

Dr Neville Buch ABN 86703686642

A Hidden Intellectual History of Queensland (working project title only)

Chapter 1. Educative Intellectual History of Queensland

Neville Buch
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Reading and Educative Intellectual History of Queensland

By Neville Buch, MPHA (Qld)

Introduction

This chapter and the next considers the big ideas Queenslanders *read* and thought. This chapter considers themes present in the idea of Queensland and the Forms of Religion; how intellectual categories of 'religion' and 'spirituality' shaped belief and doubt. The outlook here does not disdain ideas of 'secularity' but recognises that the big ideas mentioned were normatively framed as 'religion' and 'spirituality' in these pre-1920 eras.

The Historical Setting and Queensland Reading: The Ancients

As headmaster of Brisbane Grammar School (from 1876), Reginald Heber Roe (1850-1926) was the leading educator for late nineteenth century Brisbane.¹ Roe's educational philosophy reflected the thought of John Stuart Mill, Matthew Arnold, Charles Kingsley, Edward Thring, and Benjamin Jowett. It was a view of education for democracy and good citizenship, and as a duty to God and the individual (including members of the working classes). It had a social reform ethic, looking for the upward social mobility and the moral, intellectual and physical development of each student. Eddie Watson states that Roe's pedagogy:

. . . favoured modern languages and literature, mathematics and science above Latin and Greek for better intellectual results. However, he included Latin and Greek as well as modern languages in the school curriculum for university candidates. For those leaving school after two years, he developed the modern school in which classical languages were not required. To foster public spirit and physical development, Roe established cadet training and encouraged sports, introducing tennis and gymnastics.²

With Samuel Brooks (1840-1915), the newspaper proprietor and a founder of the Queensland Rationalist Society, and Samuel Griffith, Reginald Roe had formed the Brisbane Literary Circle in 1881. The Circle came out of its home in the Brisbane Schools of Arts around 1887, located in Ann Street.³ The educationalist vision in Queensland, in the nineteenth century and prior to the much later New Education movement, contrasted to the instrumentalist push of technical education in the same era.⁴ Roe was practical in outlook without succumbing to the technical obsession of the nineteenth century hard or 'scientific' materialists.

In the days of rare public library access, the Schools of Art played an important role in the cultural life of the city during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Membership of the School of Arts steadily declined during the 1920s and 1930s. Other School of Arts buildings and societies opened across the old town areas of Brisbane and the Moreton Bay areas in this era. Other Schools opened across Queensland towns in the following decades.

The Matthew Arnold tradition in Queensland was significant and ensured that a large slice of reading material related to the nineteenth century revival of thinking in the Greek and Roman philosophies. It was not just Roe who led the movement. It was a standard outlook among Grammar school teachers, who set the direction of the Queensland curriculum. Furthermore, there were institutional-community leaders, such as Mathew Hale, the Anglican Bishop of Brisbane from 1875 to 1885, who also integrated Ancient revivalism into popular sermons and newspaper articles.⁵ Francis Adams arrived in Brisbane in July 1886, from Sydney. Literary critic Henry Kellow described Adams as ‘the first Australian missionary’ of the ‘aesthetic gospel’. Biographer Murray-Smith said that Adams was “the only active intellectual there who brought something of ‘modernity’, of sophisticated European modes, to the discussion of Australian problems.”⁶ Adams had strong literary associations with the European thinkers: Matthew Arnold, Frank Harris, Henry Salt, Bernard Shaw and W. M. Rossetti, and also with Queensland’s William Lane and other Australian radicals. Stephen Murray-Smith writes of Adams:

Adams was a fervid disciple of Matthew Arnold (with whom he corresponded) in the quest for Hellenic perfection and in the battle against the philistine, though he did not always find it easy to reconcile the search for the best in art with his passionate sense of literature as a revolutionary weapon...⁷

The philistine concerns (and concepts) were of ancient purity, modern hermeneutics, and concepts of biblical-based Christianity, which paralleled, in the same era, the American Revivalist Tradition in its third wave in the United States; archetype in the businessman-revivalist Dwight Moody.⁸

The Australian-born British authority on Greek philosophy, Gilbert Murray (1866-1957) was particularly important.⁹ He was probably the leading modernist interpreter of the ancient text. Furthermore, he was the President of the Ethical Union (now Humanists UK) from 1929 to 1930, and a delegate at the inaugural World Humanist Congress in 1952 which established Humanists International. He was a leader of the League of Nations Society and the League of Nations Union, which promoted the League of Nations in Britain. The global pathway of Murray was from concepts of ancient purity to the hermeneutics of modern humanism.

