

The Development of the Comprehensive School in New South Wales: The Influence of Harold Wyndham and the 1957 Wyndham Report

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Harold Wyndham, Director-General of the New South Wales Department of Education, 1952–68, remains one of the most influential figures of his day. He changed the face of secondary schooling in NSW with the 1957 Wyndham Report, the findings of a committee he headed which recommended both removing selection for and then extending secondary schooling. This remodelling of secondary schooling both fascinated and affronted his contemporaries and caught the imagination of later ages through its endorsement of the comprehensive school model in response to the democratic challenge of providing secondary education for all. This paper examines the evolution of the reforms which followed from the Report, particularly the development of the comprehensive school in NSW secondary education from its establishment in the 1950s and 1960s to its declining fortunes in the present day.

The reorganisation of secondary schooling produced during Wyndham's leadership supplies an essential starting point for the contextualising of much recent policymaking in school education in Australia. Although the monopoly of the comprehensive high school has been shattered with the widespread introduction of a greater variety of institutions providing for 'careers in education', the vast majority of secondary students still attend a local comprehensive school that in curriculum and structure remains largely faithful to the precepts of the Wyndham Report. But as students are increasingly allocated to a hierarchy of separate types

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of school it appears that the earlier system-wide commitment to the comprehensive model has dissipated.

The 1961 Education Act, based on the report of the 1957 Committee Appointed to Survey Secondary Education in New South Wales, popularly known as the 'Wyndham Report' is acknowledged as a watershed in Australian education.¹ Yet despite its acknowledged significance in the development of the Australian comprehensive school, a school that admits pupils of all abilities without selection, the Wyndham Report is never more than cursorily cited when current developments are being evaluated.² It is a main purpose of this paper to redress that deficiency through a detailed examination of the evolution of the reforms which followed from the Report, particularly the development of the comprehensive school in NSW secondary education. This study examines the evolution of the comprehensive school in NSW secondary education from its establishment in the 1950s and 1960s to the fragmentation of the system with the recent preference for selective and specialist schools.³

The scheme originally proposed by the Report continues to supply the structure for NSW secondary schools and today provides the most significant monument of Wyndham's prestige. Wyndham's efforts helped establish universal and comprehensive schooling as an ideal for Australian secondary education and the subsequent introduction in all States except Victoria of comprehensive high schools was 'hailed as a major democratic reform for education'.⁴ Tasmania and Western Australia had moved towards the comprehensive idea in the 1950s and a 'further definite step towards it is seen in the adoption in New South Wales of the recommendations of the Wyndham Report'. Of all Australian States, New South Wales, it was believed, was 'the only one to have attempted a detailed definition of the nature of comprehensive schooling and to have applied to all schools the rationale developed'.⁵

Recently, the current New South Wales Director-General, Ken Boston, underlined the enduring influence of the Wyndham Scheme: 'While of course there have been changes within the broad model of secondary schooling established in New South Wales in the 1950s and 1960s, the reality is that it remains in its fundamentals the structure we presently have'.⁶ This paper will demonstrate how the reorganisation of secondary schooling that followed the Report supplies

an essential starting point for the contextualising of much recent policymaking in school education in Australia.

When Wyndham took over as Director-General of Education in 1952, the first wave of the postwar 'baby boom' was entering school and it was apparent that the existing secondary system would have difficulty in coping with such a major expansion. As Wyndham commented: 'The factory will have to be almost double in size. Do we double the size of the old factory or do we design a new one?'⁷ Educational reform was now not optional but necessary and success in designing the 'new factory' promised to bolster the legitimacy of the new Director-General.

Wyndham's promptings convinced the NSW Minister for Education, R. J. Heffron, in 1953, to establish the Committee to Survey Secondary Education in New South Wales, the so-called 'Wyndham Committee', which in 1957 released a report, that became known as the 'Wyndham Report'.⁸ The Committee recommended that, having completed the primary school course at about the age of twelve years, all pupils were to proceed, without examination, to secondary education. Pupils of low ability would no longer remain in the primary school beyond the age of thirteen and a half. This new education pattern provided for six years of secondary schooling, comprehensive local entry, and a central core curriculum, with provision for different levels of study and for a range of choice for most secondary students. It avoided, however, any direct attack on selective schools, probably recognising the strength of public feelings and the influence of former pupils.

Claims as to the relative merits of selective and comprehensive schools even today provoke a great deal of inconclusive discussion, to which this present study need not add. Nevertheless, since it is so often claimed that it was the Wyndham Scheme which first introduced comprehensive education to NSW, the issues central to this debate warrant closer examination. The basic distinctions are fairly clear, though the validity of the claims for the advantages of the respective arrangements remain uncertain. The features which distinguish comprehensive from selective schools centre around a series of loosely defined beliefs in expanded educational opportunity, delayed choice of occupation (and consequent specialisation) and a shared or common culture.

The ideal comprehensive creates a lower secondary organisation very similar to that of the primary school model, insofar as it takes practically all the children from a given district and offers them a common core curriculum. Such a school will not, however, be divided into distinct, separately organised streams. A secondary school so arranged would be a multilateral school, as most secondary schools in NSW were before the Wyndham Scheme. In a multilateral school all types of children in an area are admitted to the same school but within that school can follow different courses. Typically, vocationally oriented 'streams' are offered, to which students are allotted on entry or soon after.

The comprehensive school was variously defined, but incorporated several characteristic elements at the lower secondary level which distinguish it from other forms of organisation. Firstly, it was a neighbourhood or community school serving a given catchment area. Secondly, it offered an approximately common curriculum containing elements of a broad, general education for all students at least up to age fourteen. Grouping of students according to aptitude and ability was widely practised, but there was an 'understanding' that, where possible, at least some mixed grouping would occur and a policy of mixing would be adopted as the norm, either for age levels or for subject areas. Finally, positive efforts were made to plot educationally defensible paths and routes through the curriculum for all students without special favour to minorities, unless they were shown to be significantly disadvantaged.⁹

The comprehensive school insisted that no fixed and final decision be made on admission to secondary schooling about the courses which are most suitable for an individual student. Ready transfer from one course to another and the provision of a wide variety of courses remain essential features of the comprehensive school. Stratification from fourteen onwards on the basis of ability, school performance and vocational objectives was generally accepted in the comprehensive model, but if there was too much divergence, the school, it was argued, began to resemble the old system of separate post-elementary streams, with the risk of status differentials and very unequal outcomes under the guise of meeting different individual and group needs. Selective schools represented such a divergence:

The principle of comprehensive schooling would simply no longer apply if neither a common curriculum nor any form of mixed grouping were practised, if institutional separation occurred and if it were to be accepted that students were bound to occupational directions with quite different and unequal social status.¹⁰

There are a range of other criteria cited as essential foundations for comprehensive schooling. Some would insist that such a school must be composed of just one-tier catering for all pupils from eleven to eighteen years of age while others believe that separate junior and senior high schools can still accord with comprehensive principles. Another view argues that in England and Australia the term is applied to single sex and co-educational schools and public and private schools so long as they accept pupils of all ranges of ability¹¹, while opponents insist that a comprehensive school that enrolls all the local children, regardless of sex, social class or religion, in a single school is the best way to mix children from different backgrounds and thereby lower barriers.¹²

Detractors have argued that the Wyndham Scheme betrayed comprehensive principles, insofar as it endorsed ability grouping while doing little to promote mixed grouping, and that by retaining some selective schools it preserved selection for secondary education. They assert that the reforms simply served the interests of the middle class by entrenching an academic curriculum and an 'elitist' final two years.¹³ Supporters insist that by introducing a common core curriculum of general education for junior students who were drawn from the local neighbourhood without selection and by creating a greater mix of children from different backgrounds and different levels of intellectual ability, the Wyndham scheme represented a momentous shift towards comprehensive ideals.¹⁴

