

**William Edmund Kemp (1831-1898).**

Cyril Blacket, "W E Kemp: An Obituary", in *Australian Technical Journal*, II, 30 June 1898, p. 168

# Empire, Education and Nationalism

## *The School Architecture of William Edmund Kemp, 1880-1896*

**Kirsten Orr**

Fundamental to an examination of the school architecture of William Edmund Kemp (1831-1898) is an understanding of the man and the culture of the colonial society that shaped him. During his lifetime there was a changing imperial relationship between New South Wales and Britain, the introduction of self-government (1855) and a movement towards nationhood. As the nineteenth century progressed, the theories of empire and nation building that dominated the British worldview were modified by emerging ideas of colonial difference. There was a general recognition that British people living in the Australian environment had been changed and had developed their own distinctive character.<sup>1</sup> The growing independence of the colony accelerated the development of education, culminating in the New South Wales Public Instruction Act of 1880.<sup>2</sup> Kemp's position as Architect for Public Schools was established at this time – a position he occupied for sixteen years (1880-1896) during which he designed hundreds of new schools for the colony.

In a previous article, I have documented the design of Kemp's school buildings within the context of late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century standards of school design and the British-Australian system of pupil-teacher primary education.<sup>3</sup> Here I also demonstrated that the style adopted by Kemp for his schools was derived from the Italianate style. The purpose of this article is a largely biographical one: to trace Kemp's development as a leading Sydney architect in conjunction with changing ideologies and practices in colonial society and architecture. Faced with the challenge of devising a new typology of school building to accommodate the introduction of free, compulsory and secular elementary education, Kemp was keenly aware that his schools should also express their purpose as symbols of colonial progress and civilisation.

### **A New Public Face for Education**

In the economically buoyant conditions of the late 1870s that inspired the staging of the Sydney International Exhibition (1879), the Coalition Government led by Henry Parkes (1878-1883) introduced the New South Wales Public Instruction Act (1880). The Act had its roots in democracy and the liberal

philosophies that had been espoused by progressives in Britain and the colony. The traditional view that education should impart religious and moral beliefs was being challenged by liberal views of education that favoured the acquisition of knowledge, useful skills and desirable social characteristics. Governor Richard Bourke (1831-1837) had earlier supported liberalism in education by attempting to introduce a system of state schools and by thwarting the establishment of an Anglican educational monopoly through the extension of financial aid to all church schools. Together, democracy and liberalism became a force for the separation of state and church and for secularism in education. By the 1870s such beliefs were in the ascendancy and “intensified the liberal view that the state should abandon its support for church schools and provide a strong state system of elementary education”<sup>4</sup> that would move beyond the teaching of “catechisms” and “formularies” as the basis for developing children’s minds.<sup>5</sup> Victoria (1872), South Australia (1875) and Queensland (1875) took the lead in providing free, compulsory and secular education but such reforms were delayed in New South Wales because of stronger sectarian divisions, political instability and frequent changes of government. When New South Wales finally passed the Public Instruction Act it assumed responsibility for elementary schooling, which had previously been organised through the agency of the church, covered all the costs of accommodation and instruction and discontinued any form of state aid to church schools.<sup>6</sup>

In these educational reforms the Australian colonies were naturally influenced by Britain. Education had been compulsory in Scotland since the Education Act of 1496 but continued to be a matter for the church rather than the state until the Education (Scotland) Act of 1872. In England and Wales, a framework for the schooling of all children between the ages of 5 and 12 was provided by the Elementary Education Act 1870 (Forster’s Education Act) and attendance until the age of 12 became compulsory in 1880.<sup>7</sup> In New South Wales, both systems were evident, with the University of Sydney (1850) and Sydney Grammar School (1854) organised along Scottish lines, and the English pupil-teacher system introduced by William Wilkins (1827-1892).<sup>8</sup> Wilkins had the vision and skills to organise an efficient centralised system of elementary education that reached its ultimate expression with the establishment in 1880 of the New South Wales Department of Public Instruction. The centralised administration of education and the withdrawal of state aid from church schools in the Australian colonies differed from the English system where regional School Boards administered education and church schools continued to receive grants. In New South Wales attendance for children was compulsory between the ages of 6 and 14, education was nominally free and in the last two decades of the nineteenth century a higher proportion of colonial children across Australia were receiving a basic education than in Britain.<sup>9</sup>

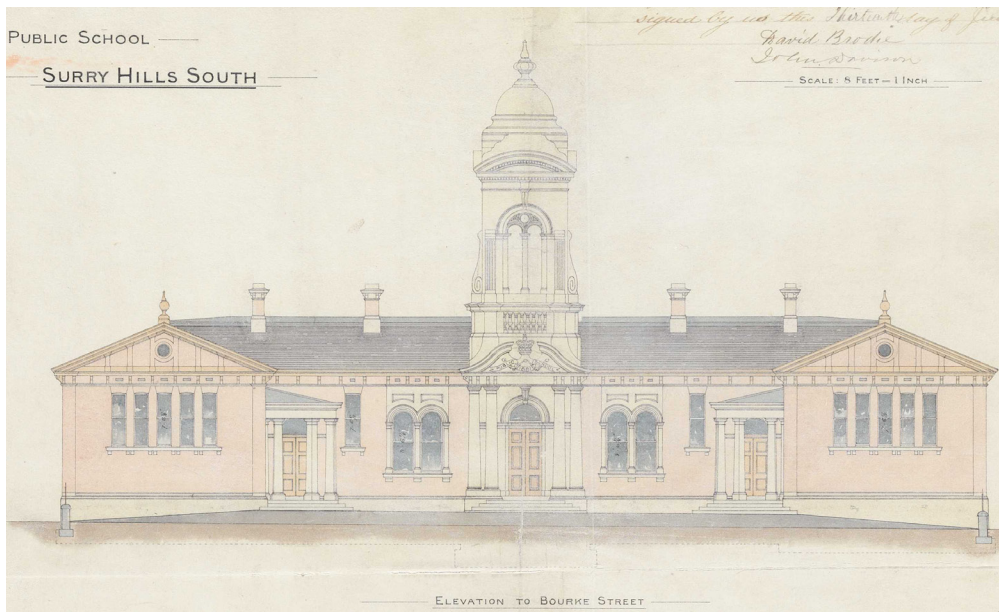


**Figure 1: Crown Street Public School designed by George. A. Mansfield, 1869.**

Source: Peter Tonkin, "School Buildings 1848-1930: An Analysis of the Form and Function of Public Schools in New South Wales" (B. Arch Hons Thesis, University of Sydney, 1975): 62.

