EDUCATION

Queensland has evolved from a geographically dispersed and isolated community, at times dependent on the visits of itinerant teachers for its education, to a State that has more than 1,700 schools, eight universities and various other tertiary education institutions geared to respond to the demands of an increasingly complex society.

A royal commission into education resulted in the Education Act 1875 (Qld). This Act provided for free, compulsory, secular education and a curriculum of arithmetic, grammar, reading, writing, mechanics, object lessons, drill and gymnastics, vocal music, and sewing and needlework. The Act also transferred primary education in Queensland from the Board of General Education to the Department of Public Instruction, which became the Department of Education in 1957. The first state secondary schools were opened in 1912, the first technical college in 1882 and the first university in 1911.

PRIMARY EDUCATION

In 1896 the Department of Public Instruction aimed to service Queensland's geographically dispersed community and to increase the number of schools throughout the colony. The department received constant applications for the opening of schools in areas whose future existence was uncertain. These schools were either state schools where a permanent average daily attendance of 30 pupils could be guaranteed or provisional schools requiring average daily attendance of at least 12 pupils. For provisional schools, the parents provided the building and occasionally recruited the teacher, although the department paid the teacher's salary.

There were 763 government schools in operation in Queensland in 1896, comprising 385 state schools, 374 provisional schools, a reformatory school at Lytton (Brisbane) and three Aboriginal schools at Deebing Creek (near Ipswich), Myora (on Stradbroke Island) and Murray Island (in Torres Strait). During the year, applications were received seeking the establishment of a further 19 state schools and 57 provisional schools. Schools opened, closed, and sometimes re-opened as enrolments fluctuated.

Compulsory education

The Education Act 1875 provided for primary education to be compulsory, but the clause requiring full-time compulsory attendance was not proclaimed until 1900. In 1896 children
Children riding to Kilkivan State School, c. 1911. Riding to school on horseback was common in rural areas up to and including the 1930s.
Protection from a hot sun was important for children at Fernhill State School, Upper Coomera, 1910.

were required to attend school for only 60 days in each half year, but were required to attend every day from 1912. Discussion on the appropriate number of years of compulsory attendance at school centred around the alleged shortfalls of parenting styles:

There are two classes of parents for whom stringent legislation on this matter is needed: the apathetic, careless of anything but self-indulgence and freedom from worry; and the brutally selfish, who barter their children’s future welfare for the pittance they drive them to earn in the present. The State has a proprietary right in its future citizens, and must take steps to assert it, or accept the responsibility of fostering a social substratum of ignorance, poverty, and crime. There are also, of course, the unhappy waifs and strays of the community, the outlook of whose life is bleak indeed, unless they are seized with a gentle violence and forced for their own good to participate in intellectual training.  

In the 1890s there was considerable public apathy towards education. Schooling was seen as a nuisance as there was frequently a need for children to be at work and earning an income. This was particularly so in agricultural areas and in urban working class areas where only minimal education was needed to acquire basic numeracy and literacy skills sufficient to enable children to obtain work.

Many children had to undertake long hours of work before and after school. Children were often required to supplement the family income through such activities as collecting bounties on dingo scalps, rat tails and cane beetles. In most dairying districts children were up at 6 am to help milk the cows and had to finish in time to have a quick breakfast before setting off to school. They brought in the cows on the way home and after the milking was done and dinner eaten it was often after 8 pm. There was little time for homework. One teacher told of a girl aged 11 years who would put her head on the desk and fall asleep: ‘I never could bring myself to wake her up. She needed sleep more than anything I could teach her’.
QUEENSLAND PAST AND PRESENT

From 1875 the minimum school leaving age was 12 years and Class 4 the required standard of education for most vocations. Valid excuses for non-enrolment included sickness, fear of infection, efficient alternative instruction and no school within 3.2 km. The curriculum sought to teach basic literacy and numeracy skills, although many children did not receive higher primary education (i.e. Classes 5–8). The Education Acts Amendment Act 1912 (Qld) raised the minimum leaving age to 14 years. Under the Education Act 1964 (Qld) the minimum leaving age became 15 years, which remained the leaving age in 1996.

Literacy

Literacy levels of the Queensland population aged five years and over from 1891 to 1921 are shown in table 7.1. The data shows an improvement in the ability of the population to read and write during the 30-year period. The proportion of population who could read and write increased from 83.0% in 1891 to 95.1% in 1921. In 1891, 12.8% of the population could not read, declining to 4.4% by 1921. The proportion of children aged 5–14 years who could read and write rose from 72.4% in 1891 to 89.5% in 1921, while the proportion who could neither read nor write fell from 18.9% to 10.4% over the same period.