The organisation and curriculum of the first stage of high school in NSW was now intended to provide a satisfactory education for all adolescents and was initially to cover four years, to the age of about sixteen. The first four-year segment was designed to provide a core of subjects common to all schools, together with a progressive increase in the proportion of elected subjects. The greater part of the curriculum for first year was to be allotted to the common core which was composed of certain 'fields of thought and experience of which no adolescent should be ignorant as a person or as

a citizen, irrespective of his level of ability and of the situation in life in which he may later find himself'.¹⁵ Such a common curriculum should include the subject fields of English, social studies, science, mathematics, music, art, crafts, physical and health education, and religious education. After the initial year, under teacher guidance, election of subjects was to be made progressively in the light of pupil achievement or potential. It was expected that time devoted to these elective subjects would increase to some forty per cent of total school time by the fourth form. The use of the term 'common core' could be misleading, Wyndham observed, unless it was understood that the Committee was thinking in terms of areas of experience, not of a curriculum common in detail. Its intention rather was that, in each area, the scope and depth of study would 'be varied in accordance with the ability and interests of the teaching groups concerned'.¹⁶ To provide an adequate range of electives it was anticipated that a minimum school enrolment in excess of 600 would be necessary. On satisfactory completion of the four-year course a School Certificate was to be issued on the basis of the result of an external examination. This assessment was intended to be a terminal or retrospective examination and a formal indication of the successful completion of a satisfactory course of secondary education.¹⁷ English was given a special place in the Committee's proposals. It became the major continuous strand in the secondary school pattern, and the work for different classes would be reshaped, 'in scope and method of treatment, on the basis of ability grouping'.¹⁸

Pupils wishing to proceed beyond the School Certificate could remain at school to follow courses leading to a Higher School Certificate (HSC) Examination, which was to be an external examination acceptable as a test for university matriculation. The content of the studies at the senior school were to be, in the main, a continuation and expansion of the elective courses. Most students were expected to leave after the School Certificate, with only some twenty to twenty-five per cent continuing to the Higher School Certificate. The Report saw this latter stage of schooling as meeting the needs of 'the most able adolescents between the ages of sixteen and eighteen'¹⁹ and, for Wyndham, fifth and sixth form were intended to be unashamedly elitist: 'at one with the European tradition of cultivating elite and talent'.²⁰ Despite hopes that

the final two years would supply a broad liberal education, it came to be seen from the outset primarily as a test for university entrance.²¹

All new schools would be comprehensive; not divided into academically selective, general high, junior technical or home science schools. Selection for secondary was now abandoned for the vast majority of students, and they henceforth participated for the first four years in a common core curriculum which was intended to cover, in Wyndham's view 'the studies deemed necessary for competent citizenship'.²² The first of these four years became the major focus of the reforms. Since courses were to be progressively determined within secondary schools, first form was expected to provide a period of trial and observation as a basis for selection for the study of individual subjects. Selection was now to occur within the one school rather than between different schools. Although this first year of secondary school was devoted to a curriculum which all would follow, class grouping was still to be based on 'general mental ability'.²³ Education for all adolescents, 'including opportunities for the talented', was the predominant purpose of the four years of general secondary education. The completion of this stage was to be recognised by the award of the School Certificate, based on an external examination, since:

whatever the future pattern of that examination, it is essential that, during the early years of its operation, it achieves recognition by the community, especially by the parents and the employers in the community.²⁴

It was to be a retrospective, or terminal examination and would not seek, at the same time, to serve as the basis of selection for higher education.

Ability grouping remained a central feature. 'Essentially the question which was asked of my Committee was: how can a sound program of education be provided for all adolescents and, at the same time, proper provision be made for the minority of talent?' Faced with this problem, the Committee came to the view that the new course of education must both 'provide opportunities for self-development and ensure a sound background for effective citizenship on the part of the generality of adolescents'. The time was long overdue for a recognition of the fact that 'secondary education is justified as part of the general educational programme for young

citizens'. The community and the school system shared, Wyndham insisted, an obligation to find and to cultivate talent among adolescents, while acknowledging that, even among the talented, not all would proceed to the university.²⁵

The most outstanding feature of the new secondary school pattern, for Wyndham, was not the imposition of an additional year of schooling but the general abandonment of the practice whereby, at the outset of their secondary school course, pupils had been allotted to streams, in each of which they were committed to a fixed pattern of studies, all at the same level of difficulty. For this scheme was substituted a flexibility of organisation and curriculum whereby pupils could develop individual patterns of study varying partly in the subjects studied but more significantly in the levels of study.²⁶

Wyndham's preference for these new arrangements derived, in large part, from his enthusiasm for the tenets of the progressive 'New Education', most likely acquired from his own university studies and as a proselyte of Alexander Mackie.²⁷ In the early years of the twentieth century New Education argued that the curriculum should be varied in individual cases to cater for particular interests, skills and needs. The teacher's primary concern should be with the pupil, and the curriculum was merely one of the teaching aids which could be abandoned or added to, according to the needs of individual students. New Education shared with the comprehensive school movement an emphasis on every child having a common experience, common knowledge and common skills to fit him or her to become a member of an adult community in which citizenship rights are not only common to all, but equal. Both the New Education and comprehensive schooling philosophies focussed on the pupil rather than on the curriculum as the basic element in education, but whereas New Education exalted the individual, the comprehensive movement stressed the total group or the school community. The ideal comprehensive school mixed children of different abilities as much as possible, dividing them on the basis of interest but not, as Wyndham did, on the basis of ability or achievement. Age grading was usually recommended, however, on the grounds that each age group had common interests, distinct from other age groups.²⁸ While the Wyndham Scheme championed New Education's call for curriculum to be more attuned to individual needs, particularly in its approach to the

first year of secondary school and through its support of age grading and core curriculum, it nevertheless retained the essential features of ability grouping, although now within the one school.

A contemporary has noted that Wyndham:

denied any conflict in comprehensive secondary education with his work on ability grouping, pointing out that a comprehensive secondary school with a first form intake each year would group those pupils and in fact the top four classes would approximate the full intake of a selective school. The retention of a few selectives was a concession to powerful ex-pupil associations.²⁹

Though seldom mentioned, the savings which could accrue through the provision of only one school to each of the burgeoning new suburbs undoubtedly also greatly enhanced the appeal of the proposed arrangements.

