

Introduction

Victorian England was religious. Its churches thrived and multiplied, its best minds brooded over divine metaphysic and argued about moral principle, its authors and painters and architects and poets seldom forgot that art and literature shadowed eternal truth or beauty, its legislators professed outward and often accepted inward allegiance to divine law, and its men of empire ascribed national greatness to the providence of God and Protestant faith. The Victorians changed the face of the world because they were assured. Untroubled by doubt whether Europe's civilization and politics were suited to Africa or Asia, they saw vast opportunities open to energy and enterprise, and identified progress with the spread of English intelligence and English industry. They confidently used the word English to describe Scots and Welsh and Irish. Part of their confidence was money, a people of increasing wealth and prosperity, an ocean of retreating horizons. And part was of the soul. God is; and we are his servants, and under his care, we will do our duty.

Owen Chadwick, *The Victorian Church*. Volume 1, p. 1.

Owen Chadwick's monumental work, *The Victorian Church*, is 'a story of the recovery of the Church of England from the low level allegedly reached in the eighteenth century'.¹ As an historian, Chadwick certainly did his duty; no-one since has attempted such an undertaking.² His study stands both at the end of one era and at the beginning of another. The triumphalism of his vision provides an overwhelmingly positive construction of the Victorian period. Perhaps it was the history Britain needed to read with the Second World War not too far behind them. This kind of perspective has changed, as John Kent has noted, and with it the study of Victorian religion has radically changed.³

The modern reader of Chadwick's study is struck by what is not there. This is not necessarily a criticism of his work, but the questions that are raised by modern society of the past are different. For example, there is no sustained reference to the empire; Chadwick writes as if the empire did not exist. The only reference to Bishop William Colenso is to his alleged heresy, rather than to his part in the legal processes that determined that the Church of England was not Established⁴ in colonies with responsible government, and the impetus that gave to the development of synodical government of the colonial church and the development of the Anglican Communion.⁵ Nor is there any mention of the missionary efforts of the church within and without the empire, which in

¹ John Kent, 'Victorian Religion and the Decline of Britain', *Victorian Studies*, 41(1), Autumn, 1997, p. 108.

² The quotation at the head of the chapter is from Owen Chadwick, *The Victorian Church*, 2nd edition, 2 volumes, London, Adam & Charles Black, 1970, [London, 1966] volume 1, p.1.

³ Kent, p. 108.

⁴ Throughout, the word Establishment, with an initial capital, will refer to the constitutional relationship of the church of England to the State.

⁵ The crisis these events precipitated for the Church gave rise to the first Lambeth Conference in 1867.

response to the postcolonial moment has given birth to an extensive area of historical research.⁶

Chadwick's study is ecclesiastical history or institutional history of the most thorough kind, a way of writing history that is considered by some as 'outmoded', especially for its tendency to be 'top-down' history.⁷ Other valuable examples of the genre are Geoffrey Best's *Temporal Pillars*, M.A. Crowther's *Church Embattled*, W.R. Ward's *Religion and Society in England 1790-1850*, and G. Kitson Clark's *Churchmen and the Condition of England*.⁸ Arthur Burns defends the place of institutional history because his study is just that – institutional history – claiming that it remains 'vital to a proper understanding of religious influences in society'.⁹ Burns sees the importance of the institutional church as a 'means of delivery' of the tasks expected of it, and specifically mentions, for example, sermons and pastoral work.¹⁰ However, Burns does not see his subject, diocesan reform and renewal, simply in terms of episcopal 'fiat', but as a process in which the rank and file clergy and laity also had a part. In this sense it diverges somewhat from 'top-down' history. With this approach to institutional history I agree, as I hope to show, as the institutional Church was also charged with the responsibility of

⁶ For an historiographical overview see the introduction to Andrew Porter's, *Religion versus Empire; British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion, 1700-1914*. Manchester and New York, Manchester University Press, 2004. There is an exhaustive bibliography of thirty pages of fine print.

⁷ See for example, the excellent historiographical reviews of Arthur Burns, *The Diocesan Revival of the Church of England, 1800-1870*, Oxford, OUP, 1999, pp.1-22; John Wolffe, 'Anglicanism', in D.G. La Paz, ed., *Nineteenth Century English Religious Traditions; Retrospect and Prospect*, Westport, Conn., and London, Greenwood, 1995, pp. 1-31. See also, J. Walsh and S. Taylor, 'Introduction: The Church and Anglicanism in the "Long" Eighteenth Century', in J. Walsh, C. Haydon, and S. Taylor, eds., *The Church of England c. 1689-c.1833: from Toleration to Tractarianism*, Cambridge, CUP, 1993, pp. 12-13;

⁸ Geoffrey Best, *Temporal Pillars*, Cambridge, CUP, 1964; M.A. Crowther, *Church Embattled; Religious Controversy in Mid-Victorian England*, Newton Abbot, David and Charles, 1970; W.R. Ward, *Religion and Society in England 1790-1850*, London, Batsford, 1972; G. Kitson Clark, *Churchmen and the Condition of England*, London, Methuen, 1973.

⁹ Burns, p. 4.

¹⁰ Philip Barrett, *Barchester: English Cathedral Life in the Nineteenth Century*, London, SPCK, 1993.

transmitting to colonial settlers the culture of Englishness and the culture of Anglicanism as part of the imperial project.¹¹

In this context, the episcopate and the clergy had an important role, both in their institutional roles and pastoral roles. Bishops and senior clergy were important connections in the national political process, especially as bishops sat in the House of Lords, where they could influence government policy.¹² Throughout the nineteenth century bishops were expected to be increasingly involved in the affairs of their dioceses, and to be much more intimately involved in both the temporal and spiritual aspects of church life. For example, the significant part played by Bishop Blomfield as one of the Church Commissioners cannot be underestimated, as is very clear from the studies of Solway, Best and Burns; it was a period that saw the professionalisation of the episcopate.¹³ Both Knight and Burns have emphasised the importance of the parish clergy as the actual deliverers of the services the institution offered to meet the expanding needs of the people to whom the church was called on to minister.¹⁴ The Victorian clergy have attracted the interest of historians, dating back to (and beyond) Diana McClatchey's insightful 1960 study of Oxfordshire clergy.¹⁵ Through the nineteenth century two processes can be seen to be taking place. John Wolffe has claimed that 'the clerical order became more conscious of its own distinctiveness from the laity, a process stimulated, in part, by the Catholic conception of the priesthood, and, in part, by the general trend to

¹¹ Burns, p.4; also, Rowan Strong, 'A Vision of Anglican Imperialism: The Annual Sermons of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1701-1714', *Journal of Religious History*, 30(2), June 2006, pp. 175-198.

¹² Best, op. cit.; Solway, *Prelates and People, Ecclesiastical Social Thought in England, 1783-1852*, London, Rutledge and Kegan Paul, 1969. For the senior clergy, see Burns, pp. 65-74.

¹³ Gibson, William T., 'The Professionalisation of an Elite: the Nineteenth Century Episcopate', *Albion*, 23, 3 (Fall 1991), pp. 459-482; —, 'The social origins of an elite: the nineteenth century episcopate', *History of Education*, 20(2), 1991, pp. 95-105. See also, Burns, passim; and Knight, chapter 5, especially pp. 153-167.

¹⁴ Knight, pp. 106-150, 176; Burns, pp. 102-104

¹⁵ Diana McClatchey, *Oxfordshire Clergy 1777-1869*, Oxford, Clarendon, 1960

professionalization in Victorian society'.¹⁶ The complementary studies of Brian Heeney and Alan Haig respectively, have built up pictures of the nature of clerical work and the background and career structure of the clergy.¹⁷ These studies are important for the way they provide the social and ecclesiastical context of emigrant clergy who were heading for the colonies. This cultural and ecclesiastical baggage was part of their contribution to an emerging colonial Anglican identity.

What is lost in institutional history is any sense of the church as a community of people. The growth of social history as a way of exploring the human face of the church has seen a distinct change in Anglican historiography, especially at the local level, and although rarely acknowledged, there seems to be an influence from the social histories like those of R.S. Neale's study of Bath and Theodore Koditschek's study of Bradford.¹⁸ These newer histories have explored religion in both the countryside and the urban environment, and have demonstrated the great diversity of religious experience in and outside the Victorian church, and the continuing importance of religion in the lives of the working-class.¹⁹ This is especially true of Frances Knight's book, *The Nineteenth-Century Church and English Society*, which in John Kent's words 'does more than glance at the concept of "popular religion"'.²⁰ It opens for us some of the cultural values of the kinds of people who migrated to Australia in such huge numbers in the nineteenth century; skilled and

¹⁶ Wolffe, p. 27.

¹⁷ Brian Heeney, *A Different Kind of Gentleman: Parish Clergy as Professional Men in Early and Mid-Victorian England*, Hamden, Conn., 1976; —, 'On Being a Mid-Victorian Clergyman', *Journal of Religious History*, 7(2), 1972, pp. 208-224; Alan Haig, *The Victorian Clergy*, London and Sydney, Croom Helm, 1984.

¹⁸ R.S. Neale, *Bath, 1680-1850: A Social History*, London, 1981; Theodore Koditschek, *Class Formation and Urban-industrial Society; Bradford, 1750-1850*, Cambridge, CUP, 1990.

¹⁹ James Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society: South Lindsey, 1825-1875*, Oxford, 1976; Jeffrey Cox, *The English Churches in a Secular Society: Lambeth, 1870-1930*, Oxford, 1982; Simon Green, *Religion in the Age of Decline*, Cambridge, CUP, 1996; Mark Smith, *Religion in Industrial Society: Oldham and Shuttleworth, 1740-1865*, Oxford, Clarendon; New York, OUP, 1994.

²⁰ Frances Knight, *The Nineteenth Century Church and English Society*, Cambridge, CUP, 1995; Kent, p. 115.

unskilled labourers and petty bourgeoisie. Lenore Davidoff and Catherine Hall's *Family Fortunes*, though not specifically concerned with Anglicans, gives a similar insight to the mores of the middling classes, especially those of evangelical susceptibilities.²¹ However, as Frances Knight has written, '[t]o a large extent lay people remain the forgotten participants in the Anglican history of the modern period'.²² Her chapter on lay religion is the only substantive contribution in recent years.²³ Perhaps the greatest difficulty in documenting the religion of Anglican laity is the ambiguity of the term 'Anglican laity':

To be a lay nonconformist or Roman Catholic is to be seen as being spiritually, and usually also financially and practically, committed to the church. To be a lay Anglican is to be perceived as in a more ambiguous position, linked with a broader nexus of non-religious attachments that result from membership of a religious establishment. Against such a background it is all too easy to attribute lay allegiance to a mixture of class and social factors, and to minimise the significance of any religious motivation. For these reasons, perhaps, traditional church historians have tended to remain silent about lay people, preferring to interpret the church in strictly institutional and clerical terms.²⁴

It is in the midst of this ambiguity that Anglican Church historians have to negotiate the problem of nominalism, which is much more complex than simply the desire of 'ordinary people' to make use of Anglican rites of passage, as John Kent would have us believe.²⁵

Nominalism may have 'nationalist' cultural overtones, that is, it may be involved with notions of 'Englishness' and of preserving English heritage. In any consideration of the laity, one is also faced with issues of class, and it is surprising that there has been no study

²¹ Lenore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes; Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850*, London, Hutchinson, 1987.

²² Knight, p. 21; See the article by Thomsett in *The Study of Anglicanism*; whilst strong on the Reformation and the recent past, there are no references to historical works on the laity in the nineteenth century. Frederica Thomsett, 'The laity', in Stephen Sykes, John Booty and Jonathan Knight, eds., *The Study of Anglicanism*, revised edition, London, SPCK, 1998. [1988.], pp. 277-293.

²³ Knight, pp. 21-60, 67-105. Though there is an essay by Bruce Kaye which broaches the subject in the Australian context: Bruce Kaye, 'The Forgotten Calling? Theology and the Lay Vocation', *St Mark's Review*, Spring 1996, pp. 3-12.

²⁴ Knight, p. 22.

²⁵ Kent, p. 113

that addresses the social structure of nineteenth century Anglicanism either in England or in the colonies.²⁶ Class relations are sometimes discussed, but often in the context of the whole community, rather than within the Anglican fold itself.²⁷ There is an acute need for ‘bottom-up’ history in the English Church as well as in the colonies to address this issue.²⁸

The themes of some volumes of *Studies in Church History*, such as ‘Women in the Church’, and ‘Gender and Christian Religion’, could not have been foreseen in 1966 when Owen Chadwick’s book was first published.²⁹ In response to the women’s movement from the 1960s and 1970s, and pressure for the ordination of Anglican women, there has been a burgeoning literature on women’s personal religious experience, and their experience of the institutional church.³⁰ Again, the study of Davidoff and Hall has been very helpful in documenting the spirituality of the evangelical middle-class in the Midlands of England, by making use of the Victorian understanding of men’s and women’s gender roles in their ‘separate spheres’.³¹ In this construction of gender,

²⁶ Wolffe, p. 29. This has led to considerable misunderstanding of the class structure of Australian Anglicanism as I discuss in chapter 5.

²⁷ Kitson Clark, *passim*; Hugh McLeod, *Religion and Society in England, 1850-1914*, New York, St. Martin’s Press, 1996, (especially the bibliography); Knight, pp. 67-105.

²⁸ C.F., McLeod, p. 257-258.

²⁹ W.J. Shiels, and D. Wood, eds., *Women in the Church*, Oxford, for the Ecclesiastical History Society by Basil Blackwell, 1990; Swanson, R.N., ed., *Gender and Christian Religion, Papers Read at the 1996 Summer Meeting and 1997 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society, volume 34*, London, Boydell Press, 1998.

³⁰ Anthony Fletcher, ‘Beyond the Church: Women’s Spiritual Experience at Home and in the Community 1600-1900’, in R.N. Swanson, ed., pp. 187-203; Charles Wallace, ‘The Prayer Closet as a “Room of One’s Own”: Two Anglican Women Devotional Writers at the turn of the Eighteenth Century’, *Journal of Women’s History*, 9(2), 1997, pp. 108-121; Gail Malmgreen, *Religion in the Lives of English Women, 1760-1930*. Bloomington and Indianapolis, Indiana University Press, 1986; Jenny Daggers, ‘The Victorian Female Civilising Mission and Women’s Aspirations towards Priesthood in the Church of England’, *Women’s History Review*, 10(4), 2001, pp. 651-670; Sean Gill, *Women in the Church of England: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present*, London, SPCK, 1994; Brian Heeney, *The Women’s Movement in the Church of England, 1850-1930*, Oxford, OUP, 1988.

³¹ Lenore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850*, London, Hutchinson, 1987. See also, Martha Vicinus, *Suffer and Be Still: Women in the Victorian Age*, London, Methuen, 1980 [Indiana University Press, 1972]; —, *Independent Women, Work and Community for Single Women, 1850-1920*, London, Virago, 1985, [University of Chicago Press, date?]; Theodore Koditschek, ‘The Gendering of the British Working Class’, *Gender and History*, 9(2), 1997, pp.

woman's role was focussed on the domestic activities of nurturing and educating children, and man's role was as provider/ breadwinner for his family in the more public sphere of work and business. This framework is useful for understanding the middle and upper classes in England, but breaks down in any consideration of the lives of the working class and the petty bourgeoisie, though even there, with the emphasis on the notion of a male breadwinner late in the century, there is evidence of the influence of the idea of the two spheres moving 'downwards'.³² However, with those caveats, there is still considerable value in the notion of the separate spheres.

In recent years, stimulated by the evolution of women's history, some historians have begun to explore the construction of male identity in the historical context. The work of Robert Shoemaker, Norman Vance, Bob Connell, James Walvin, J.A. Mangan, John Tosh, and Jeffrey Weeks have laid out the agenda for the revision of older understandings (or misunderstandings) of manliness.³³ This has been underwritten by substantial studies in literary criticism and history, and the especial significance of Charles Kingsley in his

333-363; Geoffrey Crossick, ed., *The Lower Middle Class in Britain 1870-1914*, London, Croom Helm, 1977; Geoffrey Crossick and Heinz-Gerhard Haupt, *The Petite Bourgeoisie in Europe, 1780-1914*, London, Routledge, 1995.

³² For a qualifying view, Amanda Vickery, 'Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women's History', *The Historical Journal*, 36(2), 1993, pp. 383-414. Of enormous value in understanding the life circumstances of working class women, see Deborah Valenze, *The First Industrial Woman*, New York and Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1995; Ellen Ross, *Love and Toil: Motherhood in Outcast London 1870-1918*, New York and Oxford, OUP, 1993; Sonya O. Rose, *Limited Livelihoods: Gender and Class in Nineteenth Century England*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1992.

³³ Robert Shoemaker, *Gender in English Society; The Emergence of Separate Spheres*, London & New York, Longman, 1998; Norman Vance, *Sinews of the Spirit; the Ideal of Christian Manliness in Victorian Literature and Religious Thought*, Cambridge, CUP, 1985; R.W. Connell, *Masculinities*, Cambridge, CUP, 1995; J.A. Mangan and James Walvin, eds., *Manliness and Morality: Middle-class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1987; John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-class Home in Victorian England*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1999; Jeffrey Weeks, *Sex, Politics and Society; the Regulation of Sexuality Since 1800*, 2nd edition, London and New York, Longman, 1989. [London, Longman, 1981.]

elaboration of the notion of ‘muscular Christianity’.³⁴ These approaches have value in beginning to understand the nature of men’s spirituality and the attitudes of men to church, church-going and freemasonry.³⁵ In the colonial context they also provide clues to the taciturnity of men in matters of faith and belief.

Of Empire and Englishness

Reflecting on the nature of the Anglican Communion, Robert Runcie, former Archbishop of Canterbury once wrote: ‘In the past, Anglicans in this country [England] have seen their faith coming through Englishness. In the days of the Empire, we exported Englishness with our Christianity . . .’.³⁶ This observation encapsulates two ideas that are important to this study: first, the intimate relationship between Anglicanism and the expansion of the British Empire; and second, the Englishness of Anglicanism.

It is almost a commonplace now to associate the extension of the British Empire in the nineteenth century with the activities of Protestant evangelical missionary societies.³⁷

³⁴ Vance, op. cit.; John Maynard, *Victorian Discourses on Sexuality and Religion*, Cambridge, CUP, 1993; James Eli Adams, *Dandies and Desert Saints; Styles of Victorian Manhood*, Ithaca and London, Cornell University Press, 1995; David Hilliard, ‘UnEnglish and Unmanly: Anglo-Catholicism and Homosexuality’, *Victorian Studies*, 25, 1981-1982, pp. 181-210.

³⁵ Stefan-Ludwig Hoffman, ‘Civility, Male Friendship and Masonic Sociability in Nineteenth Century Germany’, *Gender and History*, 13(2), 2001, pp. 224-248.

³⁶ Robert Runcie, *Windows Into God*, London, SPCK, 1983, p.29

³⁷ Ronald Hyam, *Britain’s Imperial Century, 1815-1914*, 2nd edition, London, Barnes and Noble Books, 1993, [Methuen, 1976]; Brian Stanley, ‘“Commerce and Christianity”: Providence Theory, the Missionary Movement, and the Imperialism of Free Trade, 1842-1860’, *The Historical Journal*, 26(1), 1983, pp. 71-94; —, ‘“Commerce and Christianity”: The Rise and Fall of a Nineteenth Century Missionary Slogan’, *The Historical Journal*, 28(3), 1985, pp. 597-621; Andrew Porter, ‘“Religion and Empire”: British Expansion in the Long Nineteenth Century, 1780-1914’, *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, XX(3), 1992, pp. 370-390; C. Peter Williams, ‘British Religion and the Wider World, Mission and Empire, 1800-1940’, in Sheridan Gilley and W.J. Shiels, *A History of Religion in Britain; Practice and Belief from Pre-Roman Times to the Present*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1994, pp.381-405; Susan Thorne, ‘The Conversion of Englishmen and the Conversion of the World Inseparable’, in F. Cooper and A. Stoler, eds., *Tensions of Empire*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1997, pp. 238-262; Brian Stanley, *The Bible and the Flag: Protestant Missions and British Imperialism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, Leicester, Apollos, 1990; Brian Stanley, *Christian Missions and the Enlightenment*, Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, 2001; Andrew Porter, *Religion Versus Empire? British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2004. Porter’s book has an excellent historiographical introduction and exhaustive bibliography.

The activities of the (Anglican) Church Missionary Society in New Zealand, the Indian subcontinent, Africa and Australia in seeking the conversion of indigenous peoples has been well-documented.³⁸ The work of the (predominantly) evangelical missionaries in the Pacific; of Congregationalists; and Baptists in Jamaica has also been set in the context of an expanding empire.³⁹ Andrew Porter's call for the serious examination of the religious content of imperial expansion has been met very thoroughly in Catherine Hall's study of the English Baptist mission in Jamaica, in which she explores the relationships of Baptists at the metropole and periphery in the maintenance of the missionary enterprise.⁴⁰ This attention to the activities of evangelicals of different denominational traditions has been part of the widening interest in documenting the role of Christianity in nineteenth century (and twentieth century) Britain, and a needed corrective to an almost hegemonic Anglo-Catholic interpretation of Anglican history of nineteenth century England.⁴¹

This interest in the role of evangelicals, including Anglicans, in the expanding empire had a powerful focus in their involvement of the abolition of the slave-trade, and then of slavery, in British colonies in the early nineteenth century. In the course of this evolving interest, the role of other traditions within Anglicanism has been overlooked. Richard Brent's study of Anglican liberal traditions was a timely reminder of the theological

³⁸ For example, E. Elbourne, 'The Foundation of the Church Missionary Society: the Anglican Missionary Impulse', in J. Walsh, C. Haydon, and S. Taylor, eds., *The Church of England, c.1689-c.1833: From Toleration to Tractarianism*, Cambridge, CUP, 1993, pp. 247-264; Brian Stanley and Kevin Ward, eds., *The Church Mission Society and World Christianity, 1799-1999*, Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, 2000.

³⁹ For the London Missionary Society (LMS); Anna Johnston, *Missionary Writing and Empire, 1800-1860*. Cambridge and New York, CUP, 2003; also Niel Gunson, *Messengers of Grace: Evangelical Missionaries in the South Seas, 1797-1860*, Melbourne, 1978. For Congregationalist Missions more generally; Susan Thorne, *Congregational Missions and the Making of Imperial Culture in Nineteenth Century England*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1999. For the Baptist Missionary Society; see Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination 1830-1867*, Oxford, Polity, 2002.

⁴⁰ Porter, 'Religion and Empire', passim; Hall, op. cit.

⁴¹ John Kent, 'Victorian Religion and the Decline of Britain', *Victorian Studies*, 4 (1), Autumn, 1997, pp. 107-117.

diversity within Anglicanism.⁴² Peter Nockles has been careful to distinguish an older High Church tradition partly going back to the Non-Jurors of the late seventeenth century,⁴³ from the nineteenth century Tractarian/Ritualist/Anglo-Catholic developments beginning in the second third of the century.⁴⁴ This older, Tory, ‘Church and King’ tradition was an important strand of High Church tradition in the early part of the nineteenth century as the development of colonies of settlement began. It had a strong input to debate about how colonisation and the extension of the Church of England should take place, a matter Andrew Porter has touched on but which is developed further in this thesis.⁴⁵

So who were these High Churchmen of the older tradition? Their particular theological, political and social outlook has been outlined by Alan Webster in his biography of Joshua Watson in discussing Watson’s membership of the ‘Hackney Phalanx’.⁴⁶ High Churchmen traced their heritage to Archbishop Laud and the Caroline

⁴² Richard Brent, *Liberal Anglican Politics; Whiggery, Religion, Reform, 1830-1841*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1987. For a background to the Broad Church tradition, see Martin Fitzpatrick, ‘Latitudinarianism at the parting of the ways: a suggestion’, in John Walsh, Colin Haydon and Stephen Taylor, eds., *The Church of England, c. 1689-c. 1833; From Toleration to Tractarianism*, Cambridge, CUP, 1993, pp. 209-227.