Compared to the history and philosophy areas of global universities in the early twentieth century, the curriculum of the Classics at the University of Queensland, from its beginnings in 1911, changed little. There were minor changes, across the curriculum in proscribed books and authors, and adjustments in lecture notes. More significant change came in curriculum, re-structuring and changing the name of the school in 1926 from “Classics and Ancient History” to just “Classics,”. Ancient history continued to be taught in lectures, but the curriculum came to be interpreted in the concept of the ‘conservative constant’. The ‘conservative constant’ in the Classics curriculum was Latin I and II, and Greek I and II. The curriculum did change but around that constant core, and the purity of rote learning. This is quite different to the restructuring in the history and philosophy courses. The 1911 UQ handbook set out the core course lectures for [modern] history and philosophy, and demonstrated the stability of the Classics course lectures with almost identical examination outlines and requirements, across the handbooks, according to Latin I and II, and Greek I and II. A Greek III course was added in 1948 which required prose composition and unseen translation.

The Historical Setting and Queensland Reading: Modernity and Modernism

The idea of ‘medieval’ in the discipline of learning was always the vanguard, bringing ancient thought into modernity.¹⁰ In early Queensland public libraries there is no ‘appearance’ for any books on nominalism or realism (of any version), and yet many books with the word ‘real’ in the title.¹¹ Comparatively, there was no shortage of books in Queensland libraries on the Protestant Reformation (BSOA): e.g., A.T.M. Lindsay’s *History of the Reformation* and J. Gairdner’s *Lollardy and the Reformation in England*.¹² There was also Perennial West Wisdom reflected in Queensland collections. The book titles with the word ‘mystic’, or related, tended to be works of fiction but there was (BSOA) Rev. J. E. Mercer’s *Nature Mysticism*. There was also Matthew Arnold’s *Study of Celtic Literature*. The word ‘Prophet’ could appear in book titles but without sufficient intellectualism. “New Age” was yet to be a common term. The many books with the word ‘East’ in the title were examples of what we now call, ‘orientalism’. However, there were the rare texts by non-western writers, such as ‘Sister Nivedita’ and A.K. Coomaraswamy’s *The Myths of Hindus and Buddhists*.

The combination of mysticism and folkish devotionalism, and eclectic de-schooling, developed within the institutions, often clashing with its systematising and orthodoxy. Meister Eckhart is a good example, delivering Western Esotericism and Devotionalism, and Thomas à Kempis’ *The Imitation of Christ* is the classic work of Christian devotionalism.¹³ Desiderius Erasmus’ *The Praise of Folly* is a good example of eclectic de-schooling.¹⁴ Quite hidden by the binary outlook of Protestantism and Catholicism, were formative efforts to compatibility among diverse belief systems, and John Toland gave it the term, Pantheisticon.¹⁵ It would much later become known as Unitarian-Universalism. Apart from a

few books of Dante, areas of mysticism and folkish devotionism were difficult to find; not in the Queensland libraries directly for this period, apart from the reference section.

Science expanded as the counter-narrative to mysticism, and on some days, a counternarrative to religion. Books on science abounded in Queensland libraries in this era. Philosophy of Science, however, was a discipline to appear much later in the public square.

Politics was also a counter-narrative to mysticism, and on some days, a counternarrative to religion. Books on politics also abounded in Queensland libraries in this era. From 1860 the Queensland Parliamentary Library built up a reasonably good collection, but the public was not so fortunate, and the book selections for the general collection could be hit-and-miss (BSOA): e.g., F.S. Oliver's *Alexander Hamilton: Essay on American Union*. It would seem that H.G. Wells' *New Machiavelli*, a work of fiction, was easier to find than, fingering through the card catalogue looking up 'Machiavelli' in the non-fiction section.

The Brisbane School of Arts had a 'Political and Social Economy' section, and included social theory in the conservative sense, as well as genuine socialist theory. The classical political thinkers were present if copies were not common in the catalogue: Hume, Kant, Berkeley, Smith, Leibniz, Spinoza, Descartes, Montaigne, Montesquieu, and Rousseau, shaped in the debate on human nature between Hobbes and Locke. Karl Marx repudiated the social contract between the state and society, and saw that the state would wither without it.¹⁶ European socialists and anarchists tended to abandon idea of social contract, for ideas of socialising the state or abandoning the state for communes. Jeremy Bentham's *An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation* laid out Utilitarianism as the general ethical framework to guide the political and bureaucratic processes; portrayed as 'scientific' and not 'political'.¹⁷ John Stuart Mill softened utilitarianism into a social liberalism, where the rights of the individuals were limited by the required benefits for the whole of society from the social contract.¹⁸ Among the major players of the era, were the texts of British and Australian politicians and literary figures.¹⁹

The East-West connections across intellectual paradigms drove European Romanticism.²⁰ The Idea of Modern Romanticism was expressed in the main by literature and entertainment, and where the idea of 'Art' is prominent.²¹ Examining the Brisbane School of Art catalogue for this period, writers like Goethe, Byron, Mary Shelley, and William Morris were treated as pop biographies. The translation of Dostoevsky (typed in the catalogue, "F.M. Dostowsky") had just come out. F. Gribble's *Passions of the French Romantics* summed up the pathetic attitude.

