"ISLANDS OF CULTURE"

WALDORF (RUDOLF STEINER) SCHOOLS IN AUSTRALIA:

THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

by

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CONTENTS

CHAPTER FOUR

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

BIBLIOGRAPHY

APPENDICES

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PREFACE

The Waldorf school movement is the largest non-denomonational, non-sectarian, independent school movement in the world. Since its beginning in Germany in 1919, over six hundred schools have been founded in forty countries including Australia.

This paper is a first attempt to investigate the foundation and development of the Waldorf schools which have opened in Australia since 1957. The study will focus on the following questions.

In what educational context can Waldorf schools be placed?

How do they relate to the early progressive education movement in Europe?

What is the background to Rudolf Steiner and the founding of the Waldorf schools?

What are the key characteristics of Waldorf education?

Where did the schools have their beginning and how have they grown?

How and why did groups of Australians form to establish Waldorf schools?

What factors assisted their growth and what limited their development?

What was the role of the Anthroposophical Society and the Rudolf Steiner Schools Association in the founding of schools, and what role did parents and teachers play in their development?

How have the schools adapted the Steiner curriculum to Australian conditions?

What is the relationship of the Waldorf school movement to the wider progressive education movement and other progressive schools in Australia?

The project includes a review of the literature on the Waldorf school movement generally and of the recent Australian history of schooling. The main study is based largely on document analysis.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The Early Progressive Education Movement in Europe

It is our intention to place the origins of Waldorf Education in the context of the general educational awakening that took place towards the end of the 19th and in the first third of the 20th century. The most appropriate context in which to locate the Waldorf schools seems to be that of the progressive education movement, and therefore a short outline of the important developments in that movement will be given. However, there are some aspects of Waldorf education which belong more appropriately in the then prominent neo-Herbartian stream in state education, and yet other aspects belong in the more ancient Mystery school tradition. While Waldorf education is often seen to be, by its adherents, a unique addition to Western education, the point to be emphasised is that, without underplaying its special character, Waldorf education must be seen as an expression and product of its time, and an appreciation of the historical events surrounding its genesis will lead to a fuller appreciation of that special character.

The history of Western education in general has been described as being, in large part, the record of creative innovation in the face of conservative tradition.[1] The major advances in educational thought and practice, from the 18th century, were introduced and carried forward by philosophers and educators like Rousseau, Pestalozzi and Froebel and the schools they inspired or founded, introduced creative innovations in both the way that children were viewed and treated, and how they were

[1] James Bowen, A History of Western Education (3rd ed.) London: Methuen, 1981, p. 403.

taught. The trend of progressivism in education was towards respect for the individual and the use of a child-centred approach. By the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, progressivism became more urgent because the interests of the individual appeared to diminish in the interest of mass education as governments increasingly provided schools, trained teachers, and legislated school codes.

In the years leading up to the First World War there were very few progressive schools in Europe. Most were in England, of which the first well known was Cecil Reddie's "Abbotsholme". Those that did exist were fully residential and costly and therefore only reached a small group of children, usually those of the well-to-do, *avant garde* parents. Copies of Abbotsholme were carried into Germany by Hermann Lietz[2] who established the *Landerziehungsheim* or country boarding schools, and these "progressive schools" spread to other countries in Europe.[3]

In the optimistic post-war decade there was considerable activity in the progressive education movement, and the many educational efforts came together in the world-wide movement, formally initiated in 1921 as the New Education Fellowship (NEF), the founding of which was largely due to the efforts of Mrs. Beatrice Ensor of the Theosophical Society. The movement promoted reconstruction in education through the goals of progressive, child-centred education. The first Waldorf school was founded in Germany soon after the First World War and although the NEF had spread to twenty-eight countries in the 1920s, Germany was excluded from participating at its foundation conference. This may be one reason why Waldorf education did not have a higher public profile.

In mainstream education in Germany on the other hand, the "ruling force" was Herbartianism.[4] This movement was promoted by the neo-Herbartians such as

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[2] Hermann Lietz (1868-1919) was influenced by Wilhelm Rein (see note 6) and visited and taught at Abbotsholme.

[3] W.F Connell A History of Education in the Twentieth Century World, Canberra: Curriculum Development Centre, 1980, pp.128-132; Bowen, op.cit. p.406.

[4] Johann Friedrich Herbart (1776-1841) Professor of Philosophy and Pedagogics at Gottingen, who combined an interest in metaphysics and ethics with one in psychology and pedagogy.

Stoy and later Ziller [5]who at the end of the 19th century and into the 20th extended its influence throughout Europe and America. Ziller's ideas on concentration, formal steps, culture epochs, and interest were taken up and further developed by educators like Wilhelm Rein[6] (the leading systematiser in German educational thinking), who, at the turn of the century, was the most important international figure in education.[7] Some of his ideas, notably the cultural epochs theory, were incorporated into Waldorf pedagogy.

Thus the educational milieu, at the time when the founding of the first Waldorf school was imminent, can be characterised by increasing formality in and dominance of State education, and a newly emerging wave of progressive educational ideas. While some of the progressive ideas, notably those of Froebel and later Montessori, became very influential in State early-childhood education this was not so in the secondary sector. The often radical innovations of the progressives were unworkable in large numbers, perhaps even inimical to them, and therefore highlighted the conflict between *progressive* but elistist and *state* but mass education. Having sketched the educational background, we will now give a brief biographical outline of Rudolf Steiner in order to gain a perspective on how he came to found the Waldorf school movement.

[5] Karl Volkmar Stoy (1815-1885) Professor of Pedagogy at Jena in 1843, and Tuiskon Ziller (1817-1882) Professor of Pedagogy at Leipzig in 1864.

[6] Wilhelm Rein (1847-1929) studied and worked with Ziller. Became professor of education at Jena. Made a systematic study of the curriculum and teaching methods.

[7] Connell, op.cit. p.56; William Boyd The History of Western Education (6th ed) Adam and Charles Black, London, 1952, pp. 382-388.

Background to Rudolf Steiner and Waldorf Education

Although Rudolf Steiner (1861-1925) has made a unique contribution to twentieth century educational thought and practice, his life and the educational ideas he espoused are not widely known.[8] Steiner was born in a border town in the Austro-Hungarian empire in relatively humble circumstances. At an early age Steiner showed an ability for learning and a devotion to knowledge which led his parents to give him the best possible education within their means. Accordingly he eventually graduated from the Vienna Technical University, where he had pursued a scientific course, and where he also helped to maintain himself by tutoring in both scientific and classical subjects. His association with Karl Julius Schroer[9] led the latter to recommend him to the German publisher Kirchner, who was preparing a complete edition of all Goethe's published and unpublished works. As a result Steiner was invited to Weimar, where he took charge of editing the great poet's comprehensive but lesser-known scientific works.

It was during this period that Steiner also wrote his earlier philosophical works, in which he laid the foundations of his own spiritual scientific views and experiences, and in which he vigorously challenged the prevailing Kantian view of knowledge. One of these works, *Truth and Science*, he submitted successfully to the University of Rostock for his doctor's degree in Philosophy. Later he developed the substance of this thesis in his *Philosophy of Freedom*, which has since become the accepted philosophical basis on which his subsequent work rests.[10]

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[8] John Davy, "The Movement that Everyone tries to Forget", *The Times Educational Supplement,* March 23, 1973.

[9] Karl Julius Schroer (1825-1900) Professor in German literature at the Vienna Polytechnic.

[10] Alan Howard, in Foreword of Francis Edmunds Rudolf Steiner's Gift to Education: The Waldorf Schools, London, Rudolf Steiner Press, 1975
Johannes Hemleben, Rudolf Steiner : A Documentary Biography (East Grinstead, Sussex: Henry Goulden, 1975) .

Thus, until nearly his fortieth year Steiner led the life of an accomplished if conventional academic. However, after laying a studied epistemological foundation for his major vocation in life, Steiner struck out in an unexpected direction as a "scientist of the invisible"[11]. Following this disengagement from mainstream academic life, Steiner lectured and taught, at first mainly to members of the Theosophical Society[12] and later within the Anthroposophical Society, which he founded in 1913. However, it was not until the period following the First World War that he began to be approached seriously by teachers, doctors, farmers, scientists and others, asking for help for a renewal in their practical work[13]. The founding of the first Waldorf school also occurred in this period and this will be developed later.

As a philosopher and educator, Steiner was very familiar with the German philosophers and their educational ideas, including those of Herbart and his followers.[14] He clearly selected elements which corresponded to his own thinking about the nature of human beings and incorporated them into his comprehensive pedagogy. Among his contributions to the search for a truly child-centred curriculum was a detailed account of children's physical, psychological and spiritual development; many features of which have subsequently been confirmed and elaborated by the developmental research of Piaget and the child studies of Gessel and others. However, Steiner's perspective on spiritual development is unsurpassed. Further and equally important he gave an approach to a curriculum designed to support this development. This curriculum is still, in its conception and detail, unique among progressive educators.

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[11]Hemleben, ibid p.65, and see also A.P.Shepherd, A Scientist of the Invisible; An Introduction to the Life and Work of Rudolf Steiner. London, Sydney etc. ,Hodder and Stoughton, 1954.

[12] Steiner was the leader of the German Section of the Theosophical Society from 1902 to 1912.

[13] See A.C.Harwood (ed.), The Faithful Thinker : Centenary Essays on the Work and Thought of Rudolf Steiner. 1861-1925 (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1961) and Rudi Lissau, Rudolf Steiner : Life, Work, Inner Path and Social Initiatives (Stroud: Hawthorn Press, 1987) p. 111

[14] Rudolf Steiner, The Riddles of Philosophy (N.Y.: Anthroposophic Press, 1973), originally published in 1914 as *Ratsel der Philosophie.*

Reference to Steiner's work rarely appears in mainstream educational literature but it is more widely recognised within the stream of writers on progressive educational theory and practice.[15] However, although Rudolf Steiner usually appears, he is sometimes included in the general category of "Theosophist" (albeit as one of the leading schismatics of the Theosophical Society) and therefore by implication, of carrying on a tradition begun by the Theosophical schools. For example, in his work on Australian progressive schools Petersen implies that because "Theosophy and Anthroposophy are kindred systems of belief [the] Waldorf schools resemble the Theosophical schools".[16] Not only is this conclusion dubious but the juxtaposition of the two movements tends to focus attention on their common elements, and pay insufficient attention to the features unique to Waldorf schools.

While Waldorf schools seem to fit more or less comfortably within the stream of the progressive education movement that flourished in the early decades of this century, there are as we have noted, aspects that have their source elsewhere than in the progressive movement. The purpose of this paper is not to pursue the philosophical or methodological basis of Waldorf schools, but their origin and growth in Australia. However, since they are part of a worldwide movement, it is necessary to examine their origins and the process of dissemination from Germany.

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[15] A notable exception in the mainstream category is S.J.Curtis & M.E.A. Boultwood's A Short History of Educational Ideas, (London: Uni. Tutorial Press, 1953); of the writers in the progressive stream W.A.C.Stewart's Progressives and Radicals in English Education, 1750-1970 (New Jersey: Augustus M.Kelley, 1972) provides a fair coverage.

[16] R.C. Petersen, "Australian Progressive Schools: I. Theosophical Schools," The Australian Journal of Education Vol. 13, No. 3 (1969): pp.241-250, esp. p.249.

The Founding of the First Waldorf School

The first Waldorf school had its beginning in the context of economic, social and cultural renewal in the aftermath of the First World War. Among a number of Steiner's contributions to this renewal was a social theory in which he reinterpreted the ideals of the French Revolution, *Liberte, Egalite, Fraternite,* towards a restructuring of the cultural, political and economic spheres of society.[17] Emil Molt, the managing director of the Waldorf Astoria cigarette factory in Stuttgart, Germany, was among the many supporters of Steiner's initiative for social renewal. With regard to the renewal of education it was Molt who took the initiative.

> *It seems to me that the true birth day of the Waldorf School was April 23, 1919. On this day Rudolf Steiner gave a lecture to workers in the Waldorf Astoria factory. Afterwards I met with him. I said something about my desire to found a school, requesting that he take on its planning and leadership.*[18]

The request was readily taken up by Steiner, and work on the Waldorf school went swiftly ahead during the summer months of 1919. In the weeks that followed Steiner held concentrated courses of lectures and seminars for the teachers-designate of the new school concerning the principles and practice of his educational ideas. [19] On 7 September 1919, in his opening address Steiner declared that "if humanity is to live in a socially right way in the future, it must educate its children in a socially right way, and that a small contribution in this direction was now to be made by *Die Freie Waldorfschule* in Stuttgart".[20] Thus the educational movement was launched with the hope and intention that it would play its small part towards social renewal.

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[17] Rudolf Steiner, The Threefold Social Order (New York: Anthroposophic Press, 1972)

[18] Emil Molt and Christine Murphy, Emil Molt and the Beginnings of the Waldorf School Movement: Autobiographical sketches (Edinburgh: Floris Books, 1991) 137-8.

[19] This first course comprises the works titled "Study of Man", "Practical Advice to Teachers" and "Discussions with Teachers", and are basic texts for teacher study.

[20] Gilbert Childs, Steiner Education in theory and Practice (Edinburgh: Floris Books, 1991) p.17.

Key Characteristics of Waldorf Education

Our highest endeavour must be to develop free human beings,
who are able out of their own initiative to impart
purpose and direction to their lives.

Rudolf Steiner

It would take us beyond the scope of this work to outline the sources of the various existing educational ideas and practices which Steiner had absorbed, and how he wove them together into a unified and internally consistent whole to form the edifice of Waldorf pedagogy. However, it will be necessary to briefly outline the key characteristics of this approach to education in order to understand why it captivated people's imagination to such an extent that the movement spread across the world.

Waldorf pedagogy has its basis in a picture of the human being that is described as comprising of body, soul, and spirit. The term 'body' refers to the physical result of the hereditary forces of the past, while 'spirit' refers to that which bears the child's potential. This spiritual potential may become more accessible as the child grows towards adulthood. Teachers are not primarily concerned with these aspects of the child's being because the body is given and already fixed, and the spirit must be left free to unfold its own destiny. However, the 'soul', a tripartite entity incorporating the faculties of will, feeling and thinking, is the substance and content of the human being which is engaged in the educational process. A thorough understanding of the process by which the soul unfolds provides the basis for both the content of the curriculum and the educational methodology.