⁴³ Non-jurors refused to take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy to William and Mary in 1688, on the ground that to do so would break their earlier oaths to James II and his successors. Their position was based on Richard Hooker’s *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, with its assumption of the identity of Church with State and *vice versa*. However, Peter Nockles has noted the qualification that Orthodox High Churchmen including Non-jurors, stressed the spiritual independence of the church. Peter Nockles, *The Oxford Movement in Context: Anglican High Churchmanship, 1760-1857*, Cambridge, CUP, 1994, p. 54.

⁴⁴ Peter Nockles, *op. cit.*; and also —, ‘Church Parties in the pre-Tractarian Church of England 1750-1833: the ‘Orthodox’ – some problems of definition and identity’, in John Walsh, Colin Haydon and Stephen Taylor, eds., *The Church of England, c. 1689-c. 1833; From Toleration to Tractarianism*, Cambridge, CUP, 1993, pp. 334-360. Another helpful guide is Bernard M.G. Reardon, *From Coleridge to Gore; A Century of Religious Thought in Britain*, London, Longman, 1971, pp. 23-59, where he discusses the nature of evangelicalism, the High Church tradition, and the liberal/broad church aspect of Anglicanism.

⁴⁵ Andrew Porter, ‘Religion, Missionary Enthusiasm and Empire’, in Andrew Porter, ed., *The Oxford History of the British Empire, Volume III: The Nineteenth Century*, Oxford and New York, OUP, 199, pp. 222-246.

⁴⁶ The term the Hackney Phalanx was applied to Watson and his High Church friends who lived in the village of Hackney on the outskirts of London; Alan B. Webster, *Joshua Watson, Story of a Layman 1771-1856*, London, SPCK, 1954, pp. 18-32; Daniel O’Connor and others, *Three Centuries of Mission; the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel 1701-2000*, London and New York, Continuum, 2000, p. 57.

theologians and devotional writers. It emphasized the Catholic heritage of the church, which although weakened by the Revolution of 1689, the secession of the non-Jurors, and eighteenth century latitudinarian theology, still had a place in Anglicanism. It was a tradition epitomised by the writings of Jeremy Taylor, rather more Catholic than Protestant, but still recognising the need of the Reformation.⁴⁷ The incarnation of Jesus Christ, rather than his atoning death on the cross, was their central dogma. They gave the church a more exalted place than most other Anglicans. It was a divine institution rather than a human society whose government, fellowship and public worship followed the apostolic pattern – including its threefold ministry of bishops, priests and deacons.⁴⁸ They ‘distrusted’ nonconformist and dissenting bodies,⁴⁹ and held to the conviction that the Church of England was ‘the mother of all Christians’ in England, even of those in schism. They upheld the Establishment of the church even in the face of State intervention in its affairs; to oppose such intervention would be ‘unpatriotic, unloyal, and unchristian’.⁵⁰

Members of the Hackney Phalanx were Tories. It was the Toryism of William Pitt, Spencer Perceval, Lord Liverpool and Robert Peel, which distrusted Radicalism and democracy. It has been suggested that they were the ‘natural allies of paternalistic authoritarian Tories . . . inspired by Jeremy Bentham’s views on the need for efficient, almost scientific government’. High Churchmen expected to work through the agency of

There is also a good outline of the positions of the various church parties in Crowther, *Church Embattled*, pp. 13-39.

⁴⁷ Jeremy Taylor (1613-1667), chaplain to Charles I, rector of Uppingham, and then chaplain to the Royalist army. Was briefly imprisoned, and then lived in Wales as chaplain to Lord Carbery. After the restoration, he was appointed bishop of Connor and Down in 1660. His fame rests on his devotional writings, especially *The Rule and Exercise of Holy Living* and *The Rule and Exercise of Holy Dying*.

⁴⁸ Webster is quoting Archdeacon Daubeney; see *British Critic*, 1818, vol X, p. 117. The *British Critic* was the mouthpiece of High churchmen.

⁴⁹ Webster is quoting William Jones of Nayland; William Jones, *Miscellaneous Works*, vol. VI, London, 1810, pp. 149-150.

⁵⁰ Webster is quoting Christopher Wordsworth, *Theophilus Anglicanus*, 11th edition, London, 1873, pp. 250-251. Webster, pp. 18-20.

the institutional Church, and recognized ‘the church’s inherent right to educate the people’.⁵¹ They were men who took their faith seriously. An early project (1811) was the foundation of *The National Society for the Promoting of the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church*.⁵² Much of their conservatism with its promotion of a deferential society is encapsulated in that title. High Churchmen, especially Watson and members of the Hackney Phalanx, in 1810 revitalised the *Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge* (SPCK; founded by Thomas Bray in 1689). In 1838 they relaunched *The United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts* (SPG; founded in 1701).⁵³ They believed that both these missionary organisations should be under the guidance of bishops of the Church of England, which distinguished them from the more evangelical Church Missionary Society (CMS). This commitment to the importance of episcopal authority encouraged High Churchmen to establish *The Colonial Bishops Fund* for the creation of new colonial bishoprics.⁵⁴ In relation to the extension of the British Empire, it was through these organisations that High Churchmen exercised their influence, especially in the organisation, funding and staffing the colonial church, and particularly in colonies of settlement. High Churchmen were fortified in their views by the writings of conservatives such as Samuel Taylor Coleridge, writing on Church and State, and Edward Gibbon Wakefield and Herman Merivale who offered theories of systematic colonization.⁵⁵ Wakefield and Merivale defended the value of a church establishment for

⁵¹ Webster, p. 23.

⁵² For an account of this body, see Webster, pp. 34-43.

⁵³ Hans Cnatingius, *Bishops and Societies: a Study of Anglican Colonial and Missionary Expansion, 1698-1850*, London, SPCK, pp. 67-71, 109.

⁵⁴ Cnatingius, p. 196f.

⁵⁵ See for example, Edward Gibbon Wakefield (with an introduction by James Collier), *A View of the Art of Colonization*, Oxford, Clarendon, 1914, and Herman Merivale, *Lectures on Colonization and Colonies*, London, Longman, Orme, Green, and Longmans, 1841. For the influences on Gladstone, see H.C.G.

the stability of civil society and as a moral bulwark in the colonies; and Coleridge gave them the idea of an Anglican ‘clerisy’ or intellectual elite, charged with the responsibility of transmission of both English and Anglican culture to the colonies.⁵⁶ In the context of the creation of the colony of Queensland, the bishop, and the clergy, catechists and schoolmasters he brought with him, constituted a colonial clerisy, bearers of Anglican and English culture.

The second part of Runcie’s comment, that Anglicans exported Englishness with their faith, draws attention to a debate about nationality, and the distinction of Englishness from Britishness that goes back to Tom Nairn’s *The Break-Up of Britain* and that has been continued by historians such as Linda Colley and Theodore Koditschek.⁵⁷ In this discussion, contested though it has been, Colley makes a distinction which locates Anglicanism as an *English* institution in the colonial context. This idea has explanatory power in clarifying the complexities of denominational relations. In particular, Colley’s identification of Protestantism as a significant component of Englishness sheds light on the ways colonials marginalised Roman Catholics (especially the Irish), and on the deep fear of Tractarianism exhibited by many Anglicans. Anglicanism was quintessentially English.⁵⁸

Matthew, Introduction to M.R.D. Foot and H.C.G. Matthew, eds., *The Gladstone Diaries, Volume II, 1840-1847*, Oxford, Clarendon, 1974, especially pp. xxvi-xviii, xxxv, xxxvii.

⁵⁶ S.T. Coleridge, edited by John Barrell, *On the Constitution of Church and State According to the Idea of Each*, London, J.M. Dent and Sons, 1972. [London, 1830]; Peter Allen, ‘S.T. Coleridge’s *Church and State* and the Idea of an Intellectual Establishment’, *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 46, 1985, pp. 89-106; John Gascoigne, ‘The Unity of Church and State Challenged: Responses to Hooker from the Restoration to the Age of Reform’, *The Journal of Religious History*, 21(1), February, 1997, pp. 60-79.

⁵⁷ Tom Nairn, *The Break-Up of Britain*, London, New Left Books, 1977; Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1992, —, ‘Britishness and Otherness: an Argument’, *Journal of British Studies*, 32, October 1992, pp. 309-329; Theodore Koditschek, ‘The Making of British Nationality’, *Victorian Studies*, 44(3), Spring 2002, pp. 289-398.

⁵⁸ Especially, Colley, *Britons*, pp. 11-54.

The interest in Englishness is not simply one of national identity, but also one of national culture. Ian Baucom has explored some of the ways Englishness was exported to the empire and how the periphery of empire has returned to haunt metropolitan England.⁵⁹ Whereas Baucom explores geographical locations, Simon Gikandi explores literary constructions of the culture of colonialism in his stimulating study *Maps of Englishness*.⁶⁰ What both writers are at pains to expose, is some of the ways in which English cultural values were exported to the empire and their importance for constructing colonial identity; thus Baucom draws on diverse examples from the neo-gothic Victoria Rail Terminus in Bombay to cricket in the West Indies. Gikandi brings into play the writings of Carlyle and Mill, and travelogues of the West Indies written by J.A. Froude (1888) and Anthony Trollope (1852, 1859). This latter project demonstrates the ways the colonies were represented to a metropolitan audience. Catherine Hall is able to demonstrate a similar process in the way Baptist missionaries represented Jamaica and Jamaicans to another metropolitan audience, the Baptist supporters of the Jamaican mission who lived in the midlands of England.⁶¹ However, Hall's missionaries and Gikandi's travellers use the same location - Jamaica – but interpret the place and the people in a variety ways, allowing metropolitan readers to choose for themselves the version of Jamaica they want to believe.⁶² Likewise, Australia too was subject to the metropolitan gaze. Both Froude and Trollope wrote of their Antipodean adventures for a metropolitan audience, as did Charles Dilke and various others. Here the task was different. Where Trollope and Froude

⁵⁹ Ian Baucom, *Out of Place; Englishness, Empire, and the Locations of Identity*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1999.

⁶⁰ Simon Gikandi, *Maps of Englishness; Writing Identity in the Culture of Colonialism*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1996.

⁶¹ Hall, op. cit.

⁶² Hall, pp. 21, 209-222, 412-413; Gikandi, pp. 93-97.

were at pains to demonstrate the alterity of the Jamaican colonial subject, especially the emancipated slaves and people of ‘colour’, in Australia, Trollope and Dilke in particular, wanted to claim the colonial settlers as part of a Greater Britain. They acknowledged that there were differences between metropole and periphery, but nevertheless Antipodeans were ‘part of the family’, and often remarked on the Englishness of Australia and Australians.⁶³ This suggests that the export of Englishness had been effective, an issue I explore further in this thesis.⁶⁴

Apart from ‘national’ histories, interest in the history of the Anglican Church in colonies of settlement has been focussed in two main areas; the studies of key churchmen, and the anomalous legal situation of colonial churches. The biographies mostly represent an older historiography, the subjects of which were episcopal founders of colonial sees; the likes of Robert Gray of Capetown, John Strachan of Toronto, William Broughton of Australia, George Augustus Selwyn of New Zealand, and William Colenso of Natal.⁶⁵ The legal difficulties surrounding the creation of colonial sees centred in Colenso’s Natal episcopate, and were ably set out by Peter Hinchliff, from the perspective of the Church of

⁶³ Anthony Trollope, *Australia*, 2 volumes, Gloucester, Alan Sutton, 1987. [London, 1873] Charles Dilke (edited by Geoffrey Blainey), *Greater Britain*, North Ryde, Methuen Hayes, 1985, [London, 1868.]

⁶⁴ Others have written on this, especially Robert Withycombe, ‘Australian Anglicans and Imperial identity, 1900-1914’, *Journal of Religious History*, 25(3), October, 2001, pp. 286-305; John Moses, ‘Australian Anglican Leaders and the Great War, 1914-1918: the “Prussian Menace”, Conscription, and National Solidarity’, *Journal of Religious History*, 25(3), October, 2001, pp. 306-323; David Hilliard, ‘Anglicanism’, *Australian Cultural History*, 7, 1988, pp. 64-82, and response by Richard Ely, “‘Anglican’ Religious culture and “Anglo-Australian” Religious Culture: a Comment on David Hilliard’s Paper’, *Australian Cultural History*, 7, 1988, pp.83-85.

⁶⁵ Audrey Brooke, *Robert Gray, First Bishop of Capetown*, Capetown, OUP, 1947. David Flint, *John Strachan, Pastor and Politician*, Toronto, OUP, 1971. George Shaw, *Patriarch and Patriot; William Grant Broughton 1788-1853, Colonial Statesman and Ecclesiastic*, Melbourne, MUP, 1978. John H. Evans, *Churchman Militant; George Augustus Selwyn Bishop of New Zealand and Lichfield*, London, George Allen & Unwin, 1964; Peter Hinchliff, *John William Colenso*, London, Nelson, 1964. Jeff Guy, *The Heretic: A Study of the Life of John William Colenso 1814-1883*, Johannesburg and Pietermaritzburg, 1983; Warren E. Limbrick, ed., *Bishop Selwyn in New Zealand 1841-68*, Palmerston North, 1983.

the Province of South Africa.⁶⁶ A counter narrative from the point of view of the much smaller Church of England in South Africa has been written by Anthony Ive.⁶⁷ The problems of the legal constitution of the South African church had consequences elsewhere for Anglicans, and there are a several Australian studies devoted to the evolution of the constitution of the Australian Anglican Church.⁶⁸

The Historiography of Australian Anglicanism

In a review article in *The Journal of Religious History* in 2001, Anglicanism was described as ‘the sleeping giant in Australian religious historiography and large tracts of its history [lie] unexplored’.⁶⁹ Though to date there is still no national history of the Anglican Church in Australia, a very good beginning has been made with the publication of *Anglicanism in Australia: A History*, which is a collection of essays brought together by Bruce Kaye, and published in 2002.⁷⁰ The final article in this collection, by Brian Fletcher, outlines a challenging agenda for Anglican historians, encouraging an active engagement with other historical genres, especially social and cultural history. In particular he refers to some of the issues raised in my thesis, including: church and class; church and society; education; and imperialism, nationalism and race.⁷¹ Although class is an issue frequently referred to in studies of Australian Anglicanism, there has been little

⁶⁶ Peter Hinchliff, *The Anglican Church in South Africa*, London, Darton, Longman and Todd, 1963.

⁶⁷ Anthony Ive, *A Candle Burns in Africa*, Gillits (Natal), Church of England in South Africa, 1992.

⁶⁸ R.A. Giles, *The Constitutional History of the Australian Church*, London, Skeffington, 1929; Ross Border, *Church and State in Australia 1788-1872; a Constitutional Study of the Church of England in Australia*, London, SPCK, 1962; John Davis, *Australian Anglicans and Their Constitution*, Canberra, Acorn, 1993.

⁶⁹ Hilary M. Carey, Ian Breward, Nicholas Doumanis, Ruth Frappell, David Hilliard, Katharine Massam, Anne O’Brien and Roger Thompson, ‘Australian Religion Review, 1980-2000, Part 2: Christian denominations’, *The Journal of Religious History*, 25(1), 2001, pp. 56-82.

⁷⁰ Bruce Kaye, ed., with Tom Frame, Colin Holden and Geoff Treloar, *Anglicanism in Australia: A History*, Melbourne, MUP, 2002. It contains a comprehensive bibliography. Also valuable is Bruce Kaye’s ‘The Anglican Tradition in Australia’, *St Mark’s Review*, Autumn 1990, pp. 24-33.

⁷¹ Brian Fletcher, ‘Anglicanism and the Shaping of Australian Society’, in Bruce Kaye, ed., *Anglicanism Australia: A History*, pp. 293-350.

attempt to analyse the class structure of colonial Anglicanism.⁷² However, there is much excellent material about elite Anglicans in Penny Russell's study of colonial gentility and femininity, *A Wish for Distinction*, and the collected essays edited by her, *For Richer, For Poorer* and, for a later period, in the work of Anne O'Brien and Patricia Grimshaw.⁷³ Likewise, Paul de Serville's studies provide much on colonial 'gentlemen'.⁷⁴ There are no studies of the 'middling sort', but a family history like that of Thomas Grenier of Brisbane gives insight to the life of a small businessman and Janet McCalman's *Struggletown*, for a slightly later period, gives a good feel for working-class culture, but not much insight to their religion.⁷⁵

More than class or churchmanship, gender has been a lively topic of debate among Anglican historians, stimulated initially by the women's movement of the 1960s and 1970s, but more recently by debates about the ordination of women, and debates about homosexuality and sexual abuse. The topic of gender has been recently reviewed by Anne O'Brien who has identified the central role of women in passing on Anglican traditions and the tensions experienced by men in resolving the conflicting demands of public and

⁷² Fletcher, pp. 295-298.

⁷³ Penny Russell, *A Wish for Distinction*, Melbourne, MUP, 1994; —, ed., *For Richer, For Poorer*, Melbourne, MUP, 1994, Anne O'Brien, 'Militant Mothers: faith, power and identity in the Mother's Union in Sydney, 1896-1950' *Women's History Review*, 9(1), 2000. pp. 35-53; —, 'Spirituality and Work: Sydney Women, 1920-1960', *Australian Historical Studies*, vol. 33, no 120, pp. 373-388; Patricia Grimshaw, 'In Pursuit of True Anglican Womanhood in Victoria, 1880-1914', *Women's History Review*, 2(3), 1993, pp. 331-347. Also, Elizabeth Windschuttle, "'Feeding the Poor and Sapping their Strength": The Public Role of Ruling-Class Women in Eastern Australia, 1788-1850', in, Elizabeth Windschuttle, ed., *Women, Class and History; Feminist perspectives on Australia 1788-1978*, Melbourne, Fontana/Collins, 1980, pp. 53-80.

⁷⁴ Paul de Serville, *Port Phillip Gentlemen and Good Society in Melbourne before the Gold Rushes*, Melbourne, OUP, 1980; —, *Pounds and Pedigrees; the Upper Class in Victoria 1850-1880*, Melbourne OUP, 1991.

⁷⁵ Brian Thomas Grenier, *Thomas and Mary Grenier, Brisbane Pioneers*, Brisbane, self-published, 2002. Janet McCalman, *Struggletown: Public and Private Life in Richmond 1900-1965*, Melbourne, 1984.

private life.⁷⁶ She has also addressed the vexed question of men's involvement in church affairs in the context of understanding masculine identities.⁷⁷ There is a rich historiography of 'women's business' dating from Ken Cable's essay on Mrs. Barker's diary, published in 1968.⁷⁸ The attention to clerical wives has continued, giving insight not only to women's domestic lives but their contributions to the life of the church.⁷⁹ Apart from the work of Anne O'Brien, there is little on colonial Anglican masculinity.⁸⁰ Men figure largely in biographies, such as those of Ernest Burgmann by Peter Hempenstall; Frederick Goldsmith by Colin Holden; and the study of James Moorhouse's Melbourne episcopate by Morna Sturrock. These works place their subjects in the broader context of Australian cultural and political life, thus bringing them out of an Anglican ghetto, but do not explore the gendered nature of their lives and work.⁸¹

There is an increasing appreciation of the differences between dioceses in Australia, for which the term 'diocesanism' has been coined. It refers to the distinctive

⁷⁶ Anne O'Brien, 'Anglicanism and Gender Issues', in Bruce Kaye, ed., *Anglicanism in Australia: A History*, pp. 270-292, especially pp. 272-275; also very helpful in understanding women's place in colonial society is: Patricia Grimshaw, "'Man's Own country': Women in Colonial Australian History", in Norma Grieve, ed., *Australian Women: New Feminist Perspectives*, Melbourne, OUP, 1986, pp. 182-209.

⁷⁷ Anne O'Brien, "'A Church Full of Men": Masculinism and the Church in Australian History', *Australian Historical Studies*, vol. 25, 1992/3, pp. 437-457.

⁷⁸ Ken Cable, 'Mrs. Barker and her Diary', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, 54 (1), 1968, pp.67-105.

⁷⁹ Peter Sherlock, "'This Episcopal Hotel and Boarding house": bishop's wives in Colonial Australia and New Zealand', in Martin Crotty and Doug Scobie, eds., *Raiding Clio's Closet*, Melbourne, Melbourne University History Department, 1997, pp. 32-43; —, 'Wholesome Examples and the Getting of Wisdom: Colonial Clerical Wives at St Peter's', in C. Holden, ed, *Anglo-Catholicism in Melbourne*. Melbourne University Conference Series No 6, History Department, University of Melbourne, 1997, pp. 33-47; Hilary Carey, "Companions in the Wilderness? Missionary Wives in Colonial Australia, 1788-1900", *Journal of Religious History*, 19(2), 1995, pp. 227-248.

⁸⁰ David Hilliard has written extensively on modern issues, especially homosexuality, and his article published in 1982 linking Anglo-Catholicism and homosexuality broke new ground; see note 33. There has been little written on men's spirituality in colonial Australia, though Stuart Macintyre's study, *A Colonial Liberalism* traces the religious views of George Higinbotham, David Syme and Charles Pearson very perceptively, and Morna Sturrock's study of James Moorhouse neatly complements Macintyre's work. There is considerable scope here for further work. Stuart Macintyre, *A Colonial Liberalism, the Lost World of Three Victorian Visionaries*, Melbourne OUP, 1991; Morna Sturrock, *Bishop of Magnetic Power: James Moorhouse in Melbourne, 1876-1886*, Melbourne Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2005.

⁸¹ Peter Hempenstall, *The Meddlesome Priest: A Life of Ernest Burgmann*, Sydney, Allen and Unwin, 1993; Colin Holden, *Ritualist on a Tricycle*; Sturrock, *Bishop of Magnetic Power*.

theological and pastoral emphases of the dioceses due to the diversity in churchmanship and personality of bishops; differences in timing and type of immigration; variation in geographical and climatic characteristics; and their diverse constitutional foundations. The most commonly explored issues here are those of churchmanship and church polity. There has been a tendency to ignore the nuances of theological difference among colonial Anglicans, with a concentration on the evangelical and Tractarian/Anglo-Catholic traditions.⁸² However, recent work has begun to take greater note of the liberal or Broad Church tradition of Melbourne diocese.⁸³ One is increasingly struck by the fact that much Anglican history is articulated to ideas of churchmanship, especially of bishops and clergy, but it is almost impossible to get an accurate idea of the real numerical strength of the various traditions in different dioceses. For example, the impression of the Anglican Church in Queensland in the late nineteenth century was that there was a small group of vocal evangelical laymen and a bevy of actively High Church clergy; one suspects the rest were 'C of E'; basically Protestant and either 'Low' or 'Broad' Church.

⁸² The significant contributions are: Stephen Judd and Ken Cable, *Sydney Anglicans: A History of the Diocese*, Sydney, Anglican Information Office, 1987; Stuart Piggin, *Evangelical Christianity in Australia: Spirit, Word and World*, Melbourne, OUP, 1996; Marcus Loane, *Hewn From the Rock: Origins and Traditions of the Church in Sydney*, Sydney, Anglican Information Office, 1976; Brian Dickey, *Holy Trinity, Adelaide, 1836-1988: The History of a City Church*, Adelaide, Trinity Church Trust, 1988; and P.S. Robertson, *Proclaiming 'Unsearchable Riches': Newcastle and the Minority Evangelicals, 1788-1900*, Sydney, Centre for the study of Australian Christianity/Gracewing, 1996. For the Tractarian/Anglo-Catholic tradition, see John Moses, *From Oxford to the Bush: Catholic Anglicanism in Australia the Centenary Essays from the Church Chronicle, 1932-33*, Hall ACT, Broughton Press, 1997; Brian Porter, *Colonial Tractarians; The Oxford Movement in Australia*, Melbourne, JBCE, 1989; David Hilliard, 'The Anglo-Catholic Tradition in Australia Anglicanism', *St Mark's Review*, Winter, 1994, pp.14-22; pp. 195-215; —, *Godliness and Good Order: A History of the Anglican Church in South Australia*, Adelaide, Wakefield Press, 1986; —, 'Anglicanism', *Australian Cultural History*, 7, 1988, pp. 65-82; Colin Holden, *Ritualist on a Tricycle: Frederick Goldsmith: Church, Nationalism and Society in Western Australia, 1880-1920*, Perth, University of Western Australia Press, 1997; —, *From Tories at Prayer to Socialists at Mass: St Peter's Eastern Hill, 1846-1990*, Melbourne, MUP, 1996.

