcrowded and personal hygiene was not of a high standard, proper ventilation was of major importance.
by "perforations in ceilings and louvres in gables (which) generally admit down draughts from without instead of allowing the exit of vitiated air". Although the two theories were in complete opposition, Mr. Stephens managed to quote Rule out of context in order to add his Chief Inspector's weight to his own argument: "if these (sashes) are properly hung 'it only depends', to use the Senior Inspector's words, 'on the common sense of the teacher to have the air kept wholesome without the exposure of anyone to dangerous drafts". Rule had used these words to advocate the sensible use of doors and windows, and to condemn Stephens' sashes!

7.09 Sanitation remained a perennial problem. The use of cesspits was common, and these were often not properly attended to, either by the teacher or the local Board. Rule insisted on the use of dry earth and ashes but was also instrumental in making the use of closet pans more widespread. Local Boards had no desire to assist the teacher in seeing that the pans were emptied; Rule commenting that teachers, whether male or female, were left to make do as best they could.

7.10 Stephens and Rule also disagreed on the design of schools. Both had definite views as to the shape and size of classrooms, and it would appear that schoolrooms were often designed by architects who did not take into consideration the dimensions of the large five or six-seater desks that were in use at the time, with the result that space was not used effectively. Stephens could take pleasure in the fact that since 1885 the standard of building had improved considerably, with schools being designed for utility, with the result that they were less costly and more substantial than buildings of a similar class erected before the passing of the Act. "Costly and useless ornamentation had been dispensed with" said Stephens in his 1891 Report, but in the same year Rule stated that

Where money is to spare, it would be better to spend it in improving and enlarging accommodation than in the erection of a useless tower or the multiplication of ornamental gables and roof intersections for the sake of effect.

1. Ibid. p.10.
2. Ibid.
3. A.R. 1889 and 1892.
The ornamental towers and multiplicity of gables and roof intersections criticised by Rule.

1. Invermay State School – 1889.

1. Battery Point Model School - erected 1883.

2. Beaconsfield State School (with Mr. Purves and family).
Rule had a sound knowledge of building methods, and was not afraid to advise bricklayers on the amount of sand, lime and loam needed for mortar in fireplaces. ¹ But both Stephens and Rule were in agreement that both the teachers and the Boards could do more to ensure that the schools were kept in decent repair. Rule praised those teachers who did show initiative in this matter, and showed his own compassion for this type of teacher by bemoaning the fact that no recompense was available to them. ² In 1894, during the economic recession, no new school buildings were erected, but the South Launceston school was completed for approximately half the cost of a similar school built before 1885. This school was the last to be built under Mr. Stephens' personal superintendence, showing that the P.W.D. no longer had sole control over school building. Indeed, the recession of the early 1890's seemed to have a positive effect, in that many of the extravagences associated with the erection of school buildings were eliminated. Immediately following the 1885 Act, when the new Department took over the responsibility of erecting school buildings, there was an excessive demand from local Boards, but these demands decreased in number during the 1890's.

7.11 Throughout Rule's career, it can be noticed that he was very sympathetic to the classroom teacher and principal, who were the front-line troops in the battle for an improved education system. Having taught for a considerable time in Tasmanian schools, he knew at first hand the problems that they encountered and he remained very loyal to them right up to his retirement. Almost every Annual Report spoke of the diligence of the enthusiastic teacher. His many criticisms were aimed at lifting the standards in the schools under his command. Shortcomings were usually attributed to the system, rather than to the individual; to the lack of adequate training, to poor housing and teaching conditions, to lack of "teeth" in the compulsory clauses, to inadequate support from Boards, to inadequate salaries and lack of opportunities for promotion.

7.12 Rule believed the three R's to be of prime importance in the education of a State School pupil but believed education needed to be extended beyond the mere drilling of these. Nor did he believe it should be merely vocationally oriented. He had often stated that education should enable the ex-student to be able to form opinions

and take an intelligent interest in local and wider affairs. After taking up his Directorship in 1895, he reiterated his belief when he stated that "something beyond the education necessary to make people passably good industrial machines is required to prepare them for the higher duties which must devolve upon them in their social and political relations". In the previous year he had stated that the main purpose of a State School teacher's work was to assist in improving the social condition of the masses by means of the improvement he fostered in individual character and faculty.

7.13 But were the teachers of the latter part of the Nineteenth Century up to the task? It is extremely doubtful that they were, especially in the smaller rural schools where living and teaching conditions were poor and where the teacher had the constant worry that if his pupil numbers fell below 20 his salary would be dependent on a capitation grant. Rule was aware of this insecurity. Indeed, in 1877, Stephens had come to the conclusion that wives and daughters of small settlers would be the only class of teacher who would be content to live in the isolated bush districts and do the humble work of the Provisional School teacher. No wonder Rule complained that teaching was held to be less honorable than other Government employment when he believed that teachers should be on a par, class by class, with departmental clerks. By 1877 he was satisfied that the half time system was not successful, needing teachers of superior physical strength and teaching skill, who, unfortunately, did not volunteer for this type of school. But this type of school continued, as did the practice of downgrading the classification of a school, and with it the salary of the teacher, whenever the population of the school dropped below the required number, despite Rule's protestations that the salary should be retained. Aged and infirm teachers kept on teaching because of the lack of an adequate superannuation scheme.

7.14 Stephens, however, did feel that the average Tasmanian teacher was, or could be, quite well off. In his Report of 1877 he detailed how a married teacher in the lowest class, with 25 regularly attending pupils whose parents regularly paid the minimum fees, would receive not less than £100 per annum to begin with. As the teacher, in most cases, would also have a residence, Stephens was

3. Ibid.
happy that this salary would probably be the highest in the world for an untrained teacher. It was obvious to all, that if the teacher was successful, attendance improved and fees increased and the school became less of a burden on the state, particularly after 1885, so it was imperative that an adequate system of teacher training be commenced. But a teacher training college did not arrive until the Twentieth Century when the Phillip Smith College commenced operation.

7.15 The insecurity of tenure in rural areas and the poor salaries offered, contributed greatly to the fact that many prospective teachers were turned away from the profession. In the 1870's there were four classes of teacher with the lowest being Class IV (Probationary). In 1877 Rule criticised the low standard of entry into this Class and in 1890 he was still doing so, and with good reason in that the conditions of entry were unchanged. Probationers' entry standards were lower than Standard V of the Programme of Instruction for Children! As a result of this, some schools had no 6th Grade and others only went up to Grade III. In 1877 there were some who had remained Probationers for over six years. A suggestion by Rule that Probationers should demonstrate teaching skill and sit for an examination to qualify for the lower division of Class III within a year or two or else be dismissed, went ignored, as too many vacancies would occur. Stephens, who had continuously put forward suggestions for better teacher training, stated that there would be no lack of eligible candidates for ordinary rural schools if they could be assured of facilities for learning their business and qualifying for future advancement, but he also felt that the Pupil-Teacher system was a failure as a preliminary means of training teachers. ¹ Rule agreed with him. To Rule it was not sufficient to offer better pay and to demand higher learning from candidates as even well educated people needed special training to become successful managers of schools. But he did feel that if a training institute was begun, then those with A.A. degrees might, with prospects of advancement, be induced to train. To Rule, these would be better prospects than passed pupil-teachers. He did feel that entrants should be young, as from his experience, he had found that the only qualification of a middle

¹. Ibid.
aged entrant to the profession was that of failure at other employment.

7.16 Under the Board of Education regime the only training institution was the Pupil-Teacher system which did not supply sufficient teachers for the demand. It was inadequate in that it trained teachers to acquire self-possession in front of a class, to be able to command the class, and it drilled teachers in mechanical routine, but it did not give teachers a knowledge of principles sufficient to suggest new or modified methods to suit different circumstances. The general knowledge of the candidates was also thought to be very low. Pupil-teachers were used as a cheap means of providing instruction in city schools. Rule saw this, and suggested that if pupil-teachers were given the morning, or the afternoon, to study, then there would be room for more skilled assistants in these city schools. 1 During this time, Stephens had moved to improve the teaching of infants. In 1882 he put out a plea for improving the qualifications of infant teachers who were generally very young assistants on very low salaries. The importance of good education in this area can be gauged from the following quotation from Stephens' Annual Report of 1882.

In connection with the teaching of infants, it may be noted that Froebel's methods, commonly known as the Kindergarten system, are beginning to attract attention on this side of the world. Many years ago, when there was a prospect of the establishment of a Model School in Launceston, I obtained from England a complete set of the Kindergarten apparatus for occasional use in the Infant department, which was intended by the Northern Board to be a prominent feature of the School. The project came to nothing in consequence of the withdrawal of the promised grant, and there had been no opportunity since for introducing any improvements in this direction. It is only in a much modified form that the Kindergarten system can be advantageously introduced into public elementary Schools, and it requires specially trained teachers of more than average ability and intelligence. 2

But any demand for increased pay for teachers was usually met with the argument that qualifications were very low, so an increased demand for improved training facilities came about in the mid-1880's. In 1885, Stephens submitted his proposal for a Model School and by 1889 the Minister for Education, Stafford Bird, could state that the school was working satisfactorily, with its graduates winning favourable reports. Stephens himself describes the Model School and the new entrance requirements for teachers.