Reasons for the decline in literacy between 1911 and 1921 are hard to find. The events of World War I do not seem to have caused disruption to the education of school age children as there was a steady increase in the number of teachers, pupils and schools in the 1910s. Literacy testing methods in 1921 may have been more stringent than in 1911, resulting in an apparent decline in literacy.

In the 1990s maintenance of literacy and numeracy standards remain priorities for the Education Department. Concerns of parents, educators and employers about literacy levels prompted the 1993 Review of the Queensland School Curriculum headed by Professor Ken Wiltshire. A number of changes were made to improve literacy and numeracy, including a Year 2 diagnostic test, a Year 6 test, performance standards for Years 1–8 and English as a mandatory subject in Years 11 and 12. The review resulted in 425 new teachers in 1995, comprising 170 key teachers, 110 literacy and numeracy specialists, 43 regional advisers and 102 educational advisers.5

Table 7.1 Literacy levels by age group (a), Queensland, 1891–1921

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age group: year</th>
<th>Can read and write</th>
<th>Can read only</th>
<th>Cannot read</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Can read and write</th>
<th>Can read only</th>
<th>Cannot read</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Persons aged 5 years and over</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>274,804</td>
<td>14,033</td>
<td>42,326</td>
<td>331,163</td>
<td>83.0</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>375,145</td>
<td>11,517</td>
<td>52,458</td>
<td>439,120</td>
<td>85.4</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>508,584</td>
<td>3,542</td>
<td>19,839</td>
<td>531,965</td>
<td>95.6</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>623,949</td>
<td>2,909</td>
<td>28,897</td>
<td>655,755</td>
<td>95.1</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children aged 5–14 years</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>62,402</td>
<td>7,580</td>
<td>16,257</td>
<td>86,239</td>
<td>72.4</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>95,635</td>
<td>5,955</td>
<td>18,827</td>
<td>120,417</td>
<td>79.4</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>117,347</td>
<td>616</td>
<td>8,633</td>
<td>126,596</td>
<td>92.7</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>144,419</td>
<td>296</td>
<td>16,723</td>
<td>161,438</td>
<td>89.5</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) Excludes literacy level not stated and full-blood Aboriginal persons.

Source: ABS, Census 1891, 1901, 1911, 1921; ABS, Year Book Australia 1926.
Teachers

Prior to 1889 most teachers in Queensland schools came from the United Kingdom. After that time most teachers were recruited and trained locally, although the pupil-teacher system introduced in 1876 was the only training scheme in the State. Under this scheme the headmaster selected trainees aged 14–18 years from the upper grades of primary schools and oversaw their training. Annual salaries in 1896 for male pupil teachers ranged from £30 while on probation to £65, with the female rates ranging from £20 to £50. The annual salary for a male Class 1 Division 1 teacher was £204 while the female salary was £180. Additional emoluments ranged from £3 to £280 for male teachers and from £1 to £145 for female teachers, depending on the type of school.

The number of teaching staff in state schools in Queensland increased from 1,717 in 1896 to 4,251 in 1933 (table 7.2). The number of pupil teachers increased from 372 in 1896 to 1,046 in 1916, before declining steadily in the 1920s and 1930s. Pupil teachers as a proportion of all teachers fell from 31.5% in 1900 to 0.3% by 1933. Pupil teachers were highly represented in Brisbane schools as well as those in rural areas. About 60% of pupil teachers were females.

Teachers appointed to state schools were often sent to remote areas for many years before they were able to obtain a transfer to a larger centre. Life for teachers at provisional schools was difficult too. A teacher by the name of R. Blake at the settlement of True Blue on the Croydon gold fields, for example, contracted fever but could not afford to move to another location. The departmental response was as follows:

I think Mr Blake should resign if his health cannot be maintained at Croydon, and take his chance of re-admission when there is a suitable vacancy elsewhere. It is not the practice of this Department to transfer provisional school teachers.

A teacher had to fit into the lifestyle of the local community. As Blake pointed out:

You had to be one of the boys or you might as well pack up and leave. I got on well with the miners. I played the trombone and the violin. I played at every dance. Miners used to come into my shack and gamble all night. I'd make them a cup of tea. You had to work in with them or you were finished. Great people to be with, but don't fall out with them.