Few surprises were to emerge from the evidence presented to the Wyndham Committee.³⁰ In one submission, Dr Morven Brown, Director of the Department of Social Work at the University of Sydney, stressed that 'the academically gifted child is no longer the only pebble on the secondary school beach'.³¹ For more than twenty years, the task of stretching out the curriculum to fit everybody had continued to be 'vexatious and formidable'. There now existed, Brown believed, 'a weight of authoritative opinion in support of the idea that early selection is always impracticable'.³² Selection, it was now realised, involved questions of motivation as well as scholastic aptitude, and motivation stemmed from:

a child's whole social background and home circumstances ... In a democratic society, people need to be educated not only in terms of their future vocations, in which they will specialise and draw apart, but also in terms of those civic rights, obligations and values they will share in common. Excessive specialisation that is based on involuntary division into secondary school streams, may offer advantages that are in the long run deceptive, advantages that are achieved at the expense of social unity and the possibility of common communication between the various sections of society ... the greatest danger of all of too narrow a specialisation in scholarship for the gifted is that the goal of character training will be lost sight of. The English public schools of the late nineteenth century always laid emphatic stress on all round education to produce a determinate type of character ... what we need is more

concern with character training as it might equip boys to exercise leadership in a democratic society.³³

Schools, Brown insisted, needed to break down an excessive preoccupation with ability grouping that had formed their approach over the past twenty years. There should be no selection for secondary schooling, and the curriculum of the first four years of such a school should be liberalised along the lines of the newer techniques of the primary school: there should be fusion of some subjects and wider use of activity methods and group forms of learning.³⁴

In its submission the Teachers Federation highlighted the anguish engendered by selection:

Irrespective of the contribution which has been made to education in NSW by the junior technical and home science secondary schools, every year innumerable protests are made by parents whose children have been allocated to such schools rather than to high schools. Such protests are founded on the belief that their children are being discriminated against: are not being given the same educational opportunity as children who attend a high school. While there are some protests in country centres when children are not permitted to take academic courses, the fact they are attending a high school, that they are members of the one school community participating as such in corporate activities of the school reduces the heartburnings felt when children are allocated to home science or junior technical courses. Further, the country high school is more of a social unit, being a co-educational school.³⁵

The existing country high schools of NSW, community-based schools, with courses at all levels to suit all needs in the one school, were extolled by many witnesses as the most desirable type of school. In practice, there was a measure of selectivity in these schools imposed by distance and finance.³⁶ Witnesses supporting such 'multilateral' high schools or critical of selection included the NSW Teachers Federation, the Secondary Teachers Association, the Headmasters Association, and the Australian Council for Educational Research.³⁷

The Teachers Federation noted the increasing doubts surrounding the reliability of IQ tests. Before the Wyndham Scheme every student was obliged to sit an IQ test at the end of primary school and their allocation to different types of school largely relied on their performance. Although IQ score, the Teachers Federation acknowledged, was not the sole

determining factor in selection for secondary, the weighting of the IQ score in such selection and the very reliability of the IQ test were being increasingly questioned. It had been established, they asserted, that variations of as much as eight percentage points could occur between successive IQ tests, and undoubtedly the nature of the IQ score was such that it was influenced by the home background of the child. The Teachers Federation wanted no selection for secondary schooling: every student should proceed directly to a comprehensive high school.³⁸

The Committee was convinced that 'secondary education' now meant the education of all adolescents. Any adolescent age-group, it concluded, will present a wide variety of mental ability, special aptitudes and interests, and only a minority will have the ability and interest to proceed to higher studies. The problem was not simply one of dividing the candidates into 'able' and the 'unable' groups since, apart from intelligence, the pattern of special abilities, it was now realised, would differ from one individual to another. Since these abilities were rarely manifest before adolescence, and since the interests and attitudes of pupils change with experience and as they mature, a final determination of the studies they should pursue at the secondary level could not be made in the primary school and was best made in the light of actual experience in the secondary school.³⁹ Differences between individuals demanded differences in programs of study and experience, yet 'the common future and function of pupils was to be citizens in a challenging world'.⁴⁰ Hence the determination of curriculum by students should rely on their choice from a group of individual subjects, differing in nature and demand according to the pupil's general ability and the nature and strength of any special aptitudes and interests. Such a concept of curricular structure, Wyndham argued, connoted a direct rejection of the practice of 'streaming'.⁴¹

Such ideas were by now the maxims of progressive educationists. To translate them into a cogent and palatable form was the immediate and considerable obstacle which the Committee faced. In this process Wyndham played the key role. Wyndham eventually drafted almost all of the *Report* himself. Harry Heath's draft of the aims was considered quite unsatisfactory, and Wyndham substituted his own superior draft.⁴²

I had never intended to become so burdened. The Committee, called for volunteer writers and, in order to encourage the troops, I offered to draft Chapter 1. Mr Heath volunteered to write up the Aims, and Mr Hicks to draft another chapter. The latter was not completed, and the Committee was unhappy, almost to the point of embarrassment, about the Heath draft. It was let lie, *pro tem*. When I submitted my draft chapter, the thanks I got was 'keep up the good work'! Meanwhile, out of the Committee, some members suggested that I should tackle Aims. It involved an exercise in tact which I did not welcome: Heath and I were in College together.⁴³

Wyndham believed the Committee's final recommendations had three essential features: abandon pre-selection, introduce four years of junior secondary schooling with a core curriculum, and cultivate talent through electives.⁴⁴ They can be summarised as follows:

1. On completion of the primary school course and, in general, about the age of twelve years, all pupils should proceed, without a predetermining test, to the secondary school.
2. The first year of the secondary school should be devoted to a curriculum which all will follow, but in class-groups where pupils will be brought together on the basis of general mental ability.
3. The purpose of this year would be threefold: namely, trial and observation to serve as a basis for selection for the study of individual subjects; orientation of pupils to the life of the secondary school; and revision and consolidation of skills taught in the primary school.
4. At the end of the first year, pupils (and their parents) might, under the guidance of the school principal, elect to commence the study of up to two subjects apart from those studied by all the school. The scope of the syllabus in these subjects and the standard of work would be based on the fact that the pupils constitute a selected group, as able and as ready as can then be determined, to follow such a selective course of study.⁴⁵
5. The curriculum for the first four years of secondary education should provide for all 12-16 year-olds.
6. The curriculum would include core and elective subjects, with the core diminishing over the first four years.
7. A School Certificate should be awarded, on the basis of external examinations, at the end of the first four years (then Forms one to four, today Years seven to ten).
8. A Higher School Certificate would be awarded, on the basis of external examination, after a further two years (then Forms five

to six, today Years eleven and twelve), and this should be acceptable as a test for university matriculation.

9. Two boards, a Secondary Schools Board and a Board of Senior School Studies should replace the Board of Secondary School Studies.

The *Report* did not supply a detailed blueprint for reform: it contained no precise recommendations as to curriculum, timetable or school organisation. It said nothing about costs nor about the training of teachers, perhaps to avoid alarming the Government. The Committee took the view that its central task was not finalising such details, but, on the basis of its examination of present practice and in the light of all the evidence available to it, to present a pattern of organisation and a series of objectives which would serve as the basis for a satisfactory scheme of secondary education in New South Wales, especially in public schools.⁴⁶ As presented to the Minister in October 1957, the *Report* was simply a body of recommendations, none of which either the Minister or the Government was committed to putting into effect. The Minister would determine his own position in the matter and make recommendations accordingly to Cabinet. The extent to which he could do this and the degree of support he was likely to receive in Cabinet, would, Wyndham believed, 'depend upon the existence of a strong body of informed public and professional opinion'.⁴⁷

The most significant aspect of the *Report*, Wyndham insisted, was structural. Different types of secondary school and indeed different types of block course should disappear, and all students who had satisfactorily completed their primary work (and this within a tolerance of a certain age group) should proceed to secondary education. The course in the first year would be the same, however differentiated and modified for particular ability groups within the school. For example, there might be three versions of the English course or three versions of the mathematics course, but the first year would be a year of exploration on behalf of the teachers and discovery on the part of the students as to where their particular talents lay. From the second year on there should be an increasing provision for work in particular fields to challenge the students.⁴⁸

The Committee adopted the view that selection should take place within the secondary school, not outside it, and that 'it should be progressive, not catastrophic'.⁴⁹ At the time the

Report was released, apart from ten schools for which selection was largely on the basis of the specialist course they offered, only fourteen high schools were 'selective' in the commonly accepted sense among high schools, which by 1960 numbered 111. None of any of the 174 secondary departments were 'selective'. The selective high schools were concentrated in metropolitan areas and thus 'not representative of the whole public secondary school system'.⁵⁰ Selection on the basis of sex should also be avoided, since wastage of talent was even higher for girls⁵¹ and sex differences in special abilities and interests, had, 'in the past, often been exaggerated'.⁵²