⁸³ For the context of Melbourne liberalism, see Macintyre, *passim*. For the liberal tradition see, Sturrock, *passim*; David Hilliard, 'Intellectual life in the Diocese of Melbourne', in Brian Porter, ed., *Melbourne Anglicans; The Diocese of Melbourne 1847-1997*, Melbourne, Mitre Books, 1997.

Diocesan history has been a staple of Anglican historical writing. The history of the conservatively evangelical diocese of Sydney by Stephen Judd and Ken Cable is basically an institutional history that did little more than provide a précis of previous work, especially its treatment of the episcopate of the first two bishops, Broughton and Barker.⁸⁴ The study by Judd and Cable is too episodic to provide a continuous chronological narrative. It needs to be read alongside other works, such as John Spooner's lively history of Christ Church St Lawrence, *The Archbishops of Railway Square*, William Lawton's *The Better Time to Be*, and Stuart Piggin's *Evangelical Christianity in Australia*, which help to place Sydney evangelical Anglicanism into a broader context.⁸⁵ As with the historiography of other Australian dioceses, that of Sydney has big gaps. Especially notable is the lack of modern biographies of nineteenth century churchmen. In reality there are only three, those of Richard Johnson, Samuel Marsden and William Grant Broughton, all published in 1977 and 1978.⁸⁶ Bishops Barker, Barry and Smith all await biographers, as do significant clergy like W.H. Walsh, Robert Allwood and William Cowper. This means that there is no clerical biography for the second half of the nineteenth century, as Broughton died in 1853. I am unaware of any study that treats Sydney's Anglican laity at any depth at all, not that this makes Sydney exceptional, as the laity of other dioceses has not attracted historiographical attention either. Another lack,

⁸⁴ Judd and Cable, *Sydney Anglicans*; Tim Prenzler is also critical of this work: 'it is easily caricaturable as a sophisticated "boy's own" view of history'. Tim Prenzler, 'Recent Writing on the History of Religion in Australia: A Critique', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, 41 (Special Issue), 1995, p. 149.

⁸⁵ John Spooner, *The Archbishops of Railway Square, A History of Christ Church St Lawrence*, Rushcutters Bay, Halstead, 2002, gives the Anglo-Catholic view of Anglican life in Sydney. William Lawton, *The Better Time to Be: Utopian Attitudes to Society Among Sydney Anglicans, 1885-1914*, Sydney, University of New South Wales Press, 1990 explores the influence on Sydney evangelicalism 'of Brethren premillarianism and the idea of the church as a gathered community separate from the world' (Carey et.al., p. 59. Piggin, op. cit. broadens the evangelical outlook from Sydney specificity.

⁸⁶ Neil K. Mackintosh, *Richard Johnson*, Sydney, SUP, 1978; George P. Shaw, *Patriarch and patriot*, Melbourne, MUP, 1978; A.T. Yarwood, *Samuel Marsden, The Great survivor*, Melbourne, MUP, 1977.

and this applies to Anglican historiography as a whole, is the limited use of pictorial material. John Spooner's recent book on Christ Church St. Laurence is an example of how the sensitive use of photos can enhance historical writing.⁸⁷

David Hilliard has traced the contrasting history of the Diocese of Adelaide, the foundational bishop of which, Augustus Short, had Tractarian sympathies.⁸⁸ Though criticised for being a top-down study and uneven in emphasis, John Spooner's history of the more catholic Diocese of Ballarat has a strong narrative thread and a lively appreciation of sources.⁸⁹ Colin Holden's recent history of Wangaratta Diocese breaks new ground in using the landscape of the region as a structural and interpretive framework. For a community that derived its sustenance from the earth, initially from the pastoral industry and goldmining, and later, from agriculture, it is a very successful approach.⁹⁰ Likewise Laurel Clyde's early study of Riverina Diocese uses the environment and the struggles of the pastoral and agricultural industries as a background to her story.⁹¹ This is in strong contrast to the studies of Bendigo and St Arnaud dioceses by Keith Cole which have a chronological basis to the narrative to organise their wealth of material, but for which no interpretive framework is provided.⁹²

⁸⁷ Spooner, *The Archbishops of Railway Square*. The cover and endpapers of this book are an excellent example of how photos can contextualize a subject in a way narrative fails to do.

⁸⁸ Hilliard, *Godliness and Good Order*; I once criticised this as being 'too churchy', because of the emphasis on churchmanship. I now no longer hold this position as I have a deeper appreciation of the significance of churchmanship in understanding the history of Anglicanism in Australia.

⁸⁹ John Spooner, *The Golden See*, Surry Hills, John Ferguson, 1989; Carey et. al., p. 59.

⁹⁰ Colin Holden, *Church in a Landscape; A History of the diocese of Wangaratta*, Armadale, Vic, Mitre, 2002.

⁹¹ Laurel Clyde, *In A Strange Land; A History of the Anglican Diocese of Riverina*, Melbourne, The Hawthorn Press, 1979.

⁹² Keith Cole, *A History of the Diocese of St Arnaud 1926-1976; the Diocese of the Mallee*, Bendigo, Bendigo Anglican Diocesan History Society Incorporated, 1998; —, *A History of the Diocese of Bendigo, 1902-1976: An Anglican Diocese in Rural Victoria*, Bendigo, Keith Cole publications, 1991; —, *A History of the Diocese of Bendigo, 1977-2002*, Bendigo, Bendigo Anglican Historical society Incorporated, 2002; —, *A History of St Paul's Cathedral Church, Bendigo, 1868-1993*, Bendigo, Bendigo Anglican Diocesan historical society Incorporated, 1999.

The publication of *Melbourne Anglicans* in 1997 to celebrate the sesquicentenary of the diocese reflects the changing interests of church historians. In spite of its celebratory tone, there is an impressive range of articles presented, from parish organisation to art and architecture, from intellectual life to social action. They also reflect the theological diversity of Melbourne Anglicans.⁹³ A subsequent collection of papers edited by Colin Holden, *People of the Past?*, is less celebratory and more confronting, and covers divisive issues such as the ordination of women, sex education, homosexuality, and the ecclesiastical politics of episcopal elections.⁹⁴ Both these publications, along with Sturrock's recent study of James Moorhouse and Colin Holden's various other publications, all testify to the health of the study of Anglican history in Victoria.

The situation for Queensland Anglicanism is not so exciting. The doctoral dissertation of Keith Rayner remains a standard reference, but because of its age, is now in need of substantive revision.⁹⁵ Apart from some parish histories of a non-academic kind, the only recent publication of note is Alex Kidd's publication of the letters of Bishop Halford.⁹⁶ There is an early biography of Bishop Hale, which covers his Brisbane episcopate, and a few journal articles mostly relating to key early clergy and bishops.⁹⁷

⁹³ Brian Porter, ed., *Melbourne Anglicans; The Diocese of Melbourne 1847-1997*, Melbourne, Mitre Books, 1997; reviewed by Tom Frame, 'Anglicans in Melbourne', *St Mark's Review*, Winter, 1998, pp. 40-42. See also, Carey, et al., p. 59.

⁹⁴ Colin Holden, ed., *People of the Past? The Culture of Melbourne Anglicanism and Anglicanism in Melbourne's Culture*, Melbourne, Melbourne University History Department, 2000.

⁹⁵ Keith Rayner, *A History of the Church of England in Queensland*, unpublished Ph D, University of Queensland, 1962.

⁹⁶ Alex Kidd, *Halford, the Friar Bishop*, Virginia, Church Archivist's Press, 1998; Max Brightman, *A History of St Luke's Toowoomba*, Toowoomba, self-published, 1997; Kathleen Simmons, *A History of the Parish of Drayton*, Toowoomba, TEC, 2000.

⁹⁷ A.deQ. Robin, *Mathew Blagden Hale, The Life of an Australian Pioneer Bishop*, Melbourne, the Hawthorn Press, 1976; Richards, H.J., 'Brisbane's First Bishop: The Right Reverend Edward Wyndham Tufnell, M.A., D.D.', *Queensland Heritage* 3(5), 1974, pp. 17-25; John Mackenzie-Smith, 'Rev John Gregor - Like a Lamb to the Slaughter', *Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland*, 14, 1992, pp. 517-528; Howard Le Couteur, 'The Moreton Bay Ministry of the Reverend Johann Handt: A Reappraisal', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, 84(2), December, 1998, pp. 140-153;

One looks forward to the publication of Kidd's doctoral dissertation on Archbishop Donaldson to break the drought.⁹⁸ The invisibility of Brisbane/Queensland in Anglican historiography is typified by an absence of a substantive article on, or indeed any reference to, Queensland in *Colonial Tractarians; the Oxford Movement in Australia*. With Queensland's reputation for Anglo-Catholicism, this is surprising.⁹⁹ The situation reflects the scarcity of academic historians of Anglicanism in Queensland. Comparatively, Roman Catholic historiography is richer and more diverse, reflecting a celebration of the 'Irishness' of its communal identity.¹⁰⁰

The Problem of Primary Sources

One of the difficulties about writing the history of the Anglican Church in early Queensland concerns primary sources; there are few. There is virtually nothing in the diocesan archives dating earlier than the episcopate of W.T. Webber (bishop, 1885-1903). The main explanation for this absence is that diocesan records were kept at St. John's Church in Brisbane, and destroyed in the disastrous floods of 1893. Consequently, there are no records of episcopal correspondence or diocesan finances, though there is a full set

—, 'Winning Golden Opinions: Bishop Tufnell's Early Career', *Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland*, 17, 11, August, 2001, pp. 448-462; Tom Watson, 'The Reverend Benjamin Glennie: a lone survivor?', *RHSQJ*, 14(11), May 1992, pp. 433-448; Lawry, J.R., 'Bishop Tufnell and Queensland Education 1860-1874', in E.L. French, *Melbourne Studies in Education*, Melbourne, MUP, 1966, pp.181-203; Daw, E.D. "The Free Churches of England in Queensland", *Queensland Heritage*, 3(2), 1975, 3-6;—, "Church and State in Queensland: Aspects of Anglicanism in the 1860s", *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, 23, 1977, pp.360-372.

⁹⁸ Alex Kidd, *The Brisbane Episcopate of St Clair Donaldson, 1904-1921*, unpublished Ph.D., University of Queensland, 1996.

⁹⁹ Porter, ed., *Colonial Tractarians*. See Alex Kidd, 'Provincial Centenary, 1905-2005', *Focus*, August, 2005, pp. 6-7; and Moses, ed., *From Oxford to the Bush*.

¹⁰⁰ In comparison, there is a healthy Roman Catholic historiography due to the influence of people such as Tom Bolland, Neil Byrne and Ann McLay.

of diocesan yearbooks, including the proceedings of synods, and an almost complete set of parish registers (baptisms, weddings and burials), including those of St. John's Church.¹⁰¹

In writing the early history of the diocese, records held in England, especially those copied under the Australian Joint Copying Project (AJCP), have provided the principal institutional records for this work. These records include those of the Church Missionary Society (CMS), Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) and the Colonial Bishoprics Fund (CBF); some correspondence in the Lambeth Palace archives; a few letters written to English colleagues by Bishop Tufnell; a small number of documents held at 'Langleys', the Tufnell family seat in Essex; and some of Bishop Hale's papers held at the Bristol University Library. The lack of primary sources issuing from the institution is, in a way, a blessing, as it makes it difficult to write a strictly institutional history of the church. References such as *Crockford's Clerical Directory*, SPG publications and parish and civil registers provide some insight to the evolution of the diocese of Brisbane. Letters and diaries written by Anglican women were particularly helpful in establishing the 'ambience' of parish life. Most of all, colonial newspapers were important reflectors of and formers of public opinion, and wide disseminators of news and information.¹⁰² Their value as an historical source is being increasingly valued.¹⁰³ For

¹⁰¹ St John's Church was the precursor to the Cathedral. It was the principal church of the colony, but in the period being studied was never referred to as the cathedral.

¹⁰² Richard Twopeny (1883) was very impressed with the quality of Australian newspapers. Twopeny, pp. 221-242. See Ken Inglis, 'Questions About Newspapers', *Australian Cultural History*, 11, 1992, pp. 120-127.

¹⁰³ Greg Picker, 'Understanding Colonial Ideologies: the Use of Newspaper Evidence', *Australian Studies in Journalism*, 3, 1994, pp. 143-146; Denis Cryle, *The Press in Colonial Queensland: A Social and Political History 1845-1875*, St Lucia, UQP, 1989 (hereafter, *The Press*); —, 'Colonial Journalists and Journalism: an Overview', in Denis Cryle, ed., *Disreputable Profession*, Rockhampton, Central Queensland University Press, 1997; —, 'Journalism and Objectivity: a Colonial Viewpoint', *Australian Studies in Journalism*, 4, 1995, pp. 90-97; —, 'The Australian Newspaper Industry: Inter-colonial Perspectives', *Australian Studies in Journalism*, 1, 1992, pp. 101-111; Elizabeth Morrison, 'Reading Victoria's newspapers 1838-1901', *Australian Cultural History*, 11, pp. 128-140; Rod Kirkpatrick, 'The Provincial Press and Politics: NSW, 1841-1930', *Australian Studies in Journalism*, 8, 1999, pp. 96-117;

example, the excellent biography of the Rev John Dunmore Lang, by D.W.A. Baker, and Morna Sturrock's study of James Moorhouse's Melbourne episcopate make exemplary use of newspapers as historical sources.¹⁰⁴

From a very early date, Brisbane had an active press, beginning in 1846, with the *Moreton Bay Courier*, a story ably documented by Denis Cryle.¹⁰⁵ He has described the sectarian nature of Brisbane's press, especially the involvement of Lang and his Nonconformist associates in the *Courier*. Its later rival, the *Guardian* (1860-1868) was no less lively in treating religious issues, especially when owned by the Congregationalist minister, the Rev. Geo Wight. They were joined by the *North Australian* (1856-1865), which was in Roman Catholic hands from 1861 until its demise in 1865. In this period, no newspaper was sympathetic to Anglicanism, though the *North Australian* actively supported the joint campaign of the Roman Catholic and Anglican bishops for state-funded denominational education. Generally the Church of England and Bishop Tufnell did not fare well at the hands of the press at this time. The newspapers watched zealously for any signs of Tractarianism among Anglicans; for evidence of the exercise of arbitrary power by the bishop; for any lack of zeal on the part of the clergy or laity; and for any hankering after state support for the church. Anglican affairs were well-covered, but often from an antipathetic point of view. This is not necessarily a handicap, provided that newspapers are not read uncritically, and other sources are used for balance.

This situation changed in 1866. In the wake of the financial collapse of the Bank of Queensland, Wight was forced to relinquish his control of the *Guardian*, which then fell into conservative hands with the formation of the *Queensland Daily Guardian* Company.

¹⁰⁴ D.W.A. Baker, *Days of Wrath, A Life of John Dunmore Lang*, Melbourne, MUP, 1985; Sturrock, op. cit.

¹⁰⁵ Cryle, *The Press*, passim.

This was accompanied by an editorial shift of focus to political and economic issues, and the heat tended to go out of religious reporting.¹⁰⁶ Several of the principal shareholders were prominent Anglicans, and though the paper did not necessarily espouse Anglican causes, it was no longer so hostile.¹⁰⁷ Likewise there was a shift at the *Courier* at much the same time. From Separation in 1859, T.B. Stephens and Theophilus Pugh, as owner and editor respectively, retained the earlier Nonconformist values of James Swan in the management of the paper.¹⁰⁸ With the advent of D.F.T. Jones as editor in 1866, there was a perceptible shift away from the strong sectarianism of an earlier time toward more political issues.¹⁰⁹ Further, like the *Guardian* it became a company from July 1868, and no longer did it represent the views of a single proprietor.¹¹⁰ With these changes to ownership of the *Guardian* and *Courier*, and the demise of the *North Australian*, there was a neutral stance on religious issues. There was no newspaper with a religious character until the *Queensland Evangelical Standard* came into being in July 1876.

The Structure of this Study

This study begins by placing the foundation of the diocese of Brisbane in its ecclesiastical and imperial context. The key figures in the expansion of the colonial episcopate were the English bishops and influential laymen, including politicians. Chapter one identifies some of these people, and their motivation in their championing the role of the Established Church throughout the empire. The next two chapters concern the people they sent out as

¹⁰⁶ Cryle, *The Press*, pp. 73-87. Cryle notes 'a rapid shift in *Guardian* policy from agriculture and liberal selection to an entrenched squatting position' (p. 76).

¹⁰⁷ The shareholders at 29 March, 1867 included John Watts, William Henry Walsh, Frederick Bigge, and F.J.C. Wildash, all Anglican squatters, and Dr William Hobbs, an Anglican convert from Congregationalism.

¹⁰⁸ Cryle, *The Press*, p.37.

¹⁰⁹ Cryle, *The Press*, pp. 90-99.

¹¹⁰ Cryle, *The Press*, p.88.

ecclesiastical and imperial agents, that is, the bishop, the clergy, and their wives. These people were charged with the responsibility of nurturing Anglican/English values in the colony, and their selection for the task reflected the religious, political, social and cultural values of the English Church.

Then four chapters focus on the laity in colonial Queensland. Chapters four and five direct our attention to the immigrants who were to become the church in Queensland by exploring some demographic features of Anglicanism. Chapter four is concerned with denominational affiliation of colonists and their country of origin, allowing us to place Anglicans and their relative numerical strength, in colonial society. The following chapter is concerned with the socio-economic structure of the Anglican community, something which has not previously been addressed in Anglican historiography. It is based on an extensive analysis of information contained in baptismal registers. These two chapters challenge some widely accepted ideas about the class structure of the colonial Anglican Church and affirm its essentially English nature. Chapters six and seven deal with the gendered nature of Anglicanism, and address women's experience and men's experience respectively. These chapters are informed by the notion of separate spheres of women's and men's lives, the 'domestic' and the 'public'. The chapter on women draws on the personal writings of women of different social classes, in diaries and letters, and reflects the intimacy of the source documents. In the absence of personal writings of Anglican men, chapter seven explores the activities of Anglican men in the public sphere, and draws on public sources, especially newspapers. Both chapters give some insight into the ways women and men perceived their Anglicanism and their gendered roles in the Church. The next two chapters are more concerned with 'institutional' Anglicanism; the parish and the

diocese, and draw on the findings of earlier chapters in tracing the development of the church both locally and regionally. Chapter eight examines the ways parishes nucleated, and the role of the laity in founding, funding and maintaining the local church. Chapter nine examines the forces which necessitated the creation of some kind of legal framework for the Church in the colonies where it is was not the Established Church. The concerns of the laity about churchmanship and of all participants about the relationship of the colonial church to the church 'at home' were significant in the way the diocesan constitution was framed. The roles of influential laymen and of the bishop in this process and their understanding of what they were doing in the creation of a diocesan constitution are explored.

Although the organisation of the material in this study is rather conventional, it does address colonial Anglicanism from some new perspectives; one of its purposes is to bring some of the concerns of social and cultural history to bear on the subject. The nexus between Anglican High churchmen and the expansion of empire; the class values of the bishop and clergy; the connection between Englishness and Anglicanism; the gendered nature of Anglicanism; and the strength of the working class component of colonial Anglicanism all contributed in some way to the creation of a distinctive Anglican culture in Queensland. That the Church of England was known as the 'English Church' bears testimony that it was relatively successful in retaining its English character in a radically different environment and in adapting to the changed legal, geographical, demographic and political context of the colony of Queensland.

Chapter 1

Founding a Colonial Settler Society with ‘the blessing of nobleman and parson’

Nothing . . . could deserve the name of a colony of Great Britain, which did not represent all the interests, civil and religious, of the mother country, which was not, in fact, a miniature representation of England, complete in every part, according to its proportions. It was not merely the sending of a hundred thousand emigrants, without reference to their qualifications or fitness to bear their part in a civilised community. It was the exercise of skill and statesmanlike principles in guiding and molding the masses whom they send out, that was required to justify a Government in transferring a large proportion of the community to distant lands. He held, that they were not entitled to expatriate any portion of the people of this country unless they were also prepared to give those persons the benefit of all those institutions to which they were entitled at home.

Sir R. H. Inglis, in the House of Commons, 1843.

We seem, as it were, to have conquered and peopled the world in a fit of absence of mind.

Sir John Seeley, *The Expansion of England*, London, 1883.

The sentiments expressed by the English parliamentarian, Sir Robert Inglis, place in context some of the issues relating to the establishment of colonial settler societies.¹ In some ways it is an idealistic view in its representation of the kind of society he wanted to see in the colonies – a series of ‘little Englands’ – but it does show English concern with providing the colonies with all the familiar institutions of ‘home’. The vision is worthy of closer examination.

Inglis was concerned with ‘colonies of settlement’. The British imperial project involved several different kinds of settlement in three broad categories.² The most basic were trading posts, where merchant adventurers could trade with the local population, and perhaps take on supplies of food and water, and naval stations to service ships of the British Navy. Trading posts and naval stations may have been protected by a small military garrison, but there was no attempt to exert political control over the indigenous people.³ Second were colonies of conquest; more complex areas in which colonial powers used slaves or indigenous labour to produce goods for their home markets. In these cases, there was a colonial political administration, and a substantial military presence to secure what was at least a semi-feudal social structure.⁴ The third group was of colonies of settlement, like Australia, in which the indigenous population was overwhelmed by

¹ *Hansard*, third series, LXVIII, c. 577. Inglis was an old-fashioned Tory who believed that the State should subsidise church extension. G. Kitson Clark, *Churchmen and the Condition of England 1832-1885*, London, Methuen, 1973, pp. 87, 93, 164; G.F.A. Best, *Temporal Pillars; Queen Anne's Bounty, The Ecclesiastical Commissioners and the Church of England*, Cambridge, CUP, 1964, p.355; Raymond Cowherd, *The Politics of English Dissent*, New York, New York University Press, 1956, pp 85, 118.

² This categorisation is employed merely for narrative purposes. Other schemes maybe just as valid. See P.J. Cain and A.G. Hopkins, *British Imperialism: Innovation and Expansion 1688-1914*, London, Longman, 1993, p. 6.

³ An example of this kind of colony is in the early history of Fort St George (Madras); S. Neill, *A History of Christian Missions*, Harmondsworth, Pelican, 1964, p. 245.