Kemp was appointed Architect for Public Schools on the strong recommendation of the Colonial Architect, James Barnet,<sup>10</sup> ahead of other architects with considerable school-building experience. His appointment was not surprising given the elite circles in which he was moving and his engagement in social issues. He was a churchwarden at St James Church and later All Saints Church, Petersham; his private practice was run from Mort's Chambers in Pitt Street; he inherited strong family contacts from the political and commercial activities of his father and brother Charles; and in 1872 he moved to live with his sister-in-law at 175 Macquarie Street next door to the Fairfax family, proprietors of the Sydney Morning Herald. He was a keen tennis player and later became the President of Stanmore Lawn Tennis Club. He also took an interest in many social issues unrelated to architecture that would have brought him into contact with other prominent members of the community.<sup>11</sup>

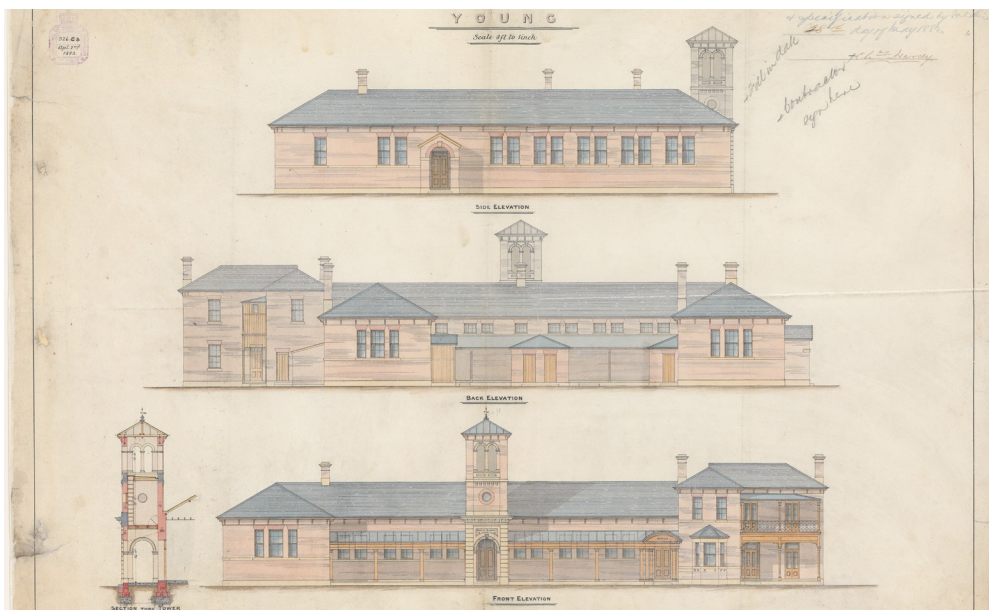
Enrolment in government schools increased by sixty percent between 1880 and 1883 as a result of a rapid growth in the colony's population, the impact of the compulsory clauses in the Public Instruction Act, the extension of the school system and the withdrawal of state aid from denominational schools at the end of 1882.<sup>12</sup> During these years, thanks to the strong economy, generous funding was available for building new schools and replacing or extending old ones and between 1882 and 1883 Kemp's office completed 313 schools.



**Figure 2: One of Kemp's drawings for Surry Hills South Public School, 1881-83.**  
Source: NSW State Archives Collection.

Kemp immediately distinguished himself by dispensing with the Gothic style, which to that point had dominated New South Wales school building under the architectural leadership of George Allen Mansfield (1834-1908). Mansfield had been appointed to undertake the design of new 'national' schools required by the Public Schools Act (1866); special-purpose school buildings that would promote the moral function of state schooling and provide children with models of cleanliness and order. His schools were Gothic in detail with tall, narrow pointed windows, and even belfries, yet they displayed a distinctive school-like character. Schools like Cleveland Street (1867) and Crown Street (1869) (Fig 1) were generally well liked because they were ornate, imposing and expensive. They were spatially significant in their communities and symbolically articulated a relationship between the schools and the colonial society they served.<sup>13</sup>

In contrast, Kemp's schools showed an early preference for a classical vocabulary. Generally consisting of a central block flanked by two asymmetrical secondary wings to produce a picturesque massing, Kemp's schools were well proportioned and balanced.<sup>14</sup> Most of his larger schools incorporated a belfry or elegant Italianate bell tower, ranging from the small belfries at Manly (1880-82) and Carcoar (1884), to handsome bell towers at Surry Hills South (1881-83) (Fig 2), Croydon (1883), Young (1884) (Fig 3) and Pymont (1884) (Fig 4).<sup>15</sup> Carefully placed windows, integrated verandahs featuring colonnades of Doric columns, and repetitive low pyramidal rooflines with corbelled eaves completed the often pleasing, yet restrained, Italianate compositions.



**Figure 3: One of Kemp's drawings for Young Public School, opened 1884.**

Source: NSW State Archives Collection.

Kemp's was a brave departure because there was an enduring nostalgia for the Gothic and its picturesque qualities. It is interesting to note that throughout his career he continued to measure his architecture against the virtues of mid-Victorian Gothic, and when engaging in other styles, felt compelled to justify his departure from this popular style.<sup>16</sup> At the end of his career he was naturally disappointed by public criticism of the style of his schools and reflected:

I have been told that the buildings I have erected during my tenure of the Office of Architect for Schools are not like schools, and that they are not picturesque. I have generally found as far as I could ascertain what my critics meant, that they in some way connected both the picturesque and the school-like with steep roofs, sharp gables, and pointed windows.<sup>17</sup>

In the remainder of this essay I seek to consider some of the factors that may have contributed to this stylistic shift in Kemp's school architecture. These include: Kemp's formal education at Anglican Church schools which was tempered in adulthood by an awareness of debates surrounding education, both within the colony and beyond; his status as a second generation Australian whose growing detachment from an English identity still remained firmly grounded within the broader ideal of Britishness; and his experience of Australian conditions which shaped his ideas about the appropriate architectural responses to the function, utility and style of colonial schools.



**Figure 4: Pyrmont Public School designed by Kemp, opened 1884.**

Source: Kirsten Orr.

### **Empire and Education**

The interaction of empire and education has received little attention from imperial and educational historians and J. A. Mangan suggests that part of the problem is that “historians of all persuasions have paid too little attention to socialisation as opposed to social change.”<sup>18</sup> He defines socialisation as the “total process by which the culture of a community ... is passed on from one generation and assimilated, in whole or part, by the next” through a wide variety of informal and formal interactions.<sup>19</sup> Kemp’s early socialisation took place in remote settler communities of New South Wales and when he reached school age this process was continued by his formal education. During his childhood the need for educational development within the colony had been on the political agenda in anticipation of the need for an educated population who were literate, understood the responsibilities of citizenship and would be fit to vote. Henry Parkes claimed:

It is education, and education only, that is capable of making the masses acquainted with their rights and mindful of their duties; equally hostile to anarchy and despotism, it alone has the power to awaken the humbler classes to a true sense of the dignity of humanity and to inspire them with a love of equality.<sup>20</sup>

A Board of National Education was established in 1848 to build and run elementary schools, particularly in rural areas not served by existing church-run schools. At this time, five types of schools were in operation within the

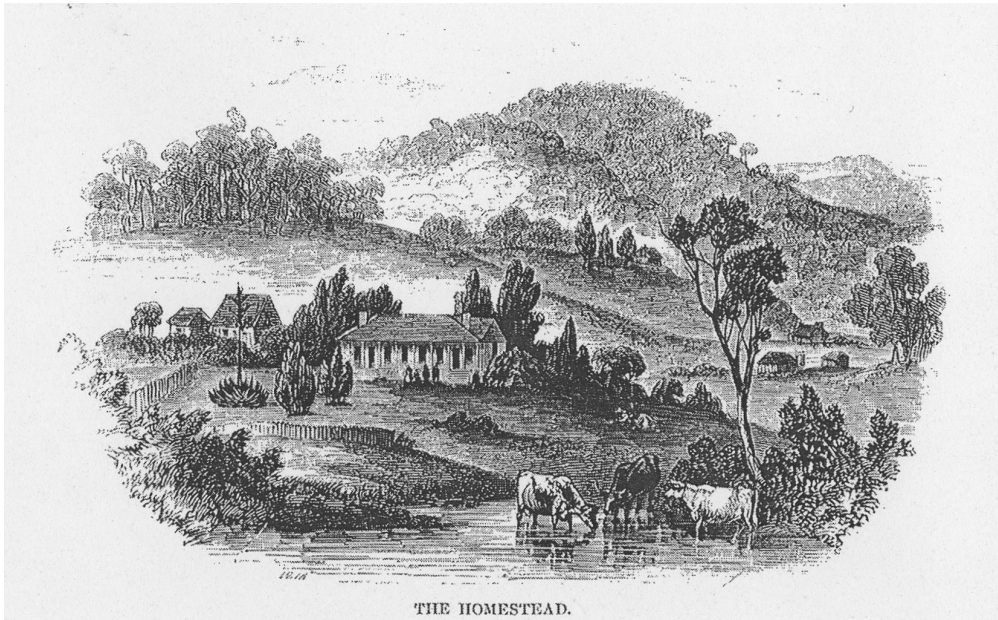


Figure 5: "The Homestead", engraving by W. Mason. In *Louisa Atkinson, Gertrude, the Emigrant: A Tale of Colonial Life / by an Australian lady.*