The diversifying reading culture, from the time of late nineteenth century, conflated romanticism with the other European framings: modern variants of skepticism,

constructionism, common sensuism, rationalism, and idealism. As a counter-point to Rousseau's view of human nature, Humean Philosophy built his modernising skepticism into the skepticism of conservatism.²² Kantian Philosophy is most of western modern thought in its architecture.²³ George Berkeley's Idealism laid down the ontological principles for nineteenth century idealisms, and it continued throughout the realist-driven twentieth century.²⁴ Scottish Common Sense Philosophy gave rise to the market capitalism of Adam Smith.²⁵ Leibniz and Spinoza are the contrasting pair to keep together reasonable thinking for the very reason of their opposing positions.²⁶ Leibniz focuses on the structure in thinking and the natural world, and Spinoza on the abstract processes. Descartes gave modernity its body-mind dualism.²⁷ The idea of a Life Philosophy comes out of the writings of Montaigne and Montesquieu.²⁸ Rousseau had one foot in the European Enlightenment and one foot in European Romanticism.²⁹ Rousseau's enlightenment side was on structuring in the individual schooling as his vision of education. The romantic process was, however, a return to flourishing state of nature. The mixture of ideas was inescapable for Queensland readers.

The Curriculum Staging of the Moderns and Modernism in Queensland

HISTORY

At the beginning of the University of Queensland, the 'history area' was British History, Constitutional History, and later, Economics. First, British history was the one lecture course in 1911-1913, with two lecture sets, "The Anglo-Saxon Period" and "The Transition from Norman Despotism to the Medieval Parliamentary Monarchy." It was not 'British History', as such, but a post-Union interpretation of the 'British' Isles. Added to this first course offering was "Special Studies of the Reformation and the Puritan Revolution as far as the outbreak of the [English] Civil War."

Queensland of this era had an ethos of the Puritan-Lockean-Burkean traditions – doctrinaire conservative and socially moralistic. United Protestant Churches were dotted across semi-rural Queensland communities, and allowed dissenting Protestant traditions (Methodists, Congregational, etc.) to construct the one local church building in the township, sharing the cost of building and maintenance. The church communities tended to have traditional Puritan values without hard fundamentalist beliefs. Fundamentalist communities, or proto-fundamentalists before 1920, also shared the Puritan valuation, as seen in the Seventh-Day Adventist Churches spread across Queensland. However, the Puritan evaluation was not restricted to paradigms of 'religion'. Socialists in Queensland, such as William Lane, had a strong streak of puritanism, and militancy, to the point of commune tribalism, and the profile continued within Queensland Labor.³⁰ Although the readings of Locke and Burke tended to be limited to private libraries, the discussion of John Locke and Edmund Burke was common, as seen in Queensland newspapers.³¹ British Protestant thought was built in the Puritan-Lockean-Burkean outlook.

There were many folk historians in Queensland but few actual historiographers. If John Dunmore Lang (1799-1878) is counted as an honorary Queenslander, the migrant agent, and Presbyterian minister, for pre-separation Queensland gave the colony its first historiographical vision. The history of Queensland was to be Protestant, Scot-English migrants with some Irish migration of decent persons. In the historiography persons were folk, but the folk characterisation shifted between Queensland thinkers. For Lang, it was persons who had Protestant civilising education. For Thomas (Tom) Petrie (1831-1910), persons were folks as pioneers. The term 'pioneer' was a load term in the history. It signals virtue for those who came first, conventionally putting Aboriginal persons out of mind, except as a dehumanising 'dying race'. Theophilus Parsons Pugh (1831-1896) was more a complier than historian, and his histories represented the overwhelming influence of British empirical historiography in Queensland during the long nineteenth century and early twentieth centuries. That tradition was maintained by the first historians at 'The University of Queensland': Henry Alcock (1886-1948), Allan Arthur Morrison (1911-1975), and Alexander Clifford Vernon Melbourne (1888-1943). That did not change until the arrival of Gordon Greenwood (1913-1986) as the first true Professor of *Modern History*, and with an internationalist historiography. The Queensland population, generally and going forward, excelled in the developing social science, but it produced poor histories. The history of historiography, in the Queensland case, can be seen as Arnold J. Toynbee's law of challenge and response: the 1960s revival of the earlier Psychohistory which matched the drying-up of the 'historical science' movement. Patterns of history theses in Queensland moved, back and forward, from concerns for theoretical rigour to concerns for empirical perception.

That was the trajectory across the twentieth century but, for the Queensland colonial and federation period, there was the inertia of a few intellectual frameworks. The pattern was established with: John Dunmore Lang's *Narrative of the Settlement of The Scots Church* (Sydney, 1828) and his Presbyterian Calvinism; Tom Petrie's pioneering reminiscences, concerns over the Moreton Bay District Bribie Island Aboriginal Reserve, and celebrations in British Exploration-Colonialism; *Pugh's Moreton Bay Almanac* (1858) with its Empirical Historiography; and Queensland journalist, John James Knight (1863-1927), with his *Australian Pioneers and Reminiscences* (1896). Knight's type of Anglican Nostalgia-Heritage Historiography still has popular resonance today. This was supported by visits from British writers, such as George William Rusden (1819-1903) and his *History of Australia* (1883). The inertia can be explained by the cultural hold of the Queensland establishment. The two trustees of the Brisbane School of Arts were Justice Lutwyche, and John Petrie, brother of Tom Petrie. Knight was appointed Editor-in-chief of all the Brisbane Newspaper Co. Ltd in 1906. Loyalist Catholics in the Protestant-dominated establishment tended to hold conventional outlooks, such as Margaret Berry (1832-1918), Headmistress and Teacher Trainer at Brisbane National Girls' School. The difference being for loyalist Catholics was the framework of the Vatican I Catholic Education.