The Committee regarded four years beyond primary education 'as the minimum time to prepare the citizen of ordinary ability or rather ability that did not promise readiness to go on to further study either in school or elsewhere after those four years'. For the more able, a further two years would be necessary to prepare the student to undertake any post-secondary course, whether at university, institute of technology or teachers college.⁵³ The secondary school course should be conceived, in the first instance, Wyndham explained, as a course covering four years, terminating, for most pupils, at sixteen years of age. It was recognised that not all the pupils would complete this course at the outset, but the existing tendency of pupils to stay longer at school was to be encouraged. Between the second and the fourth years of this course, the amount of time devoted to 'the common core' might be expected to decrease, for the more able students, to about sixty per cent of total classroom time. The amount of time devoted to elective subjects would increase accordingly, a third elective being taken at the end of the second year by pupils ready to do so.⁵⁴ The four-year secondary programme, while creating increased provision for pupils of talent, 'still protected the majority of pupils, and they must be the majority, whose secondary education should not be overshadowed by the requirements of pre-university studies'.⁵⁵ At the same time, the proposals ensured provision for studies 'of the type which, as ordinary citizens, the most academically talented young people should not have lacked'.⁵⁶

Provision would be made for the issue of a certificate, the Intermediate Certificate, based upon an internal examination, to pupils who were constrained to leave school at age fifteen, an age which should find them at the end of third year.

A School Certificate would be issued, on the basis of an external examination, on completion of the full secondary course to the end of fourth year. This examination would be conducted by the Department of Education on the advice of a Secondary Schools Board, to be established.⁵⁷

It was anticipated that perhaps not more than twenty to twenty-five per cent of pupils would continue full-time day schooling beyond the School Certificate level. These would be pupils of ability who, though their goal may not be finally determined, would be those who intended, to pursue some type of higher study. For these pupils, up to two years of further study should be provided leading, for most of them, to the Higher School Certificate Examination. The content of the studies at this senior school level should be, in the main, a continuation and expansion of the elective courses, together with English.⁵⁸ This examination, and the syllabus of work in preparation for it, should be the responsibility of a Board of Senior School Studies, to be established. It was anticipated that the majority of candidates for this examination would be over 17 years of age. Both because of their relative maturity and because of the Committee's appreciation of the problem of transition to conditions of university study, the atmosphere and method of these senior school years should be such as to foster individual study and personal initiative in the manner of the best type of English 'Sixth Form'.⁵⁹ It was hoped that, because of the representation of the universities on this Board, this Higher School Certificate Examination would be accepted as an appropriate examination for university matriculation.⁶⁰

To offer the range of curriculum recommended for both junior and senior levels substantial student numbers not available in central schools and other smaller post-primary situations would be required. The introduction of these proposals should therefore be accompanied by the payment of subsidies for travel or for boarding in country areas. Provision should also be made, under the *Bursary Endowment Act*, for those cases where economic need would be a major barrier to continuance of secondary school studies.⁶¹

The Committee pointed out that it was not competent to make detailed and specific recommendations in regard to curriculum: that was the job of panels or syllabus committees drawn in a representative fashion from people 'who knew what they were talking about'.⁶² The Committee

nevertheless did outline a series of principles upon which any overall curriculum should be devised:

We were very anxious that adequate provision be made for what you might call the tools of living and of citizenship. A mastery of the mother tongue, competence in mathematics, a sound knowledge of the science of today, a sound background in what might be broadly be called the social studies and obligatory experience in hand, eye and ear.⁶³

Wyndham believed that the curriculum for the least academically able pupils would consist almost entirely of the 'core' of subjects, studied at the appropriate level of ability. On the other hand, the most gifted pupils, were be encouraged to make the greatest possible use of electives, but would not be allowed to do so at the expense of a balanced curriculum. If, for example, a student ultimately studied three languages, he or she would also have studied both mathematics and science, as 'a preparation for citizenship', over a period of four years. If students' electives were mathematics and science, they would also have followed a four-year course in the social studies, music and art. It was intended that everybody would have experience with hand, ear and eye—craft, music, drama—so that even 'the most academic would have some'.⁶⁴ The electives stood in contrast to the subjects of the core, especially when they were identical in title, in that, as electives, they would be designed as systematic studies 'demanding the high standards which could be expected of selected, able and interested pupils'. For example, where the mathematics of the core would be the mathematics needed by the 'competent citizen of the next decade, designed for those pupils who will leave school at 16 with their School Certificate', elective mathematics would be 'more systematic, more academic', designed to provide a challenge to pupils with mathematical ability and leading to work beyond the School Certificate.⁶⁵

No combination of tests and personal information could provide the basis upon which to predetermine with reliability the type of secondary school course a primary school pupil should follow. The better approach was to observe the response of the pupil in the early stage of the secondary school: for many, this would take a year; for some, it might take longer. The essential feature of internal school organisation and of the shape of the curriculum a pupil might follow must therefore be

elasticity. In the light of a pupil's achievement and of other evidence of potential, he or she should be able, under guidance, to add elective subjects to those which all students shared: electives which would provide challenges to their ability and interest. The Committee did not turn its back upon selection, but substituted for 'predestination at the primary school level, guided self-selection in the context of actual school experience'.⁶⁶ Overseas experience lent support to such a reform. 'One of the essential features of the Swedish "comprehensive" school is the provision made for such progressive determination ... only in third year is "streaming" introduced.' Theory and practice in the USA also had for many years supported the principle of almost unrestricted entry into secondary school.⁶⁷ The new secondary pattern embraced the policy of selecting children during their first year for differing secondary programmes within the comprehensive school but not in the irreversible manner of the tripartite high school era.⁶⁸ Under the Wyndham scheme the final determination of secondary school courses was postponed until after the pupils had received learning experiences beyond the primary school level. At the end of the common first year, pupils chose from among a range of syllabus offerings and were able to attempt levels of study that past performance suggested they could manage.⁶⁹

The first secondary school year represented a stage of transition in which the pupil might become familiar with the features of the secondary school and the staff come to know the new cohort as individuals. The first year was designed to be a period of orientation; 'it is analogous to the two-year stage, instituted in France in 1956, and called "le cycle d'observation"'.⁷⁰ This stage of transition was handicapped if it began only after the cohort entered the secondary school. There was therefore, a need for staff and counsellor liaison between the local secondary school and the neighbouring primary schools, and for corresponding liaison at all levels of policy determination. Hence on the Secondary Schools Board one position was reserved specifically for someone who had substantial knowledge of the primary school situation and an 'ability to ensure liaison at the administrative level'.⁷¹

The Committee was more concerned overall with junior than senior secondary programs: 'the Committee devoted less attention to the senior stage than it had to the junior stage ...

the stage at which it considered the major battle of the present had to be fought'.⁷² The difficulty of catering for a wide range of ability lay at that time principally in the junior years:

The exacting work of the fifth and sixth forms leading to the HSC has little to do with the pupil of even average ability. It is the School Certificate, at age sixteen (the average age of apprenticeship), which is still the terminus of secondary education for seventy-five per cent of the whole adolescent population. There is considerable evidence that, for most pupils of average ability, to say nothing of those of lesser ability, courses beyond the age of 16 are best provided as vocational courses closely associated with actual employment.⁷³