Sydney: J. R. Clarke, 1857

colony: Anglican, Catholic, Presbyterian, Methodist and National. Church-run schools remained the dominant agency for the transmission of knowledge and ideologies. Teachers were mostly British-born and educated, and disseminated British values through the introduction of British systems of education, curricula and schoolbooks. They nurtured values of empire, patriotism and citizenship and moulded young minds into Christian members of the white British race.<sup>21</sup> It is within this system of church schools that Kemp received his formal education.

In his early years he was educated under Chaplain Wilton, who was the Chaplain of Christ Church Cathedral in Newcastle. Later, in Sydney he was educated at Newtown by the unrelated Reverend Charles Kemp, then at Lyndhurst College, Glebe Point, and its successor, St James' Grammar School, under the Reverend Robert Allwood. At the urging of his brother Charles, Kemp entered St James College after finishing school and stayed there for twelve months, probably contemplating a career in the ministry.<sup>22</sup> Charles, 14 years his senior, had become something of a father figure to Kemp when he moved to Sydney. He was the colony's "leading Anglican layman,"<sup>23</sup> the joint proprietor of the Sydney Morning Herald, and in 1844, he had addressed the Select Committee of the Legislative Council investigating the state of education in the colony. There he argued that all children should receive "such instruction in secular and religious knowledge as is calculated to form a good citizen."<sup>24</sup> A more hard-line religious stance was taken by the Reverend Allwood, who



when questioned in detail about the teaching of religion in schools, insisted that religious sensibilities should pervade all activities in which the children were engaged. When asked, “But do you think teaching to read and write must necessarily be connected with instruction in religion?” he replied, “I think they undoubtedly ought to be ....”<sup>25</sup> We do not know exactly what influence this formal religious instruction had upon Kemp. Maybe, he was typical of Australian youth who, as Ernest I. Robson (1861-1946), the first headmaster of Sydney Church of England Grammar School (Shore) (1889-1900) lamented, “... were often too seduced by a healthy outdoor climate to respond to ... moral ideals.”<sup>26</sup>

### **British but not English**

The “course of empire,” a theory derived from the Scottish Enlightenment ideals of social and economic progress, dominated the thinking of the colonial elites of the early-nineteenth century.<sup>27</sup> Like their European counterparts, they believed that all societies must pass through four consecutive stages of development – the hunting, the pastoral, the agricultural and the commercial – in order to reach the pinnacle of nationhood and empire, before again moving into decline. This cyclical rise and fall of empires had moved steadily westward from Ancient Greece and Rome to Georgian England and it was predicted that it would next move to the New World of America and maybe, in the future, to the Southern Hemisphere.<sup>28</sup> The imperial destiny of the young colony of New South Wales was frequently expressed in these terms and made visible in the colonial courts of the international exhibitions, where ethnographic displays of indigenous peoples surrounded by extensive collections of agricultural and mineral products were surmounted with photographs of prominent public buildings and the rising city of Sydney.<sup>29</sup> At the Sydney International Exhibition of 1879, a chorus of extravagant poetry proclaimed visions of colonial progress and destiny extending beyond the magnificent Garden Palace and the achievements it symbolised, to the higher cause of nationhood. In the words of poet and civil servant Henry Halloran (1811-1893), the success of the exhibition filled “hearts with pleasing hope that thou may’st prove the Horoscope of our Great Future bright and just.”<sup>30</sup>

This neo-classical view of empire as a line of development from frontier to civil society became the subject matter of artistic representations of mid-nineteenth century New South Wales (Fig 5). Early landscapes often pictured the country house or the town as nestled in a pocket of civilisation, surrounded by the somewhat threatening wilderness of the Australian bush,<sup>31</sup> while novels described the exploits of immigrants colonising distant frontiers and transforming them into small fragments of England through the acts of settlement and agricultural improvement. One of the earliest novels of this genre is Alfred Dudley, or, the Australian Settlers (1830) by an uncertain author.<sup>32</sup> It

was possibly inspired by a publication distributed in England by Robert Dawson for the Australian Agricultural Company promoting the benefits of immigration to New South Wales. In the novel, Mr Dudley's family of "wealth, taste and rank" decide to migrate to New South Wales after being ruined by financial speculation in England. The family sets about reconstructing their former English country life at "Dudley Park" on the banks of the Hunter River in the Newcastle/Port Stephens area. From their manor, Dudley and his son oversee the development of "a large and busy town, containing many thriving trades and manufactures, and peopled with a happy population." The spire of the village church is described as being visible from the homestead, as is the picturesque dwelling of Henry Carlton. In the distance is the school, attended by white and black children without discrimination.<sup>33</sup> Alfred Dudley is a fictional account of the intentions of the Australian Agricultural Company in colonising the frontier where its workers would engage in English agricultural pursuits.

Unlike the fictional Dudley family who came to the colony as wealthy landowners, Kemp's family migrated to Australia in 1826 from the working class area of Shoreditch as "servants" of the Australian Agricultural Company, hoping to enjoy the promised "standard of living no longer possible for their class at home." In agent Dawson's scheme they would have expected to inhabit a neat village under the direction of a country squire, where they would live and work in a landscape of "beautiful undulating prospect."<sup>34</sup> The reality, however, did not live up to such expectations and after a difficult start trying to farm poor land in the area north of Sydney between Tahlee and Karuah, the company's operations, and the Kemp family with them, moved up the Karuah River to Stroud. Stroud was named after its English counterpart in Gloucestershire; a place of outstanding beauty situated below the western escarpment of the Cotswold Hills. Kemp's father, Simon, initially worked as a builder for the Australian Agricultural Company but clearly found conditions unsatisfactory, complaining to the Company about the injurious effects of having to labour in the sun for ten and a half-hours a day with only a short break for lunch.<sup>35</sup> Within a few years he had severed ties with the Company and had become a landowner in his own right with convicts assigned to him, and by 1842, when New South Wales achieved a measure of self-government, the Kemp family were living in their own stone or brick house in Watt Street, Newcastle.<sup>36</sup> This entitled Simon to the vote, despite his working class background. An interest in politics subsequently led him to become an inaugural Councillor of Newcastle District Council (1843) and later Mayor (1866).<sup>37</sup>

Living in a very small and isolated country community like Stroud, populated by convicts, fringe-dwelling aborigines, unprepared English settlers and a military presence; in a place where the only routes to the larger settlements of Sydney or Newcastle involved the negotiation of river crossings and aboriginal

tracks; and where the hot dry summers throbbed by day with cicadas and by night with the nuisance of mosquitoes; Kemp's parents may have yearned for the amenities of London. Young Kemp, however, knew no other life. He was both a product of socialisation in a settler society steeped in English cultural values and a product of the Australian bush. These early experiences would have been significant in his personal development for it is well known that character traits are shaped in the early years of life.