⁴ This is the background to Catherine Hall's recent, stimulating study of the role of Baptists in Jamaican colonial society. C. Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination 1830-1867*, Cambridge, Polity, 2002.

emigrants from the colonising country.⁵ These settlers themselves produced goods (mostly agricultural) for the metropolitan market. In this threefold scheme, there is a decreasing level of direct economic involvement of the indigenous people with those representing the imperialist force. The Australian colonies are good examples of the third group. Inglis had in mind this latter kind of colony, as he makes no reference to indigenous peoples contributing to the colonial economy; and to which he envisaged large scale emigration of British people. These emigrating masses were to be provided with the civil and religious institutions of the mother country. Although he does not specify what these institutions were, presumably he was referring to the established system of government and law of the mother country and her Established Church; what Knorr described as the ‘blessings of nobleman and parson’.⁶ It reflects a strong commitment to the principles of English hierarchical social theory, with all its gradations intact. Inglis was not alone in his view. The English colonial reformer William Molesworth claimed that ‘to colonise beneficially it is necessary that the higher and richer, as well as the poorer classes, that the employers of labour as well as the employed, that all classes of society should emigrate together, forming new communities, analogous to the parent state’.⁷ This is a Tory conception of society in all its gradations and relations, being exported in its entirety to the colonies – a pure Wakefieldian ideology. Its very conservative view of social relations derived from a romanticised recollection of eighteenth century Britain

⁵ J.W. McCarty, ‘Australia as a Region of Recent Settlement in the Nineteenth Century’, *Australian Economic History Review*, 13, 2, September, 1973, pp. 148-167; D. Denoon, ‘Understanding Settler Societies’, *Historical Studies*, 18, 73, 1979, pp. 511-527; D. Denoon, *Settler Capitalism*, Oxford, Clarendon, 1983. The extensive literature on the ‘Hartz thesis’ is also helpful in understanding settler societies, for example the articles in *Australian Economic History Review*, 13, 2, September 1973. The ‘thesis’ still attracts historians, see, Gary Cross, ‘Comparative Exceptionalism: Rethinking the Hartz thesis in the Settler Societies of Nineteenth century United States and Australia’, *Australian Journal of American Studies*, 14, 1, July, 1995, pp. 15-41.

⁶ K. Knorr, *British Colonial Theories 1570-1850*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1944, p.311.

⁷ Cited by Knorr, p. 311.

where squire and parson ruled the village. This process of colonisation involved the export of both human and cultural capital to the colonies of settlement. Once in the colonies, this exported human capital was not to be left to its own devices:

It was the exercise of skill and statesmanlike principles in guiding and molding the masses whom they send out, that was required to justify a Government in transferring a large proportion of the community to distant lands.

Who was to do this ‘guiding and molding’? To this question we now turn.

The Gentlemanly Ideal

The luminaries of the Established Church and the backbone of government in England largely came from the aristocracy and gentry.⁸ These men debated and formulated imperial policy for Church and State, imbuing it with their system of values. Gentlemanly values are difficult to define, as Philip Mason demonstrates in his diverting book, *The English Gentleman*. Likewise, Cain and Hopkins, for whose thesis of gentlemanly capitalism some adequate definition was central, had to contend with the ambiguities of English gentility.⁹ They emphasise the economics of gentlemanliness consistent with their concern to link gentlemanliness with the burgeoning service sector in nineteenth century London and with the investment of finance capital in the colonies.¹⁰ Nevertheless they draw attention to several distinctive characteristics of gentlemanly values that underlie nineteenth century debate about empire.¹¹ Gentlemanliness was a privilege conferred at birth by the wise choice of parents, preferably from families of rank with illustrious

⁸ Cain & Hopkins, pp. 22-37. Mason’s image of men in masks is arresting, Philip Mason, *The English Gentleman; The Rise and Fall of an Ideal*, London, Pimlico, 1993 [1982], preface, p.10. For a good explication of the terms aristocracy and gentry and their role in government, see J.V. Beckett, *The Aristocracy in England, 1660-1914*, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1986, p. 9. For the Established Church, see W.T. Gibson, ‘The Professionalisation of an Elite; the Nineteenth Century Episcopate’, *Albion*, 23,3 (Fall 1991), pp. 459-482; —, ‘The social origins of an elite: the nineteenth century episcopate’, *History of Education*, 20, 2, 1991, pp. 95-105; D.H.J. Morgan, ‘The social and educational background of Anglican bishops – continuities and changes’, *British Journal of Sociology*, XX, 1, March 1969, pp. 295-310.

⁹ Cain & Hopkins, pp. 22-37.

¹⁰ Ibid, pp. 13-21.

¹¹ Cain and Hopkins, p. 23.

pedigrees, broad acres and substantial incomes. Gentlemen were leaders.¹² Their upbringing and education prepared them for leadership roles in society, and was coupled to the sense of duty, a constant theme in much Victorian writing. It was duty to family, especially those who were dependent; there was a sense of religious duty towards one's inferiors; and there was a duty to the nation that may be expressed in military or parliamentary service. It ties into themes of intellectual and moral earnestness, of responsibility and accountability.¹³

Cain and Hopkins identify a Christian inspiration in gentlemanly values but, as Mason points out, it was possible to be a gentleman and not a Christian:

many Victorian Englishmen . . . were much less clear what Christianity meant and believed rather vaguely that its main message lay in ethical standards, which no-one could live up to. They were often inclined to talk and write as though to be a gentleman and to be a Christian were the same thing.¹⁴

Of course, this is what Thomas Arnold set out to change in his time as first chaplain and then headmaster at Rugby school. He imbued the education of young gentlemen with a Christian ideal.¹⁵ Nevertheless, Mason's point extends to the role of the Established Church. It was the means of local government at the parish level, and the vehicle by which the moral standards of the inferior classes could be raised, and through which charity could be extended to the deserving poor. This was a utilitarian and moral function, exercised on behalf of the State and transcending its role as the Body of Christ. That is not to say that there were not a large number of devout Christians among gentlemen, people like the English politicians Henry Labouchere, William Wilberforce, or William

¹² *Quarterly Review*, vol. 3, no. 222, 1862, pp. 401, 419. See also, W.L. Burn, *The Age of Equipoise*, New York, Norton and Co, 1965, pp. 253-267.

¹³ William Houghton's study, *The Victorian Frame of Mind, 1830-1870*, is still the outstanding reference on Victorian values and attitudes; New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1985 [1957]. See also, Beckett, p. 5.

¹⁴ Mason, p. 218.

¹⁵ Houghton, pp. 239-246; Mason, p.163.

Gladstone, for example (Plate 1.2).¹⁶ However, there was a kind of diffused Christianity throughout English society; what the Tory journalist Croker described as a kind of ‘Christian tint’ over society.¹⁷ It enabled the English to make use of the rites of passage of the established church without being in any sense devout Christians. The attitude is well-illustrated by the Duke of Wellington: he went to church each week to fulfil his public duty in the country, but rarely attended when in London.¹⁸

Becoming a gentleman was partly educative and great public schools, such as Eton, Harrow, Rugby and Winchester, specialised in the art.¹⁹ This public school experience was capped off with a stint at Oxford or Cambridge. It was a narrowly classical education, with little attention to industrial or commercial pursuits.²⁰ Gentlemanly status was attained by a kind of apprenticeship, which began at one of the public schools and continued through an Oxbridge University.²¹ The sons of businessmen and bankers could acquire gentility by osmosis, rubbing shoulders with the sons of aristocrats and landed gentry. The public schools became, to use Mason’s apt phrase, ‘factories for gentlemen’.²²

The fortunes of gentlemen were largely derived from landed property, a kind of rentier capitalism distinct from entrepreneurial wealth. They were heirs of feudal tradition, with its ‘pre-capitalist notions of order, authority and status’.²³ Independent means and leisure provided a large degree of freedom, which enabled the ‘cult of the amateur’ to

¹⁶ Gladstone was twice Prime Minister and devout high churchman; Labouchere, another high churchman, was Secretary of State for the Colonies in the 1850s; and Wilberforce was an evangelical who was a key opponent of the slave trade.

¹⁷ Cited by L. Davidoff and C. Hall, *Family Fortunes; Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850*, London, Hutchinson, 1987, p.76.

¹⁸ Beckett, p.5; but see also, Burn, pp. 271-273.

¹⁹ *Quarterly Review*, vol. 3, no 222, 1862, p. 419. The writer discusses the central importance of the public schools in providing leaders, men with the ‘habit of command’.

²⁰ Beckett, p.105

²¹ Beckett, p. 100.

²² Mason, pp. 161-174; Cain and Hopkins, p. 31.

²³ Cain and Hopkins, pp. 24-25.

develop in sport and politics especially,²⁴ but was also manifested in areas such as philanthropy and travel, which required both leisure time and money.²⁵ A substantial income was necessary for keeping up appearances. A suitable country house was necessary, tastefully furnished and appropriately staffed, as was a house in town for the ‘London season’. The gentleman and his family needed to be dressed and fed in the manner befitting a gentleman’s station. Children needed nannies and tutors so they could receive an elementary education in the safety of the family home before being sent to public schools like Eton, Harrow or Rugby. And gardens and grounds were to be planted, and trimmed according to the appropriate standards of elegant consumerism.

In their political and social relations there was a kind of conservatism that had hardened in the ranks of the gentry in the late eighteenth century, as the propertied order closed ranks against the fear of radicalism at home and republicanism from abroad. This conservatism carried a strong die-hard element, but there were reformers, best exemplified by the political career of Gladstone and by the bon mot of Edward Collins’ marquis:

A Tory is a man who believes England should be governed by gentlemen. A Liberal is a man who believes an Englishman may become a gentleman if he likes.²⁶

The Rev. George Anthony Denison, brother of the Bishop of Salisbury and of the Governor of New South Wales, described himself as a radical Tory. It was a view that wished to retain the class distinctions of English society of the previous century, with everyone knowing their place and being happy in it.²⁷ It also retained the Established

²⁴ Mason, pp. 81-105. Burn interprets this differently. It was cheaper and safer to ‘employ’ men of means in government. The argument is set out in Burn, pp. 260-264.

²⁵ Simon Gikandi, *Maps of Englishness: Writing Identity in the Culture of Colonialism*, New York Columbia University Press, 1996, pp. 90-104.

²⁶ Cain and Hopkins, p.32, quoting E. Collins, *Marquis and Merchant*, vol I, p. 171 from I. Melada, *The Captain of Industry in English Fiction, 1821-1871*, Albuquerque, 1970, p. 186.

²⁷ W.L. Guttsman, *The English Ruling Class*, London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, pp. 46-47.

nature of the Church of England with all the privileges and status that position implied.²⁸

A less rigid form of conservatism was that of the ‘Orthodox’ men of the Hackney Phalanx, Tory High Churchmen who were strong for ‘Church and State’.²⁹ This latter kind of conservatism coloured much of the debate about the colonial church and of imperial ideology generally. These theological and political positions need to be distinguished from the Tractarians. The word Tractarian refers specifically to those who leaned toward the doctrines and practices of the writers of the *Tracts for the Times*. Tractarians were less likely to adhere as strictly to the formularies of the Church; they could be critical of ‘Church of Englandism’ with its Erastian tendencies; and sought to legitimate Anglicanism by emphasising its apostolicity and its implicitly ‘Catholic’ tradition.³⁰

Religion and Colonial Expansion

Sir Robert Inglis saw the provision for religious institutions as an integral part of colonisation.³¹ W.E. Gladstone also thought it necessary to export the national religion

²⁸ G.A. Denison, *Notes of My Life 1805-1878*, Oxford, 1878; Peter Nockles, *The Oxford Movement in Context; Anglican High Churchmanship c.1800-1870*, Oxford, Clarendon, 1999, p.101.

²⁹ See pp. 12-13. Chapter 1 of Nockles (pp. 44-103) is a very clear statement of the Tory/High Church theory of Church-State relations. For the Hackney Phalanx, see Nockles, pp.14-19. The views of Coleridge and Gladstone on Church and State are a good example of the outlook of High Churchmen. There is a good discussion in J.C.D. Clark, *English Society, 1688-1832*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1985, pp.416-417. See S.T. Coleridge, *On the Constitution of Church and State According to the Idea of Each*, London, 1830; and W.E. Gladstone, *The State in its Relations with the Church*, London, 1838. For a concise overview of Church-State relations, see, P. Hinchliff, ‘Church-State relations’, in S. Sykes, J. Booty, and J. Knight, *The Study of Anglicanism*, London, SPCK, 198, pp.392-405 (for Coleridge and Gladstone, see especially, pp. 398-400).

³⁰ Nockles, pp 29-43. This more nuanced understanding is exemplified by Bruce Kaye, who has challenged the recent idea that Bishop Broughton was a Tractarian, but describes him rather, as a ‘Hanoverian’ High Churchman. Bruce Kaye, ‘The Baggage of William Grant Broughton: The first Bishop of Australia as Hanoverian High Churchman’, *Pacifica*, 8(3), October, 1995, pp. 291-314.

³¹ See the quotation at the head of the chapter.

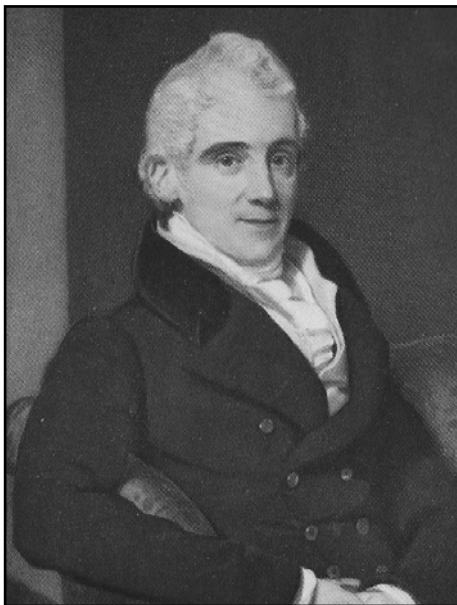


Plate 1.1 Joshua Watson, Tory High Churchman and leader of the Hackney Phalanx. Picture is frontispiece in Webster's biography, *Joshua Watson, 1771-1855*.

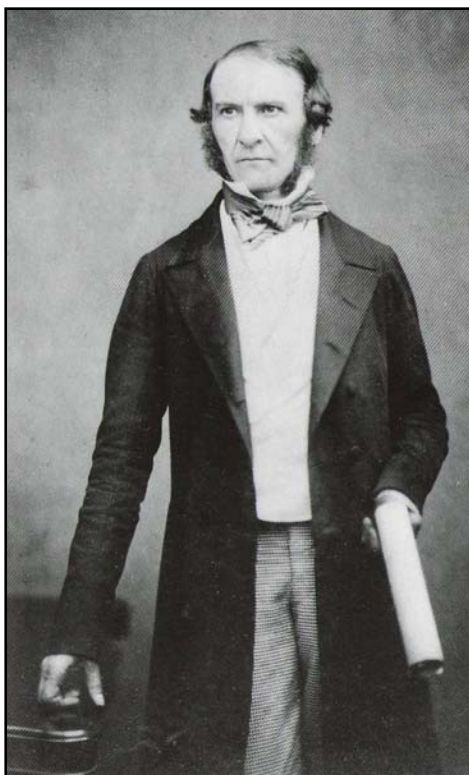


Plate 1.2 W.E. Gladstone, English political leader and High Church supporter of the interests of the Church of England. Photo from Roy Jenkins' biography, *Gladstone*.

along with emigrants, quoting Roebuck, who had said that ‘the object of colonisation was the creation of so many happy Englands’:

It is the reproduction of the image and likeness of England – the reproduction of a country in which liberty is reconciled with order, in which ancient institutions stand in harmony with popular freedom, and a full recognition of popular rights in which religion and law have found one of their most favoured homes.³²

Matthew claimed that these ‘Happy Englands’ for Gladstone were ‘Tractarian Englands’, and that for Gladstone systematic colonisation was systematic Tractarianism; as evidenced by Gladstone’s repeated efforts to get a Colonial Church Bill through Parliament to provide a legal basis for the establishment of colonial bishoprics, and his support for the Canterbury Association.³³ Early in his career, Gladstone was a thorough-going Tory, with a high doctrine of Church and State which he spelled out in his controversial books, *The State in its Relations with the Church*, and *Church Principles Considered in their Results*. This is no place to review these works, but they represent the nineteenth century high water of the Tory theory of church-state relations.³⁴ He carried these views with him into organisations like the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) and the Colonial Bishoprics Fund (CBF), and into his political activities.³⁵

W.M. Jacob emphasises the importance of the Hackney Phalanx, which articulated to itself a group of men of similar theology and outlook, and who were instrumental in the

³² Speech by W.E. Gladstone to the members of the Mechanics Institute at Chester, 12 November, 1855; printed in full, pp.186-227, P. Knaplund, *Gladstone and Britain’s Imperial Policy*, London, Frank Cass and Co, 1966.

³³ Page xxxv of Matthew’s introduction to M.R.D. Foot and H.C.G. Matthew, eds., *The Gladstone Diaries, volume II, 1840-1847*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1974; Gladstone was treasurer of the Colonial Bishoprics Fund from its inception in 1841.

³⁴ Matthew, pp. xxv-xxix.

³⁵ There is a need for a study of how Gladstone’s religious beliefs informed his imperial ideology. Knaplund skirts around the issue of religion in his otherwise helpful book. For example, the ethical dilemmas he faced in 1880 Transvaal may have been resolved quite differently by someone with fewer scruples. Knaplund, pp. 150-155. See also, D.M. Schreuder, *Gladstone and Kruger: Liberal Government and colonial ‘Home Rule’ 1880-85*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969. For the Canterbury Association, see pp. 48-51, below.

development of the Anglican Communion in the mid-nineteenth century. Joshua Watson (Plate 1.1) was the influential centre of this group. He is described as ‘traditional high Church’, with strong network of connections to parliamentarians, clergy, and bishops:

He and his associates were skilled patrons and through their extensive contacts in the small world of nineteenth century public schools and Oxford and Cambridge, they could spot high-fliers and through the network of patronage, they could test their potential.³⁶

Jacob claimed that nearly all the significant players in mid-nineteenth century Anglicanism, clergy and laity, knew one another and shared common ground. This common ground was well developed in imperial ideology.

Some English politicians believed that it was necessary to provide for the maintenance of religious establishments from the public revenue of the colonies, as Earl Grey made clear in his account of Lord John Russell’s colonial policy.³⁷ Herman Merivale strongly recommended provision for a national church establishment, along with educational provision as ‘pledges . . . to the future, binding the people to revere and guard the durable elements of moral greatness’.³⁸ It was important to plant such establishments early in the colony’s life so they could grow as the colony grew,³⁹ and he maintained that:

If the Church, in our colonies, had from the beginning been amply provided with the means of ministering to the spiritual wants of the people, it cannot be doubted that the numerical proportion between its members and those of different denominations would have been somewhat different from that which actually exists.⁴⁰

³⁶ W.M. Jacob, *The Making of the Anglican Church Worldwide*, London, SPCK, 1997, pp.288-289.

³⁷ Earl Grey, *The Colonial Policy of Lord John Russell’s Administration*, London, Richard Bentley, 1853, vol. II, pp. 101-105.

³⁸ Herman Merivale, *Lectures on Colonisation and Colonies*, volume 1, London, Longman Orme Brown Green and Longmans, 1841, p.257.

³⁹ He did recognise the problems if the Church of England were established or endowed in the colonies. The most obvious objection was the general denominational pluriformity of the colonies, and he cited the Canadian colonies, where Roman Catholics (in Newfoundland and in Lower Canada) and Presbyterians (in Nova Scotia) were the numerically dominant denomination.

⁴⁰ Merivale, p. 265

He argued that it was the absolute and primary duty of the state to supply the people with religious instruction. The state neglected its duty ‘if a single member becomes lost to the church on the account of the absence of such instruction’.⁴¹ They are strong words, ones which were echoed by many High Churchmen.

Protagonists of colonisation like Molesworth, Inglis, Gladstone and Wilberforce, who believed that religion in the form of the Established Church in England needed to be integrated into the imperial project, had ammunition to legitimate their argument. The first related to their interpretations of the American war of independence. Although in the political arena, they may have recognised issues of trade and finance as being principal causes of the American War, when speaking from an ecclesiastical platform they used different arguments.⁴² They attributed the loss of the American colonies to the failure of the British to adequately encourage and actively support the Anglican Church, believing that had the support been forthcoming, the American colonists and their clergy would have been more firmly attached to the British Empire.⁴³ This was the chorus to the speeches of those assembled to inaugurate the Colonial Bishops Fund in 1841.

⁴¹ Merivale, p. 263

⁴² I am indebted to the comments of Fr. Bill Stegemann, who suggested this qualification.

⁴³ This was recognised at the time of the War of Independence. See the comment attributed to Sir Guy Carleton, in Lord Blachford, *Some Account of the Legal Development of the Colonial Episcopate*, London, Kegan Paul, Trench & Co, 1883, p.5. At the inauguration of the Colonial Bishops Fund, the Archbishop of Canterbury claimed: ‘We sent out our countrymen with only a few clergymen; and the natural consequence was, the increase of dissent, and the decline of religion in those colonies. The mistake was perceived after the termination of the conquest with America. That extensive country was lost to us, and our statesmen at that time shewed what they considered as one of the causes of that loss, by the measures which they afterwards took to establish Bishops in the provinces that remained in the empire, Canada and Nova Scotia. The remedy was applied late; it has notwithstanding, had great effect.’ *Proceedings at a Meeting of the Clergy and Laity Specially Called by His Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury and Held at Willis’ Rooms, 27th April, 1841, for the Purpose of Raising a Fund Towards the Endowment of Additional Colonial Bishops*, London, Rivingtons, 1841, p.4. Archdeacon Manning provided a highly coloured version of this episode in British colonial history, in which the religious and moral destitution of the American population at the time of the revolution was emphasised; pp. 23-24. Both he and the Earl of Chichester claimed that it had been the failure of the English to provide ‘the polity of the Church’ that brought about the loss of the American colonies; p. 25.

Seeley's comment about Britain's colonial expansion taking place 'in a fit of absence of mind' applies in this context.⁴⁴ The development of the American colonies had not been systematic; the process had not been well-coordinated from the metropole; and the loss of the American colonies had been the result. The theories for systematic colonisation by Wakefield, Merivale, Molesworth and others need to be understood in this light. In seeking ties to bind the colonies to the mother country, the Earl of Chichester maintained that only the common faith of the emigrants would be effective; neither a common language nor the assimilation of the laws and institutions of the new country to the old would be adequate.⁴⁵ In this day and age it does not seem a convincing argument, but it was effective in persuading Englishmen to contribute about £173,000 to the Colonial Bishoprics Fund in the following ten years. The funds allowed for the endowment of another eleven bishoprics.⁴⁶ The bulwark of support for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) and the Colonial Bishoprics Fund (CBF) was the gentry and aristocracy, the very people who gave voice to these fears. Those meeting to inaugurate the CBF were drawn from the upper middle class, the gentry and the aristocracy. All the speakers were from aristocratic or gentry backgrounds, and all concurred in the centrality of a colonial episcopate to the establishment of a well-ordered society.⁴⁷

Some attributed the loss of the American colonies to the influence of dissenters and their advocacy of democracy. Woolverton has shown that there was a dominant broad church party in America in the period leading up to the war that was lukewarm to

⁴⁴ Cited by L.C.B. Seaman, *Victorian England*, London, Routledge, 1995, [Methuen, 1973], p.332.

⁴⁵ Ibid, p. 13; Chichester was an Ecclesiastical Commissioner. See also, 'Ecclesiastical State of the Colonies', *Quarterly Review*, vol. LXXV, no. CLXIX, pp 212, 221.

⁴⁶ *Proceedings at a Meeting* . . . p. 6.

⁴⁷ The speakers were the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, the Earl of Chichester, Mr Justice Coleridge, the Bishop of Winchester, Henry Labouchere, Archdeacon Manning, W. E. Gladstone, the Rev. Ernest Hawkins (secretary of SPG), the Archbishop of Armagh, and Sir Edward Cust.

proposals to extend the episcopate to the American colonies, and resisted external interference in American ecclesiastical affairs. He also discerned a republican/democratic spirit among dissenters who were antipathetic to the established church.⁴⁸ The dissenters feared the recreation of a Laudian ecclesiastical tyranny.⁴⁹ This interpretation of North American politics in this period has been voiced by Peter Doll, who goes further to say that the foundation of the Nova Scotian episcopate in 1787, was ‘a reassertion of the traditional constitutional identity of Church and State as a result of the weakening of the alliance between government and Nonconformists’.⁵⁰ Bishop John Strachan of Toronto was suspicious of anyone with American leanings, and their tendency to disloyalty to Britain. He believed in Church-connected education as the means of promoting British loyalty; that attachment to Britain was only possible through the Church; and that the imperial government should help.⁵¹ He asked rhetorically ‘can it be doubted that it is only through the Church that a truly English character and feeling can be given to, or preserved among the population of any foreign possession?’⁵²

The new-style ‘spiritual’ episcopate with little civil power was envisaged as a focus of political stability and loyalty.⁵³ In 1883, Lord Blachford observed that:

The notion evidently prevailing in high quarters was to reproduce as far as possible in the Colony, the English State Hierarchy – to weld together by the exercise of Royal prerogative an Imperial Church Establishment – a pervading ‘Church of England’ bound by ties of interest and loyalty to support the Throne from which its authority was derived.⁵⁴

⁴⁸ J.F. Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism in North America*, Detroit, Wayne State University Press, 1984, pp. 220-233.