The Model School, though not professing to be anything more than a State School specially organised to supplement the instruction given under the Pupil Teacher System and other means of preliminary training, appears to be sufficiently well adapted for our present wants, and has already furnished several teachers of good promise for the charge of country schools. It rarely happens that vacancies occur for which teachers of adequate ability are not available, and if a larger annual supply were created either by increasing the number of students in training, or by the introduction of teachers from abroad, openings could be found for them only by the wholesale dismissal of teachers, who, though not "competent" in the strict sense of the term, are doing useful work and advancing steadily towards efficiency. In this connection, however, it must be admitted that there are some schools which do not appear to be making any satisfactory progress, and if this is distinctly traceable to negligence or incapacity on the part of their teachers, there ought to be no hesitation in making such changes as the interests of the children demand. The rule now is, that untrained or inexperienced teachers are not allowed to take charge of schools until they have had opportunities for gaining some practical acquaintance with school routine and general management under the eye of a qualified teacher. It is at this stage that it is important to determine whether there is sufficient aptitude for the profession to warrant further encouragement.  

By 1890, supply of trained teachers was equal to the demand, and applications from teachers in England and neighbouring colonies were now being refused. In 1894, although salaries were still low, Tasmanian trained teachers were still being given preference over these other applicants. Rule, now that he was Director, could see improvements in school management because teachers were now putting more thought into their teaching. But he still admired the born teacher who had no formal qualifications. His job was assured whilst Rule was in charge. Rule believed that a quick insight or a special study would teach the good teacher how children's minds work. He believed that "no deep reading is necessary for this, but only a habit of observation among children and occasional self-examination". However, he knew that some would never make good teachers and would always remain inefficient if their "mental culture has been insufficient to give the plasticity of conception needful for looking at a subject from other peoples' point of view".

4. Ibid.
But good or bad, the teachers of the 1890's still depended on fees, with the result that salaries depended, to a certain extent, on the wealth of the district in which the school was situated. It was an unfortunate fact that results obtained from children from poorer districts were usually worse than those from the more affluent homes. As most parents paid their fees in direct proportion to the success of their children at school, this meant that the teacher in the disadvantaged school was doubly disadvantaged. A third disadvantage was that attendance was usually worse in these areas too.

7.18 It is interesting to note the salaries of schoolmasters over the latter part of the Century. (Nearest £.)

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<th>Minimum</th>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>120 (Approx.)</td>
<td>423</td>
<td>61</td>
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<td>1899</td>
<td>120 (Approx.)</td>
<td>425</td>
<td>42</td>
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<td>1900</td>
<td>120 (Approx.)</td>
<td>433</td>
<td>60</td>
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<td>1901</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>475</td>
<td>30 1</td>
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It is obvious that the depression of the mid-1890's had its effect on salaries. In 1901, three quarters of the incomes were between £70 and £200, whilst the 11 teachers who received less than £50 per annum were in charge of assisted schools only. It is typical of James Rule that in his report of 1898 he could state "The traditional practice of paying women less than men for the same amount of work is still followed; but it is to be hoped that as true public policy, as well as a matter of justice, this anomaly will not be perpetuated". By the 1890's the emoluments of Head Teachers were derived partly from fixed salaries depending on length of service, attainments as tested by examination and efficiency in teaching and school management; and partly from school fees. Promotion was given by advancement to higher grades of classification, and by transfer to more important schools. But it would appear from the following that some teachers believed there were better and easier ways of

1. See also Appendix D.
gaining higher emolument.

In the exceptional cases it is still necessary to inform some of my correspondents that preferment to more eligible schools is given by the Minister of Education as the reward of faithful service and general merit, and not, as a matter of favour; while I have to remind some Teachers that they are public officers, and that private business or personal convenience should not be allowed to interfere in any way with the discharge of their public duties. ¹

7.19 These, then were the major factors determining the quality of teaching that went on in Tasmanian schools in Rule's time — emolument, teacher training and teacher qualifications. But Rule had definite views on other aspects of education that give an insight into the internal management of schools in those days. In an effort to discover what improvements had taken place during Rule's period as an Inspector, I extrapolated all references to school management from 1899 to 1894 and it was obvious from this, that before 1885, his attention was directed to basic matters of organisation and method, whilst after this date, when fewer untrained teachers existed in the Education Department, he concentrated more on the individual subjects. Readers can gather from the following that if Rule found it necessary to suggest a certain course of action then there were teachers in his schools who were not doing as he wished.

7.20 He believed that boys and girls should have separate areas in the playground. Indeed, when the writer first began teaching, in the old Battery Point Model School in the early 1950's, the sexes were separated by a high wall. However, in the classroom of the 1870's the sexes were not to be at either end of the room, but teachers were to take care that "their (boys and girls) juxtaposition at the desks was not too close", ² and that boys and girls were to leave the room separately. Overcrowding was common, and teachers had to ensure that pupils were instructed in cleanliness of person and clothes. Because of the intermingling of hats, where hat pegs did not exist, it was not uncommon for children to pass on pediculosis and many parents refused to send their children to a public school for this reason.

7.21 Punctuality was not a feature in many schools. In fact,

Rule praised the teacher who had 90% of his students present at 9 o'clock; and condemned the ones who only managed 10% by 9.30. To cure this, Rule suggested moral suasion (sic.) followed by the fear of forfeiting small privileges, rather than being given the cane. In the 1870's it was not uncommon to find many pupils, particularly those in the junior grades, being left for hours with nothing to do but scratch unintelligible marks on their slates. 1 As most teachers insisted on a strict suppression of noise, the young pupils must have spent a miserable time in such classrooms. Indeed, the untrained teacher must have had great difficulty in organising work for the many ability levels and ages in the overcrowded room. It is because of this problem that the Inspector put so much store on the organising ability of his teachers. Timetables had to be conspicuously displayed and rigidly adhered to if the various classes were to be effectively occupied during the day. Director Stephens regretted that there was no provision for small fines for teachers who offended in this way. 2 The only means by which teachers could be punished for continued disregard of regulations were suspension from duty or stoppage of salary. 3 Rule insisted that younger children needed frequent lesson changes, 4 and the wise teacher would see that this was done. He would also ensure that where two or three teachers were operating in the same room, the timetables were integrated, to make certain that no neighbouring groups were doing noisy lessons at the same time and thus creating conditions conducive to poor work. In general, records were not well kept in the 1870's and 1880's, but improved once the Education Department took over. Many of the records of pupil ages were inaccurate, as children, and often parents also, were unsure of the exact day, or even year, of birth. 5

7.22 Rule was also displeased with the prevalence of pupils answering questions in unison. This was encouraged by many teachers in the belief that the child who was unsure of the answer would thereby learn from the chorus. It seems obvious to us today that other classes in the same room would be disturbed by this continual

1. Ibid. p.16.
2. A.R. 1876.
5. Ibid.
noise. It can be seen that many of the early pedants were ignorant of many elementary rules of good order and discipline. Rule believed that a pleasant atmosphere was essential. "A confident, quiet, masterful tone, well tempered with kindness, goes a long way in producing cheerful, orderly work." 1 This quotation also tells us much about Rule himself, and the reason for his success at Battery Point. He added that discipline was not dependent on muscular force as many women managed very orderly schools. Rule was not a believer in discipline imparted from above. He had noticed that many pupils who "sat, stood, marched and counter marched" 2 very smartly at a given order, giving the appearance of fine control in the classroom, also cheated and were lazy when not under observation. He believed it was better for the child to be trained to exercise self restraint and to co-operate cheerfully. Although Rule could comment in 1891 that the general order and discipline in schools had improved tremendously, particularly in the actual teaching methods being used, he did note in the following year, with a touch of sadness, that children were still being threatened by punishment.

It is pitiable to find a teacher confessing himself helpless in dealing with such matters (defacing property) until he finds out the culprit, never imagining that anything but the punishment of somebody can be of any service in preventing a repetition of the wrong done. 3

Rule placed great importance on proper moral training. He drew the distinction between this and religious education. One did not necessarily follow the other. In fact throughout the period of the 1883 Royal Commission, he was very critical of the teaching of religion both by the clergy and by lay teachers. Following his rebuff on this matter in the R.C. report, Rule never again mentioned moral training or the teaching of religion in his Annual Reports. But prior to this, he went to print quite often to state that it was more important for the teacher to be "... penetrated with humanitarian sympathies (than to be) conscientious in imparting religious instruction", 4 He believed that the teacher should insist on honourable conduct in the children's every-day life and he noted

1. Ibid. p.13.
that morals seemed to be low in schools where the level of intelligence was low, (and this included that of the teacher) and in the few cases where the teacher was alive to social distinctions and looked down on the working class. Rule admired the working class; as is shown throughout his writings. It is interesting to note that despite the criticisms, mentioned earlier, Rule believed that the moral tone of the public schools in 1879 compared favourably with that of the denominational schools in Tasmania and in any other country, but Rule was not a great believer in denominational education, having been so critical of the poorer type private school. In the same report he also stated that behaviour of Public School pupils was no worse than those educated at the Superior Schools of the Colony. To Rule, everything depended on the character and ability of the teacher, rather than on the amount of formal moral training that went on in the school, and the results could be best judged in the playground.

7.24 The importance of the various subjects can be gauged from the number of mentions made by Rule in his Annual Reports. The order of importance is as follows: Arithmetic, Grammar, Geography, Reading, Writing, Object Lessons, History, Needlework, Drawing, Poetry, Singing, Science and Drill. The last two were only mentioned once. In fact, for elementary science, the only comment was in 1891, when Rule stated that under present circumstances the poor results are only to be expected. He did not elaborate on what the circumstances were. Rule did not put great store on jumping up and down to command, so it is only natural that Drill was not generally practiced in schools in his area, although in other areas it was taught with great enthusiasm by ex-army officers.