Since that time, the massive growth in retention to year twelve has prompted further reappraisals, most recently, in the 1997 McGaw Report, of the adequacy of the provision in the senior years for a wide range of abilities.⁷⁴

The Wyndham Committee paid the greatest attention to the question of the nature of the examination for the award of the School Certificate at the end of the fourth secondary school year rather than the HSC. It considered the arguments against the establishment of an external examination and, in general, was in sympathy with them. The Committee was aware, however, of suspicion in some quarters of the value of the Intermediate Certificate then awarded on the basis of an internal examination. Further, it was convinced that the first task of those concerned with education would be to establish the status of the School Certificate in the mind of the public. Nor could it feel certain that the employers of 1957 could be assumed to be more enlightened than those of 1925, when Peter Board's new alternative credential had failed to win support. The Committee therefore recommended the award of the School Certificate on the basis of an external examination, but it looked forward to the day when, with the Certificate firmly established, the form of examination could be modified.⁷⁵ The Committee believed (with the statutory school leaving age still at 15), that the main exit point from the secondary school would prove to be at the end of fourth form, and this belief was confirmed in practice.⁷⁶

The Committee concluded that until the School Certificate really had won the respect of the community, especially the employing community, then it should be awarded on the basis

of an external examination. Wyndham commented:

I myself felt very strongly about that because I had been a teacher at a time when Mr Peter Board, who faced something of the same upsurge of secondary school population after the first war, developed the domestic science and junior technical secondary schools and realised that their students weren't eligible to sit for the Intermediate Certificate and therefore devised a certificate for them: a Junior Technical Intermediate and a Domestic Science Intermediate Certificate. When the youngsters presented this certificate to a potential employer they said: is this the Intermediate or isn't it? Finally, that attempt by Mr Peter Board was abandoned because it just wouldn't be recognised by employers and I did not want that to happen with the School Certificate.⁷⁷

The School Certificate should be retrospective and stand on its own merits, not as an entrance qualification to anything.⁷⁸ The Committee noted that the average age of boys beginning apprenticeships was approximately sixteen years, so that no industrial dislocation would be occasioned by an increased length of schooling. It made no specific recommendation for the extension of statutory schooling, fearing that 'political reluctance on that score could jeopardise the acceptability of the Committee's fundamental recommendations'.⁷⁹

The Committee's proposals for the first four secondary school years represented the extent to which it considered the community was ready to accept responsibility for the education of all adolescents. It hoped that those proposals, if adopted, would promote a development resulting in the School Certificate being the school exit point for a greater proportion of an age cohort than was the Intermediate Certificate. Although those remaining past the School Certificate would represent a minority, the Committee believed that this minority would soon be larger than that which remained to sit the Leaving Certificate Examination. That larger group would appear, first, 'as schools and the community realised the size of "the pool of talent" in the community' and, secondly, 'as the development of science and technology, of which the Committee was acutely aware, produced callings which demanded new kinds of qualifications and therefore new forms of post-secondary school training'. In the immediate future, the destination of the majority of senior secondary school students would be the university. The Committee did not regard

this as 'either desirable or permanent, but it was at that time a fact of life which had to be recognised'.⁸⁰

The Committee took note of the failure rates in their first year of some five per cent of a school generation who entered the university. During the early 1950s at the University of Sydney this failure rate had reached thirty-two per cent.⁸¹ The Committee was of the opinion that the cause lay partly in the situation in secondary schools. An examination of secondary syllabuses, and the results of the Leaving Certificate Examination, together with information as to the mental ability of the pupils concerned, indicated that standards had not fallen; on the contrary, there was a moderate, but definite improvement.⁸² The problem lay in the fact that, while the demands of the community were rising, especially in the fields of mathematics and science, the Leaving Certificate course was the only recognised pattern of secondary studies. Even at the senior level, this course had increasingly to make provision for a wider variety of pupils; it was not solely a course preparing for university entrance.⁸³ It was likely that part of the cause lay in the tendency, manifest since World War One, for pupils to be presented for the Leaving Certificate Examination at an unduly early age. The Leaving Certificate Examination was originally designed for a group of candidates, more than half of whom would be 18 years of age by the end of their last secondary school year. This was the case in 1920, but by 1935 the proportion of these older pupils had fallen to thirty-five per cent and by 1955 to fifteen per cent. In the latter year nearly sixty per cent of candidates from public secondary schools were under the age of seventeen.⁸⁴ While chronological age in itself might be an inadequate measure, the Committee could not but feel that many Leaving Certificate candidates lacked that maturity which is one of the elements of success under university conditions.⁸⁵

Since its terms of reference did not extend to the tertiary level, the Committee went no farther than to draw attention to the need for a review of the situation at the university level. The *Report* stressed that secondary schools had other tasks to perform besides preparing prospective university students. The fears expressed by universities, that schools were failing to provide students with a broad and general education, and that students entering universities lacked maturity, would be allayed not by raising matriculation standards but by extending the

period of secondary schooling and a greater commitment to general education. Specialisation in a narrow range of subjects was to be discouraged.⁸⁶ The *Report* argued that Australian industry was hampered by a 'small home market', high labour costs and long distances. To ensure the best return on capital investment, Australia must have more than its share of expertise and knowledge in all its enterprises. It needed to rely more heavily than other nations on university graduates 'for both manpower and research'.⁸⁷

Doubts were nevertheless widely expressed about the ability of the Wyndham Scheme to raise standards in the senior secondary years. Suggestions that separate senior high schools might be more effective were dismissed by Wyndham. Senior high schools, he believed, would only reinforce university control. 'To establish "matriculation colleges" would, for me, seem to mark the end of any efforts to convince parents that "getting to the university" is not the major purpose of a school'.⁸⁸ In the senior forms of the secondary school, Wyndham believed, there should be three main objectives:

the provision of courses, to meet the needs of the higher proportion of talented students to be found in the senior forms; the adoption of methods which would inculcate in those students an attitude of personal initiative and self-responsibility in regard to their studies; and the cultivation of an atmosphere of relative maturity on the part of all concerned.⁸⁹

Wyndham stressed that many features of the new provision, as it developed between 1957 and 1965, did not appear in the recommendations of the Committee, but were interpretations of its intention or additions of details, many of them at the hands of the two Boards set up under the Act of 1961, for example, the concept of 'levels', the introduction of General Studies in the HSC Examination, the attempts to solve the 'insoluble differential marking scales,' but, above all, 'the details of the curriculum'.⁹⁰

It is now possible to see why the Scheme did not realise the hopes of its initiator. In the first place, it was introduced in the context of a highly centralised Department which continued to restrict the initiative of the individual teacher; secondly, it had to accommodate the continued demand of the universities that students should pass difficult entrance examinations. Many argue that the Scheme was never radical: that it was hedged

about with so many exceptions that it never had a chance to set up genuinely comprehensive schools; that in retaining selective schools and not insisting on co-education it was not a concerted attempt at installing comprehensive education. This view sees Wyndham's principal achievements as extending secondary education from five to six years and reforming the low and middle school curriculum of junior secondary to give it 'a more general taste'.⁹¹ Critics stress that the academic curriculum was maintained by the Wyndham Scheme notably through its requirement that only two 'practical' subjects be completed in junior secondary which 'loaded' the scheme in favour of the academic pupil.⁹² Yet, at the time, others, such as Mark Bishop, Headmaster, Cranbrook School, praised the Scheme for introducing to public schools 'some of the facets of independent school education' such as emphasising the arts 'which independent schools had been doing for the last twenty years'.⁹³