⁴⁹ The Rev. John Strachan (later to be Bishop of Toronto) identified a similar fear in Methodist preachers in the Canada fifty years later; D. Flint, *John Strachan, Pastor and Politician*. Toronto, OUP, 1971, p. 89.

⁵⁰ P.M. Doll, ‘American High Churchmanship and the Establishment of the First Colonial Episcopate in the Church of England: Nova Scotia, 1787’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 43, 1, January, 1992, p.36.

⁵¹ Flint, p. 25.

⁵² Flint, p. 91.

⁵³ Doll, pp. 35-39.

⁵⁴ Blachford, pp. 7-8. As Frederic Rogers he had earlier been Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies.

This interpretation of the events of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century still has currency.⁵⁵ Up to the 1850s at least, those with an interest in establishing new colonies wanted to avoid making the same mistake again by providing more effectually for the Anglican Church.

The second theme to the Tory argument was one of social control, not altogether separate from the previous issue. Up to and beyond the collapse of the Chartist movement in 1848, there was a concern that a revolution from below, patterned on the French Revolution, was imminent.⁵⁶ Walter Houghton detected a fear of revolution persisting well beyond mid-century.⁵⁷ Houghton traces this fear in conservative politics and literature from Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790), to Dickens' *Tale of Two Cities* (1859). The fear was of democracy, of universal suffrage, of riotous mobs, and of the bitterness of class feeling.⁵⁸ The preventative for such an insurrection was to somehow 'reach' the working classes - a task for the Church.⁵⁹ The interdependent nature of Church and State in Tory political theory meant that the Church was best positioned to

⁵⁵ P. Burroughs, 'Lord Howick and Colonial Church Establishment', *JEH*, XXV, 4, October, 1974, p. 381.

⁵⁶ Burn, p. 66. See John Gascoigne for a review of the revival of Tory political and ecclesiastical theory in this period. J. Gascoigne, 'The Unity of the Church and State Challenged: Responses to Hooker from the Restoration to the Nineteenth Century Age of Reform' *JRH*, 21, 1, February, 1997, pp. 67-68; also, E.R. Norman, *Church and Society in England 1770-1970*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1976, especially chapters 1-3, pp. 15-122.

⁵⁷ He cites a story about Bertrand Russell's grandfather. The old man was on his deathbed in 1869, and 'heard a loud noise in the street and thought it was the revolution breaking out'; Houghton, p. 54. The importance of the French Revolution in moulding Tory attitudes is well articulated by J.A. Froude, the brother of the Tractarian, Richard Hurrell Froude. See 'Reminiscences of the High Church Revival', *Good Words*, 1881, p.20.

⁵⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 55-57; Walter Bagehot (ed. R.H.S. Crossman), *The English Constitution*, New York, Cornell University Press, 1963, [1867], p. 277.

⁵⁹ For a social control point of view of the role of the church see J. Hart, 'Religion and Social Control in the mid-Nineteenth Century', in A.P. Donajgradski, ed., *Social Control in Nineteenth Century Britain*, London, Croom Helm, 1977, pp.108-138.

effect change.⁶⁰ The Church's mission to the urban 'heathen' in England provided the pattern for 'salvaging' expatriate souls of working class emigrants.⁶¹ In England the solutions proposed were to provide more churches and to provide education for the poor.⁶² This 'mission' gave rise to a whole range of philanthropic organisations whose object was to 'do good' to the urban poor. Education was central to this philanthropy; the High Church organisation formed to promote elementary education was aptly named *The National Society for the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church Throughout England and Wales*. Even the writer of the article in the *Edinburgh Review*, who was not sympathetic to the Tory High Church position, could write:

We should ask the lovers of peace and order, whether Oastler, Stephens, and Feargus O'Connor, are more likely to find apt disciples among the well-instructed or among the ignorant; and whether the schoolmaster be not as essential a protector of life and property as the constable and the policeman.⁶³

Expressly *religious* education, provided in church-run schools, inculcating values such as deference, civil obedience, respect for authority, and attachment to the Crown and Church,

⁶⁰ 'Ministerial Plan for Education – Church and Tory Misrepresentations', *Edinburgh Review*, vol. LXX, October 1839-January 1840, p. 155

⁶¹ For an overview of the church's mission to the working class, see Geoffrey Best, *Mid-Victorian Britain 1851-75*, London, Fontana, 1979, [Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1971], pp. 208-213. On the connections between religion and social control in this period, see R. Hole, *Pulpits, Politics and Social Order in England 1760-1832*, Cambridge, CUP, 1989, pp.187-199. The same approach can be detected in the aftermath of Chartism, see S. Gunn, 'The ministry, the middle class and the 'civilizing mission' in Manchester, 1850-80', *Social History*, 21, 1, January, 1996, pp 22-36; also helpful is Susan Thorne, "'The Conversion of Englishmen and the Conversion of the World Inseparable': Missionary Imperialism and the Language of Class in Early Industrial Britain", in F. Cooper and A.L. Stoler, eds., *Tensions of Empire*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1997, pp. 238-262.

⁶² For a well-presented argument for the role of education in 'reaching' the poor, see R. Johnson, 'Educational Policy and Social Control in Early Victorian England', *Past and Present*, 49, 1970, pp. 96-119.

⁶³ *Edinburgh Review*, *ibid.*, p.154. For a colonial perspective, see Keith Moore, 'Bestowing 'Light' upon 'the Moral, Physical and Intellectual Culture of Youth': Promoting Education in the New Colonial Society of Brisbane between 1846 and 1859', *Journal of Educational Administration and History*, Vol. 37, No. 2, September, 2005, pp. 203-217.

was to be the remedy.⁶⁴ For colonies of settlement this programme was seen to be central to the establishment of a well-regulated, civilised colonial society.

Alongside these fears was that of irreligion that went far beyond severing the connection between Church and State. The radical atheism and anti-clericalism of the French Revolution had churchmen and the ruling classes of England worried.⁶⁵ Even Bishop Broughton feared that atheism could become the ‘established religion’ in Australia. In 1847, he wrote:

It is impossible to estimate too highly, the services which our clergy are placed in a condition to confer, inasmuch as they may in reality to be said . . . to be restricting the Establishment of atheism. It may appear to be a strong term to employ, but I use it deliberately, upon conviction, from experience.⁶⁶

This Tory outlook, common to many of the English gentry and aristocracy, was part of the ideological framework for Church extension to the colonies.

A significant contributor to Anglican thinking was the Tory Romantic, S.T. Coleridge, whose seminal work, *On the Constitution of Church and State*, was published in 1830.⁶⁷ It had a great influence on English thinkers as diverse as Thomas Arnold, William Gladstone, J. S. Mill, J.H. Newman, F.D. Maurice, Charles Kingsley and John Ruskin.⁶⁸

⁶⁴ Gunn, pp. 32-33.

⁶⁵ Norman, pp. 19-23. For a discussion of the dechristianisation process at the height of the French Revolution, see, A Cobban, *A History of Modern France; Volume 1: 1715-1799*, Harmondsworth, Pelican, 1957, pp. 218-241. See also, G. Rudé, *Revolutionary Europe 1783-1815*, London, Fontana, 1964, especially pp. 130-134 and 149-150.

⁶⁶ W.G. Broughton to SPG, from Beaulieu Rectory, dated 22 April, 1847; SPG, unbound Australian papers, 1839-1842, “C” manuscripts. Twenty years later the *Quarterly Review* noted approvingly a report of the Lower House of Convocation in England, which referred to ‘the dangers with which society is faced by the spread of irreligion’; *Quarterly Review*, vol. 103, no 205, 1858, p. 140.

⁶⁷ See note 29. Coleridge himself described it as no more than a catalogue of ‘texts and theses that will have answered their purpose if they exert a certain class of readers to desire or supply a commentary’ and Allen has described it as an exasperatingly discursive and unsystematic book. Coleridge, p. 45; Peter Allen, ‘S.T. Coleridge’s *Church and State* and the Idea of an Intellectual Establishment’, *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 46, 1985, p. 89.

⁶⁸ Barrell, p. xxiv, xxv; Allen, pp. 89, 97; Raymond Williams, *Culture and Society: 1780-1950*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1983. [London, 1958], pp. 49-70, 146-147; John Gascoigne, ‘The Unity of

Of central importance to Anglican theorists was Coleridge's idea of a 'clerisy'.⁶⁹ John Gascoigne's explanation is helpful:

A church establishment, insisted Coleridge, should be distinguished clearly from the church of Christ . . .⁷⁰ The role of a national church was not exclusively, nor even necessarily primarily religious; its chief object "was to secure and improve that civilisation, without which the nation cannot be either permanent nor progressive".⁷¹ Indeed Coleridge coined the term 'clerisy', with its faint overtones of the traditional term, 'clergy', to define those concerned with the preservation and dissemination of culture as part of his overall argument that those holding positions in the national church should not be solely concerned with theological goals.⁷²

As Gascoigne notes, Coleridge seems to be distinguishing between the visible and invisible church as Hooker had done. His discussion of the ideas of church and state is in relation to his idea of the National Church, from which he carefully distinguished the church of Christ.⁷³ Thus the clerisy is not identified with the clergy of the Established Church, but rather with the *whole of the intellectual establishment*; a class of cultural experts endowed by the state on behalf of the nation to be the mediators of the national culture to the people.⁷⁴ The importance of this body of intellectuals for Tory High Churchmen was the duties Coleridge ascribed to them:

A certain smaller number were to remain at the fountain heads of the humanities, in cultivating and enlarging the knowledge already possessed, and in watching over the interests of physical and moral science: being likewise the instructors of such as constitute the remaining more numerous classes of the order. *This latter and far more numerous body were to be distributed throughout the country so as not to leave even the smallest integral part or division without a resident guide, guardian and instructor*; the object and final intention of the whole order being these – to preserve the stores, guard the treasures, of past civilization, and thus to

Church and State Challenged: Responses to Hooker from the Restoration to the Nineteenth-Century Age of Reform', *Journal of Religious History*, 21(1), February, 1997, pp. 60-79.

⁶⁹ Coleridge, pp. 33-48; Williams, pp.63-65, 146-147; Allen, passim; Gascoigne, pp.69-70.

⁷⁰ 'In relation to the National Church Christianity, or the church of Christ, is a blessed accident.' Coleridge, p. 44.

⁷¹ Coleridge, p. 34.

⁷² Gascoigne, p. 69.

⁷³ Gascoigne, p. 69.

⁷⁴ Coleridge, p. 36; Allen, p. 90. Allen notes the similarity of Coleridge's idea of the clerisy with Gramsci's concept of an intellectual establishment; pp. 98-99.

bind the present to the past; to perfect and add to the same and thus connect the present with the future; but especially to diffuse through the whole community, and to every native entitled to its laws and rights, that quantity and quality of knowledge which was indispensable both for the understanding of those rights, and for the performance of the duties correspondent.⁷⁵ [My emphasis.]

Thus High Churchmen - who valued the relationship between church and state, who were committed to the maintenance of the existing hierarchical social order, and who saw the whole of the population as their 'parish' - could envisage an 'Anglican clerisy' dedicated to the transmission of both national and Anglican culture as their responsibility, not only in England, but especially in the process of social formation in the colonies Britain's expanding empire.⁷⁶ The object was to ensure that bishops, clergymen and teachers be made available to be 'guide, guardian and instructor' to the colonists, to be 'resident gentlemen' in the colonies.

This model of systematic colonisation with a core of Anglican 'clerisy' gained its fullest expression in the settlement of the Canterbury Plains around Christchurch in New Zealand. Wakefield's colleague in the undertaking was John Robert Godley, who, like Wakefield, was a Tory High Churchman. The settlement attempted to give expression to the idea of creating a little England in colonial New Zealand. The project was inspired by Godley's devout Anglicanism and his belief in *noblesse oblige*, which in this case can be viewed as the 'responsibility of the gentry and clergy to the wider community'.⁷⁷ The editor of a recent collection of essays celebrating the 150th anniversary of the settlement has noted the Englishness of the project:

⁷⁵ Coleridge, p. 34.

⁷⁶ Allen makes use of the expression 'Anglican clerisy' in this sense; p. 99.

⁷⁷ Mark Stocker, ed., in the introduction to *Remembering Godley; Portrait of Canterbury's Founder*, Christchurch, Hazard, 2000, p. 10.

If the centre of Christchurch still exudes a faint Englishness - and Anglicanism – then the character is partly attributed to this Irish High Anglican.⁷⁸

Educated at Harrow and Christchurch, Oxford, Godley made extensive contacts through these two institutions, especially among the ruling class. Roundell Palmer (later Lord Chancellor and Earl of Selborne), C.T. Longley (later Archbishop of Canterbury), and W.E Gladstone were among his friends. It is no surprise that when the Canterbury Association was launched in 1848 in concert with E.G. Wakefield, the project for the systematic colonisation of the Canterbury Plains was well-supported by the ruling class, as seen in the membership list of the association, which included bishops, clergy, peers, and members of parliament.⁷⁹ The first settlers arrived in December 1850 and by the end of 1852 nearly 3,500 immigrants had arrived at Canterbury in New Zealand.⁸⁰ Although the settlement was fraught with problems, it survived, and eventually flourished.

The ecclesiastical component of the project was plagued with difficulties. H.T.

Purchas described the vision:

The new Canterbury was to be as genuine a reproduction as possible of the old country. An English county, with its cathedral city and its famous university; its bishop, its parishes, its endowed clergy; its ancient aristocracy, its yeoman farmers, its few necessary tradesmen, its sturdy and loyal labourers; and all this with no crime, no poverty, no dissent – this was the ideal which their imaginations pictured.⁸¹

The church was to be endowed from the sale of land; ‘there were a million acres for sale, a million pounds would thus be raised for the endowment of a bishopric and several parishes, for the building and equipment of a university, and the ample supply of schools

⁷⁸ *ibid.*

⁷⁹ <http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.com/~nzbound/> accessed on 12 May, 2006.

⁸⁰ Steven Grainger, ‘Godley and Canterbury: A Success Story?’ in Mark Stocker, ed., *Remembering Godley: Portrait of Canterbury’s Founder*, Christchurch, Hazard, 2000, pp.27-37, esp. pp. 24-25.

Also, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Canterbury_Association

⁸¹ <http://anglicanhistory.org/nz/harper/03.html> ; p. 3; accessed 15 May 2006. (H.T. Purchas, *Bishop Harper and the Canterbury Settlement*, Christchurch, Wellington and Dunedin, Whitcombe and Tombs, 1909.)

and schoolmasters'. However, when the 'Canterbury pilgrims arrived there was none of this. They received a rude shock, for there were no churches in which to worship and no funds to pay the clergy. Everything had to be done from scratch'.⁸² Unfortunately the land sold slowly, and the funds were not readily available for these lofty objectives.

Twenty clergymen and plenty of schoolmasters went out to the settlement from England as the nucleus of an Anglican clerisy. The difficulty in establishing the initial settlement discouraged some of the immigrant clergy. Half of them either returned home or found employment in another colony. As Purchas has noted of those who stayed, 'hard work amid frequent disappointments was to be their lot'. The bishop-designate for the new see, the Rev. Jackson, did not stay either; it took only six weeks for him to discover he did not have the vocation to be a colonial bishop.⁸³ Without local leadership, the church struggled on till 1855, when a meeting of the laity with the Bishop of New Zealand, G.A. Selwyn, decided to petition the Archbishop of Canterbury to appoint the Rev H.J.C. Harper, a friend of Selwyn, to be their bishop. He arrived at the end of 1856, and began to put the church on a sound footing.⁸⁴ The idealism of the Canterbury Association and its version of systematic colonisation were not matched with practicality. The weaknesses of the project and its disappointments were quickly apparent at home in England, especially with the return of disgruntled settlers and the bishop-designate. The church was to develop other ways of promoting its interests in the colonies, and no further attempts were made of systematic colonisation following a Wakefieldian pattern.

⁸² *ibid.*, p. 4. There were considerable difficulties in erecting a new see. Bishop Selwyn's Letters Patent did not allow for the subdivision of his diocese of New Zealand. This was the reason that Jackson went out unconsecrated – he was to confer with Selwyn about the matter. One of the clergy wrote that 'his best friends would probably not consider [him] by nature qualified for the work of a colonial bishop'; p.6.

⁸³ *ibid.* p. 6.

⁸⁴ <http://anglicanhistory.org/nz/harper/04.html>, pp.3, 6.

By century's end, the identification of Anglican expansionist goals came to be much more closely connected to imperial expansion. On his way from Tasmania to take up his appointment as secretary of SPG in London in 1901, Bishop Henry Montgomery wrote that 'the clergy are the officers in an imperial army'. The allusion has something of a double meaning, as he hoped they would be 'full of the Imperial spirit, not merely of the empire of England, but of something still greater, the empire of Christ'.⁸⁵ Nevertheless, that he made the allusion suggests that for him at least the clergy were agents of the secular empire, as well as bearers of the Gospel. The sentiment was echoed by Randall Davidson, Archbishop of Canterbury from 1903, when he encouraged public schoolboys to 'offer themselves as Missionaries in the Imperial work of the Church of England'.⁸⁶

Religion was an important element in imperial ideology, and exponents of a privileged role for the Anglican Church were as influential in the State as they were in the church and sought diverse means to promote the church's interests. One such strategy was the establishment of colonial bishoprics, such as the See of Brisbane.

The Missionary Role of the Anglican Church in the Colonies: The Metropolitan View.

Christianity is an important component of the historiography of the British imperial enterprise. Various writers, of whom Peter Williams, Andrew Porter and Brian Stanley are good examples, have explored the role of Christian missionaries in British colonial expansion, characteristically acknowledging the importance of voluntary Anglican missionary societies, such as the Church Missionary Society (CMS, founded in 1799) and the Universities Mission to Central Africa, alongside the more formally constituted efforts

⁸⁵ Steven Maughan, 'Archbishop for Greater Britain: Bishop Montgomery, Missionary Imperialism and the SPG, 1897-1915', in Daniel O'Connor, ed., *Three Centuries of Mission; the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel 1701-2000*, London and New York, Continuum, 2000, p. 361.

⁸⁶ Maughan, p. 363.

of other Protestant denominations.⁸⁷ Hyam attributed the expansion of missionary activity to the consolidation of the evangelical revival in Britain, a view in which Stanley, Porter, and Williams concur. The link between the empire and evangelical Christianity was commerce, made explicit by protagonists of British expansion in their catchphrases ‘Christianity and Commerce’, ‘the Bible and the Plough’, and ‘Philanthropy and Five Percent’.⁸⁸ Bishop Wilberforce of Oxford was concise in his vision of the imperial project:

You know . . . that that good and marvellous man Dr. Livingstone has gone out to endeavour to open a way into Central Africa, by which commerce, civilisation and Christianity may go on their united errand of healing to those distant tribes.⁸⁹

Wilberforce (in three-quarter coat and gaiters, Plate 1.3) unwittingly placed commerce first and Christianity last in this project to ‘open up a way’ into Central Africa. In his inimitable fashion Gladstone saw British missionary activity as a duty:

Christians, individual Christians, a people of Christians, have positively no right to enter into social and civic relations with those parts of the world which are not Christian, and decline to communicate to them the great treasure which they possess in the Christian religion without which all other treasures are valueless.

⁸⁷ C.P. Williams, ‘British Religion and the Wider World: Mission and Empire, 1800-1940’, in S. Gilley and W.J. Shields, eds, *A History of Religion in Britain*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1994, pp.381-405; A. Porter, ‘“Commerce and Christianity”: The Rise and Fall of a Nineteenth-Century Missionary Slogan’, *The Historical Journal*, 28, 3, 1985, pp. 597-621; A. Porter, ‘Religion and Empire: British Expansion in the Long Nineteenth-Century, 1780-1914’, *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, vol. XX, no. 3, 1992, pp. 370-390; B. Stanley, ‘“Commerce and Christianity”: Providence Theory, The Missionary Movement, and the Imperialism of Free Trade, 1842-1860’, *The Historical Journal*, 26,1, 1983, p. 71-94; R. Hyam, *Britain’s Imperial Century, 1815-1914*, Barnes and Noble, 1993, first published 1976. For a contemporary view see A. Grant, *The Past and Prospective Extension of the Gospel by Missions to the Heathen*, London, Rivingtons, 1845. In spite of his high churchmanship, Grant acknowledges the efforts of the CMS.

⁸⁸ Burn, p. 70. It is interesting to note that the principal figures behind the ‘Clapham Sect’, the leading figures of the Anglican Evangelical Revival, were from solidly bourgeois origins. “Wilberforce’s father made his money out of the Baltic trade, and his fellow ‘Saints’ in the Clapham Sect included three bankers (Henry Thornton and the brothers Samuel and Abel Smith), an East India merchant (Charles Grant), a chancery lawyer (James Stephen), a Company secretary (Zachary Macaulay), a naval officer turned civil servant (Sir Charles Middleton, later first Lord Barham), and the head of a brewing firm (T.F. Buxton). Hannah More and Charles Simeon were from middle class backgrounds; so were Bickersteth and Venn.” I. Bradley, *The Call to Seriousness; the Evangelical Impact on the Victorians*, London, Jonathon Cape, 1976, p.51. The relationship between commerce and Christianity was more crudely put by Bowring who claimed that ‘Jesus Christ is Free Trade, and Free Trade is Jesus Christ.’ Hyam, p. 113.

⁸⁹ H. Rowley, ed., *Speeches on Missions by the Right Reverend Samuel Wilberforce, D.D.*, London, William Wells Gardner, 2nd edition, n.d. (1874?), p.30. Hereafter referred to as Rowley, *Speeches*.

This duty of communicating the gospel was incumbent on every commercial venture doing business in a foreign land; ‘England has to choose . . . whether she will be an evangelist of the world’.⁹⁰ He, too, puts commerce first as Bishop Wilberforce had, with Christianity following in its wake.

Porter identified three thrusts to missionary enterprise: ‘to convert or evangelise the heathen’; ‘to salvage expatriate souls’; and to check ‘the spreading corruptions of Roman Catholicism and Islam’.⁹¹ Among Anglicans, CMS was most active in evangelising the indigenous people of the British colonies. Not being intimately part of the establishment, CMS got off to a slow start.⁹² Nevertheless, nurtured by evangelical theology and piety, and buoyed by their success in taking the Gospel to the Maori people of New Zealand, CMS developed substantial missionary activities on the Indian sub-continent, and in Africa.⁹³ The objective was to ‘civilise and convert’ the heathen indigenous peoples of territory being appropriated for the Empire by British merchant adventurers and white settlers. Civilisation implied education in English culture, language,

⁹⁰ *QDG*, 18 December, 1867, reporting Gladstone’s speech at an SPG meeting in Bangor, Wales. The comment about England evangelising the world is a quotation by Gladstone from a speech of Archbishop Howley at the inaugural meeting of the Colonial Bishops’ Fund in April 1841, which Gladstone attended.

⁹¹ Porter, 1992, pp. 371, 381.

⁹² CMS was founded in 1795; E. Elbourne, ‘The Foundation of the Church Missionary Society: the Anglican Missionary Impulse’, in J. Walsh, C. Haydon, and S. Taylor, eds, *The Church of England, c.1689-c.1833; From Toleration to Tractarianism*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1993, pp. 247-264. Bradley provides a good overview of missionary activity as an evangelical enterprise in *The Call to Seriousness*, pp. 74-93.