7.25 Singing and Poetry were not taught in all schools. Rule noted in 1877 that Singing was taught in only a few schools, without notation; but where it was taught, it gave a cheerful tone to the school and facilitated good order. With the Inspector thus showing favour to this subject, the number of schools teaching singing rose quickly to about 50%, but it remained at that level for the rest of the century. Many teachers felt that they were incapable of teaching this subject. Rule obviously regarded it as a means of relaxation and a break from the important subjects. The teaching of rhymes

and Poetry received similar scant treatment. When Rule became an Inspector, several teachers allowed their younger pupils to learn rhymes but they made no attempt to teach them properly. Teachers were obviously using this as a fill-in to occupy some pupils whilst they spent time on other subjects with other pupils. Rule saw the advantages of well taught rhymes and poetry – better articulation and expression – but even by 1886, the schools in his care were still asking the pupils to learn verses by heart, with the result that "repetitious gabble" ensued.

7.26 Despite his own undoubted artistic ability, Rule was not particularly interested in free hand drawing in the schools, realising that few teachers were gifted enough to teach the subject, but his practical leanings left him to bemoan the fact that linear drawing to scale was not being effectively taught in most schools. Comments along these lines appeared in most reports of the second half of the 1880's. To him, art lessons should have been used to encourage neat scale drawing, with geometrical instruments, so that mensuration could be better understood. He saw the value of linear drawing in industry but regretted the fact that parents were unwilling to supply the inexpensive instruments needed. Rule believed that frivolous subjects had no place in the education of a State School child. Utility was very important, and his feelings about this are apparent in his comments about Needlework. He believed that strong, plain sewing, darning and cutting out was all that girls need learn at school, and that the "fancy work" practiced by some sewing teachers was not necessary, particularly as the sewing machine had been invented. He also believed that the local Board could nominate ladies to conduct annual examinations in sewing as he did not feel qualified to do this himself.

7.27 In the Nineteenth Century many teachers avoided the teaching of History. In fact in 1877 many were advocating its elimination from the curriculum of state schools. The influence of the Superior Schools was felt in the teaching of this subject, as Rule noted in 1880, stating that English History was only taught in the schools that put children up for Exhibitions, and even in these schools the

sylabbus was restricted to the sections examined in the Exhibitions. Rule could see no good reason for this, and suggested that the Exhibition Examiners ask questions from the Grade VI Programme of Instruction for English History. Very little Australian History was taught. In fact very little history was taught at all because of the risk of sectarian bias creeping in. Teachers usually emphasised the unimportant, but safe, facts, and the method used was for the child to cram from books. Memory work was all-important and very few oral lessons were taught. Rule, true to form, opposed the fact that in 1886 the teaching of Sacred History was obligatory.

Object lessons were not well taught in most Tasmanian schools. In 1880 Rule commented that teachers actively avoided them, but in 1889, when most teachers had been persuaded to include them in the timetable, they were being taught in a very feeble manner. I would imagine the main reason for this was the fact that most of them would not know of the work of Pestalozzi, who made these lessons popular. The work of Pestalozzi was well known in the English Training Schools when Rule was a student teacher, and I believe he gained most of his ideas from the sympathetic approach advocated by this man, and also from Froebel, who developed them. To Rule, the object lesson was an adjunct to the elementary science lesson and the teacher needed a knowledge of scientific method before he could administer a successful Object Lesson. To Pestalozzi the idea of the lesson was to learn from observation of an object by sense-perception or intuition. Discussion should follow. Rule believed that there were two aims of the object lesson:

1. To train children in accurate perception and thought.
2. To store their minds gradually with sound, useful knowledge of common things and natural phenomena - noticing points of difference and similarity and simple instances of causation.

But Rule was to remain disappointed, as the average classroom teacher did not understand the reasons behind the lesson. They did not know why they were teaching object lessons, so they were not successful.

Reading and Writing were a different matter altogether. Most teachers knew why they were teaching these subjects. Although, as previously mentioned, the standards reached were never really high,

3. See Appendix H for Pestalozzi's aims in teaching.
the results obtained in reading aloud were usually the best of all the subjects examined. Rule was quick to point out that the ability to read clearly and distinctly had nothing to do with intelligence, and throughout his term as Inspector he criticised the teachers in that comprehension was lacking, with the result that expressive reading was rare. In the 1890's he blamed this on the fact that the teachers were too ambitious and were asking the children to read passages that contained words which were beyond the pupils' understanding. This may have been to impress the Inspector but it had the opposite effect. A lack of empathy with the pupils was obvious with many teachers who could only transcribe one difficult word for another leaving the children still unaware of the meaning. In the 1870's Rule blamed the lack of understanding on the fact that three different editions of the Irish Reader were in use, these books being both "confusing and objectionable". Stephens had suggested to the Board in 1879 that these books be replaced by the new Colonial School Readers that N.S.W. had adopted, but it was several years before the Irish books were superseded. Writing, which included spelling and composition as well as penmanship, was not as well taught, although a gradual improvement was noted e.g. In 1877 Rule regarded the standard as poor, in 1880 - fair to bad, in 1886 - very fair, in 1891 - excellent to very fair and in 1892 - good. Penmanship improved as teachers and the Department realised that a graduation in the size of desk was necessary, but the problem of the energetic young pupil who carried his pencil in his pocket when playing was one that Rule could understand but not solve. Broken, stubby pencils were common, and in 1892 Rule had reached the stage where he recommended that pencils and pencil holders should be supplied free by the Department, to be issued and collected every day. Economics prevented the implementation of this suggestion. Failures in writing were usually due to incorrect spelling, as dictation and composition were not given proper attention in the classroom.

Rule placed great emphasis on the teaching of Geography. It would appear that this was one subject that could be made interesting

Pupils' Slates. These were in common use throughout Rule's service in Tasmania.
and instructive and because the subject appealed to the sight
and imagination of children, the information was retained without
difficulty. It was also easy to teach inductively. "Geography...
is a subject well adapted to develop childrens' conceptive faculties;
and the lesson affords them a refreshing change after others that
require a different kind of mental effort." In fact, in 1880 he
suggested that a teacher with a good background of Physical and
General Geography should discard class books and teach orally. As
Inspector Bourdillon said when describing the Prussian system
"The Prussian teacher had no book. He needs none. He teaches
from a full mind." Obviously, the Tasmanian teacher who had to
refer to his text to determine whether the child's definition of
an island was correct, would not get employment in Prussia. This
example does point out a weakness in the training of Tasmanian
teachers. I would imagine the teacher would know what an island
was, but many expected the exact text book wording of the definition.
I do not blame the teacher for this, when one Inspector marked a
pupil wrong when he answered "Twenty" to the question "Do you know
how many shillings there are in a pound?". The answer expected was
"Yes"! But in many classrooms, geography meant rote learning from
books with little reference to maps, and in others children learned
the names of places on the map with no explanation or description
to connect them with human interests. By 1891 Rule could feel
pleasure in that his remarks had been heeded, as the results in
Geography were the best of the "other subjects", and in 1892 the
results were good, with little evidence of rote learning from texts.

Rule had little success in the improvement of the subject
Grammar. To most teachers Grammar lessons meant practice in
parsing. It became a mechanical exercise rather than "a mental
exercise to unravel the meaning of involved sentences". In 1880
Rule found that it was the weakest part of the work in schools.
Little effort was being made to train pupils in correct methods of
expression in speech and writing. By 1887 Rule had developed a
fatalistic attitude to this subject. In that year he stated that

2. A.R. 1877. p.16.
5. Ibid.
practice in answering orally in sentences would correct vulgarisms, without burdening the children's memories with all the technicalities and rules of grammar! By 1890 he had gone further, declaring that if teachers insisted on giving exercises in parsing with no written composition work to supplement this, the pupils would be better off doing Arithmetic. However, this statement may have had a positive effect, because in 1892 he saw nothing that required special mention. This, of course, is open to varying interpretations.

7.32 Arithmetic was very poorly taught in all but the very best schools, due partly to the very poor grounding of the teachers themselves and partly to the lack of method in their teaching. In every report, Rule attempted to overcome both of these faults, but with little success. In fact his 1887 Report contained a 750 word treatise on the subject, in an attempt to show how the subject should be related to the future needs of the pupil. It was apparent that Rule believed that a thorough and practical groundwork should be given in the early years and that development from there should be both rational and practical.¹ Models should have been used.² It was apparent that children received very little classroom teaching in arithmetic, often being allowed to proceed with very little help from the teacher. If a child succeeded in getting a correct answer he was sent off on another type of sum in order to gain promotion. The result, with so little practice on further examples, and with almost no mental arithmetic, was that little knowledge was retained. Abstract mathematics was attempted too early with the result that in 1890 only 11 out of a total school population of 5,172 pupils reached Grade VI standard, whereas 126 were successful in reading. In some schools there was no difference in result between the three R's, so Rule reasoned that the standards expected were not too high.

7.33 Thus it can be seen that the teachers of the Nineteenth Century were achieving various success in their classroom teaching. Inspector Rule did his best to lift standards, once again with varying success, but throughout this period his own basic beliefs shone through. It was obvious that Rule believed that no child was too mean to deserve the best that education had to offer. His sympathetic and methodical approach would work in any age. It is obvious that he demanded high standards but these were to be achieved by a

sympathetic and dedicated teacher who rarely raised his voice or used the cane, but encouraged the pupils to further effort by his own example and sound knowledge. Lessons were to be purposeful, with the teacher drawing the child out with a firm but understanding manner. A cheerful and happy atmosphere was essential. Rule would have been happy if the teachers of the day could train the children to do independent research, but he was equally adamant that there were times when the text book should be thrown out the window and the teacher should inspire his charges with his own eloquence and knowledge, to encourage activity and stimulate thought. Too often the Nineteenth Century classroom was dull, with the emphasis on cramming of facts. The child's brain was being made a store house rather than a dynamo. In his last report as an Inspector, Rule remarked on the sense of good feeling that had been shown to him by all those with whom he had come in contact - the fellow inspectors, the local managers, the teachers and the scholars. I believe that the feeling was genuine, because I found no criticism of any person in any of Rule's writings. He often criticised the system, but always attempted to help those who needed it most.
CHAPTER EIGHT.