PSYCHOLOGY

In Philosophy at the University of Queensland, the scoping of the school, though, did change dramatically. When the University began the 'school' it was called, "Logic and Psychology." In the second year of teaching, it became "Mental and Moral Philosophy", a very specific focus in traditional philosophy, and, when a philosophy honours' program was designed for the third year of teaching, it had that name. It soon became honours in philosophy *simpler*, but the focus on "Mental and Moral Philosophy" did not cease until 1945. From the Mental and Moral Philosophy framework came personalism (Chapter 4).

EDUCATION

In applied fields across the discipline of Education, there were the Queensland thinkers: Sir Charles Lilley (1827-1897), Randal MacDonnell (1830-1877), Margaret Berry (1832-1918), John Gerard Anderson (1836-1911), Donald Cameron (1838-1916), John Joseph Barrett (1840-1921), and Reginald Heber Roe (1850-1926). The leading educators tended to be the top members of the Queensland establishment. Lilley was Chairman of the Royal Commission into Education in 1874, and was a member of the Brisbane School of Arts, Brisbane Grammar School, and the University of Queensland. MacDonnell had been appointed Inspector of National Schools in 1860. Cameron and Roe were the original Grammar school men. After working at Brisbane Grammar School, Roe had been appointed inspector-general of schools and chief professional adviser to the Education Minister. He was the last colonialist to die in this group, and with his roles in the Department of Public Instruction, and as Vice-Chancellor at the University of Queensland, Roe provided the longest lasting legacy, casting Queensland education in a classics and traditional framework.

That colonialist outlook was reinforced by the leading religious establishment figures (see also Chapter 3). Among the dominant Anglicans, there was: Edward Wyndham Tufnell (1814-1896), Queensland's first Bishop; second Bishop Mathew Hale; William Thomas Thornhill Webber (1837-1903), the third Bishop and who established a theological college in All Saints Rectory, Wickham Terrace, in 1897; and Francis De Witt Batty (1879-1961), appointed Domestic Chaplain and Secretary to the Bishop of Brisbane (St Clair Donaldson) in 1904. Among the Catholics, whose population dominated in Queensland, there was James Quinn (1819-1881), the first Catholic Bishop and who fought with the other parts of the embryonic Queensland Catholic Education. In March 1865 Quinn tampered with the internal rule of the Sisters of Mercy and replaced the popular Mother Mary as head of the order by a sycophant who called him 'Pater Noster'. The other Catholic educators from the colonial period were Margaret Berry at Brisbane National Girls' School, and John Joseph Barrett who set up the first Brothers' school in the colony, St Joseph's College, Gregory Terrace ('Terrace').

More 'secular' thinking was established by William Coote (1822-1898) as the leading member of the Queensland Philosophical Society of Queensland, and of Brisbane School of Arts, and by John Gerard Anderson (1836-1911), appointed Head of the Department of Public Instruction in 1878. The secularist tradition continued strongly in Queensland education with persons at different ranks in the system. Overshadowing the early twentieth century was John Douglas Story (1869-1966), appointed Under Secretary, Department of Public Instruction Queensland Department of Public Instruction in 1906, and later Vice-Chancellor at the University of Queensland. Story's educational policy was to aim for an efficient broad-curriculum education, and had little patience for emerging educationalist theories. Story was supported by Bernard (Joseph) McKenna (1870-1937) who began his teaching service as head-teacher at Enoggera (1909-10) and Sandgate (1911-13) in Brisbane, and then became district inspector (1914-21) in north and central Queensland. Women slowly and marginally came up the educationalist ranks. Marianne Helena Brydon (1864-1941) opened the South Brisbane High School and Kindergarten, a private school for girls, in 1895. There were also lead teachers, such as John Mathew (1849-1929), a teacher in 1870 at Dalby and later at the Brisbane Normal School. Mathew advocated a Presbyterian Evangelicalism (Chapter 3). Outside the formal education system, there were informal educators, such as the Queensland leader in the earliest government-sponsored social work programs, Helen Huxham (1869-1925). The new hall built at the Diamantina Hospital in 1925 was named the Helen Huxham Hall. Huxham with her parliamentary husband, John Saunders Huxham (1861-1949), were members of Baptist Church and was heavily involved in the International Laborite Education movement.