⁹³ Williams, pp. 384-388.

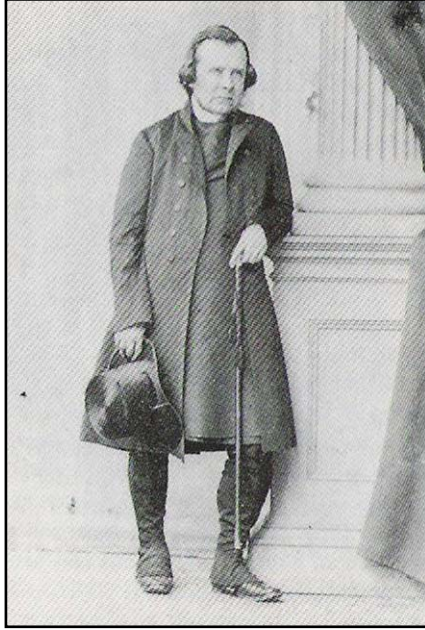


Plate 1.3 Bishop Samuel Wilberforce, promoter of the missionary activities of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and of the Colonial Bishops Fund, in episcopal dress. Picture from Roy Jenkins' biography, *Gladstone*.

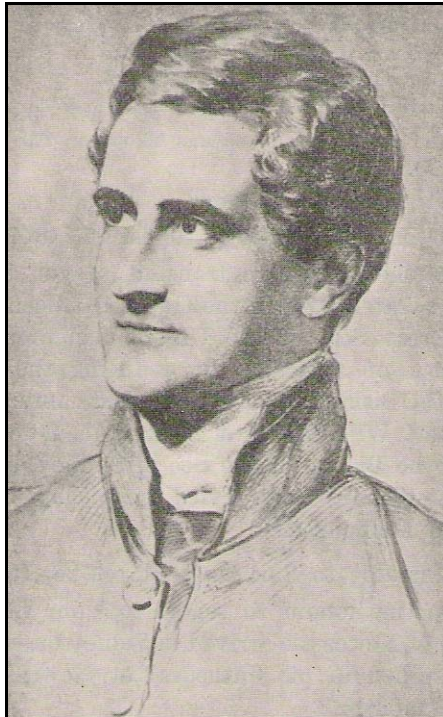


Plate 1.4 A youthful Bishop Tyrrell, first Anglican Bishop of Newcastle, New South Wales.

Picture taken from P.A. Elkin, *The Diocese of Newcastle*.

religion, and habits.⁹⁴ This process would help ‘attach’ the indigenous people to the empire by apprising them of the benefits of the superiority of British culture.⁹⁵ There are echoes here of the arguments about the use of religion as a form of social control.⁹⁶ The task of salvaging expatriate souls was the express purpose of SPG.⁹⁷ Having a Royal Charter, SPG was recognised by the State, and therefore enjoyed a privileged position. Its charter provided for national ecclesiastical figures to be *ex officio* members.⁹⁸ In consequence, SPG enjoyed both episcopal sanction and episcopal control.⁹⁹ At the time the Charter was issued, the Church of England in the colonies was under the authority of the Bishop of London, a situation that pertained till sees were created in the colonies.¹⁰⁰ Ministry to English settler colonies became an important focus of the work of SPG in the nineteenth century.¹⁰¹

⁹⁴ H. P. Le Couteur, ‘The Moreton Bay Ministry of the Reverend Johann Handt: A Reappraisal’, *JRAHS*, 84, 2, December, 1998, pp. 140-141. Handt’s ministry to Aborigines was supported by CMS. For the ‘civilise and convert’ argument; A. Grant, *The Past and Prospective Extension of the Gospel by Missions to the Heathen*, London, Rivingtons, 1845, pp. 308-312. Grant’s views are rather ‘High Church’, revealed in his attitude to ‘church principles’ and in his criticism of CMS. See pp. 372-378.

⁹⁵ Seaman, pp. 345-347; Bradley ascribed the anglicisation programme to the Evangelicals, see Bradley, p. 84. Some contemporary observers (including Bishop Tufnell) believed the Indian Mutiny was the result of the failure of the policy of anglicisation; see W. Henderson, *The Evangelisation and Civilisation of India*, Edinburgh, R. Grant & Son, 1857.

⁹⁶ Hart, pp. 108-137.

⁹⁷ The United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, (SPG) was founded under Royal Charter in 1701 by Dr Bray to provide the English colonies with clergy and in general to work for ‘the propagation of the Gospel in those parts’. At the time most of the English colonies were in North America. SPG actually had a double role ‘of watching over the welfare of English colonists and converting the natives’. H. Nchattingius, *Bishops and Societies; A Study of Anglican Colonial Missionary Expansion 1698-1850*, London, SPCK, 1952, p. 7.

⁹⁸ The Archbishops of Canterbury and York; the Bishops of London and Ely; the Deans of Westminster and St Paul’s; and the Lady Margaret Professors of Divinity at Oxford and Cambridge. For a helpful view of the foundation of SPG, Daniel O’Connor and others, *Three Centuries of Mission; The United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel 1701-2000*, London and New York, Continuum, 2000, especially pp. 7-22.

⁹⁹ Nchattingius, p. 13. This is in contrast to CMS, formed almost a century later, which was more of a voluntary society of lay people and clergy, with less input from bishops; A. Grant, p. 233. Grant preferred the guidance of episcopal authority in missionary undertakings. Others like Bishop Samuel Wilberforce were critical of CMS’ ‘committocracy’. See his letter to the *Guardian*, 22 August, 1853; *The Letterbooks of Samuel Wilberforce 1843-68*, Oxford, Oxfordshire Record Society, 1970, p. 277.

¹⁰⁰ The first of these was Bishop Charles Inglis, of Nova Scotia, consecrated in 1787.

¹⁰¹ Samuel Wilberforce set this out in a speech at Manchester on 12 October, 1863; Rowley, *Speeches*, p. 4.

The third thrust of missionary activity was to counter the spread of Roman Catholicism and Islam. Countering Catholicism was incumbent on both missionaries working to convert the heathen and missionaries salvaging the expatriates. Porter does not expand on this theme specifically, and nor do Stanley or Williams, but it is an important part of the Anglican worldview at the time. The activities of the Evangelical Alliance, the furore over the grant to Maynooth College, and the response to the establishment of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in England demonstrate the scale of anti-Catholic (or was it simply Protestant?) feeling in the mid-nineteenth century.¹⁰² High Churchmen were vocal too; Samuel Wilberforce acknowledged the role of the Church of England in combating the errors and superstition of the Roman Church,¹⁰³ and it was a well-developed theme of the infamous High Churchman, the G.A. Denison.¹⁰⁴ Australia's own Bishop Broughton, an acknowledged High Churchman, was a strong critic of the Roman Catholic Church.¹⁰⁵ The Protestant heritage of the Anglican Church demanded the rejection of Romish practices and claims.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰² See John Wolffe, 'The Evangelical Alliance in the 1840s: An Attempt to Institutionalise Christian Unity', in W.J. Shiels & D. Wood, *Voluntary Religion*, Oxford, Blackwells, 1986, pp. 333-346. Maynooth College, just outside Dublin, was established by the Irish parliament in 1795 for the education of Roman Catholic clergy for Ireland. After the Act of Union in 1800, the British Parliament continued to partially fund the college.

¹⁰³ Rowley, *Speeches*, 'Upon the Extension of the Episcopate in the Colonies', pp. 293-296

¹⁰⁴ The Reverend George Anthony Denison described himself as a radical Tory. He was a man of very strong opinions who passionately defended the Church of England's right to educate the nation's children against State intervention; denounced the Privy Council decision in the Gorham controversy over baptismal regeneration; maintained a very catholic position on the Real Presence; became a defender of the ceremonial innovations of Ritualists; defended the Athanasian Creed against Broad Churchmen; and was a trenchant critic of the liberal 'New Criticism' as manifest in the collection of theological essays, *Lux Mundi*; J. Combs, *George Anthony Denison, The Firebrand 1805-1896*, London, The Church Literature Association and The Society of Saints Peter & Paul, 1984, pp. 76-86; Bernard Palmer, *Reverend Rebels; Five Clerics and Their Fight Against Authority*, London, Darton, Longman and Todd, 1993, pp. 19-62.

¹⁰⁵ The index of George Shaw's biography of Broughton gives a rich variety of his anti-Catholic sentiments; G.P. Shaw, *Patriarch and Patriot, William Grant Broughton, 1788-1853*, Melbourne, MUP, 1978. The Presbyterian cleric, the Rev J.D. Lang, was a contemporary of Broughton, and an intemperate exponent of Protestant anti-Catholicism; see B. Bridges, 'John Dunmore Lang's Crusade to keep Australia Protestant', *Church Heritage*, 11, 3, March, 2000, pp. 146-154. Bridges notes Broughton's attitudes.

¹⁰⁶ Burn, p. 301.

Countering Islam and other non-Christian religions was the priority for missionaries to the 'heathen'. In the wake of the Indian Mutiny, a pamphleteer claimed that Indian 'Mohammedans and idolaters' were enslaved to 'corruption and brutality'.¹⁰⁷ They needed the 'humanising' and 'meliorating' influences of the Gospel to civilise them.¹⁰⁸ So far the English had failed in their mission for the regeneration of India. The writer's prescription did not exclude force, at the cost of the 'sacrifice of blood, and toil, and suffering'.¹⁰⁹ The remedy could be achieved by Englishmen living among the Indian people, exposing them to 'steady Christian practice and enlightened social life'.¹¹⁰ It is not an attractive image, and far from the eirenic Gospel proclaimed by the founder of Christianity. It is probably the view of an armchair critic, but it does give voice to a view of the heathen 'Other', that gave impetus to the missionary movement.

Church Extension in Colonies of Settlement: The Role of SPG

Bishop Wilberforce was an ardent supporter of SPG and there is a whole book of his speeches on mission, published soon after his death.¹¹¹ Speaking at Manchester in 1863, he described colourfully how SPG undertook its colonial mission:

We are bound as a Christian community to send out with these poor emigrants the means of reproducing the church of Christ among them.

This is the work of the Gospel Propagation Society. It does not undertake to maintain in the settled communities of north America . . . But it is with the first margin between absolute barbarity and civilisation, which consists of the ravelled edges . . . of this emigrating population, in meeting there a population of comparative lawlessness, that the Church of Christ at home has to do.¹¹²

¹⁰⁷ Henderson, p. 17.

¹⁰⁸ Henderson, p. 23.

¹⁰⁹ Henderson, p. 28.

¹¹⁰ Henderson, p. 23.

¹¹¹ Rowley, *Speeches* . . .

¹¹² *ibid*, p.12

He explicitly recognised the role of SPG in providing for the religious needs of colonists, especially the ordinances of religion as the means of ‘reproducing the church of Christ’ among them.¹¹³ The ‘ordinances of religion’ were those Anglican rites and ceremonies of the Book of Common Prayer, the Thirty-nine Articles, and the Catechism. Implicitly that involved providing for the rites of passage (baptism, marriage, and death) by sending out clergy, and for the specifically episcopal rites of confirmation and ordination:

Children grow up unbaptized and uneducated – public worship is neglected – the Lord’s day profaned – the ordinance of marriage unregarded – the sick are unvisited – the vicious unreclaimed, and many and many a settler, who went out from a Christian country with the fear and love of God in his heart, is through the absence of all means of grace, suffered to lapse into forgetfulness of his God and Saviour.¹¹⁴

The Church had other responsibilities too: educating children, constructing churches, parsonages and schools; furnishing of church buildings appropriately; and providing Christian literature, including bibles and service books.¹¹⁵ Wilberforce emphasised the role of SPG at the margins of settlement when he spoke at Exeter in October 1859:

[SPG] . . . first of all provides our fellow countrymen, strangers in distant lands, with the necessary means of planting a church. Mark, I say, of planting. There is

¹¹³ *ibid.* p.12 As another pamphleteer put it; ‘to enable the church . . . to carry the glad tidings of the gospel, to make known her ordinances and Sacraments to tens of thousands of our fellow-countrymen scattered up and down the earth’; *On the Duty of Supporting the Missions of the Church – A Word to the Laity by One of Themselves*, Oxford & London, John Henry Parker, n.d. (1844?); SDL, GT113. For an excellent overview of the early SPG vision, Rowan Strong, ‘A Vision of Anglican Imperialism: The Anniversary Sermons of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts 1701-1714’, *Journal of Religious History*, 30(2), June, 2006, pp. 175-198.

¹¹⁴ See P.A. Elkin, *The Diocese of Newcastle, a History*, Glebe, Australasian Medical Publishing Co, 1955, p.72. Elkin also records similar sentiments attributed to the Roman Catholic Archbishop Polding, see p. 73. Rites of passage were often important to colonists. The Rev. Benjamin Glennie recorded an occasion when he read the burial service at the request of two Darling Downs squatters over the grave of a man who had been accidentally shot six years previously. In fact Glennie’s diary is a testimony to the SPG vision. He was ministering at the ‘ravell’d edge’ of civilisation, conducting services and preaching at every opportunity; visiting, baptising, ‘churching’, marrying and burying wherever he went. B. Glennie, *The Australian Diary of Benjamin Glennie*, typescript, BDA. The reference to the burial service is on 27 August 1848. The ‘churching’ of women after childbirth was still a frequently used rite. For Anglicans, other significant ceremonies, such as the consecration of burial grounds and churches, were not performed without a bishop.

¹¹⁵ *An Account of the Diocese of New South Wales, During the Last Five Years; With an Appeal for Further Aid*, London, J. Whittaker, 1853, p.4. Elkin noted some projects towards which SPG had contributed; Elkin, p. 195.

not the least intention on the part of this Society of maintaining a church in rich and populous centres of settlements in distant parts. Such a course would be altogether wrong. The church at home having planted the means of grace in great centres of civilisation, it becomes the duty of the settlement to preserve the means, and to spread them in their vicinity. The Society then withdraws support, which originally was properly given, and transfers its aid in directions further from the centres of civilisation; it may be deeper into the backwoods, where the population is sparse and poor. Thus the border-lands in time become themselves centres of civilisation.¹¹⁶

SPG rarely *fully* supported a missionary in the field; the people of the town or district were expected to contribute too. Speaking at an SPG meeting in 1867 at Bangor (Wales), Gladstone cited the extreme case of a Rev. R. Temple in Newfoundland, who relied on accommodation, material help and gifts in kind from the people he served, along with an annual grant from SPG of £25.¹¹⁷ It was a meagre salary in a harsh, icy frontier where SPG was playing a key role in the provision of the ‘means of grace’.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁶ *ibid.* p.22. This was the year of Tufnell’s consecration as bishop. This scheme of following the extending frontier of settlement reflects Bishop Tyrrell’s strategic planning (in 1851) for the infant Diocese of Newcastle. Towns rapidly nucleated at river-mouths along the coast north of Newcastle, and squatters were already in possession of large tracts of land from the Hunter Valley to Port Curtis (Gladstone). Tyrrell wrote: ‘My Diocese was first peopled along the Coast. I have, therefore, got the whole length of the Coast set out in Districts and Clergymen appointed to them. Last year again I completed my second chain of Districts, more inland in the West – Now there is a large third slice of the Diocese settled over. No clergyman of any Denomination is settled in it but I hope with God’s blessing to have the whole of this District also provided with settled travelling Clergy or Missionaries, before the end of next year.’ Once congregations were established in the coastal towns SPG funds were directed elsewhere. Tyrrell to the Rev. W.H. Hoare, 7 February 1852. SPG, “D” Mss No. 6, cited by Elkin, p. 180. The first chain of centres was Brisbane Water, Newcastle, Stroud, Port Macquarie, the Clarence and Brisbane-Ipswich. The second was the Wollombi, the Hunter Valley parishes, Liverpool Plains, New England and Darling Downs. The third chain of centres was Cassilis, with Bligh County to the west, Wialda and the Gwydir pastoral district, and the sweep of squatting territory west and north of the Darling Downs through the Maranoa, Burnett and Wide Bay.

¹¹⁷ Temple was working in Newfoundland, in a frontier situation where the population was of poor fishermen. He had written: ‘No married clergyman could subsist upon the present income; neither could I establish a residence, or continue housekeeping above a month or two in the year. By constant change of place, and by residing in fishermen’s huts, I save all this expense, and, therefore, by God’s help, shall be able to live at White Bay, and work on for (it may be) many years . . . I have no settled home from February to December. All these months I continue moving, week by week, residing with various families, and supported by them in town. Every man able to fish pays me according to his means, and some are even willing to deny themselves necessities in order to increase my comfort.’ *QDG*, December 18 1867.

¹¹⁸ Back in Queensland, in 1865, the Rev. W.H. Dunning was stationed at Taroom on the Dawson River. He received £125 from SPG, £175 from the district, £24 in fees, and a horse, but he did not expect the district to be self-supporting in the near future. Even by modern standards he serviced a remote area. The nearest substantial towns were Rockhampton (350 km away) and Maryborough (370 km away). Dunning’s

Providing a Colonial Episcopate

From its inception in 1701, SPG had been an advocate of a colonial episcopate; it was impractical and theologically inconsistent for an episcopal church to have no bishop.¹¹⁹

Then, the colonial church was predominantly located in the West Indies and North America, and dependent on the Bishop of London for its episcopal supervision.¹²⁰ It could not ordain its own clergy, and the rite of confirmation was virtually unobtainable.¹²¹ Colonial bishops would provide for Anglican polity in its fullness, free the Bishops of London and Canterbury from an impossible administrative burden, and allow the colonial churches a larger measure of autonomy, but still in the Anglican tradition.

Throughout the eighteenth century there were calls for an American episcopate on the grounds that the Church of England was ‘in its constitution **episcopal**’.¹²² A strong American advocate for episcopacy was Dr. Thomas Chandler, a former SPG missionary with a High Anglican view of the matter, whose practical arguments could be just as compelling.¹²³ In 1767 he claimed that:

The exact number of those who have gone home for ordination from these northern Colonies is fifty-two. Of these forty-two have returned safely, and ten have miscarried; the voyage, or sickness occasioned by it, having proved fatal to near a fifth part of them. The expense of their voyage cannot be reckoned at less, upon an average, than one hundred pounds sterling to each person.¹²⁴

It was a wasteful cost. Sixteen years later, as the American war of independence came to an end, Dr. Seabury was consecrated by bishops of the Scottish Episcopal Church, thus

circumstances were not unusual in Queensland for the time; SPG, “E” Mss, Missionary Returns, Australia, AJCP, M1473, ANL.

¹¹⁹ Cnattingius, pp. 18-19.

¹²⁰ Blachford, p. 4. Lord Blachford (Frederic Rogers) had previously been under-secretary in the colonial office.

¹²¹ ‘Ecclesiastical State of the Colonies’, in *Quarterly Review* LXXV, No. CLXIX, 1844, p. 209.

¹²² Cnattingius, p.20, quoting Archbishop Secker.

¹²³ For a discussion of ‘High’ Anglicanism, see O Chadwick, *The Mind of the Oxford Movement*, London, Adam and Charles Black, 1963 (revised edition), pp 12-30; and Nockles, pp. 25-43.

¹²⁴ ‘Ecclesiastical State of the Colonies ...’ p. 209.

providing complete Anglican polity for the newly independent United States of America. Seabury and his successors exercised a spiritual and ecclesiastical authority only; they did not possess the temporal authority of English bishops.¹²⁵

Once the American episcopate was established it was difficult to deny British colonies the same advantage.¹²⁶ The first move came from British North America. Loyalist refugees from the other American colonies fled to Nova Scotia, where the Church of England was the Established Church. A group of Nova Scotian clergy petitioned the Governor of New York, Sir Guy Carleton, for a bishop. With Carleton's support, the request was acceded to, though it took another four years for Letters Patent to be issued (1787), paving the way for the consecration of Charles Inglis as the first colonial bishop. Once the legal means were found to create colonial dioceses, others came into being: Quebec in 1793; India in 1813; and Jamaica and Barbados in 1824.¹²⁷

In the middle third of the nineteenth century the extension of the colonial episcopate gained support from two quite different directions – the Tractarian movement, and the process of diocesan reform in England. The Tractarian, John Henry Newman, envisaged the renewal of the church taking place through the development of its latent powers, one of which was to add theological weight to the High Anglican doctrine of episcopacy. A bishop was 'the centre and emblem of Christian unity' and the guardian of 'soundness and unity of doctrine'.¹²⁸ Newman felt that the Church of England had a weakened understanding of episcopacy in which clergy had little sense of episcopal

¹²⁵ When bishops were consecrated for British colonies, they could be personally called to serve on Legislative Councils, but it was not a right they could demand; Blachford, p. 8.

¹²⁶ Cnattingius, p. 27

¹²⁷ Blachford, pp. 5-10.

¹²⁸ I. Ker, *John Henry Newman, A Biography*, Oxford, OUP, 1988, p. 115.

authority. Rather, he saw the bishop as the ruler of the diocese. The first step in raising this understanding of episcopacy was ‘to preach it up’.¹²⁹ The very first of the tracts did just that, emphasising the apostolical succession of the Anglican episcopate, and the spiritual nature of the office. The offices of deacon, priest and bishop were a ‘Divine commission’, and deacons and priests were encouraged to view their office much more seriously. The Tractarian vision of the Church’s ministry is encapsulated in the exhortation to the clergy to ‘[e]xalt our Holy Fathers, the Bishops, as the Representatives of the Apostles, and the Angels of the Churches; and magnify your office, as being ordained by them to take part in their Ministry’.¹³⁰ In a sense, Tractarians believed that bishops embodied apostolical succession and the tradition of the Church in their persons.

The emphases of the Tractarians were influential, and the extension of the colonial episcopate was seen by some as a Tractarian device to spread their influence. Matthew’s claims concerning Gladstone’s motivations for supporting colonial episcopal extension are an example of this view.¹³¹ It is simplistic. The Tractarians were drawing on an older High Anglican tradition concerning episcopacy, and giving it new life.¹³² Proposals for the extension of the episcopate went back to William Laud, and the actual creation of colonial sees preceded the Tractarians by fifty years. Nevertheless, the renewed attention to the episcopal nature of Anglican polity was effective in the education of the Church, the public and the State to its possibilities.

¹²⁹ Ker, p. 110.

¹³⁰ J.H. Newman, *Tract No. 1*, ‘Thoughts of the Ministerial Commission, Respectfully Addressed to the Clergy’. See also Tracts 15 and 19 for discussions on episcopacy and apostolical succession. It is worth recalling here that Tractarianism began in reaction against Erastianism.

¹³¹ Foot and Matthew, p. xxxv.

¹³² A.J. Mason, *The Church of England and Episcopacy*, Cambridge, CUP, 1914.

From the beginning of the nineteenth century there was increasing pressure for Church reform, and English bishops began using the powers they believed to be inherent in their office to revitalise diocesan life before reform was forced upon them by the state. This reform movement was proof of the utility of the episcopate beyond its spiritual powers; it was no longer enough for bishops to adorn the benches of the House of Lords from time to time, and then retire to their palaces to recover.¹³³ Much of the criticism of the Established Church stemmed from this heritage: according to Geoffrey Best, the Church was uncoordinated and inefficient because it lacked adequate government; bishops were remote from their clergy and disinclined to interfere in their lives; their diocesan roles were largely formal, and they delegated as much as they could to Archdeacons, secretaries and registrars.¹³⁴ There was a feeling abroad that bishops had to do something to justify their existence and their episcopal incomes. Reforming bishops such as Blomfield of London, Wilberforce of Oxford, and Burgess, Denison and Hamilton of Salisbury, showed that much could be done without resorting to the assistance of the State.¹³⁵ The revival/ reinvigoration of archdeaconries and rural deaneries enabled bishops to more closely supervise their dioceses, usually through more diligent visitation of rural deaneries.¹³⁶ Bishops began assessing ordination candidates more carefully and holding parish confirmations rather than the unwieldy and sometimes riotous annual affairs in cathedral towns.¹³⁷ Where organisations such as SPG, CMS, SPCK and the National Society had diocesan branches as at Salisbury, the bishop had oversight over their

¹³³ R.A. Solway, *Prelates and People, Ecclesiastical Social Thought in England, 1783-1852*, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969, pp. 3-9.