The white settlers like Kemp's parents and teachers, being largely English-born and educated, brought British ideas of empire and race with them and these formed the basis for the social and political structures of the early colony. As Ian Baucom has argued, being "English" was directly connected to being born in England and an identification with English "places of memory" such as meadows, country houses and cricket fields.<sup>38</sup> Frontier towns, such as Stroud, could be located in pleasant settings and given English place names in an attempt to evoke memories of Englishness but it was impossible to import England's fields and meadows to the Antipodes. Architectural knowledge, however, was transportable and could work towards such goals. Thus, at Stroud, the Australian Agricultural Company was proud of its attempts to recreate the appearance of an English village complete "with the old fashioned creeper-covered cottages."<sup>39</sup>

While those settlers born in England considered themselves "English," they now found themselves located on the other side of the world in British sovereign territory that was part of the empire but outside the territory of England. Baucom maintains that "English" space remained "unique, local, differentiated: a formula which permitted the empire to be that which was simultaneously within the boundaries of Britishness and outside the territory of Englishness."<sup>40</sup> The first generation of Australian settlers, such as Kemp's parents, were now outside the geographical territory of English space yet they still thought of themselves as English. They were burdened with the identity crisis of trying to reconcile English places of memory with their new life in Australia. The next generation, however, of which Kemp was a member, bore the imprint of an Australian childhood, recognising itself as British and of English heritage yet beginning to acknowledge the differences existing between Australian-born colonials and their British forebears. As Linda Young has suggested, such perceptions of difference were often attributed by settlers to the unique geographical environment and the informal lifestyle it dictated, the isolation of the colony from Britain, and the dominance of a large working class population.<sup>41</sup> By the 1880s, when the children of the Gold Rush boom had come of age, the growth of national consciousness stimulated the emergence of distinctively "Australian" art, literature and sport. The newly established *Bulletin* promoted popular romantic bush ballads by Henry Lawson and Banjo Paterson

“in a strategy to counter the dominance of English culture.”<sup>42</sup> Russel Ward claims that from such ballads sprang the enduring image of the bushman as the epitome of the Australian “type,”<sup>43</sup> a character who was practical, rough and ready, independent, a good mate, taciturn, laconic and generally sceptical about the value of religion, education, culture or social position. Despite the urbanised character of much of the colony, such traits gained favour as they were seen to be identifiably different from those of the British.<sup>44</sup> Visitors to the colony reported this to be true, noting that its inhabitants “could not be mistaken for their British cousins, even where they might have wished it.”<sup>45</sup>

As the movement towards political Federation of the Australian colonies gained ground in the late-nineteenth century the relationship with Britain increased in importance. On the one hand, the relationship had been an emotional one as the majority of inhabitants in the Australian colonies were of British descent, proud of their stock, and retained extended family and social ties to their country of origin. On the other, the relationship had clear practical benefits in that the people were governed by a familiar parliamentary system, their social lives were supported and facilitated by many of the same religious, benevolent, literary, scientific and political associations as found in Britain, and for the most part they had been happy to have their lives guided by the decisions of an Imperial Parliament in London and to be dependent on imperial policy in international affairs, defence, trade and finance. After the colonies became self-governing in the mid-nineteenth century, Britain remained the superior authority over the laws of the colonies.<sup>46</sup> Anticipation of Federation, however, caused Australians to rethink the imperial connection. Despite the benefits, there had been occasions when the colonies felt they had been treated as subordinate and peripheral, particularly in matters of defence and foreign policy.<sup>47</sup> In the end, the ties to Britain were too strong to be broken and it was decided to keep the imperial connection by forming an Australian federation of the colonies within the British Empire.<sup>48</sup>

### **School Architecture and Identity**

Architecture was an important feature in the cultural system circulating people and ideas of identity between and within the British Empire’s political units. Architects emigrating to Australia brought ideas from the metropolis and one in particular, Edmund Blackett (1817-1883) who arrived in 1842, set about transforming Sydney into an “English” city.<sup>49</sup> Blackett, like his English counterparts, believed that his architectural designs, mainly in the Gothic style, should observe a “fitness of association.” Not only should churches look like churches, but they should, as the historian Joan Kerr has argued, “look like medieval English ones,” as “that symbolised Christianity best for him.”<sup>50</sup> This was a principle that Blackett applied to all of his buildings, including schools



**Figure 6: St Philip's Anglican Church designed by Edmund Blacket, 1848. The tower was inspired by Bishop Broughton's alma mater, Madgдалen College, Oxford.**  
Source: Kirsten Orr.

and colleges, as demonstrated by his work at the University of Sydney (1854), which referenced the English colleges of Oxford and Cambridge. There was a belief that the architecture of the buildings one inhabited would significantly affect one's character and the nation's collective history. The English critic John Ruskin (1819-1900) was of the opinion that a nation should be founded on a noble architecture and argued for the Victorian Medieval Revival style (referred to in this essay as Gothic) as symbolising a noble heritage that should not be forgotten. Hand-cut from stone, it expressed national character through its production and integration of sculptural ornament.<sup>51</sup> In the imperial context, particularly in India, Ruskin's theories of culture, memory and place were often adopted, as Baucom has argued, to "secure the Englishness of the colonist and to ensure the Anglicization of the colonized."<sup>52</sup>

Blacket provided the intellectual context for the young Kemp at the beginning of his architectural career. At the age of 18, Kemp was apprenticed to Blacket and remained close to him for life, being one of the coffin-bearers at his funeral in 1883. Blacket's architectural influence on Kemp must have been in the application of the Gothic style and its fitness for civic buildings. During his brief apprenticeship it is likely that Kemp assisted Blacket with a number of church commissions including St Mark's Darling Point (1848), St Paul's Redfern (1848),



**Figure 7: Bathurst Courthouse designed by Colonial Architect James Barnet, 1880.**  
Source: Terry Norton.

St Philip's Sydney (1848) (Fig 6) and St John's Wollombi (1849). Leaving Sydney for a short time to join the gold rush, Kemp returned to find the position he aspired to under Blacket, who was now in the Colonial Architect's Office, had already been filled. Having more success in 1854, he became the First Foreman of Works under the new Colonial Architect, William Weaver (1828-1868), but within a few years both Weaver and Kemp had left to set up a private practice together. Four years later, Kemp struck out on his own. The majority of his work from this period (1861-1872) is not known but included a number of simple church buildings with Gothic detailing, such as St John's Church of England Memorial School (1866) at Young (in a restrained Gothic style featuring arched windows with coloured brick surrounds and walls articulated by black brick bands),<sup>53</sup> the house Casula near Liverpool (built without reference to cost in the Gothic style),<sup>54</sup> and the Sydney Sailors' Home (1861) at Circular Quay (in the Romanesque style).<sup>55</sup>