Its supporters ascribe the Scheme's shortcomings to the necessity to meet political exigencies. They believe the Wyndham Report was 'mutilated before it was introduced as the Wyndham scheme'. The Committee's calls for the removal of the Intermediate were thwarted by 'politicians who saw the Intermediate as the "poor man's Leaving Certificate", and insisted on its retention'. The Scheme as introduced, it is claimed, was an 'emasculated version' of the original report.⁹⁴

But Wyndham's success, even in his own terms, was far from complete. He had preserved ability grouping in a form more appropriate to the day and age and better able to serve social democratic purposes. His hopes that the Scheme would end selection for secondary schooling and protect secondary education from university control were far from fully realised. The universities continued to dictate levels of matriculation which undermined the likelihood of senior students enjoying a broad liberal education. Hedley Yelland suspected that Wyndham saw his major failure as this inability to break this high school-university nexus.⁹⁵

Despite Wyndham's public denials, the Scheme ran counter to comprehensive principles insofar as it endorsed ability grouping and did little to promote mixed grouping (where students of high, medium and low ability attend the same class). Distinctions between provision of a liberal academic curriculum for an elite who would progress to matriculation

and an emphasis on vocational education for the majority remained entrenched.⁹⁶ The retention of selective schools undermined comprehensive principles and, in the longer term, retained a base from which later ruinous attacks could be launched on the viability of the overall comprehensive system. Nevertheless, when viewed against the backdrop of the disparate system it replaced, by introducing a common core curriculum of general education for junior students who were drawn from the local neighbourhood without selection, the Wyndham Scheme represented a significant shift towards comprehensive education.

Since Wyndham's retirement there have been many changes to the Scheme. The first major deviation came when the Vaughan Committee of 1973 won the approval of the two Boards to remove the linkages between maths and science in the senior years which had given them 'an artificial mark advantage'. The Vaughan Committee's *Base Paper on the Total Curriculum, Years Seven to Ten* proposed the first four years of secondary be structured into two modules, Years seven and eight and Years nine and ten. It suggested that a core curriculum of mathematics, science and technology, man and society, arts (art and craft and music), and physical education should comprise eighty per cent of school time in Years seven and eight declining to sixty per cent in Years nine and ten to allow increasing specialisation. The notion of an exploratory first year was adulterated, with the one-year orientation being cut back to one term because 'exploration and development of the pupil's potential is to occur in all years'.⁹⁷

In recent years the NSW government has been engaged in the ad hoc restructuring of secondary schools into 'collegiate' groups comprising a senior and junior high schools. In March 1998 the Minister for Education, John Aquilina, announced the creation of the first college group or collegiate in NSW. Typically, collegiate groups are formed by converting one school in a district into a senior high school and the remaining schools into junior feeder schools. The first college group, the Nirimba Collegiate Group, however, was formed by restructuring three existing high school into junior high schools and the establishment of a senior high school. Formation of colleges has occurred also at Mt Druitt (Chifley College), Dubbo, Oatley (Georges River Campus), Newcastle (Callaghan) and Northern Beaches. Colleges have

also been announced for Foster/Tuncurry and the Central Coast of NSW. As outlined at the beginning of this paper, the creation of separate senior high schools, in one view, need not represent a major departure from the philosophy of the comprehensive school. Wyndham himself depicted his reforms as providing a secondary school course in 'two stages: one of four years to the age of 16 and the other of two years to the age of 18' and it was for the first stage that selection was to be ended and a core curriculum introduced.⁹⁸

A far more serious threat to the comprehensive ideal is represented by official prescriptions which insist that choice and diversity must be fostered through the provision of dezoning and increasing the number of selective and specialist high schools; initiatives that have led to a fragmentation of the comprehensive system. Since the end of zoning in 1988 parents can choose a school other than the closest secondary school and the competition between schools that has ensued has caused shifts in student enrolment patterns and contributed to the residualisation of some schools as a result of the loss of a comprehensive student profile. In recent years the number of NSW selective schools has greatly expanded from seven in 1988 to twenty one today that enrol some 19,000 students on the basis of their performance in an entrance IQ test. Selection, largely on the basis of the specialist course they offer, is now the norm for the specialist schools that emphasize particular areas such as technology, performing arts and sport. These developments represents a major shift from the Wyndham Scheme model as preselection for high school now is again commonplace. Those students who gain entry to these selective and specialist schools are not drawn from the local neighbourhood without selection nor do they enter a school wherein there exists the whole range of levels of intellectual ability. Compounding this departure from the comprehensive model is the accompanying trend to incorporate a selective stream in mainstream high schools. This option was first installed at Sefton High and later at Macquarie Fields High and is now to be offered, as part of the inner-Sydney restructure, at Ryde Secondary College, Sydney College, Balmain Junior High School, Leichhardt Junior High and Dulwich Hill High. Such a mix of 'ordinary' and the 'brighter' selective students cannot be regarded as a 'comprehensive' secondary school in the full sense of the term. Although the separate courses are housed

under the one roof, pupils will not be able to transfer from the stream to which they are initially allotted and selection for the elite stream will take place outside, not within the secondary school course as the Wyndham Report favoured.

The 1997 McGaw Report acknowledged the legacy of the Wyndham Report.⁹⁹ In one sense both reports were concerned primarily with equity: the Wyndham Report with ensuring equity in access to secondary education; the McGaw Report with equity in senior secondary education. The Grammar School 11+ selection system was the subject of much investigation by the Wyndham Committee, as was the predictive validity of the test score. The outcome of the investigation was 'the proposal for comprehensive education: the extension of opportunity to all to find within an integrated secondary schooling system the opportunity to realise one's potential'.¹⁰⁰ Just as the English 11+ examination and the 'developmental insensitivity' of predicting secondary school success were rejected by Wyndham, the McGaw Report sought to 'address the correlation between postcode and Tertiary Entrance Rank and the validity of the projection of school-relevant data university selection criteria'. Many of those who had taught 'pre-Wyndham' concluded that the Wyndham Report demonstrated that the final evaluative process effectively determines much of the approach in the final years of secondary school.¹⁰¹

Despite the erosion of the Wyndham Scheme through the provision of dezoning and the expansion of selective and specialist high schools, all NSW secondary schools still follow the same core curriculum and the Wyndham Scheme pattern provides the model for the structure of the vast majority.¹⁰² Nevertheless, current reform proposals would benefit from the recognition, so prominent in the Wyndham Report, that the secondary curriculum should be adapted to the needs of the whole adolescent group and assist in their social as well as academic development. What has been lost is programs to select children during their first year for differing secondary programs within the comprehensive school and this has been supplanted by a return to a preference for allocating students to different types of school in the irreversible manner of the selective high school era. It would appear that many politicians and educationists have forgotten the reasons why

comprehensive schools largely replaced selective systems of schooling during the 1960s and 1970s.

Most of the recommendations of the Wyndham Committee which have thus far been examined have origins manifest in earlier educational theory. The emphasis on fitting the school to the individual echoes a philosophy of education which originated with the Jeffersonian and Jacksonian concepts of democracy, which argued that all children (except slaves) are born equal in their natural right and thus should have the same educational opportunities. This philosophy was taken a step further by John Dewey who opposed the principle of teaching subjects as such believing as an alternative that material should be taught as required; that people should be taught how to learn rather than merely learning facts. Dewey and other progressive educationists believed that, if a community was to be truly democratic, there must be genuine communication between its members. By gathering children of different intelligence levels together each would learn to gain a better appreciation of the unique contribution every individual is able to make to society. Dewey maintained that this appreciation would carry over into later life, thus giving all sections of the community a better appreciation of others.