¹³⁴ G.F.A. Best, *Temporal Pillars, Queen Anne's Bounty and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners*, Cambridge, CUP, 1964, pp. 259-260.

¹³⁵ The following couple of paragraphs depend on the excellent study by R.A. Burns, *The Diocesan Revival in the Church of England, c. 1800-1870*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1999.

¹³⁶ Burns, pp. 23-41 (visitations); 41-107 (revival of archdeaconries and rural deaneries).

¹³⁷ Frances Knight, *The Nineteenth Century Church and English Society*, Cambridge, CUP, 1995, pp. 92-98.

activities.¹³⁸ There were education committees to organise parish-based elementary education, and church-building societies, which raised and distributed funds for enlarging churches or building new ones. All these activities required the bishop to be far more involved in the life of the diocese than his forerunners may have been.¹³⁹

Moreover, appointment of bishops was made less for political motives, that is, as a way of stacking the House of Lords to favour the incumbent government, than as recognition of administrative or academic merit. As the century wore on, bishops had an increasing amount of real work to do. Much had to do with decisions made by parliament. Early in the century, money voted by parliament to increase church accommodation and to increase the income of curates had to be spent according to the policies of the government. The creation of the Ecclesiastical Commission in 1833 as part of the government's reform programme drew bishops into the reform process as Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and as the responsible persons in their dioceses to put the reforms in place. Bishop Blomfield's work as an Ecclesiastical Commissioner stands out in this regard.¹⁴⁰ Such multi-skilled Church leaders were attractive propositions to both the Church and to the Colonial Office to help alleviate some of the problems that were becoming obvious in the life of the Church in the colonies. Prior to the establishment of the colonial episcopate, colonial governors had been responsible for many of the functions normally exercised by bishops in England. Although theoretically the Bishop of London had oversight of the colonial

¹³⁸ For SPG, see Cnattingius, pp. 13-14,31; for SPCK, see Cnattingius, pp. 59, 69-70; for the National Society, see Best, pp. 157-160, and also his 'The Religious "Difficulties of National Education in England, 1800-1870', *Cambridge Historical Journal*, XII, 1956, pp. 161, n. 22, 163,164; for a bishop on education see E. Denison, *The Church the Teacher of Her Children*, London, John Cochran, 1839; and for CMS, see Cnattingius, pp. 105, 195-197. CMS, whose affiliations were evangelical and less clericalised, was not necessarily so imbricated in diocesan life; Elbourne, *passim*.

¹³⁹ Burns, pp. 126,128.

¹⁴⁰ Best, pp. 296-460.

church, the Governor of a colony was spoken of as the ‘ordinary’, responsible for appointment to benefices where they existed and the appointment and dismissal of government chaplains. His ecclesiastical jurisdiction included marriage licences and the probate law. Lord Blachford illustrated this scenario from the Instructions given to the Governor of Jamaica in 1778, which recommended passing laws to restrain and punish ‘blasphemy, profaneness, adultery, fornication, polygamy, incest, profanation of the Lord’s Day, swearing, and drunkenness’. He tersely commented:

this loose jurisdiction of the Bishop [of London], in regard to persons over whom he had no legal authority, in places which he could not personally visit, and only exercisable, “so far as conveniently might be”, by the “countenance and encouragement of the Governor”, came to very little .¹⁴¹

Beyond these legal and administrative problems there were others. As the population of the colonies grew, and especially as the colonies were granted representative government, the arrangements made no provision for church extension to a larger population or for a growing administrative burden. The provision for clerical discipline was manifestly inadequate – how a governor could adequately deal with a clergyman accused of heretical notions was far from clear. There was no real access to the Bishop of London for appeal by a clergyman against a decision made by a colonial authority unless he was prepared to travel to London, a time-consuming and expensive exercise. In any case it was unlikely that many colonial governors had the expertise or inclination to discharge the functions as ‘ordinary’ in any more than a bureaucratically perfunctory manner. It made administrative, theological and pastoral sense to provide the colonies with bishops.

The impetus came from the reforming Bishop of London, James Blomfield. In 1840 he wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury (Howley), suggesting that the Church in

¹⁴¹ Blachford, pp. 3-4.

England be encouraged to create new colonial bishoprics. He felt that it was the duty of a Christian State to take this responsibility, but in the current political climate, it was unlikely. The Church had to seize the initiative, and he proposed the establishment of a fund to endow bishoprics in British colonies, to be supported by voluntary donations and administered by the English episcopate.¹⁴² Accordingly on 27 April 1841, a meeting was held for that purpose, at the request of the Archbishop of Canterbury. A large gathering of people met to hear the proposals of these Church leaders.

In his letter to Archbishop Howley, Blomfield had argued that the government had a duty, 'being part of the Catholic Church', to assist the Church in the proposed undertaking.¹⁴³ The attendance at the meeting reflected the intimate relationship of Church and State among the English ruling elite. There was a good representation from the House of Lords, including many from the bench of Bishops,¹⁴⁴ and from the House of Commons. Others had expertise in colonial affairs, including the Colonial Office, SPG and SPCK. All the speakers, and, in fact, all the named attendees, were from the gentry or aristocracy, and the speeches voiced the Tory High Church ideology I have already outlined.¹⁴⁵ The Anglican Church in the colonies needed Anglican polity in its completeness with locally centred administration and discipline to facilitate the mission of the Church in spreading the Gospel. The full expression of Anglican tradition would help attach the settlers to

¹⁴² Cnattingius, p. 197.

¹⁴³ This language reflects the influence of Coleridge and Gladstone in their understanding of the relationship of Church and State.

¹⁴⁴ Those present included: Lords Cholmondeley, Harrowby, Chichester, Eldon, Bexley, Redesdale, Radstocke, Lyttelton, Teignmouth, and Sandon; Archbishops of Canterbury, York and Armagh; and the Bishops of London, Durham, Winchester, Lichfield, Salisbury, Chichester, Hereford, Bangor and Llandaff. Others included, Mr. Justice Coleridge, Mr. Baron Alderson, Archdeacon Hale, W.E. Gladstone (MP), Rev Ernest Hawkins (SPG), Henry Labouchere (Colonial Office), Archdeacon Manning, Archdeacon Robinson (ex-India), Sir Edward Cust (ex West Indies). As noted earlier, Chichester was an Ecclesiastical Commissioner.

¹⁴⁵ The Archbishop of Canterbury, in opening the meeting appropriately addressed his hearers as 'My Lords and Gentlemen'.

English cultural, political and religious values, and help provide political stability in the colonies of settlement. Echoing Coleridge, Blomfield envisaged a means whereby the work of the two main missionary organisations would be carried on under the same ‘superintendence and control’, by which he meant the bishops of the ‘United Church of this kingdom’.¹⁴⁶ He was determined that there would be a strong metropolitan influence in the church’s colonial periphery in order to maintain ecclesiastical unity of action in accordance with a policy the meeting was convened to endorse. Speaking after Blomfield, the Earl of Chichester used the image of parent and child to describe the relation between metropole and periphery, reinforcing the notion of a colony’s dependence on the ‘Mother Country’ and its religious institutions for direction in religious matters.¹⁴⁷ Control was to be exercised by English bishops, sent out to ensure that the Church of England in the colonies was firmly attached to the English Anglican tradition.¹⁴⁸

The meeting unanimously endorsed the resolutions placed before it, and committed itself to the extension of the ‘benefits’ of the Church ‘in all the completeness of her ministry, ordinances, and government’. A fund, under the superintendence of the Archbishops and Bishops of the Church of England and Ireland, was created to finance the new bishoprics. The mover of the third motion was John Labouchere whose son Henry later became Secretary of State for the Colonies.¹⁴⁹ Shortly after this meeting, Gladstone

¹⁴⁶ ‘I do not mean a control which will be exercised in the way of invidious or captious interference; I do not mean a control which shall limit, except within certain recognised bounds, the operations of either society; but I mean simply that kind of superintendence and control which, within the cooperation of both Societies, shall secure for both a strict and regular movement within the limits of duty which they owe to the Church . . . we are preparing to extend the full benefits of our ecclesiastical polity, in all its completeness, to all the dependencies of the empire . . .’; *Proceedings at a Meeting* . . . , p.12.

¹⁴⁷ *ibid*, pp.13, 14.

¹⁴⁸ This was to be seen in the way the Bishop of Brisbane insisted on spelling out the fundamental provisions of the constitution of the diocese; p. 382.

¹⁴⁹ Though an evangelical, John Labouchere supported specifically Anglican moral reform associations, and his interest in the Labourers Friends Society places him in a more socially conservative ecclesiastical

himself became Secretary of State for the Colonies and there was a closeness of its officers to the promoters of the meeting that should not cause surprise, as the Colonial Office was intimately involved in the creation of new bishoprics.¹⁵⁰

The Creation of New Colonial Sees

In spite of the changing nature of the relationship of Church and State that had brought about the establishment of the CBF, the imperial government was still involved in colonial church affairs. It had been the practice to appoint bishops to the Church of Ireland by means of Letters Patent, issued by the Crown. The Irish had no say in appointing their bishops, unlike in England, where the cathedral chapters at least nominally elected their bishops. By Letters Patent, episcopal authority was a direct grant from the Crown, and the practice was based ‘on the assumption that the temporal organ used for giving spiritual authority was itself an organ of the Church as well as of the State’.¹⁵¹ The Irish precedent was used to create new bishoprics for the colonies, and the Colonial Office was the site for this activity. The CBF endorsed the practice by agreeing that ‘in no case shall we proceed without the concurrence of Her Majesty’s government’.¹⁵²

Letters Patent were issued when the Colonial Office was satisfied with the financial provision for the bishop’s income.¹⁵³ The Crown appointed colonial bishops, with advice from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, who submitted a name to the

location than many evangelicals. He was an banker and was treasurer of the District Visiting Society and the Labourers Friends Society. For the LFS, see M.J.D. Roberts, *Making English Morals: Voluntary Association and Moral Reform in England, 1787-1886*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2004, pp. 153-154, for more on the Laboucheres, Roberts, p. 180.

¹⁵⁰ W.E. Gladstone, present at the meeting and one of the treasurers of the fund, was to soon hold the office of Secretary of State for the Colonies. At a subsequent meeting in 1853, to review the extension of the colonial episcopate and to raise further funds, the current and previous Secretaries of State for the colonies (the Duke of Newcastle and Sir John Pakington) attended, and both spoke. Also present was a future holder of the office in Edward Cardwell.

¹⁵¹ Jacob, p. 74.

¹⁵² Jacob, p. 114.

¹⁵³ Before CBF could act, there had to be an adequate permanent endowment of the see.

Archbishop of Canterbury for approval in a private, not an official, capacity. He could ask advice from such clergy as he thought appropriate and, as SPG often financially supported the new bishoprics, they were consulted, but not invariably.¹⁵⁴ This process was facilitated by the fact that the secretary of SPG, Ernest Hawkins, was also the first secretary of CBF.¹⁵⁵ The men chosen to be bishops were from the ranks of the English gentry, suitably educated for their rank, and frequently with private means that could be judiciously applied to the new diocese.¹⁵⁶ English connections facilitated fundraising activities as colonial bishops capitalised on university and school networks and voluntary church societies, aware that there would be limited financial contribution in the colonies.¹⁵⁷ The creation of new bishoprics was not always unproblematic, as there could be tension between the bishop and the laity and clergy in the new diocese, with missionary societies, with the colonial government, and occasionally with the church 'at home' in England.¹⁵⁸ Nevertheless, the issuing Letters Patent was considered a serviceable tool right up to the first Lambeth Conference in 1867.

A Gentleman's Work: A Colony for a Governor and a See for a Bishop

George Shaw has attributed the beginnings of the Moreton Bay separation movement to Darling Downs squatters in 1850, among whom were Matthew Henry Marsh and Arthur

¹⁵⁴ Bulwer Lytton papers, D/EK/026/51; AJCP reel M1177, ANL.

¹⁵⁵ Subsequently the one person always held the two positions. Jacob noted that this had its drawbacks; see Jacob, p. 115, 116.

¹⁵⁶ For example, both Bishops Tyrrell and Tufnell were from banking families, and both applied their private incomes to the benefit of their respective dioceses.

¹⁵⁷ H.P. Le Couteur, 'Using the Old Boys' Network; Bishop Tufnell's Search for Men and Money', paper given at the AHA Conference, Hobart, October 1998.

¹⁵⁸ Jacob, pp. 117-143.

Hodgson. Both were sons of Anglican clergymen, well educated, and Tories of sorts.¹⁵⁹

Hodgson favoured ‘convict labour, colonial peerages, national education, and a restricted franchise’.¹⁶⁰ Marsh was more ‘liberal’, but nevertheless was opposed to extending the franchise and to democratic politics. He favoured cheap labour and happily used indentured Chinese labour on his property.¹⁶¹ Initially he promoted separation with transportation, to supply the pastoral industry with cheap convict labour. The colonial office resisted this but acknowledged the value of his other arguments for separation, especially the distance of the Moreton Bay district from the seat of government in Sydney.¹⁶² Merivale, at the Colonial Office, conceded that ‘representation at Sydney is no representation at all’.¹⁶³ The colonial government was implacably opposed to separation as it would lose control over a very large tract of territory, with consequent loss of revenue.

The issue took on a different hue when Marsh returned to England in 1855 to agitate for separation. By this time transportation had been ruled out and so the townspeople of Ipswich and Brisbane added their support.¹⁶⁴ The arguments were now ones of a geographical, administrative, financial and political nature – and, of course, expediency. Merivale was in favour, but there was still opposition in Sydney.¹⁶⁵ Marsh, on the spot in London and supported by other peregrinating squatters, lobbied the Colonial

¹⁵⁹ G.P. Shaw, ‘The “Tangled Web” of Separation’, *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, 29(2), pp.245-261; B. Knox, ‘Moreton Bay Separation: A Problem of Imperial Government, 1825-1856’, *Historical Studies*, 14, 56, 1971, pp. 561-578; B. Knox, “‘Care is More Important than Haste’: Imperial Policy and the Creation of Queensland, 1856-9”, *Historical Studies*, 17, 66, 1976, pp. 64-83.

¹⁶⁰ *ADB*, vol. 4, p. 405; entry by D.B. Waterson,

¹⁶¹ *ADB*, vol. 5, p. 213; entry by E. Dunlop.

¹⁶² H.P. Le Couteur, ‘Gramsci’s Concept of Hegemony and Social Formation in Early Colonial Queensland’, *Limina*, 6, 2000, pp.30-31.

¹⁶³ Knox, ‘Moreton Bay Separation . . .’ p. 570.

¹⁶⁴ Le Couteur, “Gramsci’s concept . . .” pp. 29-32. With this development the influential radical Presbyterian minister, the Rev J.D. Lang, weighed into the debate in support of separation. He also did some lobbying in London. Knox, p. 571; Shaw, pp. 257-258.

¹⁶⁵ Knox, p. 575.

Office whose decision against separation had been based on the conservative views of the Governor, Sir William Denison.¹⁶⁶ John Ball (an MP) challenged the Secretary of State for Colonies, Henry Labouchere, to take the initiative. Labouchere eventually did just that, and in July 1856 advised Denison that the imperial government would act.

It took another three years to give effect to that decision. The Colonial Office had first to deal with Sydney opposition and then to adjust to a change in government in England when Palmerston lost office in February 1858. Lord Derby, whose son, Lord Stanley, was appointed Secretary of State for the Colonies, headed the new conservative administration.¹⁶⁷ However, it was when Labouchere still held office under Palmerston that the suggestion that a new see also be created was acceded to.¹⁶⁸ Labouchere agreed with the views expressed by his father at the CBF meeting in 1841, when he moved:

That the acquisition of new Colonies, and the formation of British communities in various parts of the world, render it necessary that an immediate effort be made to impart to them the full benefit of the church, in all the completeness of her ministry, ordinances, and government.¹⁶⁹

The impetus for creating a See at Brisbane came from Bishop Tyrrell of Newcastle (youthfully portrayed in Plate 2.4), supported by Bishop Barker of Sydney. Tyrrell's diocese was huge, stretching north and west from the lower Hawkesbury River, north to Mackay, and west to the South Australian border. Squatters already in possession of large tracts of the Darling Downs had turned their attention to land further north when Tyrrell first arrived in 1847. With a burgeoning population and the rapid nucleation of new towns, Tyrrell was faced with a huge task. His commitment to visiting the entire diocese on a

¹⁶⁶ Patrick Leslie was another who lobbied in London, but there was always a group of Australians or ex-colonists in London, to advance colonial affairs. The squatters' group had a Tory hue and preferred a single chamber legislature, without responsible government. This would have given them the opportunity of a high level of control. See Knox, "Care . . ." p. 73.

¹⁶⁷ Stanley's tenure was brief, only five months. He was replaced by Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton.

¹⁶⁸ Knox, "Care . . ." p. 71, n.12.

¹⁶⁹ *Proceedings at a Meeting . . .*, p. 20.

biennial basis, mostly on horseback, took a toll on his health. He struggled with limited human and financial resources to discharge his episcopal responsibilities.¹⁷⁰ Writing to Hawkins of SPG in January 1853, Tyrrell constantly reiterated the vastness of the diocese.¹⁷¹ In trying to convey some image of it to Hawkins, he wrote:

There is, in my Diocese, no affluent centre, no metropolis, no seat of Government – all those are at Sydney, and my Diocese is to Sydney Diocese what Wales is to England, or Bethnal Green to London.¹⁷²

On arriving in Newcastle, Tyrrell took pains to communicate the poverty, isolation and size of his diocese to SPG, writing of its ‘ruinous depression and religious destitution’. An acute problem was the dependence of the people on the government or the bishop ‘for everything’. They had not begun to appreciate that they had to provide for the church out of their own pockets; the residents of the Clarence River district had undertaken to contribute £100 annually to support of their pastor, the Rev. John McConnell, but in five years he had received nothing from them. Other districts had incurred debt in building churches, and there were unfinished churches where funds had run out. The consequence was a mood of depression.¹⁷³ Tyrrell’s priority was to provide for preaching the Gospel and administration of the sacraments and then abolishing the debt-burden. These were higher priorities than building a cathedral or theological college. This was facilitated by the Diocesan Church Society, created to raise and administer funds for such purposes. Nevertheless, in this letter Tyrrell was asking for £800 for the ensuing year.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷⁰ Elkin, pp. 418-419; SPG Annual Report, 1849, p. clxvi. AJCP, M1442, ANL.

¹⁷¹ At the time it was the largest colonial diocese, covering about 400,000 square miles.

¹⁷² Tyrrell to Hawkins, 15 January 1853. SPG, Letters received, Australia, 1850-1859, AJCP, M1483, ANL.

¹⁷³ The poverty of most of the people was the main explanation for this, as his letters reveal. It was an experience of other rural bishops, too. See, Ada Cambridge, *Thirty Years in Australia*, London, Methuen, 1903, pp. 7-9, 12, 28, 32.

¹⁷⁴ Tyrrell to Hawkins, 28 May 1851. SPG, copies of letters received, AJCP, M1300, ANL.

Another of Tyrrell's problems was that of communication. It was a long way back to England. His letters of to SPG took about three months to get there, then his requests had to be considered by the committee, acted upon, and a reply sent. The whole process took eight or nine months at least. This isolation necessitated the appointment of someone in England to act on his behalf in some matters, and he appointed the Rev. W.H. Hoare as his commissary. Hoare undertook some negotiations with SPG, and vetted some of the clergy candidates that went out to Newcastle for ordination.¹⁷⁵

Tyrrell's horseback journey through the inland parts of the diocese in 1856 convinced him of the absolute necessity of dividing it.¹⁷⁶ In spite of being a good horseman, the trip was debilitating:

When I reached the Darling Downs, the parsonage of the Rev. B. Glennie at Drayton, tho' it was only ten in the morning, I was obliged at once to go to bed over-wearied and full of pain. During Tuesday, the day of my arrival, and Wednesday and Thursday, I had appointed to remain at Drayton, to settle matters connected with the Church in that district. For these three days I did not leave my bed, except to hold a Confirmation which I would not allow to be put off. I was in violent incessant pain from over-exertion: got no sleep by day and night: could take no food: and the most violent medicines which the doctor could give me produced no effect. On the third day he expressed his opinion of the danger if his medicine did not soon act: and I shall not forget the expression of his countenance, when I told him that I could remain under his care only that one night more, as at dawn the next morning I must leave Drayton on horseback, for my next station 52 miles off, where I had appointed to hold a service in the evening. No change for the better took place: and on the Friday morning, just at sunrise, with much difficulty from my great weakness and pain, I mounted my horse, and sometime after the sun was set, reached Franklin Vale, my appointed resting place for the night. It was a day to be remembered – the heat overpowering, the roads scarcely passable, and the suffering from pain, weakness and fatigue, very great. The doctor still declares that I *ought* to have died that day, but in truth, the intense exertion did

¹⁷⁵ Tyrrell to Hawkins, 28 April, 1852. SPG, copies of letters received, AJCP, M1300, ANL. The Diocesan Church Society was also an important way of introducing the laity into the administration of church finances, and of making them aware of the needs of a voluntary organisation.

¹⁷⁶ Elkin, pp 418-424.

for me what medicine could not do, and though very weak for some days, I gradually recovered.¹⁷⁷

Before he even got back to Newcastle from that journey, he wrote from Armidale to Ernest Hawkins, as secretary of SPG and CBF:

One more thing before I close this long letter – namely the division of this vast Diocese – intelligence has lately reached this Colony that it is the intention of the home Government to form Moreton Bay into a new colony separating it from New South Wales. I would most earnestly request your Society to take early and decisive steps to have the new colony formed into a new diocese also – and this relieves me of the depressing anxiety of feeling I have always more to do than I can accomplish. I can assure you that one great reason why I have been so bad a correspondent is that I am never free from urgent pressing business – and the simple fact that this diocese is an area four times the size of England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland together - makes all the other pleading for its division superfluous.¹⁷⁸

Tyrrell cooperated closely with the Governor, Sir William Denison, in promoting the creation of a new see, visiting him in Sydney when the opportunity arose.¹⁷⁹ Beside his commissary in England, it is likely that the Moreton Bay ‘ginger group’ in London who were lobbying for separation may also have put in a good word for the proposal in their discussions at the Colonial Office. The lobbying was effective; in June the next year Tyrrell wrote to Hawkins expressing his relief at the news that the diocese would be divided when the new colony was created. This was short work indeed, and one imagines that little persuading was necessary.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁷ Elkin, pp. 418-419. The bishop visited Stroud, Gloucester, the Manning, Port Macquarie, Rollands Plains, the Macleay, and New England from Armidale to Tenterfield, Maryland, Warwick, Drayton, Ipswich and Brisbane. Travelling south he visited the Logan, the upper Richmond, Tabulam and the Clarence, Tenterfield, Wellingrove, the Macintyre, Wialda, part of the Namoi and Gwydir, Tamworth, the Peel, Liverpool Plains, Murrurundi, Scone, Muswellbrook, Singleton, and the Hunter down to Morpeth.

¹⁷⁸ Tyrrell to Hawkins, 17 October 1856. SPG, Letters received, Australia, 1850-1859. AJCP, M1483, ANL. Obviously the content of Labouchere’s despatch to Governor Denison was already public knowledge.

¹⁷⁹ Tyrrell sent copies of the correspondence to Denison to CBF. It is filed with Tyrrell to Hawkins, 4 June, 1858; CBF, Colonial Bishoprics Letterbook, No.1, CERC.