Around 1871 Kemp wrote a series of letters to *The Sydney Morning Herald*<sup>56</sup> and the *Australian Churchman*<sup>57</sup> on a variety of topics including the water question, the seasoning of timber, architectural style, and the design of church buildings. These letters demonstrate his growing interest in architectural style and importantly his movement away from the Gothic towards ideas of progress

and utility. Self-promotion may have been a significant motivation behind the letters but they also demonstrate an engagement with the latest architectural debates both in England and at home.<sup>58</sup> Unafraid to express his opinion, Kemp often disagreed with prominent local architects such as Benjamin Backhouse (1829-1904), secretary of the Institute of Architects of New South Wales from 1871-1873. One of his more important letters to the *Sydney Morning Herald*<sup>59</sup> was prompted by the controversy over evolving Victorian taste in architecture as exemplified by George Edmund Street's (1824-1881) design for the new Law Courts in London (The Royal Courts of Justice, 1868-1882).<sup>60</sup>

Australian architects had been following the controversy surrounding the British 'Battle of the Styles' as reported in the pages of the *Builder* and other publications imported from Britain.<sup>61</sup> This earlier debate, primarily published in British periodicals, questioned the appropriateness of the Gothic style for large secular buildings by arguing both its inability to satisfy practical requirements of cost, light, ventilation and function and its inability to represent mid-nineteenth-century values of identity and place. Classical styles were also at this time coming under attack for much the same reasons. Responding to such criticisms, the majority of entrants participating in the competition for the law courts offered Italianate designs. These too, however, attracted criticism, on the grounds that they reflected an inappropriate Parisian influence.<sup>62</sup>

Kemp's letter addressed the "tidal waves of criticism" generated by Street's Law Courts by suggesting the debate should not centre on questions of style but focus on the "servile copying of forms of arrangement unsuited to the ends in view." He thought that much of the criticism arose from the hope that a "new style" of architecture could be invented to suit the times. He suggested that it was impossible for architects to "cast aside the experience of all past ages" and "strive to invent new forms and new ornaments for every new work they design," and contended that "there has scarcely been a time when a line could be drawn to mark the end of one and the beginning of another style." Describing style instead as a "gradual growth," one that "is still going on," Kemp argued for a continuity between the "work of today" and that "of last century or the early years of this."<sup>63</sup>

While Kemp's letter to the *Sydney Morning Herald* suggests his support of a progressive thesis of style, his letters to the *Churchman* identify utility as the "highest duty" of the architect. The general rules to be followed, he argued, were simplicity of form, an avoidance of unnecessary irregularity, ease of communication between the parts, and facility of ingress and egress. Rejecting ornament for its own sake, he questioned the notion that architectural style – or the study of beauty – was more important than the fitness of a building for its purpose. Seeking qualification for his argument he cited Edmund Beckett Denison's (1816-1905) earlier description of the newly completed St Thomas'

Hospital in London (1871) which he criticised not only for its lack of proportion and asymmetry but also for its accumulation of ornament that lent a general “tone of fussiness and overdoing and want of repose everywhere.” Denison’s critique initially published in the *Times* had been re-published in the *Sydney Morning Herald*.<sup>64</sup> In agreement with Denison, Kemp went on to argue in his letter that “everything that is permanently pleasing, both in art and in mankind, must have that indefinable quality called repose, which involves (though it does not only mean) simplicity.” “Beauty, may be within our reach,” he concluded, if utility and simplicity are first achieved.<sup>65</sup>

In 1872, soon after the publication of his letters, Kemp re-joined the Colonial Architect’s office at the invitation of Colonial Architect James Barnet (1865-1890), a British-trained architect who had arrived in the colony in 1854, been Clerk of Works at the University of Sydney under Blackett, and joined the Colonial Architect’s office in 1860. Kemp worked as Barnet’s assistant for almost 8 years, during which time the office completed a large number of courthouses, post offices and lighthouses for Sydney and rural New South Wales. He must also have assisted with the Sydney Garden Palace built for the Sydney International Exhibition of 1879. As the architectural historian Peter Kohane has argued, Barnet worked in a neo-classical style that was strongly influenced by the architecture of the Italian Renaissance and the ideas of Charles Robert Cockerell (1788-1863), the leading classical theorist of the nineteenth century.<sup>66</sup> Like Kemp, Barnet had no sympathy for the new styles of eclectic architecture. Grounded in the classical tradition, his work was designed as a theatrical backdrop to colonial urban life, each building endowed with ornament appropriate to its institutional function and social context. Drawing on an ethic of “architectural decorum,” Barnet’s buildings, as Kohane has suggested, were “like good manners ... unforced and resulted from an understanding of hierarchy, allusion, and audience.”<sup>67</sup> Important to Barnet’s thesis were the ideas of “the colonnade, or its close equivalents of arcade and loggia, and the tower.”<sup>68</sup> Barnet’s colonnades mediated between the interior spaces of the building and the broader city beyond, while his square towers, of which there were an extraordinary variety, signalled their presence with an exuberance in keeping with the detail of the building below. Balancing the verticality of such towers through an elongation of the façade lent these buildings additional repose. Importantly, these are all concepts that are repeated in Kemp’s later independent work.

Kemp’s letters to the Churchman suggest that he was sympathetic to Barnet’s approach even before joining him, believing that the choice of a building’s site and its location within the urban fabric of the community, together with embellishments such as towers and ornamentation, should lend character and civic presence to all public building.<sup>69</sup> The last project that Barnet and Kemp





**Figure 8: "New Houses of Parliament & Government Offices, New South Wales," competition design in the Gothic style by William Henry Lynn, 1861 (unexecuted). By the time Lynn's drawing was exhibited in Sydney in 1879, the Gothic style for public buildings had fallen out of favour.**

Source: RIBA Library Drawings Collection.

completed together was the Bathurst Courthouse (1880) which is regarded as the most impressive and monumental of Barnett's courthouses.<sup>70</sup> It features a central octagonal dome, a classical portico, symmetrical colonnaded verandahs for protection from the climate, and clerestory windows to maximise interior light (Fig 7). It was much admired at the time of its completion for representing ideals of democracy, law and order, and for its artistic accomplishment in a style of classical repose. As the birthplace of democracy, a building inspired by those of ancient Greece, for Barnett, most clearly stated its civic function and role in upholding the decorum of the city.<sup>71</sup> Barnett and Kemp appreciated the restraint and general air of repose of classical styles and also thought them well suited to the Australian climate.<sup>72</sup>

In New South Wales, as in England, the conservatism of classical ideologies was often at odds with a utilitarian outlook that valued material progress and technological achievement in the wake of the industrial revolution. This tension was captured at the Australian International Exhibitions held in Sydney (1879) and Melbourne (1880) where the fine arts exhibits, often depicting classical subjects and employing the classical language of allegory, stood in contrast to displays of the latest technological innovations intended to foster technical education and material progress.<sup>73</sup> As a spectator at the Sydney International Exhibition, and in his formative years, Kemp would have been influenced by both the high culture inherent in a classical education and the necessity of adopting a practical approach to colonial life. His schooling under prominent clergymen exposed him to the classics and we know that his personal library



**Figure 9: Milsons Point Public School designed by Kemp, 1887.**  
Source: Kirsten Orr.

included books on classical art. In 1885, he presented a “valuable illustrated work in Italian upon the antique statues of Greece and Rome, published in Venice in 1740, and formerly the property of Sir Joshua Reynolds” to the Art Society of New South Wales.<sup>74</sup> At the Sydney International Exhibition Kemp would have enjoyed the first public display of art from Europe, the architectural drawings sent by the Royal Institute of British Architects (Fig 8), as well as the displays of new materials and technologies for construction, such as machine-made bricks, stronger cement and the Marseilles tile. A more intangible outcome of the exhibitions was their ability to generate sentiments of national identity as visitors compared the characteristic properties of the exhibits of participating nations. The sophisticated displays of furniture and pottery exhibited by Britain confirmed for many its advanced state of civilisation, whereas the minerals, agricultural produce and objects decorated with imagery derived from native flora and fauna exhibited by the Australian colonies represented the pastoral character of the new country.<sup>75</sup> Kemp’s later designs for the Sydney Technical College (1891) and Technological Museum (1892) drew heavily upon such ideas and imagery.<sup>76</sup>

The dual influence of the classical and the utilitarian is also clear in Kemp’s school buildings. He broke with the Gothic style for both practical and stylistic reasons. The window proportions required to achieve adequate lighting of the school room interior and the need to build in brick were not, in his opinion, compatible with the pointed arch. The spatial layout required by colonial systems of education also failed to lend itself to Gothic conventions.<sup>77</sup> From a

stylistic perspective, the Gothic was too closely associated with the sectarian divisions that had hindered advances in education in New South Wales. A new style removed from any religious affiliation was required.