Accommodation was either in simple dwellings near the school or with members of the local community. ‘Billeting’ with local families could be an enjoyable experience as one teacher

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Principal teachers</th>
<th>Assistant teachers</th>
<th>Pupil teachers</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Pupil teachers as a % of total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>762</td>
<td>583</td>
<td>372</td>
<td>1,717</td>
<td>21.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>914</td>
<td>604</td>
<td>699</td>
<td>2,217</td>
<td>31.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>1,036</td>
<td>965</td>
<td>381</td>
<td>2,382</td>
<td>16.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>1,193</td>
<td>863</td>
<td>550</td>
<td>2,606</td>
<td>21.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>1,447</td>
<td>1,319</td>
<td>958</td>
<td>3,724</td>
<td>25.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>1,625</td>
<td>2,084</td>
<td>640</td>
<td>4,349</td>
<td>14.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>1,712</td>
<td>1,975</td>
<td>423</td>
<td>4,110</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>1,674</td>
<td>2,413</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>4,266</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>1,822</td>
<td>2,417</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4,251</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) The last year in which pupil teachers were employed was 1935, although the last data available is for 1933.

Source: Registrar-General, Statistics of the Colony of Queensland 1900; ABS, Year Book Australia, various years.
School children at Maryborough, c. 1910. Their pupil teacher is at back right.

remembered: 'I learnt to milk, plough and clear scrub while I was there. You felt you belonged to the community and you just joined in with the community'.

Itinerant teachers were an important aspect of early education in Queensland and are discussed in the following subsection on rural education.

**Education in rural areas**

Many strategies were developed by the Department of Public Instruction to extend the provision of educational services to the remote areas of Queensland. By 1915 the department was keen to educate as many children as possible:

> The policy of the Department is that, if the child cannot come to the teacher, the teacher goes to the child—thus, as auxiliaries to the ordinary full-time elementary schools, there is a system of travelling schools, Saturday schools, week-end schools, house to house schools, part-time schools and camp schools.

Saturday schools were for groups of 4–8 children living some miles from the nearest full-time school. In many areas, the Saturday schools were forerunners to the establishment of full-time schools. Saturday school teachers received additional remuneration.

Another feature of remote education in Queensland was the itinerant teacher scheme which operated from 1901 until 1932. The scheme was described in 1915:

> Each teacher is supplied with a specially designed buggy, four to six horses, and a complete camping-out equipment. He has also the services of a boy of from fourteen to eighteen years of age to attend to the horses, help to pitch the tent, light the fire, lower slip-rails, open gates and do the numerous little things which a handy youth can do. The teacher is expected to make his own arrangements for camping and food, and thus relieve parents of this responsibility; he receives a special allowance from the Department for the purpose. The motor-car and motor-cycle are also being tried as a quick means of locomotion; but, so far, owing to the nature of much of the country
to be crossed—sandy tracts, heavy blacksoil plains, timbered areas, hilly districts, treacherous billabongs, &c.—the motor-car has not been an unqualified success, particularly in the rainy seasons. The Department is anxiously waiting the perfection of aeroplanes; the transit difficulties will then be reduced to a minimum, and sand and black soil and hills and torrential streams shall trouble us no more.11

The aim of the itinerant teachers was to provide for the education of isolated children. Their duties were as follows:

The travelling teacher is expected to visit each family in his district at least four times a year; he stays as long as possible at each visit; teaches the children, revises the work, written or otherwise, which has been done since his last visit; outlines the work which is to be done before his return, cheers, reproves and passes on. An elder brother or sister is encouraged to help the little ones; the mother, as a rule, has scanty time to do so owing to her manifold domestic and maternal duties; the father's work often takes him from home for days at a time. Each teacher is provided with a plentiful supply of the Departmental school papers and with a large number of school library books specially selected from that wonderful wealth of library books for boys and girls which the British publishers now produce; those papers are given and the books lent to the children and parents, and in this way a supply of cheap and wholesome literature is kept circulating through these lonely homes. Needless to say, the papers and books are read with avidity by all.12

The department itself admitted to the limitations of the education imparted under such a system:

We do not pretend to produce University graduates under this system, but we are teaching these children to read, to write, and to count. And what a tower of strength the lads will be in the defences of their country!13

A teacher and his pupils at a Saturday School, c. 1910. This particular school later became a full-time school.
Queensland Past and Present

Table 7.3 Itinerant teachers, Queensland, 1910–1929 (a)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Itinerant teachers no.</th>
<th>Distance travelled km</th>
<th>Approximate area of state covered %</th>
<th>Children visited</th>
<th>Families visited</th>
<th>Total visits made</th>
<th>Average visits per family</th>
<th>Average visits per teacher</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>56,087</td>
<td>54.6</td>
<td>1,292</td>
<td>518</td>
<td>1,160</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>96.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>76,774</td>
<td>65.8</td>
<td>1,369</td>
<td>652</td>
<td>1,468</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>86.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>100,333</td>
<td>79.9</td>
<td>1,809</td>
<td>812</td>
<td>1,763</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>97.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>67,423</td>
<td>45.5</td>
<td>989</td>
<td>428</td>
<td>1,183</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>118.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>62,819</td>
<td>36.8</td>
<td>913</td>
<td>421</td>
<td>1,104</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>157.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) The itinerant teacher scheme began in 1901 and finished in 1932, although the annual reports of the Department of Public Instruction do not include specific data for 1901–1909 and 1930–1932.