Steiner's views on child development stress a seven-year cyclic evolution. The first seven years is complete with the change of teeth; it is characterised by the predominance of the forces of the will, which is exercised and directed through imitation and strengthened by repetition and rhythm in an environment imbued with goodness. The cycle from seven to fourteen extends over the period of primary

education; it is characterised by the predominance of the forces of imagination, exercised through the cultivation of the feelings predominantly through artistic activities in an environment imbued with beauty. The cycle from fourteen to twenty-one, introduced by the changes of puberty and embracing the five years of high school, is characterised by the birth of the capacity to think abstractly and to reason logically; is exercised through disciplined academic pursuits, artistic self-expression, and practical work in an environment imbued with the ideal of striving for truth.

The divisions from early childhood into primary and secondary education are seen to be based, not on social convention, but on the realities of human development, and Waldorf education aims to lay the groundwork for the development of a healthy soul-life, characterised by creativity in thinking, a feeling for morality, and willingness to be a socially responsible member of the community, or in Steiner's own words: "The need for imagination, a sense of truth and a feeling of responsibility - these are the three forces which are the very nerve of education".

Some of the key features, as well as common organisational and methodological practices that have emerged from Steiner's ideas include the following:

(1) Waldorf schools are non-denominational and non-sectarian. They invite students of any race, ethnic or religious background. They are co-educational and all students do all subjects.

(2) In the years of their primary education, the class teacher accompanies the same group of students for the full cycle from 7 to 14 years, providing a loving authority, stability, consistency, strong interpersonal relationships between the teachers, children and their families. This form of primary class organisation provides a realistic opportunity to attend to individual needs of children while encouraging the social development of the class.

(3) The teaching of subjects occurs in integrated block periods (called 'Main Lessons') in the first two-hour period of the day, for the whole of the twelve years. Each Main Lesson lasts a minimum of three weeks, making possible more in-depth

treatment of subject matter and promotes continuity and concentration.

(4) A balance of academic, artistic and practical activities is provided in the belief that all the faculties of the soul should be nourished and exercised. The organisational form to support this aim is the three-fold division of the day whereby the morning period emphasises more formal academic learning, the middle period of the day focuses more on artistic subjects, and the afternoons are devoted to practical activities.

(5) The 'College of Teachers' is responsible for the educational policy making and administration. This means that, rather than a principal, deputies and seniors making the decisions, all teachers participate in and are responsible for decisions made and therefore are clearly accountable for their implementation. Committees of the 'College' attend to specific portfolios of management. All teachers, whether working in the kindergarten or high school, are considered to be of equal status as members of the 'College'.

(6) The school, while being a reflection of the wider community, is also a place of shelter where children are permitted to be children and allowed to progress at their own rate without competitive pressure. Ideally, each school should contain the age range from the little children in kindergarten to the young adults of year twelve, so that the different stages of consciousness are represented in a total school community.

(7) Anthroposophy, both as a body of knowledge and a path of inner development, underlies the educational philosophy, and although teachers are expected to continually strive to deepen their understanding of it, it is not taught or promoted in the school. However, one of the fundamental ideas in Anthroposophy is the evolution of consciousness, and this underlies much of the humanities curriculum. The theory of recapitulation, which claims that each child in his or her mental evolution passes through all the great culture epochs that have marked the development of the human race[21] is fundamental in the organisation of curriculum

[21] As noted earlier, this theory was current in the late 19th and early 20th centuries and was supported by some mainstream German educators and others. See for example "The Child and the Species" in Cleverley and Phillips Visions of Childhood, pp. 42-53.

content from year to year. The story curriculum[22] parallels the cultural epochs and from class to class the cultural history, including the major myths and legends are studied.

These are some of the major features of Waldorf education, and while most of these practices were unusual in the early decades of this century, many are now common-place, even in mainstream schools, at least in theory. However, the unifying force which keeps the Waldorf schools on track all over the world is the interpretation of the nature and development of the human being which Steiner's Anthroposophy inspires. That the relevance of an educational method based on Anthroposophy was appreciated early this century, and continues to be adopted by an increasing number of people around the world, is testified by the growth of the movement which took place since the founding of the first school. We will now consider the growth that took place in the Waldorf school movement.

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[22] Alduino Mazzone,"What's the Story? The Story Curriculum in Steiner Schools". *Musagetes:* Vol. I No. 2, 1994, pp. 24-29.

The Growth of the Waldorf School Movement

By the time of Steiner's death in 1925 a second Waldorf school had been founded in Germany, at Hamburg, another at The Hague in Holland, and two in England: at Streatham, London, and at Kings Langley, Hertfordshire. Gradually the Waldorf school movement spread, and other schools opened; in 1928 the first American school was founded in New York City, and by the outbreak of World War II sixteen schools in all were operative, being distributed as follows:

Germany	3
UK	5
Norway	2
Holland	2
Switzerland	2
Italy	1
USA	1

All independent schools in Germany, including of course the Waldorf schools, and those in the occupied countries were closed by the Hitler regime, so during the war years the only Waldorf schools to remain open in Europe were those in Switzerland and the United Kingdom. However, within about a year of the ending of the war in Europe, twenty four schools in what had become West Germany had been newly founded or re-established. Since then growth in the number of schools worldwide has accelerated.[23]

With the post-war European migration the movement spread further to North and South America, South Africa and eventually Australia. In other instances the movement was felt indirectly, as in Indonesia where the State school curriculum was influenced by some of Steiner's ideas, no doubt a legacy of Dutch colonialism.[24]

[23] ibid. pp.17-18 including the table above.

[24] Zainu'ddin, Ailsa, "Education in the Netherlands, East Indies and the Republic of Indonesia", in Selleck R.(ed)" Melbourne Studies in Education (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press,1970): pp.17-83. esp. p. 38

Worlwide expansion followed rapidly. By 1962 there was a total of sixty six schools.[25] In 1973 it was reported that "some 40,000 pupils attend the ninety-odd Rudolf Steiner schools all over the world."[26], while in 1975, there was a "sum total of just over one hundred." [27] The list of Waldorf (Rudolf Steiner) Schools, published in the periodical "Child and Man"[28], contains a useful record of the growth of schools. The school numbers published in the following issues have been selected to demonstrate the growth.

YEAR	NO. SCHOOLS
1979	177
1980	193
1981	257
1983	306
1985	351
1989	447
1994	619

The development from the five schools (up to the time of Steiner's death in 1925) to 619 in 1994 reveals an almost exponential rate of growth. The Waldorf schools have become a world-movement for the education of children from nursery to university entrance. However, the word "movement" needs to be clarified, for it is in no sense organised or directed from any given centre. It is a cultural movement sustained in its growth by independent and spontaneous efforts wherever the ideas underlying Waldorf education fire human imagination and will.[29] Murphy, in the afterword of

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[25] Hemleben, op.cit.p.126

[26] Davy, op.cit.

[27] Francis Edmunds, Rudol Steiner's Gift to Education: The Waldorf Schools (London: Rudolf Steiner Press, 1975) p.138.

[28] *Child and Man: Journal for Rudolf Steiner Waldorf Education*. Vol. 28 No. 2 July 1994, Published by Steiner Schools Fellowship, Forest Row, E.Sussex, UK.

[29] Edmunds, op.cit. p.14

the book which describes the founding of the first school, notes:

> *In Europe especially, the Waldorf school is a leading influence. Its alumni are active in science, agriculture, and the arts. The schools often break the ground for other anthroposophical activities, and are* ***cultural islands*** *of hope in an otherwise troubled world.*[30] *(bolding added)*

So far, a picture has been developed of the founding and world-wide expansion of these "cultural islands". From this broader context we can now direct our focus on how, why and by whom Waldorf schools have been and are being founded in Australia.

[30] Molt and Murphy, op.cit. p.170

CHAPTER TWO

WALDORF EDUCATION IN AUSTRALIA
PART I
THE FOUNDING YEARS

The Role of the Anthroposophical Society

The introduction of Waldorf education to Australia was due primarily to the initiatives of the Anthroposophical Society. In the twenty one years from 1957 to 1978 the seeds of Waldorf education were planted, but the ground had been prepared by a small but active group of members of the Anthroposophical movement in both Sydney and Melbourne. In this period three schools were founded: Glenaeon Rudolf Steiner School, Lorien Novalis School for Rudolf Steiner Education, and Melbourne Rudolf Steiner School. The three schools had different beginnings and developed their own ethos, but each in its own way has influenced the other schools that followed. The nature of this influence can be understood by the way in which key people in each school interpreted Anthroposophy and the relation they had to the Anthroposophical Society.

Because the creation of the first schools is inextricably linked with the existence of the Anthroposophical movement, we will consider, in this section, the contribution of a number of key anthroposophists in the period leading up to the founding of "Glenaeon", the first school. Miss Sylvia Brose, the founding teacher, became the thread which connected their lives and activities as they relate to the school. We shall begin therefore with a background sketch tracing how she came to be in the position to be the founding teacher.

Miss Brose, an Australian by birth, had her secondary education at St

Cuthbert's Presbyterian Ladies' College in Auckland, New Zealand. St. Cuthbert's school motto was "By Love Serve", which, related Miss Brose, became a "living influence" in her life.[31] In 1934 she commenced the first year of a medical degree at Victoria University College, Wellington. However, her life's path took a sudden turn at the end of this year when changed family circumstances necessitated that the whole family return to Sydney. She undertook a business course, and while working in an accountant's office during the daytime, pursued night-time study in German language and there she met "a remarkable woman" who was to have a profound influence on her life.[32]

In a talk given to parents on the occasion of the 21st anniversary of Glenaeon school, Miss Brose explained that long before its opening "the concept of the school had been developing in the minds of its three real founders and the young people around them".[33] Their influence was gratefully acknowledged by Miss Brose, and the first three main buildings of Glenaeon school were named after them in tribute of their pioneering contributions. We will briefly explore the influence of this trio of Glenaeon school's "real founders"; Lute Drummond, Alice Crowther and Eric Nicholls.

Miss Brose was still in her teens when she met Lute Drummond as her night school teacher of German, and it was through Lute Drummond that Miss Brose was introduced to Anthroposophy and commenced her life-long reading and study of the works of Rudolf Steiner, and subsequently joined the Anthroposophical Society. Miss Drummond was born at Tweed Heads in N.S.W. and during a visit to Europe in 1923-24, in the company of her niece, Ruth Ainsworth, met Rudolf Steiner and heard him speak at Dornach [34] in Switzerland and later in England. There were very few

[31] From a conversation with Miss Brose, 27th October 1994.

[32] Rosemary Gentle, "Sylvia Brose". Glenaeon Magazine, 1985.

[33] Speech given by Miss Brose to A.G.M and Parent's Meeting, June 1977.

[34] The Goetheanum in Dornach, near Basel, is the centre of the General Anthroposophical Society. It houses the *Freie Hochschule fur Geisteswissenschaft* (Free University of Spiritual Science), which offers foundation and graduate courses in a wide range of professional and artistic pursuits.

anthroposophists in Australia at this time, but a small group had been studying Steiner's work in Sydney since the 1920s. At first a member of this group, Miss Drummond later became the General Secretary of the Anthroposophical Society in Australia.[35] Through Lute Drummond, Miss Brose was led into her life-vocation - the education and development of children.

> *It was during these creative years of the 1930s that, as a student, I met Lute and was able to experience at first hand her gift of imparting knowledge in such a way that she was able to evoke enthusiasm and the desire to work further, as fully as possible, so as to share in Australia's fulfillment.*[36]

It was Miss Drummond also who suggested to young Miss Brose that she contact the Frensham school at Mittagong to enquire about teaching vacancies. Her niece, Ruth Ainsworth, was already teaching at Frensham, having introduced spinning, weaving and pottery, and was to be a valued staff member for 30 years.[37] Misses Brose and Ainsworth's shared interest in Anthroposophy was to form the basis of a life-long friendship. Miss Ainsworth later came for a time to teach Art at Glenaeon and be the Librarian there.

Miss Brose was at Frensham for seven years,[38] mostly teaching English and History, and as well as gaining valuable teaching experience, came into close contact with the Headmistress, Miss Winifred West -another outstanding educational pioneer. Frensham's school motto was "In love serve one another", and this echoed Miss Brose's positive experiences at St. Cuthbert's. Miss West's "gospel" was that "Those who have much must give much", and the school even adopted St. Francis of Assisi, "the servant of all" as their patron saint. Miss Brose described how the theme

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[35] Lute Drummond was General Secretary of the Anthroposophical Society in Australia from 1935 to 1948, taking over from the founding Secretary Edith Williams.

[36] S.H. Brose, "Lute Drummond", Glenaeon Magazine, 1985.

[37] Priscilla Kennedy, Portrait of Winifred West (Sydney:The Fine Arts Press, 1975) p.192

[38] Initially for three years, then trained as a kindergarten teacher at Sydney Teachers College, and later returned to Frensham for four more years.

of service and the strong Christian centre at Frensham created an atmosphere in which she felt that she could "breathe". In some schools, an ethos of Christian service can be burdensome or restrictive - this "breathing" may well owe more to Miss West's belief in progressive ideals.

Although West believed that "all education should have a religious basis", Frensham was not denominational in the strict sense,[39] but being a girl's boarding school which, on the whole served the well-to-do, the provision of a religious atmosphere was in keeping with the social expectations. The progressive minded West however also had the opportunity and used her freedom to carry out educational experiments, such as broadening the curriculum to cater for non-academic girls. She also had the idea that educational institutions could become the new patrons for the arts, and this was behind the initiative to have, for example, a resident sculptor in the school.[40] These were some of the key features at Frensham which no doubt impressed themselves on Miss Brose, and subsequently on the ethos and atmosphere which she recreated at Glenaeon.