RULE REACHES THE PEAK OF HIS PROFESSION.

(His work as Director of Education)

8.01 When James Rule took up the duties of Director of Education, the Minister for Education, E. Braddon, penned these words. Mr. Rule, who worthily succeeds him (Stephens), and who will, I am sure, fill the office of Director with distinction, has worked his way up in the Department, of which he has been a faithful servant for forty years, from the position of teacher in one of the smallest country schools. No one knows the State Schools of the Colony better than Mr. Rule. 1

When Rule began teaching in Tasmania in 1855, the colony was in a backwater. The population was steadily decreasing owing to the attractions of the gold producing Australian colonies. In 1869 Tasmania was connected to Victoria by cable, 2 and the first railway, that between Launceston and Perth, was opened. The population in 1870 was about 100,000. By the end of 1872, the colony was in direct contact with England by means of the overland telegraph. In 1876 the Hobart-Launceston railway line was opened, and in the same year the Emu Bay Railway helped give an impetus to the tin mines at Mt. Bischoff. By 1882 the population had risen to 115,000, and agriculture and mining were flourishing. State Revenue had increased by 40% in the four years prior to 1883. Apart from a brief recession in 1884 caused by over speculation in mines, the economy continued to expand throughout the 1880's. In 1887 Sir Robert Hamilton became Governor. Sir Robert, an ex-civil servant in London (Education Department) took a lively interest in the development of the new Education Department in Tasmania. In 1893, he was succeeded by Viscount Gormanston, an Irish peer and one time Commissioner of National Education in Ireland. The population continued to flourish, being 147,000 in 1891 and 166,000 in 1896, and no Australian colony had a larger proportion of inhabitants of British descent. Trade was mainly with Victoria, New South Wales

2. The information contained in 8.01 was obtained from Sanderson, E. The British Empire in the XIX Century. (Blackie & Son) Vol. VI pp. 227-247.
and the United Kingdom, with exports being mainly wool, tin, fruit, potatoes, gold, silver, bark and timber, corn and hops. In 1891 the value of both the imports and exports began to fall, and James Rule took over the Directorship in very difficult financial times. Parliament in those days consisted of the two Houses - the Legislative Council of 18 members and the House of Assembly with 37 members. Members of each House were paid £100 per year. In 1897, only 18.26% of the whole population could vote for the popular House. Cabinet consisted of six members. A comment on the educational system, written at the time, is of interest:

The educational system (with a University of Tasmania, incorporated in 1889, and empowered to hold examinations and grant degrees) includes 13 superior schools or colleges, with an average attendance (1896) of 1,452 pupils; 270 public elementary schools with 20,826 scholars on the roll; and 173 private schools, with 6,910 scholars. Education is compulsory, and cost the Government £36,000 in 1896; there are scholarships from the lower to the higher schools, and thence to English Universities, and five technical schools exist in Hobart, Launceston, Latrobe, New Norfolk and Devonport. There are 40 public libraries and mechanics' institutes, with about 78,000 volumes of books. A lack of educational efficiency seems revealed in the fact that the census of 1891 showed 37,000 persons, or over 25% of the population, as unable to read and write.

But Rule could take some consolation in the fact that many of these illiterates were migrants whose education could not be blamed on the Tasmanian system. Also, in 1896, only 5% of Government expenditure was spent on "religion, science and education".

But progress was made during Rule's Directorship. The number of schools increased from 247 in 1895 to 305 in 1899, when he retired due to ill health. Government expenditure on Education increased from £31,880 to £40,049 in the same period. Indeed, the 1895 expenditure was £2,442 less than that for 1894, showing that the economic recession was having a debilitating effect on education. But by 1896 the situation had improved. The 1899 expenditure was £2,213 more than that for 1898 and £4,479 more than that for 1896. Teachers collected £10,948 in fees in 1899, this being £728 more than the 1898 figure and £1,014 more than in 1897. However, although total fees increased, the amount per head for scholars in daily attendance showed a gradual decrease throughout the decade, from

1. Ibid., p.246.
2. Ibid., p.247
£1.2.1 in 1890 to 16/8 in 1899. The 51 convictions obtained by the Truant Officers in Hobart and Launceston in 1899 must have had the desired effect, as the percentage attendance figures, which had been showing a gradual decrease from 1894 onwards, suddenly jumped from 70.11% in 1898 to 79.82% in 1899. During much of Rule's time as Director his Minister was E. Braddon, the Premier. During the economic depression of the early 1890's Braddon trimmed his budget considerably, but although "Braddon's Axe" descended on other Departments with remarkable vigour, the Education Department suffered to a lesser degree. Rule's seniority in the Civil Service was recognised, and his eloquence and determination, inherited from his Border forebears, ensured that the teachers of Tasmania did not suffer to the extent of other departments. Braddon was renowned for his ability to get his own way in any difference of opinion, but his respect for James Rule, plus Rule's ability to present a cogent and persuasive case himself, resulted in less stringent cuts being applied to education.

8.03 Several developments occurred during Rule's period as Director. In August of 1895 School Banking commenced, and 1,500 scholars had begun their Post Office Savings Accounts by the end of that year. By the end of 1899 the number of accounts had dropped to 988, but 75 schools were encouraging their pupils in this method of thrift, with £349.10.9 being left in credit of depositors at the end of 1899. Thus, it can be seen that after the initial burst of enthusiasm had waned, there was a large number of pupils who took advantage of this facility. It is also important to note that in 1895 Rule managed to persuade his Minister, E. Braddon, that despite the necessity of keeping expenses down, it was in the interests of the pupils in small country districts to allow assisted schools and half time schools to continue, despite falling numbers. New regulations \(^1\) enabled this to be done, and money was found throughout Rule's period to provide education for these pupils, who would normally have been denied access to education. However, Rule was rather pessimistic in his 1896 Report, when he commented that "...The present system is to prepare children for pauperism, not for useful citizenship". He fought for State Secondary Education, but because of the economic situation, was

\(^1\) 1894 Regulations. Sections 32(a) and (b).
GOVERNMENT NOTICE.

No. 216.
Treasury, Hobart, 22nd July, 1895.

The Governor in Council has been pleased to approve of the following Regulation being adopted with regard to Post Office Savings Banks, Small Savings by Stamps:

27. Any person desirous of saving One Shilling by means of penny contributions for deposit in the Post Office Savings Bank may do so by purchasing with every penny saved a Penny Stamp and affixing it to a form to be obtained at any Money Order Office. Instructions as to this form are printed thereon.

By His Excellency's Command,

P. O. FYSH, Treasurer.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT.

Circular to Head Teachers.

PENNY SAVINGS.

(Vide Section 75 (a) of the Regulations)

A supply of adhesive slips on which to record children's deposits is posted herewith.

The slips are to be affixed to the inner side of the children's reading-book covers.

The slips on which to affix stamps can be obtained on application at the local Money Order Offices.

J. RULE,

Director of Education.

Hobart, 7th August, 1895.
unable to persuade his Minister to implement it.

8.04 Night schools were encouraged by Rule. In 1892 there was only one. In 1895 there were nine and by 1899 there were 17, with an average attendance of 107. There was a free Night School at the Central School in Hobart. These schools were held in normal day schools, using Education Department equipment. Teaching was done by volunteers, who received recompense in the form of fees collected. Mr. Rule allowed boys who were within the compulsory school age to attend Night Schools instead of the usual day school, if they could show that their wages obtained from day work would assist their needy parents. This indicates Rule's compassion towards the struggling working man. Rule also persuaded the Minister to reduce school fees as a first step towards achieving his longed for goal of completely free education. Rule was a tireless worker for this cause. As the rate of fees had changed little since 1854, whilst average wages had halved, it was high time that fees were altered.

8.05 Despite Rule's persistent recommendations, very little was done to give the Education Department more control over the many inferior private schools which were thriving in Tasmania. Rule wanted the right of Inspectors to enter private schools to check teaching efficiency and accommodation. During 1898, State Schools were seriously hit by the prevalence of infectious diseases, with the average time of schools being effected being eight weeks. Rule wanted the right of Departmental officers to check sanitation in the private schools, but without success. The following quote from Rule's Report of 1898 indicates his intense feeling that private schools should expect Government Inspection if they accepted Government funds:

The expressed intention of the Education Act - "to make more adequate Provision for Public Education" - cannot be carried out until all primary schools are placed under Government inspection, and it is generally understood that this would be welcomed by several private school teachers of good repute as well as by the managers of a considerable section of denominational schools. Those teachers or managers who ask for Government help (involving expenditure of money) in the shape of free conveyance of children to their schools, ought

2. Ibid. 1898. p.3.
not to object to inspection as a necessary condition of such help, for by no other means can the Minister be satisfactorily assured that the schools are primary schools as defined by the Minister's recent circular, viz., schools which provide for children a primary education similar to those provided in State schools. Moreover, the general principle ought to be recognised, that Government assistance in any form to schools ought to imply the right of inspection. This principle ought to apply also to such secondary schools as may, in the event of the exhibition system being revived, be recognised by Government as schools at which exhibitions shall be tenable. 1

8.06 By the time he had become Director of Education, Rule had formed the opinion that State School Exhibitions should not be continued. The practice of giving these Exhibitions was begun in 1860 and continued until 1894 when economic circumstances caused them to be discontinued. A successful Exhibitioner initially received £12 per annum for two years at a Superior School, but this was later altered to £16.13.4 for four years. At first three boys were selected but later this number was increased to six boys and six girls, with an extra £20 boarding allowance if the Exhibitioners lived five miles or more away from Hobart or Launceston. Over the 34 years of its operation, 249 Exhibitions were awarded (from 781 candidates) at a total cost to the Government of £22,435.3.0. For this outlay, only 42 subsequently obtained the Degree of A.A.; 23 passed the Senior Public Examination; and only 9 of the A.A. gained a Tasmanian Scholarship to attend an overseas university. 2 209 schools out of 291 never sent a candidate, whilst 11 schools sent 525. 3 244 schools never obtained one exhibitioner whilst 10 schools obtained 163. 4 It would appear that many schools ignored the system altogether, even though many of them were superior to those that send candidates. James Rule's social beliefs shone through in the following:

If there is money to spare it will be much better spent in providing free primary education to the masses than in providing free secondary education to a select few. It ought not to be forgotten that a large proportion of parents whose sons or daughters obtained from the State a free secondary education for four years were in circumstances to afford the expense of such education themselves. 5

The system of Exhibitions to Superior Schools was not re-introduced.