Source: Department of Public Instruction, Annual Report, various years.

Itinerant teachers were few in number but they covered vast distances (table 7.3). In 1920, 18 itinerant teachers covered 79.9% of the State by travelling 100,333 km to visit 1,809 children in 812 families. Average number of visits per family was 2–3 a year. Average visits per teacher increased from 96.7 in 1910 to 157.7 in 1929.

The itinerant teacher system ended in 1932 as closer settlement of the interior and improved communications resulted in more efficient ways of giving a consistent education to children in isolated areas. This was achieved firstly through correspondence instruction and later through innovative use of technologies, for example, radio, television and videotapes, which improved teaching methods.

Various other strategies were employed to cope with the special demands of educating children in the sparsely populated areas of Queensland. One strategy involved a greater acceptance by

An itinerant teacher with assistant, 1909.
the Government of financial responsibility for erecting school buildings. In 1896 the erection of school buildings was the responsibility of the Colonial Government and the local community. The Education Act 1912 (Qld) provided for the Government to assume full responsibility for school buildings and equipment. Full funding by the Government from 1912 was considered beneficial to the community. The Department of Public Instruction stated:

This arrangement has also been welcomed gladly by the Department because it enables the education of children to be begun without the tedious delay involved in the raising of local contributions. When there is a likelihood of an average attendance of not less than twelve pupils being maintained a school is established, and the Department bears the whole cost of building, furniture, school requisites, and pays the salary of the teacher. If an average attendance of nine pupils can be guaranteed, and the parents will find a room for teaching purposes, the Department will find school requisites and appoint and pay a teacher.¹⁴

The expansion of the railway system throughout Queensland attracted large numbers of railway construction workers and their families. Teachers were assigned by the Department of Public Instruction to railway construction camps, and schools were set up in tents. The tent-schools moved with the camps. Travelling schools were provided by the department to teach domestic science to girls at primary and secondary schools. In October 1923 the first domestic science railway carriage was equipped, and by the end of 1924, 284 children and 100 adults had attended courses.¹⁵ Similar carriages were equipped as mobile workshops and classrooms to provide manual training for boys. The ‘schools in rails’ scheme was discontinued in 1967 as domestic science and manual training facilities were by then available in secondary schools throughout the State.
For details of the number of teachers, students and schools from 1896 to 1995, see section on growth and development of schools later in this chapter.

**School health services**

In 1911 the Department of Public Instruction and the commissioner of public health began a scheme for the medical and dental inspection of school children. This arrangement was formalised in the *Education Act Amendment Act 1912* (Qld). The purpose of the scheme was as follows:

Whilst trying to perfect our educational system, we have not been unmindful of the health of the children, and the scheme of medical and dental inspection is well advanced. Education is compulsory from six to fourteen years of age, and we recognise that medical and dental inspection is a logical corollary to a system of compulsory education. Perhaps, too, the John Bull instinct of getting twenty shillings of value for each pound expended is strong within us, and we know that unless a child is physically fit he cannot make full use of his educational opportunities. We are determined also that young Queenslanders shall develop into a strong and healthy race well fitted to take their part in defence, in pioneering, and in the world of work generally. We do not desire to become a decadent section of the British people.¹⁶

Medical inspector for schools, Dr Eleanor Bourne, conducted a study in 1911 on the height and weight of children in Queensland. The results were later compared with a similar study by Dr Ross Patrick in 1950, which showed that children were taller and heavier than in 1911. The average 13-year-old boy, for example, was 9 cm taller and 8 kg heavier in 1950 than in 1911 (figure 7.1).¹⁷

A pupil has his throat examined as part of a medical inspection while others wait their turn, c. 1930.
In 1909 an intensive campaign was undertaken to combat ophthalmia. In 1912 an ophthalmia inspector toured western schools to treat children and to instruct teachers in the prevention of the disease. Schools in the ‘back districts’ were fly-screened to minimise infection from flies. In 1912, 20.6% of those school children inspected had trachoma and nearly 60% of these were severe cases. The situation improved considerably and in 1913 the ophthalmia inspector reported a decline in the proportion of trachoma cases to 9.5% and of these only 17.5% were severe cases.  