Another area, besides Anthroposophy, in which Miss Brose entered with great enthusiasm was the Arts, and these were later to become a cornerstone of the curriculum at Glenaeon. She became involved with a group of adults (who were mostly anthroposophists) who presented plays, festivals and eurythmy performances in an open-air amphitheatre, designed by Walter Burley Griffin, at Castlecrag, and it is at this stage that the second figure in the trilogy of "real founders" makes her appearance. Alice Crowther arrived from England in 1942, and opened her studio for Drama, Speech, and Eurythmy, "and another long and happy association began".[41] Miss Crowther was largely responsible for the artistic impulse that became woven into Glenaeon school's life, overseeing among other things the eurythmy lessons for the

[39] Kennedy, op. cit. pp.161-2

[40] ibid. p. 159.

[41] Rosemary Gentle "Sylvia Brose", Glenaeon Magazine, 1985.

first five or six years. Miss Brose declared that it was "To [Alice Crowther that] Glenaeon owes the beginnings of a love and appreciation of these arts so basic to Rudolf Steiner Education"[42]

Alice Crowther was born in Melbourne in 1892 where later, in connection with her interest in speech and drama, she learned about Rudolf Steiner's work. In the 1930s she went to Dornach[43] to further her training with the intention of bringing back to Australia the new developments in the Anthroposophical artistic initiatives. Among her teachers in Speech Formation and Drama was Frau Dr. Marie Steiner, wife and colleague of Rudolf Steiner. After her training Miss Crowther worked with Michael Chekov from 1935 to 1942 in England [44]and later in the United States but during the Second World War was encouraged by Lute Drummond to return to Australia and introduce these new arts here. Consequently, Alice Crowther was the first teacher with a Dornach training to establish a studio in Sydney. In 1941 the first group of students, who included Sylvia Brose and Marj. Waugh[45], studied and performed Speech, Drama and Eurythmy. Later, performances were given at Dalcross school in Pymble, and with the opening of Glenaeon-Dalcross there was opportunity for the involvement of parents and friends of the children. Miss Crowther not only trained many professional actors but also gave a firm foundation to the first teachers in Rudolf Steiner Education.[46]

The third figure who was influential in the founding of Waldorf education in Australia was Eric Nicholls[47], who trained as an architect in Melbourne. In 1920 he entered the employ of Walter Burley Griffin, who had come to Australia to implement

[42] S.H.Brose, "Alice Crowther", Glenaeon Magazine, 1985.

[43] The Goetheanum offers professional training for actors and eurythmists. See note 4

[44] While in England Miss Crowther worked for a time at Dartington Hall, a progressive boarding school in Devon.

[45] Marj Waugh was later to have a seminal influence in the artistic training of teachers at the Lorien Novalis Steiner School.

[46] S.H. Brose, "Alice Crowther", Glenaeon Magazine, 1985.

[47] Eric Nicholls (1902-1966)

his winning design for the Federal Capital at Canberra. In 1924 the Griffins moved to Sydney where they became associated with the founding Secretary of the Anthroposophical Society in Australia, Edith Williams.[48] In 1930 the Nicholls followed the Griffins to Sydney where they were introduced to Anthroposophy by them and subsequently joined the Society in 1934. In 1948 Eric Nicholls succeeded Lute Drummond as General Secretary of the Anthroposophical Society in Australia and served in that role until 1966.

Eric Nicholls had wanted to send his children to a Steiner school and, although this did not come about, he remained dedicated to the task of establishing one. The idea of forming a school developed further at a meeting in 1951 attended by Eric Nicholls, Sylvia Brose and other members of the Anthroposophical Society. Here it was proposed that Miss Brose would train in Waldorf education in Edinburgh, then return to Sydney to begin a school. The opportunity to obtain a venue for a school arose in February 1956 when the Anthroposophical Society purchased "Dalcross" at Pymble, and "Glenaeon" (11.75 acres of natural bushland) at Middle Cove. In 1957 Eric Nicholls formed the nucleus of a School Council and Sylvia Brose returned from Waldorf training in the Edinburgh Rudolf Steiner School to take charge of the foundation class at Dalcross.[49]

Many years later Miss Brose described the contribution of these three founders in typically anthroposophical terms;

> *We have often spoken of the three soul forces of thinking, feeling and willing that we try to foster in the children and it seems to me that in the three personalities were prepared the soul forces of the school. Lute widened our mental horizons..., Alice Crowther did her best to deepen our life of feeling and Eric, with his tremendous sense of direction, eventually made the school a physical possibility* [50]

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[48] From this association the Griffins became members of the Anthroposophical Society, Marion in 1930 and Walter in 1931.

[49] Marie Christina McClelland, "The Eric Nicholls Building - Who was Eric Nicholls?", Glenaeon Magazine, 1985.

[50] S.H.Brose, Talk at Glenaeon AGM June 1977.

With characteristic humility Miss Brose did not mention her own role as the founding and pioneer teacher of a new educational movement in Australia. Others have clearly recognised it however, for in 1984 Sylvia Brose B.A., Litt.B. was awarded the Order of Australia Medal in recognition of her contribution to Australian education. I have attempted to show how the transportation of Waldorf education to Australia, and the founding of the first school, was inextricably linked with Anthroposophy and the initiatives taken by influential members of the Anthroposophical Society. What follows is an outline of the founding and development of Glenaeon.

"Glenaeon" The First School, 1957.

The first Steiner school in Australia opened its doors in February 1957 with three students and one teacher. Miss Brose had been training at the Edinburgh Steiner school from 1951 to 1956, and had returned "full of enthusiasm for her task". The fledgeling school began in "Dalcross", a previously established kindergarten in King Edward Street, Pymble, a suburb of Sydney. The land and building, a converted residence, were gifted to the school by the Anthroposophical Society. After four years increase in number to 60 students led to a move to the present site in Glenroy Avenue Middle Cove. Two campuses existed until 1973 when the Kindergarten joined the main school, called "Glenaeon".[51]

Miss Brose soon attracted others to work with her[52] and from 1957 Glenaeon grew, one class at a time until it reached Year 12 in 1968. Increase in student numbers and the educational principle of class progression led to the addition of one or more classes each year. Additional buildings, designed at first by Eric Nicholls, were added in 1961, 1963, and 1965 to accommodate expanding needs so

[51] John Poiner, "The Growth of Glenaeon School". Glenaeon Magazine, 1985. An article by a School Councillor published in a commemorative edition celebrating the 28th anniversary of Glenaeon School.

[52] Vera Jacobsen, who moved from Perth for the purpose, followed on as the next class teacher after Miss Brose. In 1970, David Hatton, an ex-State school Deputy Headmaster and an active member of the New Education Fellowship, joined Glenaeon and remained for the next 24 years as class teacher.

that by 1985 the school had a Kindergarten, eight primary and five secondary classrooms, smaller seminar rooms, library, science labs., craft rooms, and relevant amenities, as well as a multi-purpose school hall in which eurythmy, gymnastics and games, festivals and assemblies, and drama and orchestral productions could be performed.

Because Glenaeon was for fourteen years, the only Waldorf school in Australia,curriculum and physical resources were scarce. Very few of Steiner's educational works had been translated from the German and supplementary texts by other Waldorf teachers hardly existed, so inservice training was eagerly pursued and gratefully received. Once again the initiative of Eric Nicholl in 1962, assisted the school by bringing Francis Edmunds[53] to Glenaeon. Mr. Edmunds, an experienced teacher and lecturer in Waldorf education, gave the class teachers much help in developing their skills and understanding of their work. In 1969 he returned to contribute to the training of the high school teachers, and then again in 1978 gave the impetus towards developing a teacher training course.

Edmunds shrewdly recognised that without a supply of trained teachers the school would flounder, and the movement as a whole could not grow in a healthy way. His encouragement led to the establishment of the "Orientation Course in Anthroposophy" in Sydney, offering foundation studies in Anthroposophy and artistic courses. Today, with a name change to "Parsifal College", it continues to offer adult courses in Anthroposophy, but has added full-time courses in Early Childhood Education (to service the growing need for Kindergarten teachers in Steiner schools) and Waldorf education. The two-year course, comprising a Foundation Year and a second year of specialist training, was accredited in 1993 and recognised by the University of New England (Armidale) as equivalent to an Associate Diploma in Education, and a further two years of study could lead to gaining a Bachelor of Education degree.

[53] L.Francis Edmunds (1902-1989) was the founder of Emerson College, a training centre for Waldorf teachers in Sussex, England. He was a lecturer and advisor to Waldorf schools around the world, stimulating the founding of many new schools.

As an aside, the founders of the Orientation Course in Anthroposophy[54] were not only active in the Anthroposophical Society, but were also influential members of the organising group of the New Education Fellowship (later called the World Education Fellowship) in Sydney, and were largely responsible for organising the NEF Summer Camps at Morpeth and Frensham in the late 1960s. The Waldorf Teacher Training programme of Parsifal College has been mostly conducted at Glenaeon school since 1985[55], thus the school has provided a further service additional to the education of children.

Glenaeon operates as a non-denominational, co-educational school, registered to teach pre-school, primary and secondary classes. It aims to teach a Waldorf curriculum consistent with the indications which Steiner gave for the first Waldorf school. It is located in Middle Cove, which is largely inhabited by an upper middle class population, and although the school draws students from a wide area and of different social background, the school reflects its socio-economic setting. Glenaeon attempts

> *to provide the child with his grounding in basic subjects in accordance with the requirements of the State Education Department but the material... is carefully selected to introduce him to the sciences and humanities.*[56]

Thus, whilst providing an artistic and culturally rich education, the academic aspirations of many of the parents has led to a strong emphasis, in the high school, on academic content and preparation for examinations. Miss Brose acknowledged[57] that the school had to be "straight down the line" with regard to the senior secondary curriculum because the parent population included "lecturers and

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[54] Erwin Berney, Susan Haris and Dick van Leer (now deceased) were the fouders of the Orientation Course. David Hatton, previously mentioned teacher at Glenaeon, was also a part of the organising group of the NEF and WEF Summer Camps.

[55] The writer was a guest lecturer in the teacher training course at Glenaeon in 1985.

[56] Information handbook prepared by Glenaeon School.

[57] In a conversation with the writer (27th Oct. 94)

university types" who presumably would not support anything less than that the school provided the opportunity for academic success for their sons and daughters.

Since 1968 Year 12 students at Glenaeon have been prepared for the state examinations and the High School Certificate. Now the high school has begun a second stream in classes 7 and 8 with the intention of carrying this through to a Year 13. This will enable the school to offer a full 12 year Steiner curriculum. In 1985 there were 360 children, in 1994 there were around 420 students, and to accommodate the increasing numbers the school is facing once again the prospect of two separate campuses, having negotiated acquisition of a former state primary school in nearby Castlecrag.

With respect to its management, Glenaeon school has been able to demonstrate the concept of professional leadership coming from a College of Teachers, in which the relations between staff members are based on non-hierarchical, consensual principles[58]. Also there has been the separation of educational and financial administration, the College of Teachers being responsible for the former while the latter is administered by a school council with teacher and parent representation.

In its bushland setting in the midst of metropolitan Sydney we are reminded of the metaphor of the Waldorf schools as"cultural islands". Miss Brose described it like this: "When I walk down the drive in the morning light, and the buildings rise up in their framework of green I feel as if this is a living fairy tale, or the world of Alice behind the Looking Glass."[59]

The imagery used in this description should not be misconstrued as suggesting that what transpires in the school consists of fantasy and illusion. This would belie the litany of struggles and sacrifices made to overcome financial obstacles, bureaucratic hindrance and resource limitations over the years. Rather the simile points to the purpose implicit in the aims of the school; the preservation of the

[58] Consensus is often hard won, and Miss Brose, Mr. Hatton and others have commented on the sometimes "stormy meetings" surrounding some delicate issues.

[59] S.H. Brose, talk at Glenaeon AGM, June 1985.

childhood forces of imagination and creativity.

"Lorien Novalis" The Second School, 1971

The emphasis on *creativity* was carried even further in the second school to be founded in Australia. The name "Lorien Novalis" is rather evocative of fairy tale, and in pursuing its origin we note that to the metaphor of the 'cultural island' is added the notion of a 'safe haven'. The school was established in the spring of 1971, fourteen years after the founding of Glenaeon, by several teachers from Glenaeon. The name and character of the school is revealed in the words of one of its founders:

> *The school name was a challenge, one which short-listed to 'Novalis' and 'Lorien'. These were advocated respectively by the German and 'English' arms of the new-school community.Novalis, meaning 'new', was felt to reflect the 'nouveau spirit' of the venture. The poet was also an exponent of the marriage of science and art, a key plank in the school's programme. Lorien, from Tolkien's Lord of the Rings, was a place of soul-nurture; one in which we gather strength before the child graduates to the Mordor of the outer world.* [60]

Lorien Novalis School for Rudolf Steiner Education is at Glenhaven, Dural, some forty kilometres north-west of central Sydney. At the time of its founding the location was in a rural setting with bushland, open spaces and beautiful views over the ranges, but now, due to creeping development, has become a part of the greater metropolitan area.

The founding group met regularly, in 1971, to work together artistically and study Anthroposophy.[61] Two of the participants (Alan Whitehead and Rainer Fiek) were at that time teachers at Glenaeon. Alan Whitehead had been a graphic artist before he decided to become "a Steiner teacher". He was at Glenaeon from 1966 until 1971, where he concurrently received his teacher training, taught Art, and was a Class

[60] Alan Whitehead, "Under the Sun - of Spiritual Science".1993, in *Musagetes: Education Journal for the Community of Steiner Schools.* Vol.I, No. 1, Autumn/Winter 1994.

[61] The original founding group consisted of Susan and Alan Whitehead, Hans and Pam Schulz, Eva and (Rainer- now deceased) Fiek, Thomas and Gudrun Ludescher, Markus Harkness, Ruth Marx (now deceased) and Jenny Marx.