Kemp's letters to the *Churchman* show that he was also inspired by the civic presence of the public buildings of Athens and Rome and thought that public buildings in the colony should be similarly majestic edifices with no means spared in their erection.<sup>78</sup> He asserted the instructive role of architecture and its ability to instil values within an uneducated population, observing that, "No true art is intended to please the many, but to teach them when to be pleased."<sup>79</sup> This was consistent with the transmission of ideas within the empire that a city's buildings symbolised the state of civilisation of the society. More specifically, it was widely accepted that schools were especially representative of social values, progress, citizenship and empire. As Joseph Carruthers (1856-1932), Minister for Public Instruction, observed at the laying of the foundation stone for a new public school in Wagga in 1891,

They had people here who came from that grand Anglo Saxon race whose traditions, history, life, and habits pointed to them as being the grandest race on the face of the world. He hoped the new Public school would be one link in the chain of education which was to weld the fortunes of this great country.<sup>80</sup>

Thus there were strong social, moral and pedagogic grounds for Kemp's schools to be imposing public buildings that clearly stated their function and authority.<sup>81</sup>

Kemp's departure from the Gothic style was in step with other countries where there was a movement away from the Gothic in the belief that it was no longer appropriate for national systems of education. Edward R. Robson (1836-1917), the first architect of the London School Board (1871-1889), built his new London schools in a Queen Anne revival style. He was of the opinion that schools "should strive to express civil rather than ecclesiastical character" because the semi-ecclesiastical style is "inappropriate and lacking in anything to mark the great change which is coming over the education of the country."<sup>82</sup> Thomas Graham Jackson (1835-1924), the dominant architectural influence in the sphere of elite education at Oxford and Cambridge and the greater public schools of England (from the 1870s), had also abandoned the Gothic Revival for a more modern style that came to be known as Advanced Jacobean. His biographer, William Whyte observes that "it was a modern style for a self-consciously modern group of people, England's evolving intelligentsia."<sup>83</sup> Likewise the Americans criticised the use of the Gothic style for schools with Edmund M. Wheelwright (1854-1912), city architect for Boston (1891-1895), commenting in 1900 that it did not meet the functional requirements of the modern school. Fellow American, Gilbert B. Morrison, went so far as to say that "the high pitched roof, the pinnacles and the pointed dormers are not the most

appropriate form of decoration.”<sup>84</sup>

When educational reform was occurring in the Australian colonies in the second half of the nineteenth century, colonial elites naturally turned to Britain for advice. When the colony of Victoria had been forced in 1872 to meet a sudden increase in enrolments with new school buildings, Robson had been approached for information and had sent out plans for eight schools with an offer to supply British architects to assist in their implementation. Victoria chose not to accept the offer and none of Robson’s ideas or plans were incorporated in the new Victorian schools, which, unlike those of London, continued to feature variations of the Gothic style. Interestingly, it was a similar story in Manchester, where Robson’s principles went unheeded and the Manchester Board initially stuck to the Gothic tradition for its school-building programme.<sup>85</sup> When the government of New South Wales realised that it was in a position to enact legislation for public education, the immediate reaction was to turn to the metropole for advice. Edward Combes (1830-1895), New South Wales’ Executive Commissioner for the Paris Exposition Universelle of 1878, and Professor Archibald Liversidge (1846-1927) were both asked to report on educational systems and buildings in Britain and Europe. Kemp appears to have followed some of the advice received but to have preferred the highly practical content of Robson’s book, *School Architecture* (1874), which provided advice for classroom layout and window sizes. Robson advocated the use of brick for schools and his buildings were conceived as “sermons in brick”, enhanced with polychrome brick detailing. In the 1870s Kemp had questioned the use of brick for colonial buildings, stating that,

the idea that a cheap style of ornamental effect can be produced by the use of coloured bricks, is, in the present state of brickmaking amongst us, a mere delusion. There are very few bricks made here at present, with any decided contrasts of colour.... in England good bricks can be had of a pure white or absolute black, and of various shades of yellow, red, grey and purple. When we have such bricks as those, and when we can get moulded bricks such as form all the decorative features of many an old Suffolk mansion, then we may begin to think of ornamental brickwork.<sup>86</sup>

Finding in 1880 that he had to build his schools in brick for both financial and practical reasons, Kemp managed to incorporate decorative polychrome brickwork to good effect. By this time brick making had dramatically improved, providing him with a quality supply of good, hard bricks of uniform size that made decorative features possible.

Despite the advice and influences received from abroad, Kemp’s schools do not look anything like those of London, Europe or America from the same period.<sup>87</sup> This is true for all of his schools, from the early period when large schools were designed in a ‘Grand Classic’ style and smaller schools in a

'Cottage' style, to his later schools designed in a 'Simple Classic' style.<sup>88</sup> Those designed towards the end of his career, when New South Wales was affected by a prolonged financial depression, were devoid of virtually any decoration at all despite their highly visible, central city locations (Fig 9). He justified the plainness of these buildings with the observation that "I have had to consider economy; and this has seemed to me best attained by the adoption of a simple style, or almost absence of style".<sup>89</sup> His primary concern had always been with utility and functional layout. In this sense he shared the views of Sir Benjamin Hawes (1797-1862), permanent Head of the War Department in London, who, when asked in 1857 what style he would prefer for the New Government Offices, had replied, "That is a very difficult question for me to answer"; given good planning, "the plainer the building the better."<sup>90</sup> Unfortunately this sentiment was not shared by the general population of New South Wales in the 1890s.<sup>91</sup>

It is also possible that Kemp sought to break from the Gothic style because of its associations with imperial hegemony and the Anglicisation of the colonial population. The Gothic style had been seen as a "redemptive return of the medieval past" and a means of protecting English identity.<sup>92</sup> These sentiments may have lingered longer in the Australian colonies than in Britain, surviving beyond the time when London had ceased to favour the Gothic for major public buildings. Louis Hartz explains a mechanistic process of fragmentation whereby a new society such as New South Wales might take on an idea from the Old World such as the appropriateness of the Gothic style for conveying notions of British identity. This idea, now detached from the original and located in a distant place, becomes artificially preserved and fails to evolve over time in line with evolutionary changes occurring in the place of origin.<sup>93</sup> Kemp expressed horror at aspects of the Gothic style because of its tendency for over-ornamentation and lack of repose.<sup>94</sup> As he was not English-born, and had no preserved memories of English place, he was also less likely than Blackett and much of the general population to hold an unquestioning commitment to the Gothic of the England that they had left. His connection was with the Australian landscape and the Australian way of life and he no doubt chafed under English prescriptions for architectural styles that he felt were unsuitable for colonial conditions.