1. A.R. 1898.
2. U.K. or Australian mainland.
3. 1 sent 96.
4. 1 school won 34.
Boys at work - Ulverstone Agricultural and Grammar School - established 1890.

1. The Forge Class.

2. The Carpentry Class.
1. The opening of the Ulverstone Technical School - 1898. Premier Braddon (seated) and Rule (left of doorway).

2. The ornate Wesleyan Ladies' College, Launceston, which was opened in 1896 as a Superior School.
8.07 By the end of 1899, after five years of Directorship, James Rule could take pleasure in the fact that education had progressed well under his leadership. His appointment had co-incided with an economic crisis. He had survived this to the extent that the Education Department was growing very rapidly. He had built more schools, attendance had increased, more teachers were being employed and teachers' salaries had risen also. Regulations had been reprinted. With the growth in the Department had come regimentation. Rule had done his best to humanise this growing bureaucracy, and on his retirement, teachers were high in their praise of this fighter for their rights. But I think Rule would have agreed with the following statement by B. K. Hyams 1 "... the teacher had moved from the position of a fairly independent practitioner faced with uncertain prospects of employment, to a passive servant whose reward was a large measure of vocational stability". But Rule would not have agreed that the teacher had vocational stability whilst part of his income was still dependent on the collection of fees. In his last Report to the Minister, his parting words included reference to this subject, but a compromise was reached. Fees were not abolished, but by placing the teachers on salary and insisting that fees be paid into Consolidated Revenue, the teachers of Tasmania were freed from the worry connected with the fact that their pay packet depended on their ability to collect fees. This major change came about on January 1, 1901 so it is gratifying to know that Rule, who had fought for over 40 years for some such change, was still alive to see it.

8.08 Despite the fact that Rule held his teachers in high esteem, it must not be forgotten that this was the Nineteenth Century, towards the end of Queen Victoria's reign. Complete freedom for the teacher was unheard of, 2 although Rule did encourage initiative in teaching methods. The teacher was bound in many ways. He was liable to dismissal for wilful breach of Regulations, falsification of records or returns, immoral conduct, or habitual neglect of duty. For lesser crimes he could be demoted, or fined an amount not exceeding £5. He could not divulge official information to any

2. Education Regulations 1894. R.E.D.L. for all information in 8.08.
Under instructions from the Minister of Education, Teachers are authorised to inform parents that:

1. No reduction should be made in the rate of School Fees fixed by the Regulations, unless special circumstances clearly call for such reduction, and that

2. Fees paid at the monthly rate should be paid not later than one week after the beginning of each month, and quarterly fees not later than two weeks after the beginning of each quarter. Parents who do not so pay cannot claim the advantage offered by the reductions made for payment in advance, but will be chargeable at the weekly rates fixed by Regulation.

J. MASTERS,
Director of Education.

SCHOOL FEES REGULATIONS.

Weekly School Fees.—13. The fees for instruction in State Schools shall be payable in advance. In Full-time Schools they shall be at the rate of 3d. per week for one child; 7d. each per week for two children of the same family; 6d. each per week for three children of the same family, and for every additional child of the same family, 4d. per week. In Half-time Schools they shall be at the rate of 6d. per week for one child; 4d. each per week for two children of the same family; and 3d. each per week for three or more children of the same family. Schools for poor children may be established in Hobart and Launceston, in which no fees shall be charged.

Monthly or Quarterly payment of Fees.—14. Fees paid in advance by the month or by the school quarter shall be subject to a reduction, as in the following scale:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Per month</th>
<th>Per quarter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Full-time Schools</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One child</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two children of the same family, each</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three ditto, ditto</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Each additional child of the same family</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Half-time Schools</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One child</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two children of the same family, each</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three ditto, ditto</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The fees in 1903 were identical to those in force throughout the second half of the Nineteenth Century.
Form required by Education Department from the Head Teacher each School Quarter.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State School,</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABSTRACT of Amounts of School Fees received in Cash or otherwise during the School Quarter ending on the day of 189, together with amount received during the same period as allowance for Instruction of Free Scholars:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Month ending Saturday,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School Fees...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amount received during the same period as allowance for Instruction of Free Scholars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I certify upon honour that the above Statements of Fees received are correct; and I forward herewith the sum of £ , this sum being the portion of the said Fees which is due to be paid by me to the Minister of Education.

Head Teacher.

189

*Note.—When this total does not exceed £12 10s. no Abstract is required;
EDUCATION DEPARTMENT, TASMANIA.

EXEMPTION FROM SCHOOL FEES.

Regulations under Education Act, 1885.

Oatlands State School.

The undermentioned children are Candidates for admission to this School as Free Scholars during the period from 16th August 1907 to 31st October 1907.

To the Chairman,

Oatlands State School.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name and Residence of Parent</th>
<th>Names of Children</th>
<th>Particulars of Case</th>
<th>Result of Inquiry</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Brown</td>
<td>Jessie</td>
<td>Inability to</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stanley St.</td>
<td>Arthur</td>
<td>Pay fees.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The admission of the aforementioned Children as Free Scholars, except the cases marked as "not eligible," is authorised by the Board after careful inquiry.

To the Head Teacher

Oatlands State School.

(Date) 26th Aug 1907.
person other than in the course of official duty. He could not comment publicly on any matter affecting the Education Department or its officers, or indeed, on the public service as a whole. He could not comment on any political question, nor could he preach in any church within five miles of his school. 1 He had to avoid disputes with parents 2 and he was forbidden to engage in outside employment. School hours were fixed. They were to be from 9 a.m. to 12 and from 2 p.m. to 4 p.m. for five days a week. A morning recess of 15 minutes was allowed. Country schools could alter the afternoon times, so long as a minimum lunch break of one hour was taken. At 8.50 teachers were expected to be on duty, and at 8.55 the school was to assemble outside for a cleanliness inspection. Pupils then had to be marched into school. Some schools had drum and fife bands to assist. A four week summer vacation was permitted, unless the teacher had closed his school without good and sufficient reason during the year. In this case, the school could have its vacation shortened. The actual dates of this summer vacation could be varied in country areas if local needs e.g. harvesting, warranted it. In Hobart and Launceston, only three weeks was allowed, as an extra week was taken at the end of the June quarter. Apart from the normal Public Holidays, these were the only vacations taken. Leave of absence was granted only for urgent reasons, 4 these reasons having to be given to the Minister direct. The principal could, however, grant up to one day to a teacher for cases of illness. Desks were to be arranged in parallel rows, graduated in height, screwed to the floor, and not removed from their places without proper authority. Boys were to sit in the front rows and no class was to sit in front of another class. Corporal punishment was allowed, but only by a teacher in charge of a school or schoolroom. Regulations stated that this

1. Letter Book of the Education Department 1855-1905. E.D. 1373. p.423. J. Rule to S. Pitt, Weldborough School. "Schools may not be used for religious purposes other than Sunday services".
2. Letter Book of the Education Department 1855-1905. E.D. 1373. p.35. J. Rule to C. Joyce re Mr. D. Purves, headteacher of Beaconsfield, being on Board of Governors of the Beaconsfield Hospital. "Teachers must refrain from ... interference in matters of local controversy as may tend to bring them into collision with relatives of children attending school." October 3, 1899.
3. Ibid. p.625. J. Rule to J. Whyte, Mathinna. "The Department does not object to you visiting Victoria during the holidays provided that satisfactory arrangements are made for the protection of the school premises -wide Regulation 69."
4. Ibid. p.118. J. Rule to H. Betts "Leave of Absence granted to join South African contingent."
should not exceed a stroke on the hand with a strap or light cane. This does not seem to be very harsh treatment until it is realised that a teacher "may use his discretion for offences against morality, for cruelty, or for wilful and persistent disobedience; provided that such punishment shall be inflicted only after careful enquiry and consideration ..." ¹ It seems, therefore, that the punishment of "a stroke" would apply to very minor offences. But despite this Regulation, it is pointed out in another section that it would be regarded as evidence of a teacher's unfitness if corporal punishment was used too frequently or if a quiet, kindly tone was not present in the school. Every morning, for the first half hour, Sacred History had to be taught in an unsectarian way unless a clergyman was present, when sectarian Religion could be taught. Parents could withdraw their children from these lessons. All changes in lesson had to be done by signal or word of command, presumably in unison. Collective instruction was allowed in object lessons, technical education, elementary science, freehand and geometrical drawing, singing and in moral education. For the latter, truthfulness, honesty, punctuality, industry, kindness to animals, obedience to lawful authority, and respect and consideration for others were to be given special attention. Rigid courses of instruction were given for each subject for every class. Promotion of pupils was only done if the pupil passed the headteacher's tests in the three R's and showed fair proficiency in the other subjects. All pupils aimed at obtaining the Compulsory Standard of Education Certificate which was given if they passed in Fourth Class level in the three R's and had reached eleven years of age. Because of all these Regulations, teachers were somewhat restricted in their work, but Rule cannot be blamed for this. If the teachers had been sufficiently well trained, and Rule had tried for years to improve this situation, then many of these Regulations ² would not have been necessary. Rule did, however, run his Department with the interests of the teacher at heart. He reminded teachers that telegrams from the teacher to the Department went free ³ and one of

¹. Education Regulations 1894. op. cit.
². See Appendix I for a selected list from the 1894 Regulations.
his last official jobs was to help a Mrs. Troy obtain a pension through personal intervention to Sir Edward Braddon.  