In 1919 a Spanish influenza epidemic swept through Queensland, and special regulations were drafted which resulted in the closure of schools in Brisbane, Ipswich, Rockhampton and Toowoomba. Others soon followed. The epidemic required the establishment of a school in
Coolangatta as pupils were not allowed to cross the border to attend school at Tweed Heads.

From 1926 dental inspectors visited children in the west. Special railway carriages and motor trucks were equipped as mobile dental clinics.

Poliomyelitis epidemics were a feature of school life in Queensland. In 1932 children aged under 12 years were barred from school and schedules of school work were published in newspapers.

The desire to maintain fitness levels of the young was reflected in the Education Act 1875 which provided for drill and gymnastics. After the 1890s, drill took on a determinedly military appearance. While sport had a high profile in boys’ non-government secondary schools, there were few sporting activities in government schools which were organised.

The development of physical education in schools was gradual. In 1908 the Queensland State Schools Amateur Swimming Association was formed and in 1914 the first swimming teacher was appointed in Brisbane. The Commonwealth Government allocated three physical instruction teachers to Queensland to train male teachers. Two female teachers were sent to Melbourne to learn to train female teachers. By regularly holding camps of instruction, 806 males and 462 females were fully qualified physical training instructors by 1915. In 1920 the Queensland State Primary Schools Amateur Athletic Association was founded. Sports days had by then become an organised aspect of the school routine.

In 1942 the management of fitness campaigns was transferred to the Department of Public Instruction and a greater importance given to the teaching of sport. The curriculum in physical education was developed between 1957 and 1963, and sport became an integral part of the education process rather than being regarded as play. Since then, an increasingly diverse range of sports has been offered by schools. The Physical Education Branch of the Education Department directed the training of children who took part in the ceremonies of the Xllth Commonwealth Games held in Brisbane in 1982.

A postwar scheme that was discontinued by the 1970s was school milk. Children had to drink a 200 mL bottle of milk every day at the allotted time, unless they had a note from their
parents. The milk was delivered to schools early in the morning in crates and would often sit outside in the heat for hours.

SECONDARY EDUCATION

In 1896 secondary education was available to a small number of students who attended one of the ten grammar schools or one of the other ‘approved secondary schools’ which included the church schools. The few students who went on to secondary education began at an average age of 14 years and attended for up to four years. Pupils were prepared for the Junior and Senior public examinations and for the Queensland Public Service examinations. From 1910 the Junior and Senior public examinations were conducted by the University of Queensland, having previously been conducted by the University of Sydney.

Government secondary schools

The 1891 Universities Commission recommended the establishment of government secondary schools:

The present system of grammar schools bids fair to become by its great costliness a serious burden if further extended, as it may be almost without limit under our existing law. We have not advised the discontinuance of the present schools, but we think that in future a system of secondary schools more directly controlled as to their foundation and management by the State would be less expensive, and quite as effective in the education of the youth of the Colony.21

In February 1912 the first six state high schools were established by the Queensland Government at Gympie, Charters Towers, Mount Morgan, Warwick, Bundaberg and Mackay. Secondary education in Brisbane was conducted by the Brisbane Technical College established in 1882. It became Brisbane Central College from 1910. Government policy was to establish secondary schools where there was a prospective average attendance of at least 25 qualified pupils.22 In cases where enrolments did not justify the establishment of a separate high school, secondary departments were added to primary schools. These so-called ‘high top’ schools were set up at centres such as Herberton, Childers and Gatton. These schools usually only took students to Junior or Year 10. Courses at state high schools led, in most cases, to a commercial or a domestic science Junior. The secondary school curriculum was prepared in consultation with the University of Queensland.

The various routes students could take between 1912 and the 1960s to achieve their career goals are shown in figure 7.2. The options for a pupil who finished primary school were to take up an unskilled or semi-skilled occupation which sometimes involving further training, go to technical college to learn a trade or go to secondary school. Students could go to university from secondary school or technical college.

Scholarships

By 1896 a limited number of both private bursaries and state scholarships enabled students to continue their secondary education. These scholarships were initially intended for grammar schools, but were extended to include students who wished to attend ‘approved secondary schools’, including denominational secondary schools. In 1898 funds were provided for bursaries, which comprised a scholarship and a living allowance for six boys and two girls.