ECONOMICS

In that time, the philosophy area at the University of Queensland took on 'economics' (1913-1917) until it was given over to the 'History' area (school); as well as 'education' (1913-1945), until 'education' became its own area (school). 'Psychology' remained part of the philosophy school for the first half of the century, and reflected the 'practice' obsession in the University. From 1948 the honours' course had a required core course in 'Applied Philosophy', a rather narrowing course, philosophically, with attention on careers in commerce, vocational education, and psychotherapies. Education was becoming markets. Social or Political Economy was a large section of Queensland public libraries. Although there was a shortage of texts (compared to what was available globally) on theoretical economics and the works of classical economists, such as Adam Smith, such discussions were common, as from the Queensland newspapers.³² Up until Queensland's mid-century, there is only a small number of theoretical economists, nearly all working as practitioners in economics, and the majority would have been Labor or socialist politicians and policy-makers where the idea of a planned economy was formative; and this included the Queensland Treasurer in the first sustained Labor government in Queensland, Edward Granville Theodore (1884-1950).

LITERATURE

Queenslanders were more literary readers rather than readers of theory. The first literary figures were poets, novelists and journalists, such as James Brunton Stephens (1835-1905), Samuel Wood Brooks (1840-1915), Gresley Lukin (1840-1916), Alfred George Stephens (1865-1933), and Arthur Hoey Davis (Steele Rudd, 1868-1935). Steele Rudd's legacy stands out for the bulk of the population.

Davis, from 1899, became a regular and popular contributor in the *Bulletin* with an illustrated collection of the sketches published under the title *On Our Selection*. This was followed up in 1903 with *Our New Selection*. The success was partly due to the suggestion of A. G. Stephens that the sketches, written originally about different families, be reconstructed as the experiences of the Rudd family. It laid the ground for Literary Folk Education with Presbyterian characteristics.

Colonial newspapers were important in spreading education in the folklore outlook. Samuel Wood Brooks was proprietor of the *Queensland Figaro* and the *Moreton Mail*, and a member of the Queensland Legislative Assembly for Fortitude Valley (1886-1888). His occasional folklore influence spread throughout the Brisbane School of Arts and the Queensland Rationalist and Ethical Society which he formed with George Pearce in 1914. Brooks was a moderate liberal to Davis's folkish conservatism. Gresley Lukin (1840-1916) was the editor of the *Brisbane Courier* and the Queensland Brisbane Newspaper Co., and took a radical liberal position in his writings. Similarly in writings of radical secularist tones, Alfred Stephens (1865-1933) edited two country newspapers, the *Gympie Miner* (1888-90) and the *Cairns Argus* (1891-92). Stephens also wrote leaders for Gresley Lukin's *Brisbane Boomerang* (1891), and published two spirited and cogent political pamphlets; and went on a world tour, sending back syndicated articles which became *A Queenslander's Travel-Notes* (1905). Infamous in Queensland colonial politics, Stephens published pamphlet, *The Griffilwraith* (Brisbane, 1893) which was about an opportunistic political coalition between Sir Samuel Griffith and Sir Thomas McIlwraith. It described Griffith as 'the prodigal child of Australian politics', spending his nation's substance 'on riotous legislation'.³³ Another Stephens, James Brunton Stephens (1835-1905) had begun teaching at the Normal School in Brisbane in 1870, and joined the Johnsonian Club. He became a writer for the 'Red Page' of the *Bulletin*. Unlike the other Stephens, James Stephens brought a style of a Literary Austra-European (Colonial-Patriotic) intellectual education in his writings. Alfred Stephens' biographer, Stuart Lee stated that Alfred "Stephens broadened the basis of work chosen for initial and subsequent book publication by including writers of serious literary intent, like Bernard O'Dowd and Furphy, as well as popular bush balladists and comic prose writers like 'Steele Rudd'."³⁴ James Stephen's biographer, Cecil Hadgraft, stated that James "Stephens found bush life monotonous and the conversation boring; [and was] thrown on his inner resources..."³⁵

In the early twentieth century, Queensland writers continued the folklore theme by writing on the Queensland rural experience, such as in Rosa Caroline Praed's 1902 publication of autobiography *My Australian*. Praed (1851-1935) was a formative example of a writer who wrote about important events in Queensland history out in the country, and yet left the state; Praed moved to Torquay, Devon, in the early 1920s. Edward Vivian (Vance) Palmer (1885–1959) first published in *Steele Rudd's Magazine* in 1905. His writing is curious in that it reflected the colonial Literary Folk Education and Imperial Federalism, but in modernist subtle criticism; which may escape many popular Queensland readers. Vance Palmer with his partner, Janet Gertrude (Nettie) Palmer (1885–1964), were the Queensland literary odd couple, living in Caloundra for a brief period. They were much more formative as members of the Victorian Branch of the Fellowship of Australian Writers, Victorian Socialist Party, the Victorian Rationalist Association, and the national Council for Civil Liberties. Like Praed, the couple left Queensland, and the couple died in Melbourne.