During the years in which Kemp was the Architect for Public Schools (1880-1896) there were vigorous debates about art and architecture. At the same time as the Bulletin was promoting Australian art and literature, architects were calling for a style of architecture to represent the character of the people, the country and its advances.<sup>95</sup> Kemp had considered these matters in the 1870s in his letters to the *Sydney Morning Herald* and the *Churchman*. Despite his heavy workload for the Department of Public Instruction, he continued to be engaged in such debates as one of the "faithful working members"<sup>96</sup> of the Art Society

of New South Wales from its establishment in 1883 and as a founding member of the Sydney Architectural Association in 1891.<sup>97</sup> His adoption of an Italianate style for school buildings accorded with the general sentiment of the time that an Australian style of architecture should suit the climate which was similar to that of the Mediterranean. His Pyrmont Public School was applauded for its “Doric feeling” and proposed as a possible starting point for an Australasian style of architecture.<sup>98</sup> However it is not the “Doric feeling” that most closely links his school architecture to the Australian Federation style that eventuated at the turn of the century, but rather his use of brick and incorporation of verandahs, and in his later work, the use of terracotta and asymmetrical massing.<sup>99</sup> He was committed to endowing his schools with a dignified ‘school-like’ character and even though they are less monumental than Barnet’s civic buildings, they respect similar principles of civic decorum and fulfil a symbolic role by representing education as a force for progress in the colony. Kemp’s fundamental concern for utility led him to devise his own architectural styles for school buildings that addressed issues of function, climate and financial constraint. His schools are distinctive to the urban landscape of New South Wales and contribute to Australian identity.

## **Conclusion**

It can be argued that the New South Wales Public Instruction Act of 1880 that precipitated Kemp’s school building program marked a transition point between the stages of development of the colony. It had progressed through the frontier, pastoral and agricultural stages and was now entering the commercial and mercantile stage in which there was a need for an educated population with higher-order intellectual skills. It was also a time when the colony was reassessing its position within the empire and, while wanting to retain the imperial connection, was seeking to assert its independence in matters of politics and trade. The Gothic style annihilated distance within the empire: a strong imperial architectural relationship preserved memories of Englishness and secured the Englishness of the periphery. In breaking away from it and developing a new style for his school buildings, Kemp separated education from its ecclesiastic foundations and the architecture of the colony from the anglicising role of the Gothic style. Kemp’s schools demonstrated an independent architectural assessment of the needs of New South Wales rather than adopting a style from England, Europe, America or one of the other Australian colonies. They resonated with the emerging sentiments of national identity that recognised a new type of person and a new type of society that would provide the foundation for a new nation. Influenced by the Italianate compositions of his mentor, Barnet, Kemp deliberately positioned his school buildings within the class of civic architecture associated with town halls, law

courts, customs houses and post offices, which were the essential architectural components of a democratic, commercial centre. In their placement, form and massing they subscribed to the theory of decorum and were endowed with a dignified 'school-like' character that clearly stated their function and authority. He had no model on which he could base his new schools but drew upon an extensive range of experiences to devise a new form for a distinctly new building type.

#### NOTES

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2. Alan Barcan, *A History of Australian Education* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1980).
3. Kirsten Orr, "W. E. Kemp's School Buildings, 1880-1896: 'Seed-Germ of the Australian architecture of the future?'," *Fabrications* 19: 1 (June 2009): 96-121.
4. Barcan, *A History of Australian Education*, 127.
5. Brother Ronald Fogarty, "Liberalism in Early Educational Legislation in Australia," *Manna*, (c. 1959): 49. NSW Department of Education and Training Library, Document 978.
6. Editorial, *The Sydney Morning Herald*, November 28, 1879, 4.
7. Samantha F. Barnes, *Manchester Board Schools 1870-1902* (London: The Victorian Society, 2009): 15-16.
8. Cliff Turney, "Wilkins, William (1827-1892)," *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (Canberra: National Centre of Biography, Australian National University), <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/wilkins-william-4853/text8105>, accessed 3 August 2011.
9. Barcan, *A History of Australian Education*, 97-154.
10. Cyril Blacket, "The Late Mr W. E. Kemp," *The Building, Engineering and Mining Journal of Australia* (2 July 1898): 194.
11. Kemp's activities are chronicled in the pages of *The Sydney Morning Herald*.
12. Jan Burnswoods & Jim Fletcher, *Sydney and the Bush: A Pictorial History of Education in New South Wales* (Sydney: New South Wales Department of Education, 1980): 99.
13. Malcolm Vick, "Building Schools, Building Society: Accommodating Schools in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Australia," *Historical Studies in Education/Revue d'Histoire de l'Éducation* 5: 2 (1993): 246.
14. A similar "irregularity in massing and planning" has been identified as a defining feature of the Federation Style at the turn of the century. Julie Willis & Philip Goad, "A Myth in its Making: Federation Style and Australian Architectural History," in Andrew Leach, Antony Moulis & Nicole Sully, eds., *Shifting Views: Selected Essays on the Architectural History of Australia and New Zealand* (St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 2008): 141.
15. All histories of Pyrmont Public School, including the listing on the NSW State Heritage Inventory, date it as having opened in 1892 but my research has discovered that it was opened on 7 November 1884. An article published in *The Sydney Morning Herald* the following day described every detail of the new two-storey building down to the colour of the internal paintwork, ventilation and innovative flushing lavatories. "New School at Pyrmont," *The Sydney Morning Herald*, November 8, 1884, 11.
16. In 1893 Kemp justified his departure from the Gothic on the grounds of utility and economy. For example, "Dealing with the interior features of Gothic buildings, I am not blind to the grace and sublimity of a good open-timbered roof, but there are difficulties of ventilation and troubles in obtaining good acoustic properties in an open roof, which make this form of building... less suitable for use in schools than the simpler form of high walls and flat ceilings." William E. Kemp, "School Buildings: Paper read before the Sydney Architectural Association, 3 July 1893," *Australasian Builder & Contractors' News* (July 8, 1893): 15-17.
17. Kemp, "School Buildings," 15-17.