Guardian in the new high school.[62] Many of the group had small children, so the theme of education was an important discussion topic. The idea of starting a second Steiner school in Sydney emerged, consolidated and manifested eventually as a group of eight children and twelve adults (all teacher potential)[63]. Part of the reason for starting another school was to overcome the amount of travel involved in getting to Glenaeon. However there also "burned within these teachers an ideal of a school that worked fully out of the 'Spirit of Creativity' as Rudolf Steiner had always urged teachers to do"[64]. In an article on the founding of the school Alan Whitehead states:

> *The Lorien Novalis impulse was based on two shining pillars; the first was to 'Australianise' Steiner Education, drawing inspiration from our own time and place, rather than from central Europe of the 1920s. The second was to imbue every element of the work with the Spirit of Creativity (as recommended by Steiner) - to seek fresh new forms, whether academic, artistic or activity. Only then can the soul and spirit of the child be truly illuminated.*[65]

Lorien opened with eight students but this grew rapidly to thirty within six months. How can this almost immediate response to an alternative education be understood? The 1970s was a time when some sectors of the community were questioning the value of State Education and were seeking an alternative learning environment. Their views often received support from the apparent lack of agreement between educationalists about what education should mean.[66] Parents who were seeking an alternative turned to schools that proposed an ideology more in line with their thinking. In an article published in *The Way Out* Alan Whitehead made clear his

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[62] Alan Whitehead, A Steiner High School (Mullumbimby NSW: Golden Beetle Books, 1993) p.5, and in correspondence of 28/2/94.

[63] Gudrun Ludescher, "Lorien Novalis School for Rudolf Steiner Education". Correspondence (14/4/94). Ms. Ludescher was one of the founding group who later became a staff member at Lorien.

[64] Jennifer West, "The Steiner/Waldorf Movement in Australia", April 1994.

[65] ibid.

[66] John Cleverley, "Non Denominational and Alternative Schools", in John Cleverley (ed),Half a Million Children, op.cit. pp. 260-269

school's position on the most desirable climate in which children ought to be educated; that the school is neither a free school in which there is no authority, nor is it an authoritarian school with fear-inspired authority, but operates in a creative middle way in which there is developed a "natural authority based on intimate and longstanding relationships between children and teachers." He emphasises, rather paradoxically, though understandably in the context of his article, that "Lorien Novalis is not a 'progressive school' - it is, however, a very progressive school."[67]

Evidently this approach to educating children suited the wishes of some parents, and so the school flourished. By 1978 the school had over 100 students and no composite classes. In 1981 the full primary school complement had been achieved and the first year of the high school had begun.[68]

Coinciding with this movement to explore alternatives in education was the more positive financial encouragement given by State and Federal Governments to non-government schools with educationally justified programmes. Although their policies were designed primarily to assist church schools, innovative alternative schools also benefited. However, substantial Commonwealth aid did not commence until 1974 under the Whitlam government's Schools Commission. As Lorien began before these halcyon days of educational funding the founders relied on determination and sacrifice. As it happened, the school began ("illegally") on the back verandah of an old mansion, belonging to the family of Rudolph Marx (a parent) at Pymble. It was ironic that this house was only a hundred metres from Dalcross, "so the first two Steiner schools in Australia began on the same street!"[69]

From the spring of 1971, in its first term, the school offered a primary education only, divided into a junior and senior class. After six months of preparation

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[67]Alan Whitehead, "An Example of Rudolf Steiner Education", in Margaret Smith and David Crossley (eds), The Way Out: Radical Alternatives in Australia (Melbourne: Lansdown Press, 1975) pp. 74-76.

[68] "Class 8 at Lorien Novalis has 18 students and is becoming a strong group for the task of pioneering the high school." Alan Whitehead, in Minutes of RSSA Meeting July 24th 1981.

[69] Whitehead, "Under the Sun", op. cit.

and publicity, Lorien Novalis mustered only eight pupils for its opening, but as noted, by the end of the first term of the following year (about six months later), numbers had swelled to thirty students. Glenaeon's assistance and good will towards the new venture has been acknowledged: "Instead of indifference, or opposition even, the Glenaeon community was supportive in both practical and spiritual terms." For example, the chairperson of the Glenaeon Council, Gary Richardson,[70] made a vital contribution by purchasing an old, large house at Normanhurst in the north-west suburbs of Sydney for the school's use. The beginning of 1972 found the school operating in this house with four groups of children: Kindergarten and composite classes, 1/2, 3/4, and 5/6. In 1973 the house in Normanhurst was sold and a five acre property in Dural was purchased, being the existing site of the school.[71]

Safely located on the permanent site on Old Northern Road, Dural, the school, like Glenaeon before it, grew a new class from year to year. At the start, Susan Whitehead was the only full-time (and unpaid) teacher[72]. The other teachers in the founding group committed themselves to part-time tasks until the school had grown sufficiently to employ them also in a full-time capacity. Alan and Susan Whitehead remained at Lorien Novalis for the next 14 years, Susan teaching mostly in the kindergarten and Alan as class teacher in the primary school and in 1981 spearheading the high school as the first Class Guardian of 18 year-eight students. Rainer Fiek became a class teacher after Alan, and Thomas Ludescher followed. Eva Fiek began teaching eurythmy in the school right from the beginning and continued to do so for the next 14 years.

From its small beginning, which nevertheless was bigger than Glenaeon's, the school grew in scope and activity and became a dynamic cultural centre for

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[70] Gary Richardson later purchased a large building at Leura, in the Blue Mountains, and found the "Korowal School", a progressive school based on Steiner principles but incorporating additional elements.

[71] Gudrun Ludescher, op. cit.

[72] A.Whitehead, "Under the Sun", op. cit.

anthroposophic activity. For example, Lorien Novalis hosted an Anthroposophical Lecture Course in 1981 in which nearly every Friday, after school hours, a lecture was given by anthroposophists of different professions on a topic related to some aspect of Anthroposophy or education.[73]In addition, the school became well known for the originality and artistry of its education as well as the commitment of its teachers to their own artistic development. Consequently, alongside the teaching and administrative work there was a strong programme of inservice education for the teachers which drew on the expertise of a number of anthroposophist-artists and teachers. Marj Waugh, who was one of the students, alongside Sylvia Brose, attending Alice Crowther's eurythmy and drama classes, now made a regular contribution by teaching eurythmy to the teachers of Lorien. The speech and drama teacher, Mechtild Harkness (another Dornach trained person[74]), was also added to the teacher-training programme.[75]

One part of the school's activity at this time was the Lorien Novalis College of Teacher Education, established by the College of Teachers and directed by Alan Whitehead. This facility provided an apprenticeship-type teacher training and provided the school with a ready source of assistants and new teachers[76]. Some of these trainees later became founding teachers or staff members in other Steiner schools, for example Marek Chodkiewicz went to teach at "Chrysalis" in the Thora Valley near Bellingen in 1983, and hence the Lorien mission to Australianise Steiner education and work out of the "Spirit of Creativity" was disseminated further afield.

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[73] For example Syvia Brose gave two talks titled "The Background to the Arthurian Legends and the Story of Parsifal", and "The Connection between the Knights of the Holy Grail and the Knights of King Arthur".From an advertising leaflet from Lorien Novalis. 1981

[74] Mechtild Harkness came to Australia in 1969 and took on the Speech and Drama work which Alice Crowther had begun.

[75] Jennifer West, "The Steiner/Waldorf Movement in Australia", April 1994 and Alan Whitehead, "Under the Sun" op.cit.

[76] NSW did not, and still does not, have statutory teacher registration based on formal teacher qualifications. Graduates from Loriens Novalis College of Teacher Education might be well trained Steiner teachers but might be completely ignorant about other alternative and mainstream theories of education.

The General Secretary of the Anthroposophical Society at the time was Robert Williams[77], a bio-dynamic agriculturalist keenly interested in Australian botany. It was partly through a warm acquaintance with Mr. Williams that Alan Whitehead deepened his appreciation of Anthroposophy, especially with respect to insights into the evolution of Australian flora. However, the most influential figure working 'behind-the-scenes' at Lorien, as its, "spiritual godfather", was Douglas Waugh, an anthroposophist whose spiritual insights were a source of inspiration to teachers, administrators and parents. Waugh, a poet, playwright and esotericist, was a regular contributor at the many conferences and seminars held at Lorien Novalis. For example,at the 1981 Anthroposophical Lecture Course, Waugh delivered nine out of the thirty-six lectures. At these occasions he gave Steiner's, and his own, spiritual perspective with regard to, among others, the task of Steiner education and the role of the teacher. He was therefore the chief interpreter of Anthroposophy for many of the young people who trained at Lorien and his influence spread to many newly emerging schools, especially in northern New South Wales.

A period of expansion occurred at Lorien in the late 1970s and early 1980s when, in addition to embarking on its own high school, it sponsored the founding of two new schools; "Melaleuca" at Mt. Druitt and "Meander" at Windsor[78]. Though begun seperately the two 'daughter' schools merged in mid 1981 into a new school with twenty-four students, and was renamed "Melaleuca Meander". It experienced considerable difficulties with registration[79], and although managed to remain open, the difficulties, such as those resulting from small student numbers, students with learning difficulties, lack of resources, very low wages for teachers, and a relatively high (for a

[77] Robert Williams became General Secretary of the Anthroposophical Society in Australia after the death of Eric Nicholls in 1966 and continued in that role until 1983..

[78] Both schools were sub-titled "A Lorien Novalis School for Rudolf Steiner Education"and were seen as daughter schools to Lorien until they could establish their own independence.

[79] "The Lorien School Executive and the teachers at Windsor are determined that it will not close. This viewpoint is supported by the school's gratifying growth during 1981". Alan Whitehead, RSSA Minutes 24th July, 1981.

Steiner school) teacher turnover. In 1985 it moved to its present site at Richmond and changed its name to "Aurora Meander". Student numbers grew, though they remained modest, and the school was registered up to class ten. After a few years of trying to maintain a high school curriculum, it wisely decided to relinquish its high school registration and focus on primary teaching.[80]

A feature of Steiner schools already mentioned is management by a College of Teachers rather than a principal in whom rests final authority for decision making. The College structure has many benefits, but no matter how committed to a common educational philosophy a group of teachers might be, and concensus decision making is striven for, decisions must still be made. Although in principle all teachers on the College have equal say, there will inevitably be those whose opinion carries greater weight. This may be due to greater experience, more wisdom, or forcefulness of personality. Inequities exist in all organisations but where there is no clearly defined formal hierarchy, as in Waldorf schools, the challenges have been even greater.

The expansion into the high school at Lorien Novalis necessitated greater financial outlay when the property adjacent to the school was purchased. The decision to purchase the high-school site was largely due to the vision and tenacity of Alan Whitehead. However, the tension created, in part by the resulting financial burden, led to disagreements within the College of Teachers regarding the school community's capacity to bear the cost, and to a loss of confidence in Whitehead's management ability. Consequently, at the end of 1985, after 14 years of dedicated service to the school, Alan and Susan Whitehead resigned and subsequently moved to northern New South Wales where they currently conduct teacher training courses, act as consultants to Steiner teachers and publish curriculum material.

The fortunes of the high school waxed and waned as the College of Teachers adjusted to the new situation, but by 1988 registration of classes 7 to 10 had

[80] From an interview with Aurora Meander teacher, Alec Gibbon, and his school report to the RSSA eeting. Adelaide, March 18-20, 1994.

been achieved[81] and today, with a population of about 200 students, the school has in place a full twelve-year Steiner curriculum. Some students apply for admission to tertiary studies on the basis of their school achievement while others do a 13th year in a TAFE college.

At Lorien there was a burst of achievement and a great flowering of creativity driven by the energy, vision and entrepreneurial skill of Alan Whitehead and the dedication of many teachers that followed. Lorien's impact on the Waldorf school movement in Australia has left an indelible, and ultimately beneficial, mark. In the words of its founder: "Lorien Novalis grew out of the rich soil of Glenaeon, in turn providing yet another way for the many new schools in its wake. The wide path of Steiner Education has many 'ways'; Lorien Novalis expressed just one of these".[82]

The 'way' of Lorien, which was practiced to a high degree in its earlier days, and is elaborated in Whitehead's publications[83], is summed up in the quotation cited earlier, mainly, teacher creativity and Australianising the curriculum. The implication is that this "other way" is in contrast to "the rich soil" out of which it grew, thereby indicating the rehearsal of the age-old conflict between traditionalism and progressivism, social conformity and individualism, accountability and libertarianism. This has been a perennial theme in education and it is not surprising that it exists also in the Waldorf school movement

In the Australian schools the debate about the "two streams" is ongoing. One is seen as the traditional or European stream, often identified with Glenaeon which is one of the schools which represents it. Teachers working out of this model use a curriculum based on the *Lehrplan* which identifies specific main lesson themes and stories seen to capture the essential indications that Rudolf Steiner gave to the teachers while he was alive. At its best, this stream offers a rich resource to teachers

[81] From the Lorien Novalis school report by teacher, Steven Bennett, at the RSSA meeting , Adelaide, March, 1988.

[82] Alan Whitehead, "Under the Sun", op. cit.

[83] The Spiritual Curriculum Series, published by Golden Beetle Books.

striving to work out of Steiner's indications. At its worst it can become dogmatic and stale. The other stream, known as the 'Lorien' or 'Alan Whitehead' stream seeks to Australianise the curriculum and demand that, at all times, the creativity of teachers be called upon to write their own stories, poems, and songs, drawing on the world of nature and the immediate spiritual/cultural environment in which the children live. Steiner's indications are what provide the framework, but it is the teachers' own creativity which is seen to give it substance. At its best, this is an inspiring and liberating approach, but because it requires tremendous inner discipline to insure that both form and life are present, it can easily degenerate into being idiosyncratic or shallow. [84]

These two streams exist only theoretically as thesis and antithesis on a continuum rather than as clear-cut approaches. They are mediated by individual teachers in the context of their classes and their school and against the background of their own training and tendencies, and therefore come to expression in a multiplicity of ways.[85] Nevertheless, this polarity characterised one of the differences in approach between Glenaeon and Lorien Novalis. Other differences relate to time of founding. Glenaeon had accumulated fourteen more years of experience and established a particular way of working with the curriculum. Lorien had something to 'rebel against'. The greater emphasis given to academic pursuits at Glenaeon contrasted with the more arts and crafts emphasis at Lorien. Demographic factors also influenced the school's parent population; Glenaeon's location in an established upper-middle class suburb in contrast to Lorien which had located itself in a more rural but rapidly developing area. Glenaeon students wore uniforms whereas Lorien's dress policy specifically argued against them, and Glenaeon children addressed their teachers formally whereas Lorien teachers were called by their first name. Glenaeon school

[84] West, J."The Steiner/Waldorf School Movement in Australia", April 1994. Mazzone, A.B. "Rocking the Soul in the Bosum of the Steiner Curriculum", *Musagetes: Education Journal for the Community of Steiner Schools.* Vol.I No. 1, Autumn/Winter 1994.