8.09 As mentioned previously, Rule used his Inspectorial visits to call upon others who shared the same philosophies as he. Mr. C. R. Paice gives an excellent account of the formation and early history of the Tasmanian Teachers' Union - The Tasmanian Teachers' Federation with only one brief mention of James Rule. I believe that Rule did have an influence here, in that the movement began in the North-West of Tasmania when Rule was Inspector for this district. It was begun by Mr. John Joseph Low, headteacher of Latrobe school. Low was the son of Mr. John James Low, one of the six London teachers imported to Tasmania in 1841 and who would undoubtedly have been well known to Rule, as Low senior taught in Hobart when Rule was at Battery Point. Rule would have shown interest in Low junior when the latter was appointed to Latrobe. I regard it as more than co-incidence that whilst the South did nothing, teachers in Rule's district were discussing, and then organising, the first Teachers' Association in Tasmania, which aimed to improve teaching methods, to help eliminate the Teachers' Examinations and to improve teachers' salaries. Rule was interested in all of these, particularly that of banding together to hear talks on improving teaching methods. The Wynyard, Sheffield, Latrobe, Evandale and Launceston areas showed an interest in this Association and I would imagine that Rule, being the only officer visiting all of these schools, would have encouraged its growth. Following this small start, the Tasmanian State School Teachers' Association was formed and held its first meeting in Launceston on December

1. Ibid. p.493.
2. See 3.17.
3. In T.J.O. Vol. 8 Nos. 2 and 3, Vol. 9 Nos. 1 and 2.
4. Ibid. Vol. 8 No. 3 p.70.
5. Unfortunately, I could not find evidence of this in my research.
6. Reeves, C. op. cit. p.36.
8. Ibid.
10. Ibid. pp. 69-70.
28, 1893. Why was Rule invited to speak at this initial meeting when from 1886 he had been an Inspector in the South, and why did this body place free education as its main platform unless he had shown that he supported the organisation? Rule was instrumental in talking his protegé, Richard Smith, into forming a teachers' association in the South. Richard Smith was to be the first President of the Tasmanian State School Teachers' Union when it was formed in 1905. Therefore, I strongly suspect that Rule had played his part backstage, whilst others had shared the limelight.

8.10 James Rule retired due to ill health at the end of 1900, but had been on leave for twelve months prior to that. He retired with feelings of regret as he "had hoped to have strength left to remain in the service until several necessary reforms were brought about." In his last report, he also assured the ordinary teachers "that they will always have my hearty sympathy in their struggles with the difficulties and vexations which beset their work". Stafford Bird, Minister of Education, had this to say. "He retired with the respect and esteem of all in the Department, and no one can express more sincerely than I the general wish that he may yet live many years to enjoy a well earned rest after his long term of service."

8.11 In April, 1900, James Rule returned for a last look at the place of his birth and to renew old acquaintances, after a break of 46 years. He sailed on the "Orontes" and was welcomed in Norham as a favourite son. On July 21 the Rule clan gathered in the Norham Public Hall to honour James and Sarah. His surviving brothers, Peter, George and Thomas were present, as were 40 other relatives. The evening was an event for the village. All four brothers were extremely successful and talented men and it appeared that all four might, like their father, live to be 91 and die the

3. Hobart Teachers' Guild, which, as its name implies, attempted to improve teacher qualifications - C.O.T. op. cit. p.571.
7. A.R. 1900. p.3.
most respected and best loved person in their respective districts. The Newcastle Daily Chronicle devoted a ten inch column to the event and the Newcastle Evening Leader included an article on James under the heading "Men of Mark". It described him as "a genial old gentleman, brimming with educational law". It is obvious that the Bordermen were proud of their emigrant son. Of course, at the same time they were recognising the worth of the whole family of Thomas Rule, senior. 1

James deserved the praise that came to him on that night in July, 1900. Always possessed of a keen intellect, James had been an active member of the Minerva Club in Hobart. This club was composed of intellectuals, the leading member being A. I. Clark. 2 Rule contributed prose and verse to the club journal "The Quadrilateral". He enjoyed intellectual discussion and would always stay with "Philosopher" Smith when on Inspectorial duties along the North-West Coast of Tasmania. His circle of friends were all men of high calibre, stimulating company and of superior attainment. It is no wonder that Rule kept his Hobart home going throughout his period as Northern Inspector. As a fellow of the Royal Society 3 he delivered addresses on literary and social subjects. Indeed, he even lectured at the Northern Teachers' Association Conference of 1893 on Russian despotism and its threat to Europe, Asia and Australia. 4 Rule took an active interest in tertiary education, being one of the founders and an early councillor of the University of Tasmania. His youngest son James was the first graduate in law at the newly established University of Tasmania. 5

1. Many descendants of this family have succeeded in establishing a niche in life, one of the best known being a descendant of William, the Rt. Rev. John L. Wilson who was Bishop Wilson of Birmingham in the 1950's. He was the famous Bishop Wilson of Singapore who did much to lift the spirits of those souls interned in the infamous Changi camp between 1943 and 1945.


3. He had been a member for 25 years.


5. See Appendix J.
1. Mr. Richard Smith – first President of the Tas. State School Teachers' Union and a protege of James Rule.

2. The University of Tasmania (Glebe) – incorporated 1890. Rule was a member of the University Council.
CHAPTER NINE.

CONCLUSION.

9.01 James Rule did not survive to enjoy much of his retirement. His death, early in 1901, at the age of 71 was a cause for sorrow for so many in the Education Department. His successor, Mr. J. Masters, was eulogistic in his praise for Rule's long and strenuous service whilst Stafford Bird, once again, recorded the sincere appreciation of all Ministers and other officers of the Department for his work. Sir Edward Braddon, the previous Minister, had, in June 1899, stated that "Mr. Rule, in his capacity as Director, has continued to deserve the high encomiums which I have given him in previous years".  

9.02 Unfortunately, because of the events mentioned in the opening chapter, many of his friends and acquaintances were unable to attend the funeral, which was held at Cornelian Bay Cemetery with Dr. Scott officiating. His old rival but "old familiar friend" Mr. T. Stephens was away in the country, and did not hear of the death until too late. His greatest friend, Samuel Lovell, who was then Chief Inspector of Schools, was present, as were Mr. Justice Clark, Colonel Cruickshank, Secretary to the University, and Rev. Father Hennessey. Although an Anglican, Rule was remembered by the Catholic Monitor as a man having "many lovable qualities, being one of nature's gentlemen. He was a man of erudition and high attainments ... Of him we do not think an unkindly word could be said". The Hobart City Treasurer regarded him as "the best man he ever knew". Miss Ethel Porter said "... pen and paper could not convey to you the esteem in which Mr. Rule was held ... not only respected but loved by all". Perhaps a clear indication of the regard held by the common man can be gauged from the following account from James Roland Rule's letters.

When my brother William, then about 16 or 17, was passing the

2. Ibid. 1898. p.4.
3. Mercury, Wednesday 7th May, 1901.
5. The letters of James Roland Rule in the possession of Mrs. K. Rule.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
1. **Mr. Samuel Lovell.** Chief Inspector of Schools and a great friend of James Rule.

2. **Mr. Joseph Masters.** Succeeded Rule to the position of Director of Education.
gate of what was then known as the Invalid Depot, he was molested by a couple of louts far older than him. The old and crippled gatekeeper immediately set about them with his crutch, remarking that he was not going to see a son of Mr. Rule annoyed.

9.03 Thus Rule died, a victim of phthisis, on May 4, 1901, still true to his Border inheritance, believing in the dignity of man whatever his station in life. Having been himself involved in a trade, at a time when the Industrial Revolution was adversely affecting the working and living conditions throughout England, he was active in the movement to improve the social conditions of the working man in Tasmania. His opportunity to do something about this came in a different continent, but he was none the less crusading in his efforts to help. He himself answered the critics who said State schools were teaching children above their station in life by commenting "The tendency of instruction of all kinds in the State schools is to dignify honesty, useful work of all kinds, and lift students' understanding of the world in which they live". No man could have done more to put this into practice than James Rule, at a time when social and economic conditions seemed to militate against it.

9.04 His widow Sarah could reflect on the fact that James' entry into teaching in Tasmania may have been unspectacular, but it co-incided with the development of a responsible and representative government in Tasmania in 1855, and ended with his death in 1901, almost to the day when the newly federated state of Tasmania was to be represented at the opening of the first Federal Parliament. Thus, his career spanned a significant period of constitutional government in the state. James Rule had played his part in ensuring that the future citizens of Tasmania were given the chance to participate in the benefits that would flow from these changes.

LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix A  James Rule - Areas of Responsibility - 1876-1900.
Appendix B  Successful Exhibitioners - Battery Point - 1860-1875.
Appendix C  Average Daily Attendance - Battery Point - 1860-1875.
Appendix D  Parents' Occupations - Battery Point School - 1867.
Appendix E  Regulations of the Payment-by-Results Scheme - pre 1868.
Appendix F  Letter from pupils at Battery Point School to James Rule on the occasion of his promotion - 1875.
Appendix G  Enrolments and Attendances - 1886-1900.
Appendix H  The Principles of Teaching - Pestalozzi.
Appendix I  The 1894 Regulations (Selected features of).
Appendix J  The Family of James Rule.
Appendix K  Section 36 of the Education Act - 1885
(The Regulations of the Education Department).
**APPENDIX A**  

*James Rule - Areas of Responsibility - 1876-1900*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>District</th>
<th>No. of Schools</th>
<th>Other Inspectors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1876-81</td>
<td>Inspector</td>
<td>Northern - Montagu R. to George's Bay</td>
<td>86-99</td>
<td>T. Stephens in South</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Ross to Lisdillon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882-85</td>
<td>Inspector</td>
<td>North &amp; North-West - West Tamar to West Coast</td>
<td>73-79</td>
<td>T. Stephens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Schools in and around Launceston</td>
<td></td>
<td>A. Doran 1882-85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Schools on or near railway Launceston - Ross</td>
<td></td>
<td>G. Bourdillon 1885 (replaced Doran)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>Chief Inspector</td>
<td>South - Hobart - Southport to Scamandar R.</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>G. Bourdillon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>and East - Mathinna and the Corners northward</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887-88</td>
<td>Chief Inspector</td>
<td>Hobart and Southern Districts</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>G. Bourdillon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>J. Masters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889-91</td>
<td>Chief Inspector</td>
<td>South - Epping Forest - Recherche Bay</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>G. Bourdillon to August 1889</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>120</td>
<td>J. Masters reduced from Inspectorship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>116</td>
<td>1/1/89 but replaced Bourdillon in August 1889</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892-94</td>
<td>Chief Inspector</td>
<td>West and South</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>J. Masters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>M. Anderson for ½ year then S. Lovell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895-99</td>
<td>Director</td>
<td>Tasmania</td>
<td>258-305</td>
<td>J. Masters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>S. Lovell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A. Garrett 1899</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At the end of 1899 Rule went on leave prior to retirement.  
He retired at the end of 1900.
APPENDIX B

Successful Exhibitioners - Battery Point - 1860-1875

(Many of these lads made names for themselves in later years.)

1860  William Smith
1861  John Snowden
1865  Joseph Bowden, Arthur Johnston
1867  George Snowden
1870  George Macmillan
1871  George Roberts
1872  Arthur Hawthorn, Charles Snowden
1873  Thomas Rule, Alfred Chesterman, David Cripps
1874  William Rule, George Totham, William Hood

from Annual Reports of the Board of Education
T.E.D.L.

APPENDIX C

Average Daily Attendance - Battery Point - 1860-1875

These show that Rule's ability was attracting clients.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Average Daily Attendance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

from Annual Reports of the Board of Education
T.E.D.L.
APPENDIX D

Parents' Occupations - Battery Point School 1867

Artists 2
Builder 1
Blacksmiths 4
Carpenters 7
Cabinet Makers 2
Clerks 6
Clergymen 2
Coopers 2
Cowkeepers 3
Constables 4
Dressmakers 1
Draymen 4
Engineers 12
Farmers 9
Fishermen 2
Gardeners 4
Gilders 1
Govt. Officials 4
Grocers 4
Hawkers 1
Hucksters 5
Independent 1
Labourers 21
Landed Proprietors 2
Locksmith 1
Lodging House Keepers 2
Manglewomen 2
Merchant 3
Milkmen 4
Musicians 1
Needlewomen 6
Nurses 1
Painters 3
Paperhangers 1
Pensioners 1
Postmen 1
Publicans 12
Sawyers 1
Sailors 28
Sailmakers 5
Seamstresses 3
Settlers 3
Sergeants 2
Soldiers 3
Seedsmen 3
Shipwrights 11
Shopkeepers 7
Shoemakers 5
Shipbuilders 2
Shipcarpenters 7
Shipping Masters 3
Schoolmasters 8
Storemen 8
Stonemasons 4
Tinsmiths 2
Turnkeys 3
Upholsterers 3
Watermen 2
Watchmakers 3
Widows 1
Washerwomen 4

Compiled by T. Stephens and included in 1867 Royal Commission Report. T.E.D.L.
APPENDIX E

Regulations for the Payment-by-Results Scheme

A scheme given brief trial immediately prior to 1868.

1. An annual grant to be made to teachers of schools for every scholar who has attended more than 200 morning or afternoon meetings of their school, to be computed from the last day of the month preceding the inspector's visit.
   (a) If more than six years of age, 5s., subject to "Examination".
   (b) If under six years of age, and present on the day of the examination, 2s.6d., subject to a report by the inspector that such children are instructed suitably to their age.

2. Attendance at a morning or afternoon meeting not to be reckoned for any scholar who has been under instruction less than two hours.

3. Every scholar attending more than 200 times in the morning or afternoon, for whom 5s. is claimed, to forfeit 1s.8d. for failure to satisfy the inspector in reading; 1s.8d. in writing; and 1s.8d. in arithmetic.

4. Every scholar for whom the grants dependent upon examination are claimed to be examined according to one of the standards in the Programme of Organisation, and not to be presented for examination a second time according to the same or lower standard.

5. The grant to be withheld altogether, or reduced, for causes arising out of the state of the school.

6. The grant to be withheld altogether:
   (a) If the girls in the school be not taught plain needlework, as part of the ordinary work of instruction.
   (b) If the registers be not kept with sufficient accuracy to warrant confidence in the returns.
   (c) If on the inspector's report there appears to be any prima facie evidence of a gross kind.
   (d) Unless one class be represented at least as high as Standard III.

7. The grant to be reduced:
   (a) By not less than one-tenth nor more than one-half in the whole, upon the inspector's report, for faults of instruction or discipline on the part of the teacher, or for failure (after due notice) to keep the schoolroom, offices, and premises in clean and proper order, or to provide an adequate supply of school books and appliances for elementary instruction.
   (b) By at least one-tenth, unless one class be presented above Standard III.

8. The teachers need not present all the scholars who in each class are qualified for examination by number of attendances; but those whom they present at all must be presented in the classes to which the school registers prove them to belong, unless there is some special excuse for doing so, such as serious illness, &c. Prima facie every child who is not fit to be examined in its own class has been wrongly placed there for instruction.
APPENDIX E (Cont.)

9. The grant to be divided among the teachers of a school in the following proportions: The master, two-thirds; the mistress and assistant teachers in equal proportions, one-third.

10. In consideration of these payments all children duly certified as unable to pay school fees to be admitted to the school free of charge.

11. A supply of free stock, including maps and apparatus, to be issued to a school on its first establishment. The teacher to see that the stock is kept up. A deduction from the grant to be made in the event of failure to do so.

12. The grant to be irrespective of salary or other allowances, and to come within six weeks of the inspector's report and visit, provided the conditions of payment have been fulfilled.

from Reeves, C. op. cit.
"To James Rule Esq. Master of Battery Point Public School.

On behalf of the scholars receiving instruction under your direction at the above school, we beg to congratulate you on your recent promotion, and at the same time to express regret at the removal of a master whose kindness and attention to all those receiving education under him, have enlisted their warmest sympathy.

Be assured, respected Sir, that your memory will be long cherished by the youths attending the Battery Point Public School, and in whatsoever sphere of life you may hereafter move, your merit as a master will always receive grateful recognition.

Wishing every happiness to yourself and family, we beg to subscribe ourselves on behalf of all the scholars.

Cornelius Dunstan, J. Cassidy.
Frank Hawkes."

This is a copy of a letter sent to Rule in 1875 by his pupils at Battery Point. The original is in the possession of Mr. J. Reynolds, a descendant.
APPENDIX G

Enrolments and Attendances 1866-1900

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Schools</th>
<th>Average Enrolment</th>
<th>Average Attendance</th>
<th>% Attendance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>11,199</td>
<td>7,856</td>
<td>70.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>11,383</td>
<td>8,182</td>
<td>71.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>12,002</td>
<td>8,730</td>
<td>72.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>12,460</td>
<td>8,973</td>
<td>72.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>12,640</td>
<td>8,898</td>
<td>70.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>13,491</td>
<td>9,680</td>
<td>71.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>14,549</td>
<td>10,654</td>
<td>73.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>253</td>
<td>14,875</td>
<td>10,307</td>
<td>69.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>14,476</td>
<td>10,594</td>
<td>73.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>258</td>
<td>14,594</td>
<td>10,655</td>
<td>73.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>15,772</td>
<td>11,508</td>
<td>72.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>282</td>
<td>16,634</td>
<td>12,024</td>
<td>72.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>296</td>
<td>17,136</td>
<td>12,015</td>
<td>70.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>305</td>
<td>17,682</td>
<td>13,105</td>
<td>74.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>319</td>
<td>18,693</td>
<td>14,007</td>
<td>74.93</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

from Annual Reports of the Tasmanian Education Department.
APPENDIX H

The Principles of Teaching – Pestalozzi

1. Observation, or sense-perception (intuition), is the basis of instruction.
2. Language should always be linked with observation (intuition), i.e. with an object or content.
3. The time for learning is not the time for judgment and criticism.
4. In any branch teaching should begin with the simplest elements and proceed gradually according to the development of the child, that is, in psychologically connected order.
5. Sufficient time should be devoted to each point of the teaching in order to secure the complete mastery of it by the pupil.
6. Teaching should aim at development, and not at dogmatic exposition.
7. The teacher should respect the individuality of the pupil.
8. The chief end of elementary teaching is not to impart knowledge and talent to the learner, but to develop and increase the powers of his intelligence.
9. Power must be linked to knowledge, and skill to learning.
10. The relation between the teacher and the pupil, especially as to discipline, should be based upon and ruled by love.
11. Instruction should be subordinate to the higher aim of education.