18. J. A. Mangan, *'Benefits Bestowed'?: Education and British Imperialism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988): 4.
19. Mangan, *'Benefits Bestowed'?*, 5.
20. Henry Parkes cited in Barcan, *A History of Australian Education*, 82.
21. Barcan, *A History of Australian Education*, 7-22.
22. R. Sansom, "The Life and Work of William Edmund Kemp" (Undergraduate thesis, University of New South Wales, 1968).
23. G. J. Abbott, "Kemp, Charles (1813-1864)," *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (Melbourne University Press, 1967): 2: 40-42.
24. Report from the Select Committee on Education, Minutes of Evidence (July 22, 1844, Q.47), *Votes & Proceedings New South Wales Legislative Council*, 1844, vol. II, cited in Barcan, *Two Centuries of Education in New South Wales*, 51.
25. Report from the Select Committee on Education, Minutes of Evidence (July 1, 1844), *Votes & Proceedings New South Wales Legislative Council*, 1844, vol. II, cited in Barcan, *Two Centuries of Education in New South Wales*, 47.
26. Mangan, *'Benefits Bestowed'?*, 136.
27. The "colonial elites" referred to in this article were the colony's leading political, social and cultural figures who were influential in all aspects of colonial activity, and who, in various capacities, provided intellectual, financial and philosophical sponsorship for urban development, the building of public institutions, and the establishment of free, compulsory elementary education.
28. Robert Dixon, *The Course of Empire: Neo-Classical Culture in New South Wales 1788-1860* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1986):1-5.
29. Kirsten Orr, "A Force for Federation: International Exhibitions and the Formation of Australian Ethos (1851-1901)" (PhD thesis, University of New South Wales, 2006): 229-231.
30. Henry Halloran, *In Memoriam: On Closing the New South Wales International Exhibition of 1879* (Sydney: Thomas Richards, Government Printer, 20 April 1880).
31. For example, *The Homestead*, an engraving by W. Mason, is one of several engravings in Louisa Atkinson's novel of 1857 *Gertrude, the Emigrant: A Tale of Colonial Life / by an Australian lady*, cited in Dixon, *The Course of Empire*, 157; *View of the Township of Fernshawe*, photograph by Nicholas Claire, 189-?, cited in Catherine De Lorenzo & Deborah van der Plaats, "Redefining the Urban Limits: European Readings of Wilderness, Photography and Late Nineteenth Century Australia," in Harriet Edquist & H  l  ne Frichot, eds. *Limits: Proceedings from the 21<sup>st</sup> Annual conference of the Society of Architectural Historians Australia & New Zealand* (Melbourne: SAHANZ, 2004): 137.
32. Authorship has been attributed to William Howitt or Mrs G. R. Porter. <http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/1650547?selectedversion=NBD2571288>, accessed 18 November 2010.
33. Cited in Dixon, *The Course of Empire*, 162-163.
34. Robert Dawson, *The Present State of Australia; a Description of the Country, its Advantages and Prospects with Reference to Emigration: and a Particular Account of its Aboriginal Inhabitants* (London, 1830), cited in Dixon, *The Course of Empire*, 159-160.
35. Letter from Edward Parry to William Smyth, Simon Kemp & Joseph Watson, 21 September, 1830, in *In the Service of the Company: Letters of Sir Edward Parry, Commissioner to the Australian Agricultural Company, Volume 1: December 1829-1832* (Canberra: ANU E Press, 2005): 157.
36. "Abstract of the Returns of the Population, in the County, Parish, Town, or District, (as the case may be) of Newcastle," *New South Wales Census of the Year 1841*.
37. "History of Newcastle," *UoN Cultural Collections*, <http://uoncc.wordpress.com/category/history/history-of-newcastle/>, accessed 9 November 2010.
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39. Cited in Sansom, "The Life and Work of William Edmund Kemp," 9.
40. Baucom, *Out of Place*, 10.
41. Linda Young, *Middle-Class Culture in the Nineteenth Century: America, Australia and Britain* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).



42. Helen Irving, "Cities are Spiritual Too," *The Sydney Morning Herald*, February 1-2, 2003, Spectrum 8.
43. Ward, *The Australian Legend*.
44. Ward, *The Australian Legend*, 11, 16-17, 309.
45. Such observations were made in the Federation decades. Helen Irving, *To Constitute a Nation: A Cultural History of Australia's Constitution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999): 119-120.
46. The Australian Constitution still resides in London.
47. For example, the colonies were not consulted over Earl Grey's major proposal to reintroduce transportation to Australia in the 1840s and in the 1880s Britain refused Queensland the right to annex New Guinea in a move to protect Australian borders.
48. John Hirst, *The Sentimental Nation: the Making of the Australian Commonwealth* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2000): 67-70.
49. H. G. Woffenden, "Blacket, Edmund Thomas (1817-1883)," *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (Canberra: National Centre of Biography, Australian National University), <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/blacket-edmund-thomas-3005/text4395>, accessed 13 December 2011.
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51. John Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (first published 1849), VI, Memory, VII, cited in Port, *Imperial London*, 199.
52. Baucom, *Out of Place*, 77.
53. William A. Bayley, *Rich Earth: History of Young New South Wales*, (Young: Young Municipal Council, 1977): 65.
54. "Casula," *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 September, 1885, 15.
55. Sansom, "The Life and Work of William Edmund Kemp," 25-27.
56. Letters written by Kemp to *The Sydney Morning Herald* include, "Architecture: To the Editor of the Herald," April 4, 1872, 3; "Patriotic Water Essays: To the Editor of the Herald," April 15, 1872, 5; "Mr William E. Kemp on the Water Prize Essays: To the Editor of the Herald," April 20, 1872, 11; "Seasoned Timber: To the Editor of the Herald," November 1, 1871, 3; "Seasoning of Timber: To the Editor of the Herald," November 2, 1871, 2.
57. Kemp wrote five letters to the *Australian Churchman*, the first of which is dated November 6 1871. The letters are undated and untitled. They are numbered and reprinted in full in Sansom, "The Life and Work of William Edmund Kemp," 42-66.
58. Kemp's letters include quotations from the English paper, *The Architect*; John Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1849); James Fergusson, *The Handbook of Architecture* (1855); Arthur Helps, *Friends in Council, a Series of Readings and Discourse Thereon* (1847-1859); and Joshua Reynolds, *Sir Joshua Reynolds Discourses* (delivered 1769-1790).
59. Kemp, "Architecture: To the Editor of the Herald," 3.
60. David B. Brownlee, *The Law Courts: The Architecture of George Edmund Street* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1984).
61. A full set of the *Builder* exists in the Mitchell Collection of the NSW State Library. For example, relevant articles in the *Builder* include, December 8, 1855, 585; May 23, 1857, 283; September 17, 1857, 622; January 1, 1859, 5-6; 1859, 22-3; 1859, 501; 1859, 535-537; 1859, 562-562. All cited in M. H. Port, *Imperial London: Civil Government Building in London 1850-1915* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 198-210.
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64. Edmund Beckett Denison, "Arts and Industries: Modern Architecture," *The Sydney Morning Herald*, November 13, 1871, 3.
65. Kemp, letter 3 to the *Australian Churchman*, cited in Sansom, "The Life and Work of William Edmund Kemp," 56.
66. Peter Kohane, "James Barnet and the Classical Ideal: Architecture in Sydney," in Chris Johnson, Patrick Bingham-Hall & Peter Kohane, *James Barnet: The Universal Values of Civic Existence* (Balmain: Pesaro Publishing, 2000): 12-13.
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72. Chris Johnson, "Barnet and Australian Identity: Universal or Local, Imported or Native?," in Johnson, Bingham-Hall & Kohane, *James Barnet*, 36.
73. Orr, "A Force for Federation: International Exhibitions and the Formation of Australian Ethos (1851-1901)," 7-9.
74. *The Sydney Morning Herald*, March 17, 1885, 7.
75. Orr, "A Force for Federation: International Exhibitions and the Formation of Australian Ethos (1851-1901)," 146-148, 447.
76. Kirsten Orr, "The Realisation of the Sydney Technical College and Technological Museum, 1878-92," *Fabrications* 17: 1 (2007): 46-67.
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79. Kemp, letter 4 to the *Australian Churchman*, cited in Sansom, "The Life and Work of William Edmund Kemp," 60.
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90. Port, *Imperial London*, 198.
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94. Kemp, "School Buildings," 15-17.
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97. "Sydney Architectural Association," *The Sydney Morning Herald*, April 7, 1891, 5.
98. "Schools and School Buildings" (editorial), *Australasian Builder and Contractor's News* (July 15, 1893): 30-32.
99. Orr, "W. E. Kemp's School Buildings, 1880-1896," 118.