[85] West, ibid.

celebrated the festivals belonging to the yearly Christian church-calendar cycle whereas Lorien celebrated festivals that were based on the year's seasonal cycle. These factors characterise the major differences between the two schools and underlie the differences between the schools which they influenced.

"Melbourne Rudolf Steiner School", The Third School, 1973

In February 1973 the third Waldorf school in Australia was opened in the undulating hills of Warranwood, near Croydon in the outer south-eastern suburbs of Melbourne. Like the two schools before it, and parallel in time with Lorien Novalis, the Melbourne Rudolf Steiner School developed from an Anthroposophical Study Group whose members wished to establish a school on the basis of Steiner's indications. In 1969 a group of Melbourne teachers[86] who were members of the Anthroposophical Society, began to work towards its establishment. In the words of Miss Ruth Wittig, the first kindergarten teacher, the prospective teachers

> *...met regularly to prepare themselves for their task, striving to extend their own potential to become creative teachers. Some of them undertook special Steiner teacher training in Europe. Alex Podolinsky, an architect who had teaching experience in the Rudolf Steiner method in Germany, helped the group."*[87]

Francis Edmunds, whose influence on Glenaeon's development has already been mentioned, was at this time (1969) visiting Australia, and urged these teachers, who were preparing themselves to teach in the proposed Steiner school, to decide on a quite definite date on which to begin and commit themselves to it. In 1972, towards the end of this preparatory period, when sufficient knowledge about, and interest in the venture had been generated, the beginning was made by the

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[86] These teachers were Paul Martin, Robert Martin, Ruth Wittig, Joan Bite, Tim Coffey, Pam Martin, and Pauline Ward. From "School Beginnings". Undated leaflet from the Melbourne Rudolf Steiner School.

[87] (Author unspecified), "Educating to Freedom: Melbourne's Steiner School," Educational Magazine Vol. 30, No. 5 (1973): pp.20-21.

opening of a kindergarten in a private home (Mrs. Joan Gray's) at Donvale. As the success of the Steiner approach became obvious,resources became available in the form of money donated and pledged, and parents and teachers worked together to acquire a five acre site "in the wilds of Warranwood, a sparsely settled area, just reacheable by public transport and vigorous walking"[88]. Today the greater Melbourne metropolitan area has caught up and, like Lorien Novalis' situation, housing development has encroached on the school.

Building plans for the school were undertaken, and the designs by the aforementioned architect, Alex Podolinsky were accepted. As an active member in the Anthroposophical work, Podolinsky was a driving force in the establishment of the school. He was also instrumental in the development of bio-dynamic farming and gardening in Victoria, and later was an Australia-wide advisor on bio-dynamic agriculture. If Lorien Novalis had Doug Waugh as its "spiritual godfather", then the Melbourne Steiner-school group looked to "Alex" for inspiration, instruction and spiritual guidance, especially during the important formative phase. Podalinsky's influential, and at times dominating, position within the school resulted in the early 1980s in him being voted out of its Board of Management. This caused a split in the school and resulted in at least two teachers and some families leaving the school and, together with Podalinsky founding the Ghilgai school in Kilsyth South which operates along similar lines to Steiner schools but with modifications to the curriculum and the elimination of the College of Teachers structure.

To return to the beginning once again, the kindergarten came under the auspices of the Health Department, therefore permission was sought and received to develop a kindergarten according to the Steiner method. Consequently, the initiative qualified for a Government building grant.[89] The kindergarten and pre-school section is located in a building of Podolinsky's creative but unorthodox design. It is a solid-

[88] "School Beginnings." op. cit.
[89] Darrell K. Mullins, The Educational Theory and Practice of Rudolf Steiner, diss., Monash University, (Melbourne: Unpublished M.Ed. Thesis, 1982) p.83.

concrete complex centred on one large irregularly shaped room with huge windows through which the bush "comes in".[90] The architecture continued to be a striking feature of the school. By the second term, the primary school building was ready, and this also made use of unusual perspectives; in this case from irregular pentagonal rooms. These buildings were of solid construction with concrete and brick dominating, unlike Lorien Novalis' lighter , more airy timber structures.

The buildings came gradually and groups of classrooms were added bit by bit "like a growing nautilus adding more chambers". This methodical preparation by the founding group, combined with the commitment of the teachers (many of whom had to bide their time scattered through the Victorian Education Department until it was their turn to step in and take a class), ensured the growth of a strong faculty of teachers. Robert Martin, the pioneer class teacher, was followed in 1974 by Marcus Cox and by Charles Bagot in 1975.[91] All these teachers made up the "College of Teachers" which both owned and ran the school. A strong committed community supported by an active Anthroposophical Society characterises the basis for the successes achieved during this period.

Both at Lorien and Melbourne the founding class teachers were male and the kindergarten teachers were female. Today this might be judged as expressing conformity to gender role stereotypes, but the male gender dominance arose not out of the philosophy, on the contrary, but as a matter of circumstance, and became equalised in later years. Anthroposophy places a high value on spiritual freedom and social equality and therefore it is hardly possible to be an active teacher/anthroposophist and not be concerned about promoting individual development, holistic education and social justice and progress. These are some of the major pillars upon which progressivism in education rests. Since the founding group were already practicing (mostly high school) teachers, their informal preparatory training focussed on re-

[90] Educational Magazine, op. cit footnote 57

[91] Other founding teachers were Tim Coffey 1976, Adrian May 1977, Wendy Duff 1978, and Helen Cock 1979.

orienting existing educational ideas and practices in the light of Steiner's ideas on child and curriculum development.

As the founding of the school falls in the same period as that of Lorien Novalis, the same socio-cultural and political conditions apply with regard to the search for educational alternatives and supportive government funding policies for new schools.[92] From the start the school received Commonwealth and State Government per-capita grants, and charged in addition only a "moderate" fee in the hope of attracting a broader social stratum of children and parents. This was consistent with Steiner's wishes that Waldorf education was an education for all children and not merely for the economically privileged members of society.

The school grew, in expected fashion, one class per year, and without pause continued into the secondary stage and on to the Higher School Certificate and the VCE, reaching Class 12 in 1984. Its reputation rapidly grew resulting in larger classes with waiting lists. The curriculum was rich in the arts and especially music and drama. All children in the middle primary classes were encouraged to play a stringed instrument and a school orchestra and choirs provided a welcome artistic addition to the already wide curriculum offering.The school was an "island of culture" to which many came to visit and learn.

In like fashion to Lorien Novalis, the school conducted teacher's conferences, which acted as both inservice training for its own staff, as well as being demonstrations of the approach taken at the Melbourne Rudolf Steiner School for the benefit of other schools attending. For example, the Australian Conference in 1980 attracted many teachers from existing and proposed Waldorf schools[93]. At Easter time in 1985 the school hosted the Southern Hemisphere Steiner Schools Conference to which came delegates from South Africa, South America, New Zealand and a large contingent from Australian schools (which by this time had swelled in number)[94]. As

[92] Cleverley, op. cit., refer to footnote 36

[93] Melbourne Steiner Teachers Conference, 2-6 Jan. 1980

[94] From the Report of the Southern Hemisphere Conference, 4-9 April 1985

noted at the end of the section on Lorien Novalis, this part of the decade was immensely stimulating for the school movement in Australia.

For reasons similar to those given by Glenaeon, high school students were prepared for the State examinations, and certain modifications to the comprehensive Waldorf curriculum had to be made in order that this could be achieved. By 1988, five Year 12 Classes had graduated, the school had 380 students (not counting the kindergarten) and the senior secondary students were getting "good HSC results"[95].

In order to ensure that each year a ready supply of teachers, who had the requisite background in Anthroposophy, and training in Waldorf pedagogy, was available, the school paralleled Lorien's initiative and began its own Teacher Education programme. Initially this was offered on a part-time basis, later one-year full-time and three-year part-time courses were offered. Now a two-year full-time course is available for which accreditation as an Associate Diploma through Monash University is being sought.

Traditionally, when class teachers complete their cycle of seven years, they are offered, firstly a sabbatical year to replenish their energy or pursue further study, and secondly given the opportunity to begin a new cycle. In a pioneering situation this is not always possible. More often experienced teachers contribute in other ways; such as in the development of the high school, in administration, teacher training, or they become founding teachers in other schools. This has certainly been the case at Warranwood. A number of new schools in Victoria (and further afield) are staffed by ex-Melbourne Rudolf Steiner School teachers [96]or graduates from its teacher training course. For example, the founding teacher of Sophia Mundi (an inner city Steiner school) was an ex-Melbourne class teacher,Wendy Duff. The Little Yarra Steiner School was founded by another ex-Melbourne teacher, Johannes Schuster.

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[95] From a report by Pauline Ward to the Rudolf Steiner Schools Association meeting in Adelaide, March 1988.

[96] The special case of the Ghilgai School has already been mentioned.

High school student numbers continued to grow, and the demand by smaller Waldorf schools seeking a Waldorf high school education, is one reason for this. At the present time the school is building a second stream in the high school which, in 1994, reached Class 11. With 459 students, the Melbourne Rudolf Steiner School has the largest enrolment of any Australian Waldorf school. Its ongoing success is due to positive achievements on many fronts. Some of these have already been noted, such as the cohesiveness brought about by the close College co-working, the continuity of staff due to the seven or eight year commitment of class teachers.

Being the leading Steiner school in Victoria, with more years of experience and its accumulation of both material and human resources has contributed to its status. The fortuitous placement of the school in growing outer suburbia was an unintended consequence leading to growth, especially as a focal point for the increased number of activities having their basis in Anthroposophy. For example, families who run bio-dynamic farms and gardens, fruit and vegetable markets, bakeries and bookshops have settled in the community around the school. The Melbourne Therapy Centre is adjacent to the school and attracts many people to the area for medical and artistic therapies, and child and baby health needs. The "Michael Group" of the Anthroposophical Society also has its meeting rooms on a property adjacent to the school, and thus there is a strong "anthroposophical presence" in the community which contributes to the school's standing and support.

However, the most important contributor to this success, though the least tangible, has been, in my consideration, the willingness on the part of the teachers to work earnestly at deepening their understanding of the spiritual roots of Waldorf education - that is, of the anthroposophical image of the nature of the human being. "Through all [the school's development] it has been the School Community, with its heart-felt concern for the well-being of our children and its deep committment to the principles of Steiner Education, which has laboured to bring a spiritual intention into physical reality."[97]This working together kept alive the educational vision and in so

[97] "School Beginnings", op. cit.

doing strengthened the school as a whole. However, visions need to be constantly recreated, and the commitment to the re-vision of its spiritual purpose has made of the school an "island of culture" in what is considered an otherwise largely materialistic sea.

CHAPTER THREE

WALDORF EDUCATION IN AUSTRALIA
PART II

THE EXPANSIONARY PHASE
1979 TO 1992

Introduction

In this section we will consider the period of expansion of Waldorf education in Australia between the years 1979 to 1992. The growth in new schools, in comparison to the three schools of the previous twenty-one years, was dramatic. An average of two schools per year were founded so that by 1989 Waldorf schools had opened in all capital cities except Darwin [98].

While the momentum generated by government funding of non-government schools had an impact on the rapid growth of Waldorf schools, there was in 1984 a change in government funding priorities resulting in stricter criteria for funding eligibility for proponents of new schools. We will therefore also explore the effect of the change in the political and economic mood in Australian society from the mid 1980s.

The developments in this period will be approached by making our start with an analysis of the founding of the Mount Barker Waldorf School, in South Australia, as I believe this school represents a bridge in the transition from the traditions and practices of the earlier schools which we have so far considered, and those schools that were to follow in the new wave of rapid development. What is more, the major events in the Mount Barker school's development are characteristic indicators of the impact of the changes in the Waldorf school movement as a whole.

[98] The Northern Territory is the only area in Australia that does not yet have a Waldorf school, though a group exploring its possibility currently exists in Alice Springs.

"The Mount Barker Waldorf School": A Fourth School, 1979.

In 1979, two schools were opened, one in country New South Wales at Maitland, about 100 km north of Sydney, and one in Adelaide, South Australia.

"Linuel", A School for Rudolf Steiner Education, in Maitland was started by Ron and Margaret Caisley, who had very close association with Lorien Novalis, where they received much of their training and from which issued considerable support. Today the two founders are still in the school, along with other teachers and about 120 students who enjoy a primary education in the Lorien Novalis tradition. The school has not, in recent years, participated in any active way in the life of the movement as a whole, for example by sending a representative to Steiner Schools Association meetings, and its quiet, steady working and slow growth in its country-town setting is a direct contrast to its twin school in South Australia.

The Adelaide Waldorf School began classes with 37 children in Kindergarten and Classes 1, 2 and 3, and five teachers[99], including a eurythmist in February 1979 in Beulah Road, Norwood. The school's first home was an Anglican church hall which had previously been the venue for "Spring Park", one of a number of alternative schools which had sprung up during the liberal "Dunstan Decade"[100] but which soon fell apart due to lack of cohesion and direction within the teaching and parent body.[101]

The hall was a temporary location and in the following year the Waldorf school found itself located under a stand of old blue gums on twenty acres of gently-sloping farmland on the outskirts of the small, sleepy and conservative country town of Mount Barker. The Anthroposophical Society was instrumental in bringing this

[99] The founding teachers were Milton Mellor (K), Jennifer Bundey (Class 1), Jennifer West (Class 2), Alduino Mazzone (Class 3), and Thomas Ludescher (ex-Lorien Novalis class teacher and recently trained Eurythmist), and some part-time teachers such as Doreen Mellor (Painting and Craft)

[100] The period in which Mr. Don Dunstan was Premier of South Australia, noted for its innovativeness and support of alternatives in all fields.

[101] From a discussion with an ex-parent of the school.

school into being. The land, on the southern outskirts of Mount Barker, was donated by one of its members [102] and the money to buy the first portable buildings came from a group of Anthroposophists[103] which had established a Rudolf Steiner School Trust Fund into which its members had been contributing. After the initial three classes, the school grew by one class each year until class 10 in 1986 when a pause was made for two years, to consolidate the work in the high school, before adding the final two classes and establishing in 1990 a full twelve year programme. There are currently about 350 students in the school receiving a single-stream comprehensive Waldorf education from Kindergarten to Year 12.