Wyndham's stress on ability grouping was the antithesis of Dewey's progressivism. Some critics believed that the *Report* merely entrenched meritocratic assumptions, thereby enshrining individualism and hiding the social construction of failure.¹⁰³ To a great extent the Wyndham Scheme's preference for individual patterns of study rested on the concept of each student establishing his or her own contract with the school, thereby diminishing the role of the community. Individual contractual relationships, as opposed to the unwritten, traditional and collective relationship of previous societies, remain central to capitalist societies, and the idea of the contract played an important part in the theoretical development of political individualism. Such contracts underwrite the primacy of individual economic advantage and diminish the importance of personal as well as group relationships. As division of labour has increased, a more specialised social and economic structure has permitted a greater number of significant individual differences of character, attitude and experience to emerge. Wyndham was an optimistic spokesman for this new individualism.

A strict Methodist upbringing had indelibly stamped Wyndham's character and one could view this focus on individualism as an extension of his religious beliefs. Max Weber, for example has suggested that the religious individualism of Calvin created among its adherents an 'inner isolation'.¹⁰⁴ The people of pre-Reformation Europe believed that the earth and all things above and below it were made and maintained by God, that social roles and structures were divinely ordained, that the passages of life were governed by ritual, and that the church in Rome was the one and only arbiter of God's will. The Reformation changed this world view by proposing that each individual was capable of discerning the will of God for himself, and one effect was to fragment the religious landscape into competing perspectives and institutions, each weakening the plausibility of any one of them claiming to represent universal truth.

Nevertheless a widespread fear that in the rapid progressive division of labour the individual risked losing completeness as a human being, together with postwar social democratic sentiments, promoted the concept of a core curriculum which would encourage a shared sense of citizenship. Today, by contrast, there is a lesser emphasis on the core curriculum providing 'the studies deemed necessary for competent citizenship'.¹⁰⁵ The contemporary stress on the vocational aspects of the core curriculum illuminates some other key connections between the welfare state, capitalism and democracy. Claus Offe argues that the state in a democratic capitalist society must attempt to balance two often competing pressures: the need to ensure the continuity of capital accumulation while asserting its own legitimacy by responding to democratic demands for expenditure on services.¹⁰⁶ Offe contends that the state can never permanently resolve those pressures. Rather, what the state does is to arrive at temporary settlements. The comprehensive school model as envisaged by the Wyndham Scheme marked such a settlement. When the private sector is prosperous, as it was in the 1950s, the state is able to meet competing demands: it responds to appeals by spending more on service provision. However, in periods of economic contraction, the state lacks the resources to meet these entreaties. Such conditions have prevailed in recent decades and have been intensified by the globalisation of the world economy, which has diminished the individual nation's

capacity to control its own economy. In such circumstances the state seeks to reduce its services. As Anna Yeatman explains:

The essence of this reshaping has been to reorient the business of the public sector so that it no longer services a welfare state, but instead services a state which defines its primary objective as one of fostering a competitive economy ... the replacement of public policy objectives couched in terms of social goods by public policy objectives couched in terms of economic goods.¹⁰⁷

NOTES

1. Committee Appointed to Survey Secondary Education in NSW (H. Wyndham, Chair), *Report*, Sydney, Government Printer, 1958.
2. See B. Crittenden cited in E. Holdaway, 'The Relationship Between Research and Policy Formation in Education', p.27; and K. R. Smith, 'Political Influences Behind the Delayed Implementation of the Wyndham Report in New South Wales' in R. Broadbent (ed.), *Education Policy Making in Australia*, Melbourne, Australian College of Education, 1982; Duffield, J, The Making of the Wyndham Scheme or Whatever Happened to Selective Secondary Education, paper ANZHES Conference, Newcastle, 1989.
3. This paper is based on Chapter 6 of the author's doctoral thesis. See J. Hughes, Harold Wyndham: a study in education and administration, PhD thesis, University of Sydney, 2000.
4. A. Barcan, 'Senior High Schools and the Search for Purpose and Quality in Education', *The Forum of Education*, March, 1978, p.9.
5. K. Cunningham, D. Ross, *An Australian School at Work*, Hawthorn, Victoria, Australian Council for Educational Research, 1967.
6. Ken Boston, Untitled Speech at Leura, 10 June 1998, Sydney, NSW Department of Education and Training.
7. Wyndham, Interview, U. Bygott, Wyndham Papers (WP), Mitchell Library (ML) mss 5089, 4(38).
8. Committee Appointed to Survey Secondary Education in NSW (H. Wyndham, Chair), *Report*, Sydney, Government Printer, 1958.
9. V. Skilbeck, 'Main Issues and Trends' in *Adolescents and Comprehensive Schooling*, Paris, OECD, 1987, p.8.
10. Skilbeck, 'Main Issues and Trends', p.8.
11. Cunningham and Ross, *An Australian School at Work*, p.4.
12. G. Walford and R. Pring, 'Introduction', in R. Pring and G. Walford (eds), *Affirming the Comprehensive Ideal*, Falmer Press, London, 1997, p.3.
13. See R. Connell, *Making the Difference: schools, families and social division*, Sydney, Allen and Unwin, 1982, p.122, pp.169-171.
14. H. Yelland, Interview by author. Hedley Yelland was a member of the NSW Public Service Board, 1969-70; Deputy Director-General of Education, NSW, 1968; Director of Secondary Education, 1965-68;

- Deputy Director, 1956-65; Inspector of Schools, 1950-56; Secretary to Wyndham Committee, 1954-57.
15. Committee Appointed to Survey Secondary Education in NSW (H. Wyndham, Chair), *Report*, Sydney, Government Printer, 1958, p.82.
16. Wyndham, External Course Curriculum, Macquarie University, Sydney, 1982, WP, ML mss 5089, 5(38).
17. Wyndham Committee, *Report*, p.94.
18. Wyndham, address Staff Conference, 17 January, 1958, WP, ML mss 5089, 24(38).
19. Wyndham Committee, *Report*, p.98.
20. Wyndham, Salient Features of Developments Abroad, typescript, n.d., WP, ML mss 5089, 14(38).
21. Dr Murray Print; cited in *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 August, 1995.
22. Wyndham, Secondary Education: the need for change, lecture Spring Forum of the Australian Institute of Political Science, 15 September, 1960, WP, ML mss 5089, 24(38).
23. Wyndham, Secondary Education: the need for change, WP, ML mss 5089, 24(38).
24. Wyndham, address Staff Conference, 17 January, 1958, WP, ML mss 5089, 24(38).
25. Wyndham, address Staff Conference, 1958, WP, ML mss 5089, 24(38).
26. Wyndham, address Workers Education Association, Wollongong, 31 May, 1966, WP, ML mss 5089, 26(38).
27. Alexander Mackie, 1876-1955, was principal of Sydney Teachers College, 1906-1940, and Professor of Education, University of Sydney, 1910-1940. Wyndham had studied and worked with Mackie.
28. R. McCulloch, 'The development of grading and grouping methods' in G. W. Bassett, *Each One is Different: teaching for individual differences in the primary school*, Melbourne, ACER, 1964, p.105.
29. A. Webster to author, 15 May, 1993. Alf Webster was a school counsellor with the NSW Department of Public Instruction, 1943-46. He was appointed Senior Research Officer in 1947 and eventually became deputy to David Verco, then head of the Division of Research Guidance and Adjustment. This division was replaced in 1957 by two divisions: Research and Planning, and Guidance and Adjustment. Webster became Chief of Research and Planning in 1962, and in 1968 his title was changed to Director of Planning. He was Secretary to the Australian Education Council, 1963-76. Wyndham, in a letter to John Goodsell, Chairman of the Public Service Board, 1960-71, observed: 'Personally I am constantly dependent on Webster's judgement'. Wyndham to J. Goodsell, 7 June, 1966, NSWSA, 8/2269.
30. The evidence presented to the Committee is reviewed at length in K. Smith, *Influence and Leadership in Educational Policy Making at State Level: a case study of the Wyndham Report and the NSW Education Act, 1961*, PhD thesis, University of New England, 1975.