APPENDIX I

1894 Regulations (Selected Features of)

A. Appointment and Classification of Teachers

1. Teachers in Charge of Schools

(a) Candidates for Appointment must be between 19 and 45 years of age, free from physical defect or infirmity and possess testimonials as to moral character, temper, and general fitness for the profession of teaching.

(b) Teachers appointed shall be classified as Licensed or Certificated.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Certification</th>
<th>Male Salary</th>
<th>Female Salary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Certificated I</td>
<td>£120</td>
<td>£100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IIA</td>
<td>£110</td>
<td>£90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IIB</td>
<td>£100</td>
<td>£80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IIIA</td>
<td>£90</td>
<td>£70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Licensed</td>
<td>£70</td>
<td>£60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IVA</td>
<td>£60</td>
<td>£50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IVB</td>
<td>£50</td>
<td>£40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) Appointment depended on the candidate passing the examination for Licensed Teachers (Reading, Writing from dictation, Arithmetic, Grammar, Geography, History Sacred and English, School Management, Drill, Needlework (women only).

(d) Promotion depended on successful school management and passes in the Examinations for Classes III, II and I. These examinations were of increasing difficulty. For Grade III, Drill was eliminated and Elementary Science, School Books, and Mathematics (Euclid and Algebra for male candidates only) were added. For Grade II, Reading and Writing were eliminated and either Latin or French were required. For Grade I, Grammar was replaced by English Language and Literature, and Trigonometry was added to Mathematics.

2. Assistant Teachers. Five Classes.
APPENDIX I (Cont.)

(a) Males Females Examination Required
First Class £120 £110 Class II
Second Class £100 £90 Class III
Third Class £80 £70 Class IV
Fourth Class £70 £60 Class IV
Fifth Class £60 £50 Class IV

(b) Successful pupil-teachers exempt from Class IV examination.

3. Pupil Teachers

(a) Candidates must be over fourteen years of age and have passed 5th Class in a State School.

(b) Period of service to be four years.

(c) To be instructed by the teacher for an hour before morning lessons begin, to teach during the day and to be given no more than 1½ hours homework.

(d) To sit for annual examinations in Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Grammar, Geography, History, Needlework, Teaching.

(e) Salaries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>£20</td>
<td>£20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>£28</td>
<td>£25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>£38</td>
<td>£32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th</td>
<td>£50</td>
<td>£40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(f) If the pupil-teacher passed the annual examination, the teacher received a bonus of £8 for one, £12 for two, £15 for three, with £3 for each additional pupil-teacher.

B. School Fees

(a) Teachers in charge of schools with an average attendance of less than 50 kept all fees collected.

(b) Teachers in charge of larger schools had to pay the Education Department on the following scale.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Average Attendance</th>
<th>Percentage Fees paid to Dept.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>50-74</td>
<td>7½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75-99</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and so on until 475 and over</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX I (Cont.)

(c) Fees for full time schools were as follows:
Per child 2/6 per month
2 children in the same family, each 2/-
3 children in the same family, each 1/8
Each additional child 1/-
APPENDIX J

Family of James Rule

1. Alice Mary 1858-1879
2. Thomas Edwin 1861-1943 5 sons, 5 daughters - 1 stillborn child.
   He was for over 46 years in the service of the State as Police Clerk, Bench Clerk, Registrar, Coroner, etc. He spent much of his time at Latrobe, Queenstown and Launceston.
3. William James 1862-1917 3 sons, 2 daughters.
   Followed a clerical career in commercial activities.
4. Frances Edith 1863-1945 1 adopted son.
   Qualified as a nursing sister. Her husband was a Railway official for over 40 years.
5. George Eadington 1867-1915 2 sons.
6. Kate Grimley and Maria (twins) Grimley was James' wife's maiden name.
   Born 1868 one died the same year, the other in 1869.
7. Frank Grimley 1869-1916 4 sons, 2 daughters.
   After a short period of farming, became an Inspector of Roads in the Public Service, and later did similar work in New Zealand where he contracted a stricture of the gullet and died, aged 46.
   After being the University of Tasmania's first law graduate, he practiced law in Northern Tasmania and then entered the public service as Assistant Parliamentary Draftsman. Became Chief Parliamentary Draftsman.
Regulations.

31 36—(1) The Governor may from time to time make and rescind Regulations for all or any of the following purposes:

1. Regulating the establishment, maintenance, and classification of State Schools, kindergartens, training colleges for teachers, practising schools, manual training schools, domestic economy schools, night schools, continuation schools, technical schools and classes, schools for the blind, the deaf, the dumb, and other defectives, truant schools, and such other schools as the Minister recommends;

2. The appointment, promotion, and removal of inspectors, teachers, and other officers, in any case where the Act for the time being regulating the Public Service does not apply, and in any such case prescribing the duties, classification, and salaries of all such persons;

3. Prescribing the length of the school months for which salaries shall be paid and returns of attendance shall be made;

4. Prescribing the days and the hours during which all schools and institutions under the Minister shall be open, the holidays, the vacations, and the conditions on which leave of absence may be granted to teachers and other officers (subject to the provisions of any Act for the time being in force regulating the Public Service, and which may be applicable);

5. Prescribing the methods of training teachers and their examination;

6. Prescribing the secular and religious instruction to be given in each school;

7. Prescribing physical training for children;

8. Prescribing the course of instruction in all schools and classes;

9. Prescribing the inspection and examination of schools;

10. Prescribing the number of teachers to be allotted to each school according to attendance, and the removal of teachers in excess of such allotment when the attendance does not justify their employment;

11. Prescribing the books and materials to be used in schools, the method of supplying such books and materials, and the disposal from time to time of the profits (if any) of the sale thereof;

12. Prescribing the scale of fees to be paid by parents, and the exemption of parents from the payment of fees;

13. Prescribing the method of collecting and forwarding the fees;

14. Prescribing the granting of railway passes to children who live beyond the radius within which parents are, by this Act required to cause their children to attend school;

15. Prescribing the terms and conditions upon which schoolrooms may be used for other than school purposes;

16. Prescribing the mode of taking an educational census from time to time:
XVII. Prescribing the mode of enforcing the provisions of this Act compelling attendance of children at school:

XVIII. Prescribing the discipline to be enforced and observed in all schools:

XIX. The establishment of scholarships open to be competed for by scholars of State or other schools:

XX. Prescribing the medical inspection and examination of children in schools, or of particular classes of children, or of children individually:

XXI. Prescribing the means to be taken by teachers and others for the protection of the health of children while attending State schools and other schools, and for the prevention and limitation of disease amongst such children:

XXII. Providing for the exclusion from schools of children and others suffering from or suspected to be suffering from any specified disease or diseases, or recently exposed to infection from such diseases:

XXIII. Providing for all other matters or things which are not otherwise provided for by the Principal Act, or by this or any other Act amending the same, and which are necessary for carrying the provisions of the said Acts into effect.

In the construction of this Section general words shall not be limited or controlled by particular words.

(2) All such Regulations shall be published in the Gazette, and shall take effect from the date of such publication, unless otherwise provided in such Regulations; and in all legal proceedings the production of the Gazette containing such Regulations shall alone be sufficient prima facie evidence that such Regulations have been duly made, and the onus of proving the contrary shall in every case be on the person disputing the validity of such Regulations.

(3) All such Regulations shall be laid before both Houses of Parliament within Fourteen days from the making thereof, if Parliament is then in Session, and if not, then within Fourteen days after the commencement of the next Session.

A. Manuscript Sources

1. Address to J. Rule from pupils of Battery Point, 1876 in the possession of J. Reynolds.
2. Board of Education Abstract Book 1857-62 1863-1884 Register of Payment of Salaries and Allowances to Teachers and Others concerned with the Department. T.S.A.
3. Colonial Secretary's Department. T.S.A. Correspondence Files. Index of Correspondence. Register Books of Correspondence.
4. Colonial Secretary's Office. T.S.A. Correspondence Files. Index of Correspondence. Register Books of Correspondence.
5. Education Department - Secretary's and Director's letterbooks 1857-1900. T.S.A.
6. Family scrapbook of Mr. J. Reynolds.
7. Letterbook of the Board of Education 1862-1884. T.S.A.
8. Letterbook of the Education Department 1885-1905. T.S.A.
10. Records of the Oatlands State School 1875-1910 (a) Visitor's Book. (b) Programmes of Work. (c) Examination Results. (d) Attendance & Fee Registers.
11. Reports of Ship's Arrivals, 1854 - Marine Board of Hobart. T.S.A.
12. Reynolds, J. "James Rule" Australian Dictionary of Biography (this article is to be published later in 1976 or early 1977.)
13. Rule family tree - Mrs. K. Rule and Mr. J. Reynolds.
B. Printed Sources

(a) Newspapers (Years used)
1. The Hobart Mercury 1901
2. The Launceston Examiner 1901
3. The Monitor 1901
5. The Tasmanian Mail 1901

(b) Articles from Journals, etc.

C. Other Sources
1. Annual Reports of the Board of Education and The Tasmanian Education Department 1842-1901 T.E.D.L.
2. Book of Circulars 1856-1893. Education Department of Tasmania.
9. Regulations of the Tasmanian Education Department 1894 (in author's possession).
10. Sanderson, E. *The British Empire in the XIX Century* Vol. VI (Blackie) 1900.