Some elements of the schools' founding were the same as that of the previous schools. I have already mentioned the financial support by anthroposophists; it was also a group of members of the Anthroposophical Society who decided on the need to establish a school based on Steiner's indications in Adelaide[104]. Most of them were teachers already and some had young children. This group became the committee that steered events leading to the founding of the school eighteen months later.

Another common factor is connected with the key role played by Francis Edmunds in generating public interest in Waldorf education. From June 20-24, 1978, after his visit to Glenaeon (which was celebrating its 21st birthday), Mr. Edmunds was invited to come to Adelaide by the Waldorf school steering committee and the Anthroposophical Society. The media campaign, which the committee organised, resulted in newspaper reports and radio and television interviews with Edmunds,

[102] The donor, Mr. George Sickel, had married into the Mount Barker German community.of established land owners and in the 1960s had also been instrumental in the founding of Saint Mark's Lutheran Church in Mt. Barker. He later became a member of the Anthroposophical Society and supported the school venture.

[103] The Novalis Group, under the leadership of Mrs. Charlotte Schwenczner.

[104] The initiative group comprised Paul Rubens, Alduino Mazzone, Sue Laing, Caroline Verco, Patricia Sutcliffe, David and June Kew, Ron Savage, Sylvia Debski and a visiting Dutch anthroposophist, Coen van Houten, who chaired the meeting. (Attendance from minutes of first meeting 29th July, 1977.)

publicised the intention to start a Waldorf school in Adelaide. Three public lectures[105] were given at the Ashford Special School and each attracted over 100 people. Names were taken of people interested in supporting the founding of a Waldorf school, and a total of 120 were collected. These prospective parents and friends formed the Waldorf School Association. With this step taken, the original steering group of anthroposophists disbanded and became a part of the larger newly formed Association.

Waldorf education was not altogether unknown in South Australia because of the initiative of Paul Rubens and later Patricia Fuss, two lecturers in Education at Torrens College of Advanced Education, at the Underdale Campus (later to become part of the University of South Australia). Rubens and Fuss conducted elective and special unit courses on the Principles and Practice of Steiner (Waldorf) Education from the mid 1960s, and therefore when the Education Group of the Waldorf School Association had no success in attracting trained teachers from elsewhere[106], it was from the considerable number of teachers who had taken this course that the first two of the class teachers were drawn. The Kindergarten teacher (the first male to be so in Waldorf schools up to that time) and the eurythmist [107](also male in a profession mostly dominated by women) and their families came from interstate.

When the school was "up and running" the Association disbanded: The teaching staff formed the College of Teachers [108]and the parents formed a Parent

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[105]From writer's diary entry: "Waldorf Education and Your Child", "Education Towards a New Society", and "The Goals of Waldorf Education: A New View of Man".June 21st, 22nd, and 23rd, 1978 respectively; and *Newsletter for Members; Anthroposophical Society (S.A. Branch)* "News and Announcements", p. 1, May 1978.

[106] It should be remembered that the school movement was growing rapidly all over the world, and any available teachers soon found employment.

[107] The eurythmist,Thomas Ludescher, and his wife Gudrun, had been part of the founding group of Lorien Novalis, and thus brought its influence to the school.

[108] Alduino Mazzone maintained a continuity of presence as a member of the steering committee, Chairman of the Waldorf School Association, and member of the first College of Teachers.

Association. This situation has remained mostly the same up to this day, and is consistent with the other schools except for the fact that although the school does have parent representation on its management committees (except the Education Committee) it is the College of Teachers which owns the school and has the constitutional powers to make all decisions.[109] At the Mount Barker school the School Council is made up of parents elected from the Parent Association and members of the College of Teachers, but it can only influence decisions of the College by making recommendations. Of all the Waldorf schools in Australia this situation is unique and has had mixed results, the positive being direct control by the teachers of the school's educational policy and direction, and the negative being, at times, teacher overload and parent alienation.

Source of teachers and educational influences.

Another difference in the school's tone, and resulting from starting later, has been the multiplicity of influences which have shaped its curriculum and practices. For example, in the school's first three years, and consistently though not as intensively in the years that followed, many individuals [110]representing some contrasting approaches to the Waldorf curriculum contributed to the school through individual advice, lectures, seminars and conferences. The sharing of experiences by visitors coming from different Steiner schools benefited the Mount Barker teachers by providing them with the opportunity to be eclectic; that is, allowing them the opportunity to select and adopt a variety of ideas and practices. This possibility was clearly denied to the first schools.

This multiplicity of influence was further enhanced by the fact that, unlike

[109] Unlike Glenaeon where the Board of Management is made up of teachers and parents.

[110] These include: Paul Rubens (Adelaide), Francis Edmunds (Emerson College, England), Willy Waldijk (Holland), Alan Whitehead (Lorien Novalis), Robert Martin (Melbourne), William Scherer (Hawaii), Sylvia Brose (Glenaeon), Alex Podalinsky (Melbourne), Konrad Korobacz (Lorien Novalis) and others.

the first group of schools, the Mount Barker school did not have its own teacher training programme, so teachers who later joined the school had received their training elsewhere and consequently brought different ideas and emphases.[111] Another, and somewhat related, difference at Mount Barker was the fact that the school began with a group of classes, and therefore a group of teachers, rather than growing one class at a time. This necessitated group-working skills from the beginning, and because no one individual dominated by virtue of greater knowledge or experience, a unified social working developed in which teachers adopted different administrative and leadership functions according to their expertise or interests. The generally harmonious working atmosphere, easy acceptance of new people, and strong social life was characteristic of the school community, and was commented upon by many who visited the school.

Parent population and growth in student numbers.

I believe that in the first five years, the school's newness and alternative programme attracted more families whose interest was in non-traditional schooling. This probably arose from their support of alternative life styles in general and motives for sending their children to the Waldorf school were mixed. For those who were instrumental in the founding of the school as 'pioneer parents' the desire for an education based on Anthroposophy was the primary motive for attending. For some it was rebelliousness against mainstream values, for others there was dissatisfaction with what State education or other types of private schools were offering. In time it became clearer where the school stood, along the continuum between form and freedom, and some families with a strong 'counter culture' ethos found that Waldorf

[111]Whereas the original class teachers were local and state trained, most of those that followed came from elsewhere. For example, David Skewes, 1980 (Emerson College, England), Damien Gilroy 1982 (Curative Education, Canberra), Jeremy Board 1983 (Taruna, NZ), Craig Taylor 1984 (Curative Education, Melbourne), Mark Molloy 1985 (Taruna, NZ), Michael Simmons 1992 (Emerson Coolege, and founder of Orana School in Canberra)

education was not what they had expected and so moved on to greener pastures. However many stayed and the school grew.

The following table indicates the growth in student numbers in the first six years.[112]

Year	1979*	1980*	1981	1982	1983	1984
Student Nos	28	46	107	127	191	218is

With an increased numbers came a broader range of values and socio-economic backgrounds in the parent population. A cursory analysis of the "List of Parent Community Skills and Businesses"[113] reveals a wide variety of occupations. There is a significant proportion of artists and craftspeople, teachers of all types (including tertiary lecturers), consultants, healing professionals (both in conventional and alternative therapies), tradespeople of all sorts, farmers and gardeners as well as other professionals such as architects. Another indicator of socio-economic status of the parent population is the relatively high percentage of families (51.8%) eligible for the "School Card"[114]. This figure has been consistent over the past five years.

The transplantation of the school from a suburban to a rural location in 1980 led to the loss of some parents but the lure of the countryside as well as the accessibility of the school due to the newly completed South East Freeway, attracted others. The relatvely large increase in student numbers from 1980 to 1981 is partly explained by the fact that some families moved to Mount Barker or the nearby hill-towns. While for many years about one third to a half of the students came to school by bus from the city, today more and more families live locally and a sizeable

[112] In 1979 and 1980 census figures only include children from six years of age. From 1981 five year olds also included. From Mt. Barker school files.

[113] This is not a comprehensive survey of parental occupations since entries in the Mount Barker Waldorf School's Information Book, 1994, were self-selected.

[114] This is a S.A. State Government Needs Grant scheme in which families below certain income thresholds receive financial assistance for educational expenses.

community of 'Waldorf Families' live in the new housing developments slowly surrounding the school.

With a community comprising some highly creative artists and craftspeople and a school calendar of events, which includes seasonal festival celebrations, choral and orchestral music, opera, drama, Spring Fair, camps, adult eurythmy and painting classes, and study groups, lectures and workshops, the Waldorf school community has become an "island of culture" in the Mount Barker region. At first the 'island' existed in self imposed isolation but with increasing confidence it slowly extended its presence and influence into the broader community.

Regular photographs and feature articles about the school appeared in the local newspaper. For example, successes in State Junior Volleyball competitions, Rock Eistedfod entries, displays of art work in the local branch of the State bank, school children's donation to a local charity (Mount Barker Christian Care and Share), as well as the annual Open Day and Spring Fair. A constant reminder of the school's presence is also maintained by the whole foods shop, "All Seasons", in Mount Barker's main street. This venture began in 1979 as a school-community food co-operative run by volunteers but has since expanded to employ half a dozen people including a full-time manager. These examples testify to the fact that the Waldorf school has become an accepted feature of the local community.[115]

[115] Despite the general goodwill,an occasional story has been related to me that deep suspicions of the school's Anthroposophical roots are maintained by some conservative Lutherans in the town.

The Eighties: A Period of Rapid Expansion.

It is beyond the confines of this study to provide a thorough analysis of the nature and growth of the Waldorf schools which opened in Australia in this period, however one of the schools in each capital city will be mentioned briefly, and general indications on how schools began will be given as well as a list of those that did begin and are currently operating.

One of the first of the new wave of schools to open in this period was the "Orana School" in Canberra. Michael Simmons, the founding teacher, had worked in state "one person schools" before going to Emerson College in England to train as a Waldorf teacher. In September 1981 the school began in a rented Y.M.C.A. building with eleven students. In the following year a combined first and second grade of fifteen children was taught by Simmons and he was joined by Marietta Sargesson as a kindergarten teacher with no Waldorf training. The school moved in 1986 to its present site in Weston. Currently Orana School for Rudolf Steiner Education offers schooling from Kindergarten to class seven to 180 students and is seeking to expand into high school.[116]

The Perth Waldorf School, which opened in 1983 has currently 242 students and has progressed into high school up to year 8.

There seems to be three main ways in which new schools have been founded. The decisive role of the Anthroposophical Society has already been shown in the case of the major schools in the capital cities. A second impulse can be seen, when in response to the success of the first school in an area, a group of teachers and/or parents from the first school start another school at a little distance from the first. This was clearly the case with the Sophia Mundi and Little Yarra schools in and around Melbourne, Kameroi school as an offshoot of Glenaeon, Aurora Meander from Lorien Novalis and the Willunga school from the Mount Barker Waldorf School. A third

[116] From an interview with Michael Simmons and the school report by teacher Damien Gilroy to the RSSA meeting in Adelaide, 18th March 1994.

major impulse, seen mainly in country areas, has arisen among parents who have wanted Waldorf education for their children. Many have spent time studying together meanwhile searching for a teacher, but the lack of trained teachers has often led to parents becoming teachers.

The tables which follow show the phases in which the schools were founded and the classes being offered from Kindergarten, through the primary grades and up to year twelve.

Table 1. The First Phase

YEAR	SCHOOL	LOCATION	STATE	CLASSES
1957	Glenaeon	Sydney	New South Wales	K - 12
1971	Lorien Novalis	Sydney	New South Wales	K - 12
1973	Melbourne	Warranwood	Victoria	K - 12

Table 2. The Phase of Rapid Expansion

YEAR	SCHOOL	LOCATION	STATE	CLASSES
1979	Mount Barker	Near Adelaide	SA	K - 12
1979	Linuel	Maitland	NSW	K - 7

YEAR	SCHOOL	LOCATION	STATE	CLASSES
1981	Newcastle	Glendale	NSW	K—12
	Chrysalis	Thora	NSW	K – 10
	Orana	Canberra	ACT	K – 7
1982	Aurora Meander	Richmond	NSW	K – 6
	Blue Mountains	Hazelbrook	NSW	K – 6
	Ghilgai	Kilsyth South	VIC	K – 6
1983	Eurkarima	Bowral	NSW	K – 10
	Perth	Bibra Lake	WA	K – 8
1984	Daystar	Lismore	NSW	K – 7
1985	Samford Valley	Brisbane	Q'LD	K – 6
	Maindample	Mansfield	VIC	K – 6
	Sophia Mundi	Abbotsford	VIC	K – 9
	Kangia	Murwillumbah	NSW	K – 6
	Milbi	Katrandra	VIC	K – 6
	Michael	Leichhardt	NSW	1 – 7
1986	Casuarina	Coffs Harbour	NSW	K – 6
	Little Yarra	Yarra Junction	VIC	K – 7
1987	Central Victoria	Castlemaine	VIC	K – 6
	Mumbulla	Bega	VIC	K – 6
1988	Armidale	Armidale	NSW	K – 6
	Cape Byron	Byron Bay	NSW	K – 6
	Golden Hill	Denmark	WA	K – 5
	Kamaroi	Belrose	NSW	K – 6
1989	Tarremah	Hobart	TAS	K – 6
	Willunga	Willunga	SA	K – 6
1990	Yall/ingup	Yallingup	WA	K – 3

We note that of the schools founded in the period of rapid expansion, the majority of them (twenty-one) offer only primary tuition, while five have embarked on secondary education. In Appendix 1 will be found a full list of schools, as well as centres operating at Kindergarten stage and some preparing to start as soon as conditions are satisfied. Some of these schools would have taken a further step in their development had the eligibility criteria for Commonwealth *per capita* funding been less limiting. Indeed, had the "New Schools Policy" applied from the beginning, it is highly unlikely that many could have begun at all.