31. Dr M. S. Brown, University of Sydney, submission to Wyndham Committee, n.d., NSWSA, 8/2264.
32. Dr M. S. Brown, submission to Wyndham Committee, NSWSA, 8/2264.
33. Dr M. S. Brown, submission to Wyndham Committee, NSWSA, 8/2264. For an instructive analysis of the English public school tradition of character building see G. McCulloch, *Philosophers and Kings: education for leadership in modern England*, New York, Cambridge University Press, 1991, Chapters 2 and 3.
34. Dr M. S. Brown, submission to Wyndham Committee, NSWSA, 8/2264.
35. NSWTF submission to Wyndham Committee with notes by Hedley Yelland, n.d., NSWSA, 8/2265.
36. J. Duffield, The Making of the Wyndham Scheme or Whatever Happened to Selective Secondary Education, paper ANZHES Conference, Newcastle, 1989, p.36.
37. Duffield, Wyndham Scheme, 1989, p.36.
38. NSWTF submission to Wyndham Committee, NSWSA, 8/2265.
39. Wyndham, Secondary Education: the need for change, WP, ML mss 5089, 24(38).
40. Wyndham, Secondary Education Report, typescript, nd., WP, ML mss 5089, 20(38).
41. Wyndham, Secondary Education Report, WP, ML mss 5089, 20(38).
42. H. Yelland, Interview by author.
43. Wyndham to K. Smith, 1 May, 1975, WP, ML mss 5089, 4(38).
44. Wyndham, Interview, J. Burnswoods, WP, ML mss 5089, 26(38).
45. Wyndham, Secondary Education: the need for change, WP, ML mss 5089, 24(38).
46. Wyndham, address Staff Conference, 17 January, 1958, WP, ML mss 5089, 24(38).
47. Wyndham, address Staff Conference, 1958, WP, ML mss 5089, 24(38).
48. Wyndham, Taped Interview, V. Keraitis, NLA.
49. Wyndham, Secondary Education: the need for change, WP, ML mss 5089, 24(38).
50. *Ibid.*
51. Wyndham, speech Annual Meeting Girl Guides Association, 19 September, 1962, WP, ML mss 5089, 22(38).
52. Wyndham to C. Harper, Education editor, *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 24 September, 1984, WP, ML mss 5089, 6(38). See also, L. Johnson, *The Modern Girl: social definitions of growing up in Australia in the 1950s and early 60s*, London, Open University Press, 1993, Chap. 4.
53. Wyndham, Taped Interview, V. Keraitis, NLA.
54. Wyndham, Secondary Education: the need for change, WP, ML mss 5089, 24(38).
55. *Ibid.*
56. *Ibid.*
57. *Ibid.*
58. *Ibid.*

59. For further discussion of the English public school view of the role of sixth form see McCulloch, *Philosophers*, pages 14 and 96.
60. Wyndham, Secondary Education: the need for change, WP, ML mss 5089, 24(38).
61. *Ibid.*
62. Wyndham, address Staff Conference, 17 January, 1958, WP, ML mss 5089, 24(38).
63. Wyndham, Taped Interview, V. Keraitis, NLA.
64. *Ibid.*
65. Wyndham, address Staff Conference, 17 January, 1958, WP, ML mss 5089, 24(38).
66. Wyndham, External Course Curriculum, Macquarie University, Sydney, 1982, WP, ML mss 5089, 5(38).
67. Wyndham, Salient Features, WP, ML mss 5089, 14(38).
68. Committee Appointed by the Minister for Education to Enquire into the Education of the Talented Child (C. L. Macdonald, Chair), *Report*, Sydney, NSW Department of Education, 1977, p.9.
69. Macdonald Committee, *Report*, p.9.
70. Wyndham, NSW Survey of Secondary Education, lecture Kuring-gai CAE, 13 October, 1975, WP, ML mss 5089, 16(38).
71. Wyndham, Secondary Education Report, WP, ML mss 5089, 20(38).
72. Wyndham, Some Aspects of the Nineteen-Fifties and Sixties, 1984, p.3, WP, ML mss 5089, 6(38).
73. Wyndham to Ms P. Giffney, journalist for *The Sun*, 22 November, 1968, WP, ML mss 5089, 3(38).
74. B. McGaw, *Shaping Their Future: recommendations for reform of the Higher School Certificate*, Sydney, Department of Training and Education Co-ordination NSW, 1997, p.5.
75. Wyndham, Secondary Education Report, WP, ML mss 5089, 20(38).
76. Wyndham to C. Harper, 22 July, 1975, WP, ML mss 5089, 4(38).
77. Wyndham, Taped Interview, V. Keraitis, NLA.
78. Eventually, Wyndham hoped, the School Certificate would become internal 'along the lines of assessment outlined in the Fyfe Report of Scotland'. Wyndham, Interview, J. Burnswoods, WP, ML mss 5089, 26(38).
79. Wyndham, Secondary Education Report, WP, ML mss 5089, 20(38).
80. *Ibid.*
81. Wyndham Committee, *Report*, p.69
82. *Ibid*, p.49.
83. *Ibid.*
84. *Ibid*, p.52.
85. Wyndham, Secondary Education: the need for change, WP, ML mss 5089, 24(38).
86. J. O'Brien, *A Divided Unity: politics of NSW teacher militancy since 1945*, Sydney, Allen and Unwin, 1987, p.18.
87. O'Brien, *A Divided Unity*, p.18.
88. Wyndham to Principal, Cheltenham Girls High School, 3 May, 1975, WP, ML mss 5089, 4(38).
89. Wyndham, address Workers Education Association, Wollongong, 31 May, 1966, WP, ML mss 5089, 26(38).

90. Wyndham, NSW Survey, Kuring-gai, WP, ML mss 5089, 16(38).
91. W. F. Connell, Interview by author, 17 December, 1992.
92. Wyndham acknowledged this criticism. See Wyndham, *The New Secondary Education: the first three years*, typescript, n.d., Wyndham Papers, ML mss 5089, 19(38). See, for example, B. Bessant and A. Spaul, *The Politics of Schooling*, Melbourne, Pitman Publishing, 1976, pp.64-65.
93. *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 September, 1965.
94. C. Ebert to author, 8 April, 1993. Charles Ebert was an inspector and area director in the NSW Department of Education. He was at Kensington Public School shortly after Wyndham, and also attended Fort Street Boys High School. He was appointed Assistant to the Director-General in 1967.
95. H. Yelland, Interview by author.
96. Gary McCulloch concludes English comprehensive schools also recreated distinctions between liberal and vocational education. See McCulloch, *Philosophers*, p.5.
97. Dr John Vaughan, cutting from the *Australian Monthly Review*, n.d., WP, ML mss 5089, 18(38).
98. Wyndham, H, 'The New Pattern of Education in New South Wales', *Australian Journal of Education*, vol. 6, no. 3, 1962, p175.
99. B. McGaw, *Shaping Their Future: recommendations for reform of the Higher School Certificate*, Sydney, Department of Training and Education Co-ordination NSW, 1997. Chapter 1.
100. Brother Ambrose Payne, *Newsletter*, Australian College of Education, NSW Chapter, December, 1996.
101. Payne, *Newsletter*.
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