SOCIOLOGY

Sociology in Queensland has only relatively been recent, as a formative discipline, and covers the fields of Politics, Religion, Culture, and Ethics, in compatibilist systems form. The earliest Queensland thinkers would not have thought themselves as sociologists, and offering a definitive view of the society. Nevertheless, such persons did provide visions of society and its future. In the long nineteenth century, there were politicians and 'political' activists, such as Sir James Robert Dickson (1832–1901), Sir Samuel Walker Griffith (1845-1920), William Lane (1861–1917), and Felicia Hopkins (1841-1933). Hopkins represents a long tradition in Queensland of social workers whose 'politics' was never allowed to be called 'politics'. Hopkins was the backbone of the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) in Queensland and Australia. The politics went to the issue of temperance and child welfare, and involved questions of public morality.

The conventional sociology of the era was held by the work and associations that Queensland thinkers had. Henry Stuart Russell (1818-1889) founded Cecil Plains Station in 1849 and, in doing so, established for Queensland a narrative of British Exploration-Colonialism. Sir Samuel Walker Griffith (1845-1920) implemented the provisions of the free, compulsory and secular Education Act (1875) and was a member of the Royal Colonial Institute. His politics twisted between ideological frameworks, expressing radical liberalism in some cases, and conservative anti-socialist liberalism in other cases, going to the criticisms of Alfred Stephens' pamphlet, *The Griffilwraith* (Brisbane, 1893). Griffith, like Sir James Robert Dickson (1832–1901) were imperial federalists, and Dickson successfully conducted the Queensland referendum on the Commonwealth Bill in 1899, and became infamous for prematurely dying before he could take up his federal ministry. Other colonial Premiers, Sir Robert George

Wyndham Herbert (1831-1905) and Sir Thomas McIlwraith (1835-1900) contributed in the use of intellectual frameworks but less than Griffith and Dickson.

A portion of Queensland politicians spoke and thought in a very unintellectual Modern Business Culture. This anti-ideological ideology reached its highest in the premiership of Digby Frank Denham (1859–1944). This type of politics, the modern business culture, contrasted to the radical liberalism of the Queensland colonial period. It involved a range of personalities. William Brookes (1825-1898), merchant, banker, and politician, in 1866 began the infamous anti-Kanaka campaign. Australian rag journalism goes back to when Eyles Irwin Caulfield Browne (1819–1886) formed the Brisbane Newspaper Co. in 1873. Thomas Bridson Cribb (1845-1913) was appointed to the Legislative Council in 1893, during great political instability, including the fall of three ministries. Cribb had an outlook of a Congregational radical liberalism.

British writers who toured colonial Queensland helped to cement the conflation between the conventionality of Burkean conservatism and the various forms of radical liberalism. The visit in 1871 of Anthony Trollope (1815-1885) was particularly important, as the newspaper responses and Trollope's comments on Queensland reflected the British Exploration-Colonialism narrative.³⁶

The Federation Period and beyond did change the narratives, while retaining old narratives. Digby Frank Denham (1859–1944) was elected Premier of Queensland in 1911, ensuring colonial business attitudes continued into the twentieth century. At the local level of historical studies and municipal council, the conservative attitudes prevailed. Colonial Yeronga celebrity Charles Hardie Buzacott (1835-1918) had been elected to the Legislative Assembly as member for Rockhampton in 1873 and was an Anglican Imperial Nationalist. Colonial socialism also got an extended life, noting that Andrew Dawson (1863–1910) was the Premier of the first Labor government in the world (1899). The heroes of the Queensland Labor movement were William Lane (1861–1917) and Emma Miller (1839-1917). Lane sailed in 1893 to set up New Australia, 109 miles (176 km) south-east of Asuncion, Paraguay; the Paraguayan New Australia-Cosme Utopian Socialist Experiment. Miller in 1891 gave evidence to the royal commission into shops, factories and workshops, and marched with shearers' strike prisoners when they were released. She was the first woman to travel west organizing for the Australian Workers' Union. In 1894 Miller became the foundation president of the Woman's Equal Franchise Association (1894-1905). Thomas Joseph (Tom) Ryan (1876–1921) elected first Premier of the first sustained Queensland Labor Administration in 1915. His politics reflected the importance of the Catholic alliance with the Labor Party and the Anti-Monopolies Federal policies. Personally, Ryan was a product of the British Classical Education and demonstrated teaching skills in the Classics. Ryan's, and Theodore's Labor administrations of the 1920s, was supported by Quaker Joseph Silver Collings (1865–1955) who was on the Queensland Central Executive, and by John and Helen Huxham. John Huxham was Minister Without Portfolio in

the Ryan administration. Helen Huxham set up the first Women Workers' Union in south west Queensland, and led the early modern social work movement. Rationalism was another important, and new, intellectual movement of these years; of which the Huxhams were strongly associated. In 1914 the Queensland Rationalist and Ethical Society was founded by Samuel Brooks, George Pearce, and George Fox (1835-1914).