State	1957	1971	1973	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989
NSW	Glenaeon Sydney													
		Lorien Novalis, Sydney												
				Linuel, Maitland										
						New castle, Glendale								
						Chrysalis, Thora								
							Blue Mtns., Hazelbrook							
							Aurora Meander, Richmond							
								Eukarima, Bow ral						
									Daystar, Lismore					
										Kangia, Murw illumbah				
										Michael, Leichhardt				
											Casuarina, Coffs Harbour			
												Mumbulla, Bega		
													Armidale	
													Cape Byron	
													Kameroi, Belro	
A.C.T.						Orana, Canberra								

Changing Climate for Non-Government Schools.

The Commonwealth Department of Employment Education and Training (DEET) has the responsibility for administering both Government and non-Government Education institutions in Australia. In relation to assisting with the financing of Non-Government Schools, DEET applies the New Schools Policy to:

(a) New schools

(b) Schools changing location

(c) Schools changing their profile (eg. primary to high school)

The "New Schools Policy" has been operative since 1984 but the guidelines have become more and more restrictive to Waldorf schools becoming established (minimum of 50 students) and for established schools progressing to high school classes (minimum 25 students per grade per year).

Thus, before a new school can begin, in addition to having premises which satisfy health and fire regulations, qualified teaching staff, and children, the New Schools Policy stipulates that a new school will only be considered eligible for funding if a two year notice of intent to start is lodged and the minimum student numbers is achieved, and the new school must show that its founding will not disadvantage enrollments in existing schools in the area in which it proposes to start. These conditions being met, the maximum level of funding would be Level 6 (on a scale of which Level 10 is the maximum *per capita* funding level) with no right of appeal in the first three years.

The Educational Resource Index (ERI) is a formula used by DEET to calculate a school's funding level (*per capita* grant). Among others, it takes into account such factors as teacher/student ratio and a school's private income (level of school fees, including 'contributed services'). Waldorf schools place a high value on teacher/student relations and therefore tend to have fewer students for each teacher. They value having children from a broad range of ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds, however they also tend to attract families who cannot afford to pay high

fees. The high percentage of families eligible for "School Card" grants referred to earlier, in reference to the Mount Barker Waldorf School, is indicative of this trend.

The increasing restrictions being imposed on education can be viewed in the context of the changing political and economic climate in Australia. Over the past thirty years there has been a vast expansion in educational activity. However there has also been a change of atmosphere from one in which the tendency was to measure educational quality by the volume of "inputs" (resources) that were available, to one in which "quality of outcomes" became the increasing concern.[117] The Australian Schools Commission in 1973 was concerned with implementing recommendations "on the immediate financial needs of schools, priorities within these needs, and appropriate measures in assisting to meet those needs".[118]

By the early 1980s constraints on educational spending were imposed and increasing debates on "state aid" led to strategies to limit funding to private schools. Although these failed, the Quality of Education Review Committee (QERC) redirected the stress away from quantity of "inputs" towards quality of "outputs". The shift was away from independence in education towards educational objectives being directed by economic priorities.

> *For national economic well-being ...education is and will increasingly be nationally strategic. Hence resource agreements, hence performance indicators, hence outcomes-targeted grants, hence national priorities, hence programmme budgeting, hence efficiency reviews.*[119]

Waldorf schools, which as a matter of principle, do not stream children, nor grade them into ability groups, nor conduct examinations, whose interest is in the education of the whole human being in as broad and comprehensive way possible, and want to be as independent as possible from centralising and restricting forces, are

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[117] Peter Karmel, "Quality and Equality in Education," Australian Journal of Education Vol. 29, No. 3 (1985): pp. 279-293.

[118] ibid.

[119] Author, "Shared meanings about education: the economic paradigm considered." in Anderson, J. Shaping Education Australia ACE. 1987, pp70-78.

clearly swimming against the tide of these national trends. Taking these funding factors and development constraints into account, one might predict that there will be a slowing of the growth of Waldorf schools in Australia. However, this remains to be seen.

The Rudolf Steiner Schools Association.[120]

The Association was originally convened by Alan Whitehead in the late 1970s as a way of encouraging exchange and support among colleagues involved in Steiner education. It has grown over time into a legal body, being incorporated in South Australia in 1992. The Association's role is to stimulate, promote and foster Steiner/Waldorf education, but not to found schools. The question of how the freedom and integrity of the individual teacher and of a school can be fostered within the constraints of maintaining professional and academic standards is one which gives rise to constant debate, especially as the "two streams" outlined earlier have conflicting views on the issue. The challenge is to continue to strive for a way of working that does not impose regulations, but rather comes to common agreement.

About twenty schools are members of the Association whose representatives meet twice yearly in different states. The Association has supported the school movement by the organisation of teachers' conferences and bursar's meetings, provided limited financial support for smaller schools by subsidising travel costs for visiting consultants, and has represented member schools in dealing with policy issues with the government. Although member schools pay a per-capita fee, there are, as yet, not the resources to pay for any staff.[121]

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[120] The Objects and Membership of the Association can be found in Appendix 2.

[121] West, 1984, op. cit.

Current Conditions Within the Movement.

With regard to the status of schools, the four oldest schools have stablished a successful curriculum up to year 12, and generally students from all four schools have been successful in gaining entry to tertiary studies. Another six schools have entered into high school classes and nineteen have reached at least Class 6 or 7, the accepted end of primary schooling in the state system. Many of these schools hope to develop a high school, but lack of trained Waldorf secondary teachers is a limiting factor which will need to be addressed. In addition to the schools listed, there are about ten other initiatives, some having one or two classes already, others still at the kindergarten or play group stage (see Appendix 1.). Their viability is not yet assured, and some are not even certain of their connection to Steiner education.

In the larger schools, class sizes are typically around 28 - 30, which seems to be the number that allows financial viability. The fee level for most schools is at the low end for private schools in Australia. Most schools also have government funding, though the level of support varies markedly between schools. Once a school is established at a certain level of funding, it is difficult to change. Capital grants, to help with building programmes, have assisted many Waldorf schools.

Most smaller schools, as well as facing financial struggles, usually have composite classes, and experience the restriction of not being able to attract or pay a eurythmist or foreign language teachers. Eight schools do not have eurythmy, although a number have offered it in the past and would like to continue if it were possible. Keeping class teachers is becoming increasingly difficult, especially where teachers do not have a strong commitment to the school beyond their own class. While most schools now pay around award wages, several smaller schools pay at least 25% below this. The constant high demands of administrative work in a school with a small faculty contributes to the problem of 'teacher burnout', which is not confined to teachers in small schools but is more common there. An added challenge is working with the increasing number of children (up to 30%) with developmental or learning

problems, creating a greater demand for therapeutic and remedial programmes.

Many schools surveyed have mentioned the difficulty of maintaining continuity in foreign languages. Just over half the schools have German, with Japanese and French being the next most common. There is a lack of language teachers with training or experience in Steiner teaching, and smaller schools often call on parents to help out in the language programme.

One element of Australian society that is not reflected in our student population is the multicultural element. Most schools have very few students from a non-English speaking background, the larger ones having up to 10 - 12%. However in other aspects the schools tend to have groups over-represented, such as single parent families, and for some schools, 'alternative' life-style families.[122]

In looking at the challenges facing the Waldorf schools, many identified the practical problems mentioned above of finances and finding good teachers. About 10 - 15 teachers graduate each year from the two main full-time teacher training courses that exist. Already mentioned are Parsifal College and the Teacher Training Course at the Melbourne Steiner School in Warranwood. Teacher training is also offered within a number of schools such as Lorien and Chrysalis, and these provide a few more teachers. It is hoped that the accreditation of courses as Associate Diplomas, and the offering of Steiner Education components within current degree courses (For example, at the University of New England, Armidale), will lead to more students able to enrol and train as Steiner teachers. Already signs are positive in this regard.[123]

[122] School survey conducted partly by writer and also Jennifer West, op. cit.1994.

[123] As from the time of writing 32 students have been interviewed for enrolment in the Parsifal College's Orientation Course for 1995.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

With the benefit of hindsight, a line of development has been traced in which the origins of Waldorf education were found to emerge out of the background of the ideas of some German educators of the late 19th century and the progressive education movement in the first two decades of the 20th century. After the opening of the first school in 1919, the Waldorf education movement spread across the world at an increasingly rapid rate. The groundwork for its genesis in Australia was laid by the Anthroposophical Society, and after the beginning in 1957 there was a period of quiet consolidation followed by sporadic developments in the early and late 1970s and a steady proliferation of new schools in the 1980s.

In reviewing the period from the arrival of Waldorf education to Australia up to the present, a number of characteristics of Waldorf schools, elements which have contributed to their survival and success, and the challenges which face them have been considered. As a conclusion to this paper the major characteristics will be summarised.

The role of Anthroposophy: The Anthroposophical society has had a significant role in the founding of the first schools, especially in providing vision, inspiration and spiritual support. In addition, the degree of commitment to and study of Anthroposophy, and Waldorf pedagogy, and the direct involvement in the arts by the founders and later teachers has clearly determined the strength of the schools. However, the general trend, largely as a result of the rapid growth in the 1980s, has been a diminution of the unambiguous commitment to Anthroposophy by teachers, and has resulted in a dilution of Waldorf pedagogy. This is a world-wide phenomenon and provides the greatest challenge to the Waldorf school movement today.[124]

[124] This danger/challenge to the school movement was already foreshadowed in 1983 in a report at the Waldorf World Conference of Teachers in Dornach, Switzerland, by Dr.Virginia Sease, the representative of the North American Association of Waldorf Schools.

School Client base: Despite the very active nucleus of anthroposophists in the founding schools, the greater proportion of parents had little or no relation to Anthroposophy. Anthroposophical Society membership has always been relatively small in Australia. In 1994 there were less than 800 members in the whole of Australia, the majority being in the larger cities like Sydney and Melbourne. Given that formal membership of the Society is not the only definition of an anthroposophist, it is not possible to specify with any precision the number of people identifying themselves as part of the anthroposophical movement. An educated guess would be that less than 20% of families in school communities are actively involved in anthroposophical activities.[125]

Teacher control of educational policy: The willingness on the part of parent communities to delegate the responsibility for implementing the educational principles to the College of Teachers, and the support of teachers' professional freedom and creativity has been of fundamental importance to schools' effectiveness. However it is a continuing task of the Colleges to persuade new parents to continue to support teacher autonomy as there seems to be a greater desire for some parents to become more directly involved in influencing their children's education. In most Waldorf schools not much persuasion is required since their children's apparent enjoyment of school and the impressive progress in their development is enough to convince parents that teachers can be trusted to "run the show". Newer schools, which are still establishing their credibility, continue to be asked to justify their programmes. When parents question teachers further about what they are doing, and why, they are inevitably confronted by the huge body of knowledge of Anthroposophy underlying the educational ideas. To proceed further seems, for many, too daunting a prospect, but for the few who persevere it may result in stronger support for the school, and for some a deepening interest in what their children are experiencing may lead to

[125] This guess is based on a count of people in the Parent Information and Address Book of the Mount Barker Waldorf School and comparing it with the membership list of the Anthroposophical Society in S.A.

enrollment in a Steiner teacher training course. [126]

Parent involvement in school organisation: The involvement of parents in the non-educational management of the school, notably in financial planning and management, capital works planning and development, and liaison with government authorities has in theory been encouraged and is both ideally and practically necessary for a school's survival. The actual situation varies from school to school but rarely approximates the ideal. In larger more established schools parents rarely find their way into school management committies unless by invitation, and control is almost exclusively maintained by the Colleges of Teachers. In newer schools voluntary parental support is common.[127]

Parent / Teacher relations: The creation of strong social relationships within school communities, characterised by dedicated teachers and supportive parents has been crucial for survival during difficult periods and for the eventual success of the school. That is not to say that some parents have not been critical of the social structures in the school communities in which a too close and uncritical adherence to Anthroposophy or the "Waldorf way" has created social bonds which at times have resulted in exclusivity and the formation of cliques into which some new parents have not found easy acceptance. In like wise strong Colleges of Teachers have appeared as impenetrable fortresses and too remote from the parent body.

School relations with government bureaucracies and local communities: In general, schools which have flourished have developed and maintained good relations with Education Departments, Government bureaucracies

[126] This has occurred in all the larger schools. Some parents have become assistants others have undertaken State teacher training in addition to Steiner teacher training to qualify as teachers.

[127] In the larger schools parents or ex-parents with management, financial or legal expertise and who have some connection with Anthroposophy are normally invited onto the Board of Management or School Council.

and the local community. The emphasis and skill to maintain good relations has varied from school to school. Relations between some bureaucrats and some schools have at times been strained due to what the 'inspectors' have judged to be a school's inadequate accountability procedures and the school has judged to be bureaucratic pedantic-isms. Local communities often resent new developments, especially 'strange' schools, in their area and it often takes a few years for a school's credibility to be established and good community relations to develop. [128]

Government funding for non-government schools: The propitious socio-political climate towards non-government schools and the requisite funding to support them through *per capita* and capital grants has been an important contributing factor for the growth of Waldorf schools and highly instrumental for their survival. However, many new schools, either through naivety or inadequate advice as to how to apply for funding, have been allocated an inappropriately low funding category. Increasingly stringent eligibility criteria have made the founding of new schools more difficult. Some see this as placing Waldorf schools at a disadvantage and a deliberate attempt by the Labour government to limit the spread of alternative education because of the drift away from State education to which it is idealogically committed, while others see it as a 'blessing in disguise' because it encourages realistic planning and ensures viability.

Publicity and promotion of Waldorf schools: Waldorf schools have not, in general, been overly keen to widely publicise their existence. The founding schools, as well as many of those that followed, were not in a position, mostly due to lack of staff and resources, to cope with large numbers of students, and so it was not in their interest to become too big too soon. It was also generally believed that the school should gradually "grow from the bottom up" thus ensuring the best benefits of the

[128] This was clearly the case for the Mount Barker School which was initially viewed with suspicion but is now an accepted community asset. Also the fundamentalist Christian lobby against the location of the Samford Valley School failed its legal challenge and now the community is more accepting of the school.

integrated curriculum. Knowledge of their existence was usually passed on by word of mouth. Talks to various groups in the community was a regular feature, but most publicity was directed to schools' Open Days where prospective parents could see children's work and speak to the teachers. Fundraising fetes or fairs were other avenues for the schools to advertise their presence in the community. Public talks by visiting lecturers were also utilised and schools would promote Waldorf education and themselves through radio interviews or newspaper articles.

Conclusion

This project as a whole has highlighted the historical and organisational aspects of the Waldorf school movement, especially its origins in Europe and the early development in Australia. In the attempt to outline the major characteristics of the Australian schools in more recent times it has become obvious that much more work could be done in documenting the many efforts that have been made in developing the organisational, methodological and theoretical aspects of Waldorf schools and the educational philosophy they espouse. The project has also highlighted the lack of systematic organisation of documentary information. There is clearly much anecdotal information but relatively little effort has been directed to the writing of formal histories or analyses of various schools, although this now appears to be changing. For example, the educational journal for Australian Steiner schools, *Musagetes*, has begun to publish short essays on the founding of schools, and a Glenaeon teacher is undertaking a formal history of the school as a Masters thesis next year. The present study is no doubt an expression of the prevailing mood to record the schools' stories before the leading founders are no longer present to tell their version.

There are many areas that would have been interesting to follow up, such as why at least four schools started but did not proceed. Very little has been done to compare and contrast the the efforts at survival of Waldorf schools and other alternative schools. A thorough comparison of the curriculum of the early

Theosophical schools with those of Waldorf schools would clarify the similarities and contrast the differences between them. It has been mentioned that, with regard to multicultural aspects, there is a decided skewed profile biased towards white, middle class Anglo-Australian students. Why is this the case? Does bias exist elsewhere within the school movement? How do the schools rate, for example, with regard to gender dominance?

On another level, further research could be done on the effectiveness of the Rudolf Steiner Schools Association in carrying out its aims. Some concern was expressed that it is not tough enough in its expectatios of membership.The integration of Waldorf schools under the state umbrella is another area which could be pursued, especially as there is already a precedent in the Steiner stream in the Moorabbin Heights Primary School in Victoria.

One of the great burdens for Waldorf schools has been to find ways of documenting student achievements without falling prey to the categories that guide institutionalised testing and assessment procedures. At admission interviews parents often want to know: What culturally acceptable ways are available for Waldorf pupils to show their accomplishments? How will they do when they move from Waldorf to another school if they have not had the necessary drill and skill exercises that dominate life in many other schools? How will they do in a state high school after seven years of non-competitive testing? Will the responsibility learned in a Waldorf school carry over to a new context in which responsibility may pale before achievement on arbitrary tasks as a criterion of excellence? After high school, how do students perform, where do the go for tertiary study, and what kind of employment do they take up? These questions have a strong role in Australian culture, and Waldorf teachers' answers have not always been impressive to parents who want their children to succeed in traditional ways.

Waldorf education in Australia is a relatively untested alternative. Its main accomplishment so far is the establishment of approximately thirty five mostly fledgling schools serving mostly the children of the middle classes. Waldorf ideas are

attractive and promising but it is not yet known what impact they could have on Australian mainstream education and culture. The issues raised above are areas for further research. Such research could benefit the Waldorf school movement in particular, and would add to the body of knowledge of the Australian progressive education movement. This paper is a first contribution in this end.

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The Riddles of Philosophy, Spring Valley, 1973.

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The Education of the Child in the Light of Anthroposophy, London, 1955.
This is an early lecture (1909) revised by Steiner for publication. Contains in a seminal form what was to be developed later in more detail.

The Four Temperaments, Spring Valley, 1968.
Also an early lecture (19/1/1909), basic to child development.

Education as a Social Problem, Spring Valley, 1969.
Six Lectures given in Dornach, Switzerland, in 1919, one month before the first school was to start. Gives a clear exposition of why a good education for children must be based on a new kind of education for teachers. Also shows the place of

education in his Threefold Social Order.

The Study of Man, London, 1966.
This is the fundamental cycle of 14 lectures (Stuttgart, Aug.21 to Sept. 5, 1919), given to the first faculty of the Waldorf school which was about to be founded. During these weeks he gave three concurrent courses, the other two are published as Practical Advice to Teachers, and
Discussions with Teachers. London, 1976. The first teachers were all chosen by Steiner and were well grounded in Anthroposophy. The Study of Man cycle is therefore very difficult for the beginner.

The Three Fundamental Forces in Education, Spring Valley, 1944.
A single lecture given in Stuttgart, Sept. 16, 1920.

The Spiritual Ground of Education, London, 1947.
Given at Manchester College, Oxford, to an audience of teachers (Aug. 16-25, 1922). Arose from an invitation to Steiner to lay a groundwork for opening a school in England. The lectures are suited to a general audience without previous knowledge of Anthroposophy.

A Modern Art of Education, London, 1972.
Thirteen lectures given during Steiner's second visit to England (Ilkley, Yorkshire, Aug. 5-17, 1923). This course was opened by Margaret Macmillan, the well known founder of nursery schools, for whose work Steiner had the highest appreciation, as she did of his educational ideas.

The Kingdom of Childhood, London, 1964.
Seven lectures given in Torquay during Steiner's third English visit (Aug. 1924). These served in part as an abbreviated training course for the five people present who were to be the co-founders of the first English speaking Waldorf school, and therefore Steiner speaks of elements of vital importance to the English speaking peoples.

The Essentials of Education, London, 1926.
Five lectures given in Stuttgart, April 8-11, 1924.

The Roots of Education, London, 1968.
Five lectures given in Bern, April 13-17, 1924. The above two cycles were delivered immediately after each other and partly cover the same ground.

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Appendix 1

Constitution of the Rudolf Steiner Schools Association
Objects and Membership

1. Name.

The name of the Association shall be : **Rudolf Steiner Schools of Australia, an Association.**

2. Objects.

The objects of the Association shall be :

4.1 To stimulate, promote and foster Rudolf Steiner/Waldorf Education in Australia.
4.2 To establish a 'centre' where each member school can contribute culturally or otherwise for the benefit of all.
4.3 To strengthen Rudolf Steiner's Anthroposophy in relation to Education.
4.4 To maintain to attain a high standard of ethical behaviour in all aspects of the Association's endeavours.
4.5 To recognise each member school's freedom and right to maintain responsibility in the conduct of its own affairs.
4.6. To strengthen and promote the world-wide growth of the Steiner school/Waldorf Educational Movement.
4.7 To be a contact point for inquiries to, and a spokes vehicle for members when they so wish.

5 Membership

5.1 Membership of the Association shall be available to schools throughout Australia which:

5.1.(i) demonstrate a willingness and ability to meet the aims of the Association as stated above;
5.1.(ii) demonstrate a willingness and ability to embody in their educational practice the principles of child development indicated by Rudolf Steiner, and to accept his indications;
5.1.(iii) demonstrate a willingness and ability to command respect, through their standard of education, in the eyes of the community at large;
5.1.(iv) publicly identify themselves as a Rudolf Steiner/Waldorf School.

5.4 The following categories of membership to the Association shall apply:

5.4 (i) Full members: A registered school which has been operating for more than two years.
5.4 (ii) New members: A registered school that has been in operation less than two years. New members will have a Full member to sponsor them.

Appendix 2.

List of Australian Waldorf Schools (1994)

Member schools of the Rudolf Steiner Schools Association are marked with an asterisk (*)

A.C.T.

CANBERRA
Orana School for Rudolf Steiner Education *
Hickey Ct. Weston, A.C.T. 2611
P.O.Box 3567, Weston Creek , A.C.T. 2611. Tel. (06) 288-4283

N.S.W.

ARMIDALE
The Armidale Waldorf School and **Boongaiai Pre-School***
Rockvale Rd.,
P.O.Box 996, Armidale 2350. Tel. (067) 72-8876

BEGA
Mumbulla School for Rudolf Steiner Education*
P.O.Box 790, Bega NSW 2550. Tel. (064) 92-3476

BLUE MOUNTAINS
Blue Mountains Steiner School*
83 Clearview Pde. Hazelbrook, 2779. Tel. (047) 58-6044

BOWRAL
Eukarima School*
P.O.Box 996, Cnr. Centennial & Kirkham Rds. Bowral, 2576. Tel.(048) 61-2209

BYRON BAY*
Cape Byron Rudolf Steiner School*
Balraith Lane,
P.O.Box 736, Byron Bay, 2481. Tel.(066) 847-400

Periwinkle Children's Centre*
5 Sunrise Bde., Sunrise Beach Estate, Byron Bay, NSW 2481. Tel (o66) 858-898

COFFS HARBOUR
Casuarina School*
Gentle St.
P.O.Box 1415, Coffs Harbour NSW 2450. Tel (066) 512-770

LISMORE
Daystar School*
P.O.Box 154, South Lismore, NSW 2480.
Kyogle Rd., Lillian Rock. NSW 2480. Tel.(066) 897-303

MAITLAND
Linuel School for Rudolf Steiner Education
P.O.Box 440,
133 Morpeth Rd. East Maitland NSW 2323. Tel.(049) 333-095

MULLUMBIMBY
"Shearwater" Mullumbimby Steiner School
P.O.Box 839
Left Bank Rd., Mullumbimby, NSW 2482. Tel (066) 843-223

MURWILLUMBAH
Kangia Steiner School*
30 Riverview St., Murwillumbah, NSW 2484, Tel(066) 724-524

NEWCASTLE
Newcastle Steiner School
36 Reservoir Rd., Glendale, NSW 2285. Tel (049) 548-533

ORANGE
Sophia School
16 Adina Crescent, Orange NSW 2800. Tel (063) 619-669

RICHMOND
Aurora Meander School for Rudolf Steiner Education*
P.O.Box 215, Richmond, NSW 2753
105 Mountain Ave. Yarramundi, NSW 2753. Tel (047) 761-064

SYDNEY
Glenaeon Rudolf Steiner School*
5A Glenroy Ave. Middle Cove, NSW 2068. Tel (02) 417-3193 or 417-5301.

Kamaroi Rudolf Steiner School*
220 Forestway, Belrose NSW 2085, Tel. (02) 450-1651

Lorien Novalis School for Rudolf Steiner Education*
P.O.Box 82, Round Corner NSW 2158
456 Old Northern Rd., Glenhaven. Tel (02) 651-2577

Michael School for Rudolf Steiner Education*
32 Balmain Rd., Leichhardt NSW 2040. Tel (02) 569-6477

TAREE
Manning River Centre for Rudolf Steiner Education
145A Wingham Rd., NSW 2430 Tel (065) 513-403.

THORA (BELLINGEN)
Chrysalis School for Rudolf Steiner Education*
Darkwood Rd., Thora NSW 2454. Tel.(066) 558-616 or 551-163

QUEENSLAND

BRISBANE
Samford Valley Steiner School
P.O.Box 154 Samford, Queensland 4250.
Narrawa Dr. Wight's Mountain. Tel.(07) 289-1132, 289-166

GOLD COAST
Gold Coast Steiner School
P.O.Box 1055, Burleigh Heads, Queensland 4220. Tel.(075) 351-414, or 243-271.
[New initiative wishing to start]

SUNSHINE COAST
Noosa Steiner School Initiative
Tel. (074) 854-268, or 243-271 [New initiative wishing to start]

FAR NORTH QUEENSLAND
Monkami School
P.O.Box 220, Smithfield, Cairns 4878. Tel.(557-175

SOUTH AUSTRALIA

MOUNT BARKER
Mount Barker Waldorf School for Rudolf Steiner Education*
P.O.Box 318, Mount Barker SA 5251
Sims Rd. Mount Barker. Tel. (08) 391-0411

WILLUNGA
Willunga Waldorf School*
P.O.Box 121, Willunga SA 5152
Jay Drive., Willunga, SA 5172 Tel. (085) 562-655

TASMANIA

HOBART
Tarremah School*
P.O.Box 494, Kingston Tasmania 7051.
Sirius Drive, Huntingfield. Tasmania 7051. Tel (002) 297-007

LAUNCESTON
Launceston Rudolf Steiner School*
100 Balfour St., Launceston Tasmania, 7250. Tel. (003) 319-796

VICTORIA

BALLARAT
Ballarat Steiner School
312 Drummond St., South Ballarat 3350. Tel.(053) 358-079

CASTLEMAINE
Central Victoria Waldorf School*
P.O.Box 221, Castlemaine 3450. Tel.(054) 705-761

KATANDRA
Milbi Steiner School*
RMB 2025, Katandra West 3634. Tel. (058) 283-468

MANSFIELD
Maindample Steiner School*
P.O.Box 6405 Mansfield 3722
3 Rankin St., Maindample, VIC 3721. Tel.(057) 787-493

MELBOURNE

Sophia Mundi Rudolf Steiner School*
97 Nicholson St., Abbotsford, VIC 3067. Tel. (03) 416-3011

Carnegie Rudolf Steiner Kindergarten and Parents Group
Cnr. North Rd. & Tara Grove. Carnegie 3163 Tel. (03) 578-1576

Moorabbin Heights Primary School - (Steiner Stream in State Primary School)
Bignell Rd., Bentleigh East, VIC 3165. Tel. (03) 570-3525

Melbourne Rudolf Steiner School*
213 Wonga Rd., Warranwood 3134 Tel.(03) 876-2633

RUSHWORTH
Rushworth Kinder
P.O.Box 118, Rushworth 3612

TORQUAY
Bellbrae Steiner Kindergarten
P.O.Box 314, Torquay, VIC 3228. Tel. (052) 613-907, or 613-968

WARRNAMBOOL
Southwest Steiner Circle Inc.
P.O.Box 1088, Warrnambool, VIC 3280
[New initiative for Kindergarten and Class1]

YARRA JUNCTION
Little Yarra Steiner School*
P.O.Box 19, Yarra Junction VIC 3797
Lot 1 , Little Yarra Rd. Tel.(059) 671-953

WESTERN AUSTRALIA

DENMARK
Golden Hill Steiner School
4 Mitchell St., Denmark WA 6333, Tel.(098) 409-287, 482-037

PERTH
Perth Waldorf School*
P.O.Box 49, Hamilton Hill WA 6163
Lot 105 Progress Drive, Bibra Lake, WA 6163. Tel (9) 417-3638

Yellagonga Waldorf Kindergarten
P.O.Box 455, Wanneroo, WA 6065.

YALLINGUP
Yallingup Steiner School
cnr. Wildwood & Caves Rds., Yallingup WA 6282. Tel (097) 552-230