POLITICAL STUDIES

As is the pattern emerging in the chapter, practitioners as thinkers dominated in Queensland political history. Political questions of public morality were effective in Queensland during this earlier history since the leading clergy and religious members very easily offered their definitive view of society. They were mostly Anglicans, such as Mathew Blagden Hale (1811-1895), St Clair George Alfred Donaldson (1863-1935), and David John Garland (1864-1939). There were those of other Protestant or dissenter traditions, such as Baptist Thomas John Malyon (1844-1921) and Quaker Margaret Sturge Watts (1892-1978). There were Catholic figures, and, indeed, those of other 'religions' hidden from current published histories. Archbishop Sir James Duhig (1871-1965) was the Catholic public morality version to the Anglican Archbishops, Donaldson and John William Charles Wand (1885-1977). None of these thinkers wrote books or substantive manuscripts in the earlier period, although Duhig's writings were to become important after his death in 1965. What this says is that oral traditions were important in Queensland for the spread of threats in thinking from multiple ideological frameworks.

A Concluding Thought

The survey in this chapter demonstrated that the Queensland reading and educative culture was very mixed in ideas across philosophical framings, which operated at a personal level. Furthermore, the educational theories were largely Classical and in the form of British Idealist Christianity. There were modern framings, dissenting from the dominant outlook, in different worldviews, applying the skepticism, constructionism, common sensuism, rationalism, and idealism. The revolution in educational theories were to come late in Queensland (Chapters 6-8).

ENDNOTES

¹Helen Penrose. *Light Dark Blue: 150 years of learning and leadership at Brisbane Grammar School*, Brisbane: Brisbane Grammar School, 2019;

Joan Priest. *From Balliol College to Brisbane Grammar: Reginald Roe, Headmaster B.G.S. 1876-1909*, Charles Roe, Yeronga, Qld, 1993.

²Eddie Clarke, 'Roe, Reginald Heber (1850 – 1926) Australian Dictionary of Biography, Vol. 11, MUP, 1988, pp 437-439. Retrieved 11 November 2009. (<http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A110444b.htm>)'.

³Patrick Buckridge and Belinda McKay. *By the Book: a Literary History of Queensland*, University of Queensland Press, St. Lucia, Qld, 2007.

William J. Hatherell. *The Third Metropolis: Imagining Brisbane through Art and Literature, 1940-1970*, University of Queensland Press, St. Lucia, Qld, 2007.

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⁴Eddie Clarke, and Tom Watson. (ed.) *Soldiers of the Service, Volume 2: More Early Queensland Educators and their schools*, History of Queensland Education Society, Church Archivists' Press, 1999.

⁵Michael Gourlay. *The Good Bishop: the Story of Mathew Hale 1811 – 1895: Missionary, Educator, Pastor in Three Australian Colonies*, Boolarong Press, Salisbury, Brisbane, Australia, 2015.

⁶S. Murray-Smith, 'Adams, Francis William (1862–1893)', Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/adams-francis-william-2865/text4085>, published first in hardcopy 1969, accessed online 3 November 2017. This article was first published in hardcopy in Australian Dictionary of Biography, Volume 3, (MUP), 1969.

⁷S. Murray-Smith.

⁸Neville Buch. American Influence on Protestantism in Queensland since 1945, Ph.D. thesis, Department of History, University of Queensland, August 1994, Awarded April 1995.

⁹Key examples in local reading are:

Gilbert Murray's *The Rise of the Greek Epic*;
C. G. Hartley's *Stories from the Greek Legends*;
T. Gomperz's *Greek Thinkers*;
P. Trent's *When Greeks Meet Greeks*;
H. S. Jones' *Companion to Roman History*;
C. Bigg's *Church's Task under the Roman Empire*;
E. Reich's *Plato, as an introduction to modern criticism of Life*.

¹⁰BSOA: John Marenbon, Early Medieval Philosophy 480-1150: An Introduction

¹¹It may be that the categories were restricted to general collections, and these texts might have been found as restricted reference works.

¹²The Report of the Committee at the Brisbane School of Arts for 1 July to 30 June 1908 had highlighted the book of 'Principal Lindsay' as parcels received from their London agents. It reveals the dependency of book supplies on British selectors, and therefore the inescapable ideological prejudices of British thinkers in making certain books available for Queensland readers, who saw themselves as British-Australians. The public libraries did not appear to have specific volumes on nuanced topics, such as Luther, Calvin, or Erasmus, but that may be due to the hit-and-miss search through the catalogues for this period. After 1920 there was no shortage of books on the reformation and counter-reformation. Catholics, however, do get a few books supplied, such as T. Griesinger's *History of the Jesuits* and a book of fiction by J. Hocking, *The Jesuit*. Protestant private libraries would have had sectarian pot-boilers and Catholic private libraries would have their anti-Protestantism apologetics.

¹³BSOA: Meister Eckhart, *The Essential Writings*
Thomas à Kempis, *The Imitation of Christ*

¹⁴Desiderius Erasmus, *The Praise of Folly*.

¹⁵John Toland, *Pantheisticon: A Modern English Translation*

¹⁶BSOA: Karl Marx, *The German Ideology*, 1845.

¹⁷BSOA: Jeremy Bentham, *An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation*.

¹⁸BSOA: Mill, John Stuart (1863). *Utilitarianism*.
Fitzpatrick, J. R. (2006). *John Stuart Mill's Political Philosophy*. *Continuum Studies in British Philosophy*.
Bloomsbury Publishing. ISBN 978-1847143440.

¹⁹Key examples in the local reading are:

BRITISH

H.G. Wells' *Future in America*, and *New Worlds for Old*;
Sidney Webb's *Basis and Policy of Socialism*;
Ramsay Macdonald's *The Socialist Movement*;
Lloyd George's *National Insurance*;
J.A. Hobson's *Science of Wealth*;
Leonard Hobhouse's *Liberalism*, and *Democracy and Reaction*; and as the work of fiction,
George Bernard Shaw's *An Unsocial Socialist*.

AUSTRALIAN

Walter Murdoch's *The Australian Citizen*;
Alfred Deakin's *British Preference – Speech*, and *Speech on the Defence Policy* (pamphlet); and
George Reid's *Naval and Military Defence of Australia* (pamphlet).

²⁰BSOA: Kukai, *Attaining Enlightenment in this Very Existence*, 1817.

²¹BSOA: Arthur C. Danto, *After the End of Art*.

²²BSOA: David Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature*
David Hume, *An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding*
David Hume, *An Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Morals*
David Hume, *Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion*
David Hume, *Enquiries Concerning the Human Understanding / Concerning the Principles of Morals*
David Hume, *Essays: Moral, Political and Literary*
David Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature, 1738–1740*
David Hume, *An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding, 1748*
David Hume, *An Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Morals, 1751*.

²³BSOA: Immanuel Kant, *Critique of Judgment*

Immanuel Kant, Critique of Pure Reason
Immanuel Kant, Groundwork of the Metaphysics of Morals
Immanuel Kant, Critique of Judgement, 1790
Immanuel Kant, Critique of Practical Reason, 1788
Immanuel Kant, Critique of Pure Reason, 1781
Immanuel Kant, Groundwork of the Metaphysic of Morals, 1785.

²⁴BSOA: George Berkeley, Principles of Human Knowledge & Three Dialogues Between Hylas and Philonous
George Berkeley, Treatise Concerning the Principles of Human Knowledge, 1710. The 'ideal over reality' never died as an often-used concept.

²⁵BSOA: Adam Smith, The Wealth of Nations
Adam Smith, The Wealth of Nations, Books 1-3
Adam Smith, The Theory of Moral Sentiments, 1759
Adam Smith, The Wealth of Nations, 1776.

²⁶BSOA: Gottfried Leibniz, Discourse on Metaphysics, 1686
Gottfried Leibniz, Monadology, 1714 (printed 1720)
Gottfried Leibniz, New Essays Concerning Human Understanding, 1704 (printed 1765)
Gottfried Leibniz, Théodicée, 1710
Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, Monadology and Other Philosophical Essays
Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, Philosophical Essays
Baruch Spinoza, Complete Works
Baruch Spinoza, Ethics
Baruch Spinoza, Ethics, 1677
Baruch Spinoza, Tractatus Theologico-Politicus, 1677

²⁷BSOA: René Descartes, Discourse on Method and Meditations on First Philosophy
René Descartes, Discourse on Method
René Descartes, Meditations with Meister Eckhart
René Descartes, Philosophical Letters
René Descartes, The Philosophical Writings of Descartes (Volume I)
René Descartes, The Philosophical Writings of Descartes (Volume II)
René Descartes, Discourse on Method , 1637
René Descartes, Meditations on First Philosophy, 1641

²⁸BSOA: Michel de Montaigne, The Complete Essays
Montesquieu, Persian Letters
Montesquieu, The Spirit of the Laws.

²⁹BSOA: Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Discourse on the Arts and Sciences, 1750
Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Emile: or, On Education, 1762
Jean-Jacques Rousseau, The Social Contract, 1762
Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Confessions
Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Discourse on the Origin of Inequality
Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Julie, or the New Heloise
Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Reveries of the Solitary Walker
Jean-Jacques Rousseau, The First and Second Discourses
Jean-Jacques Rousseau, The Social Contract, a Discourse on the Origin of Inequality, and a Discourse on Political Economy.

³⁰Gavin Souter (1983). "Lane, William (1861–1917)" Australian Dictionary of Biography, Retrieved 27 April 2007.(<http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A090663b.htm>); Bruce, Peter John. William Lane: Personality and Politics. The University of Adelaide, Department of History, B.A. Hons., 1970.

³¹3. The Traditions. Lockean 1859-1919 (<https://trove.nla.gov.au/list/167054>); 3. The Traditions. Burkean 1859-1919 (<https://trove.nla.gov.au/list/167056>).

³²3. The Traditions. Smithsonian and Classical Economics 1859-1919 (<https://trove.nla.gov.au/list/167057>).

³³Stuart Lee, 'Stephens, Alfred George (1865–1933)', Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/stephens-alfred-george-8642/text15107>, published first in hardcopy 1990, accessed online 6 November 2022.

³⁴Stuart Lee.

³⁵Cecil Hadgraft, 'Stephens, James Brunton (1835–1902)', Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/stephens-james-brunton-4642/text7661>, published first in hardcopy 1976, accessed online 6 November 2022.

³⁶W. Ross Johnston. *The Call of the Land*.