¹⁸⁰ Tyrrell to Hawkins (as secretary of CBF), 16 June, 1857; CBF, Colonial Bishoprics Letterbook, No. 1, CERC.

The principal requirement of the Colonial Office was that there should be an adequate endowment for the See.¹⁸¹ A precedent was set when the diocese of Perth was formed; an endowment of £5,000, invested in land, was deemed adequate.¹⁸² Once the endowment was guaranteed, Hawkins wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury to approach Lord Stanley (Secretary of State for the Colonies) about putting the proposed division of the See of Newcastle into effect.¹⁸³ Governor Denison believed that funds for the diocese, including at least part of the bishop's salary, might come from the Civil List. This was also Tyrrell's expectation.¹⁸⁴ This did not happen, as by the time the new bishop arrived at his see the Queensland legislature had already abolished State Aid to the churches.

The Blessing of Nobleman and Parson

The colony of Queensland and the See of Brisbane came into being together. The appointment of Sir George Ferguson Bowen as Governor and the Rev. Edward Wyndham Tufnell as bishop was the personification of that extension. They were chosen by the English ruling elite in State and Church to exercise the 'skill and statesmanlike principles' needed in 'guiding and molding' the colonists and ensuring that the familiar institutions of English society were provided.¹⁸⁵ Their job was to provide the 'blessing of nobleman and parson' to the new colony; to be agents for the transmission of English culture for the colonies settlers. It was yet to be seen whether, in a radically different geographical,

¹⁸¹ Tyrrell to the Archbishop of Canterbury, 11 May, 1858; CBF Letterbook No. 1, CERC.

¹⁸² Tyrrell proposed that the funds could be found from CBF (£2,300); from the colony and guaranteed by Tyrrell (£700); from the Newcastle appeal committee in England, and guaranteed by the bishop (£500); grant from SPCK (£500); and from SPG (£1,000). Tyrrell hoped that the endowment fund could be increased to £8,000 by the time the new bishop was consecrated, and believed it would give him an income of £560 to £640 a year.

¹⁸³ That meant asking the law officers to draw up the Letters Patent for creating the new diocese out of the Diocese of Newcastle.

¹⁸⁴ With Tyrrell to Hawkins, 4 June 1858; CBF Colonial Bishoprics Letterbook, No. 1, CERC.

¹⁸⁵ Inglis, as at the head of the chapter.

political and social context, they would be able to create little Englands, or whether there were other forces that would come into play to create something both new and different.

Chapter 2

Exporting Gentry Values:

Brisbane's First Anglican Bishop

It would be very desirable that the bishop of the New See, should be selected from the clergy of the Church of England, because his personal friends would then assist in securing, both additional funds for the endowment of the See. And also a body of five or six clergymen to accompany the new bishop to his diocese.

Bishop Tyrrell in a letter to the Colonial Bishoprics Fund.

As the work spreads, the work must be strengthened, established, perfected. As the Gospel is preached in the regions beyond us, we must send forth men to make it sure; to regulate, control, develop it.

T.L. Claughton, preaching at the service at which Tufnell was consecrated
Bishop of Brisbane.

All real church extension, according to apostolic order, implies the extension of the episcopate – has not church extension proceeded with rapid strides, with strides so rapid as to justify us in believing that God hath given the increase?

T.L. Claughton, from the same sermon.

The imperial project needed reliable agents in the colonies in both Church and State; agents to carry with them the values perceived by those who were sending them out as necessary to build a stable society that would help realise the dream. The dream was the co-extensive growth of the Empire and the Church of England.¹ The principal agents sent to Queensland were the Anglican bishop, the Right Reverend Edward Wyndham Tufnell, and the Governor, Sir George Ferguson Bowen.

Well into the nineteenth century, patronage was a key factor in episcopal advancement.² Piety and scholarship were important criteria for nomination to the episcopate, but the criteria did not always extend to administrative ability and pastoral skill. By the mid-nineteenth century, there were two causes for a change in this situation – the professionalisation of the episcopate and the development of responsible government in the colonies.³ As the colonial episcopate expanded, it was realised that besides piety and scholarship, colonial bishops needed both pastoral skills and administrative and financial expertise to bring new dioceses into being. It also became apparent that, on acquiring responsible government, the colonies did not want to be financially responsible

¹ The quotations at the head of the chapter are from: **a**) Tyrrell to the Colonial Bishopricks Fund (CBF), 16 June, 1857; *CBF Letterbook, No 1.*, Church of England Record Centre (CERC), South Bermondsey, London. **b**) T.L. Claughton, *The Use and Excellency of the Episcopal Office. A Sermon preached in Westminster Abbey on Whit-Tuesday, 1859, at the Consecration of the Bishops of Bangor, Brisbane and St Helena*, London, H & J Parker, 1859, p. 12. **c**) T.L. Claughton, p. 14.

² W. Gibson, 'The Tories and Church Patronage: 1812-30', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 41(20), 1990, pp. 266-275; -, "'Unreasonable and Unbecoming": Self-recommendation and place-seeking in the Church of England, 1700-1900', *Albion*, 27(1), 1995, pp. 43-63.

³ W. Gibson, 'The Professionalization of an Elite: the Nineteenth Century Episcopate', *Albion*, 23(3), 1991, pp 459-482; P.C. Gawne, 'State Aid to Religion and Primary Education in Queensland, 1860', *Journal of Religious History*, 9, 1976-7, pp 50-64.

either for an established church, or for religious activities in a wider sense, including denominationally based education. Sometimes in establishing a new colony, there had been an allowance for church building, clergy stipends, and the provision of schools in the civil list. Bishop's stipends were sometimes budgeted for in this way too. Bishop William Tyrrell of Newcastle was well aware of these financial concerns when he lobbied the Colonial Bishoprics Council in 1857 for subdivision of his huge diocese.⁴ Describing the qualities needed in the bishop of the proposed new diocese of Brisbane, he preferred a bishop chosen from the English clergy 'because his personal friends would then assist in securing, both additional funds for the endowment of the See, and . . . five or six clergymen to accompany the new bishop'.⁵ The Duke of Newcastle, Secretary of State for the Colonies, endorsed the view in a letter to Governor Denison informing him that the required endowment for the See had been invested in England, and expecting the new bishop's friends would add 'most materially' to the endowment.⁶ There was a clear expectation that the new bishop had either rich friends or fundraising skills or both; it was unlikely that a new colony would be able to endow a new see without drawing on the resources of the mother country – hence Tyrrell's recommendation that the post go to an *English* man. Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, the permanent secretary at the colonial office, underlined another reason for such a choice. In a draft letter of instructions to Sir George Bowen, Governor-designate, he wrote:

Do your best always to keep up pride in the mother country throughout all Australia there is sympathy with the ideal of a gentleman this gives a moral aristocracy. Continue

⁴ At the time he wrote, his diocese covered the Hunter Valley and New England in New South Wales, and stretched along the coast to about Rockhampton covering much of what was to become Queensland

⁵ Tyrrell to the Colonial Bishoprics Fund (CBF), 16 June, 1857; *CBF Letterbook No 1*; Church of England Record Centre (CERC), South Bermondsey, London.

⁶ The money, £5,000, had been provided by the following: SPG; £1,000; SPCK, £1000; Newcastle Diocese, £700; CBF, £2,300. Newcastle to Denison, 23 June 1858, CO/503 NSW, AJCP, reel 671, ANL.

it by shewing the store set on integrity – honor and civilized manners not by preference of birth which belong to old countries.⁷

Any episcopal appointment would have had to meet this requirement of patriotism and gentlemanliness. In choosing Tufnell for the see, these various expectations were met by his social status, his education and his early clerical career, and were then manifested in his episcopal career in Brisbane. His Brisbane episcopate has received attention from some historians, but not his early career and the circumstances leading up to his appointment.⁸ Snippets of information concerning him were used against him in order to characterise him as a country parson, an other-worldly academic, or as a Tractarian fellow-traveller,⁹ and there was just enough truth in these comments, especially on his churchmanship, to make good newspaper copy.¹⁰

⁷ Draft letter to Sir George Bowen, Bulwer Lytton papers; original punctuation preserved. D/EK/027/2/125-30; AJCP reel M1177, ANL. For a good assessment of Bowen as Governor and Robert Herbert as Premier, see R.B. Joyce. 'George Ferguson Bowen and Robert George Wyndham Herbert – The Imported Openers', in D.J. Murphy and R.B. Joyce, eds., *Queensland Political Portraits 1859-1952*, St Lucia UQP, 1978, pp. 9-43. Joyce draws attention to Bowen's academic aspirations and to his class perceptions. Bowen expressed admiration for the squatter-occupiers of the land, with whom he mixed socially, and had little empathy with the working man, especially in relation to the importation of cheap labour. See also, *ADB*, vol. 3, pp. 203-207. Bruce Knox attributed similar attitudes to Robert Herbert; see the introduction of his *The Queensland Years of Robert Herbert, Premier: Letters and Papers*, St Lucia, UQP, 1977, pp. 3-43; and *ADB*, vol. 4, pp.382-385.

⁸J.R. Lawry, 'Bishop Tufnell And Queensland Education 1860-1874', in E.L. French, *Melbourne Studies in Education*, Melbourne, MUP, 1966, pp.181-203; E.D. Daw, 'Church and State in Queensland: Aspects of Anglicanism in the 1860s', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, 23, 1977, pp.360-372; E.D. Daw, 'The Free Churches of England in Queensland', *Queensland Heritage*, 3(2), 1975, pp. 3-6; Gawne, passim; H.J. Richards, 'Brisbane's First Bishop: The Right Reverend Edward Wyndham Tufnell, M.A., D.D.', *Queensland Heritage* 3(5), 1974, pp. 17-25; and Keith Rayner's entry on Tufnell in *ADB*, vol.6, pp. 307-308. For Bishop Hale, see A.de Q. Robin, *Mathew Blagden Hale; the Life of an Australian Pioneer Bishop*, Melbourne, The Hawthorn Press, 1976. Much of the first part of this chapter has been published as my 'Winning Golden Opinions: Bishop Tufnell's Early Career', *Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland*, 17, 11, August, 2001.

⁹See especially, the despatch of the Governor, Sir George Bowen, to the Colonial Secretary (Cardwell), dated 18 December, 1864; CO234/11 (1759 Queensland). AJCP (Australian Joint Copying Project), (microfilm reel) 1912, ANL (Australian National Library); also, R.G.W. Herbert to his sister Alice, 17 December, 1865, in Knox, p 148. Knox himself subscribes to the negative view of Tufnell in a footnote on the same page. Letter from 'Churchman' to the editor of the *Queensland Daily Guardian*, 30 January, 1868.

¹⁰For sideswipes concerning Tufnell's churchmanship in the Brisbane *Courier*: editorial, 14 February, 1861; letter to the editor from "A Member of Christ's Church", 1 April 1861; report from a Gladstone correspondent, 9 December 1861; editorial, 23 August 1862; letter to the editor from "Alpha Beta", 2 April 1863; editorial, 31 December 1864; letter to the editor from "An Anti-Ritualist", 10 June 1869, with a reply

Family Background and Early Education

Edward Wyndham Tufnell (known as Wyndham) was born in 1814, one of the eighteen children of Lieutenant Colonel John Charles and Uliana Margareta Tufnell. The children were born between 1796 and 1822, only nine surviving childhood.¹¹ The Tufnells belonged to the landed gentry, and the family seat was (and still is) at Great Waltham, in Essex. Little is known of Wyndham's childhood, except that the early part was spent at Bath, where he was born and where his father was a banker; and at Lackham House, near Chippenham, in Wiltshire. We know from a family history, that the Tufnells sometimes holidayed at Bognor Regis with others of the Tufnell clan. This family history observes that Wyndham's mother was of a pious disposition, the heritage of a clerical father.¹²

Tufnell's early education was at the Gloucestershire School, where he was a schoolfellow of his successor as Bishop of Brisbane, Mathew Blagden Hale.¹³ From there Tufnell went to Eton, the only one of his immediate family to enjoy the privilege.¹⁴ He is listed in the Remove in the 1829 Eton School Lists, but very little more is known of his time there. His time at Eton brought him into contact with a wide range of boys from the aristocracy and the landed gentry who provided a valuable network of friends and acquaintances

from "Pseudonym" on June 15. See also, letter to the editor of the *Queensland Daily Guardian* from "Alpha", 21 March 1863.

¹¹ *Burke's Landed Gentry; Alumni Oxoniensis*.

¹² Her father was the vicar of Bishopsbourne in Kent; E. Bertha Tufnell, *The Family of Tufnell*, privately printed in England, 1924, pp. 37-40.

¹³ I have been unable to locate any record of the school; *Norfolk Chronicle and Norwich Gazette*, 5 October, 1859, p.3.; A.deQ. Robin, 1976, p. 4.

¹⁴ Why he should have been the only member of the family favoured by such an education is unclear – he may have held a scholarship to the school.

throughout his life. Contemporary accounts of the school and the memoirs of its luminaries do not mention him at all.¹⁵

Oxford University

Tufnell matriculated at Wadham College, Oxford on 1 July 1833, barely a fortnight before Keble's famous Assizes Sermon, an event which Tractarian historians have hailed as the moment of birth of the Oxford Movement, making him an intimate witness of the beginnings of the movement.¹⁶ Wadham was squarely in the Evangelical tradition under its warden, Benjamin Symons. There were some college members representing other shades of churchmanship: the High Churchman, R.W. Church; the Tractarian, T.W. Allies, who later became a Roman Catholic; and the Ritualist, A.H. Mackonochie. Much later, the college became an acknowledged centre of Comtean positivism.¹⁷ Tufnell was not an exceptional student, gaining his degree in the third class (*Lit Hum*) in May 1837. He was elected a Fellow of his college two years later, and took out his M.A. in July 1842.

As an undergraduate, Tufnell came under the notice of the Rev. Walter Kerr Hamilton. Hamilton was a fellow of Merton who after graduating had been ordained deacon in June 1833.¹⁸ He began a curacy at Wolvercote (near Oxford) at Michaelmas and was ordained priest in December that year. He quickly established a reputation as a fine Evangelical preacher. In 1834 he became curate of his Merton friend, the Rev. Edward Denison at St Peter's-in-the-East, Oxford, and on Denison's preferment to the See of Salisbury (April 1837), Hamilton succeeded him as incumbent of the parish. According to Peter Toon, Hamilton was 'converted' to Tractarianism early in 1837, possibly about the

¹⁵Tufnell was listed in the Remove in 1829. H.E.C. Stapylton, *Eton School Lists*, London, E.P.W. Williams, 1864.

¹⁶Details of Tufnell's Oxford career can be found in R.B. Gardner, ed, *Registers of Wadham College, Oxford, 1719-1871*, London, Bell & Sons, 1895, p. 359.

¹⁷ Auguste Comte was a French philosopher, whose ideas were developed at Oxford by Frederic Harrison of Wadham College, and were so attractive to Nora Murray Prior, p. 271.

¹⁸ Tufnell arrived at Oxford the following month.

time he was appointed to St Peter's. It was a whole-hearted change, as David Newsome has documented.¹⁹

It would be intriguing to know just when Tufnell fell under the influence of Hamilton; was it before or after Hamilton's theological views changed? Was Tufnell an Evangelical who shadowed Hamilton's theological development, or was he already a High Churchman? The evidence is not conclusive. In this same year Hamilton was appointed examining chaplain by Bishop Denison and in this capacity Hamilton wrote to Denison, recommending Tufnell for ordination.²⁰ Tufnell was ordained deacon under letters dimissory by Dr Bagot at Oxford in December 1837 and went to Barford, just outside Salisbury, as curate to the aged Dr Pole.²¹ At this time Denison had been bishop of the diocese for eight months and he continued the reform/revival of the diocese along the lines begun by his predecessors, Bishops John Fisher and Thomas Burgess. He certainly had the stamp of a diligent, reforming bishop.²²

The Broadwindsor Curacy

Tufnell was not at Barford for long; Dr. Pole soon died and Tufnell was sent to be curate to the bishop's brother, the Reverend George Anthony Denison, whom Bishop Denison had just preferred to the living of Broadwindsor in Dorset in a neat piece of nepotism (G.A. Denison is pictured in Plate 2.1). Joyce Coombs has written a colourful and sympathetic account of G. A. Denison's life, drawing on his memoirs.²³ Denison was

¹⁹P. Toon, *Evangelical Theology, 1833-1856; A Response to Tractarianism*, London, Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1979, p. 31; D. Newsome, *The Parting of Friends, The Wilberforces and Henry Manning*, Gracewing (W.B. Eerdmans) 1993 [London, 1966], p. 65.

²⁰ Tufnell's eldest brother, John Charles Fowell Tufnell, was already an Anglican priest.

²¹ Letters dimissory were issued by a bishop to permit the ordination of a candidate by the bishop of another diocese.

²²R.A. Burns, *The Diocesan Revival in the Church of England c.1800-1870*, Oxford, Clarendon, 1999. See the index of Burns' book for page references to Bishops Fisher, Burgess, Denison and Hamilton.

²³J. Coombs, *George Anthony Denison, The Firebrand 1805-1896*. London, The Church Literature Society and the Society of Sts Peter and Paul, 1984. G.A. Denison, *Notes of My Life 1805-1878*. Oxford and

committed to the welfare of his people. He built a chapel at Blackdown for the outlying farms, and a school on the site of the old vicarage. Initially Tufnell lived in this ruinous

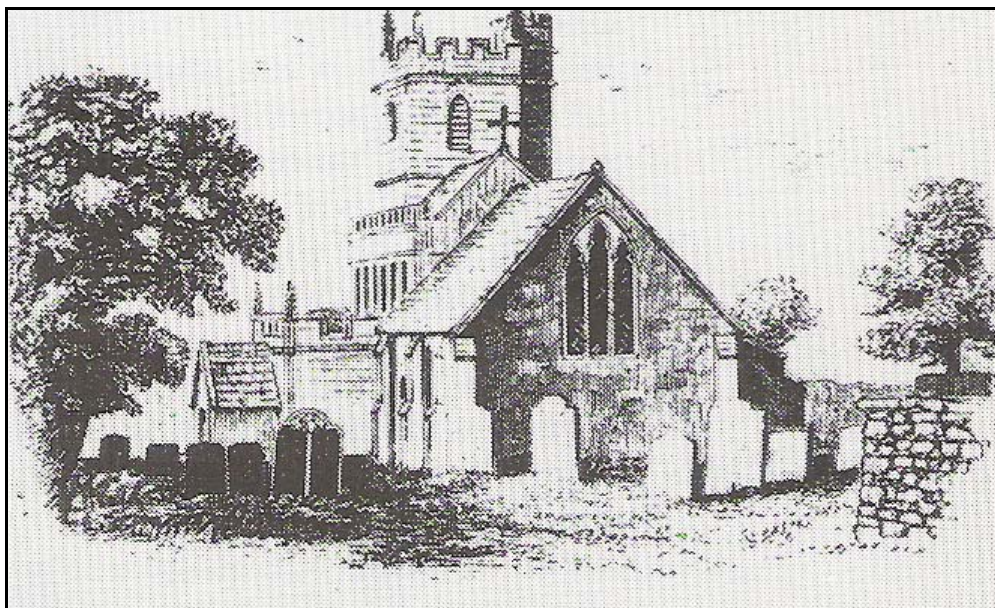


Plate 2.1 The church at Broadwindsor in its rustic setting as Tufnell would have known it. Picture from a pamphlet published by the parish in 1991.



Plate 2.2 The little church at Broadtown in Wiltshire, built under Tufnell's guidance when he was curate at Broad Hinton. The church is very similar to many built in country towns in Australia in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Photo taken by the author in 1996.

vicarage in three rooms that Denison managed to make habitable.²⁴ Denison gave a lot of his attention to education, which was to become central to his ministry; Tufnell was a part of it while he was at Broadwindsor, teaching alongside Denison and his wife in the school. There was a weekday school for the children and a Sunday school for adults and adolescents who could neither read nor write. The schools were supposed to be some kind of remedy against Chartism and violence, but their effectiveness in this regard is a moot point. Nevertheless, Denison was prepared to put time and energy into the effort, believing that the parish school was the nursery of the parish church.²⁵ The school was partly financed from a local charitable trust, and providing he could control the syllabus and could have a tight constitution for the school, Denison accepted grants from the National

²⁴J. Coombs, p.20; B. Palmer, p. 24.

²⁵G.A. Denison, *Supplement to Notes on My Life*, Oxford, James Parker, 1893, p. 20.

Society.²⁶ Tufnell's involvement in parish schools dates from this time, and he seems to have imbibed the same conservative (Tory High Church) perception of the Church's role in education as his bishop and his rector.²⁷

At Broadwindsor, Tufnell learned the tasks of the ordained ministry.²⁸ Under the eagle eye of the incumbent he probably preached and took services at Broadwindsor and Blackdown. The parish registers show that he was busy with pastoral services such as baptisms and funerals. As Denison undertook visiting in the parish we could expect the same (or even more) of his curate.²⁹ These were the more obvious tasks of the committed parson, whose pastoral responsibilities extended beyond these to a wide variety of activities in the local community; relieving those in extreme want 'from alms contributed at the communion service, or from parish charities, or from his own pocket', or even in kind, in the form of food or soup. There were often clothing clubs, coal clubs, shoe clubs, blanket clubs and penny savings banks to which parishioners contributed weekly against future need; and the 'least avoidable of a priest's duties', visiting the sick and dying.³⁰

G.A. Denison was a diligent pastor at Broadwindsor, and later, a diligent Archdeacon.³¹

Tufnell was fortunate to be exposed to his influence. Wyndham Tufnell was ordained a priest on 26 May 1839, and remained as Denison's curate only another nine months, when

Bishop Denison was able to offer Tufnell the curacy of Broad Hinton in Wiltshire.

²⁶J. Coombs, p. 20; G.A. Denison, *Notes*, p. 93.

²⁷Both brothers were supporters of the National Society, a high church organisation responsible for financing many parish schools. Bishop Denison preached a sermon at St Margaret's, Westminster in 1839, which bears testimony to that High Church Tory position; E. Denison, *The Church, The Teacher of Her Children*, London, John Cochrane, 1839. For a discussion of the High Church view, see J.L. Alexander, 'Lord John Russell and the Origin of the Committee of Council on Education', *Historical Journal*, 20(2), 1977, p. 395-415.

²⁸G.A. Denison, *Notes*, p.89.

²⁹E.H. Large, *Broadwindsor*, Bridport, Creeds, n.d., unpaginated booklet in the possession of the author.

³⁰G. Kitson Clark, *Churchmen and the Condition of England 1832-1885*, London, Methuen, 1973, chapters 6, 7, but especially, pp. 166, 185-191; O. Chadwick, *The Victorian Church*, 2 Volumes, London, Adam & Charles Black, 1970, vol. 2, chapters 4 and 5.

³¹J. Coombs, pp. 21, 218, 219; B. Palmer, p.28.

Broad Hinton

The circumstances surrounding the appointment to Broad Hinton are found in the bishop's correspondence, preserved among the diocesan records.³² The incumbent of Broad Hinton was non-resident, and employed a curate. Early in 1840, this curate, the Rev. Owen, had become so blind as to be unable to fulfil his duty there. In correspondence with Mrs. Owen, it transpired that she wanted to be able to employ a curate to undertake her husband's duty. The bishop would not agree, believing it would not be in the parish's best interests.³³ In a letter of 11 February, 1840 the bishop offered it to Tufnell, describing it as a living worth £135 pounds. Tufnell replied immediately, asking if it would affect his fellowship of Wadham College.³⁴ An apologetic letter from the bishop on 13 February corrected the terminology; it was a curacy, not a living. Tufnell's response to this letter, no longer extant, evinced a curious reply from the bishop, who wrote;

The circumstances under which the Vicar of Broad Hinton is absent from his benefice without license, are such that it is desirable that you should have no communication with him.

This intriguing snippet suggests some kind of moral laxity or objectionable attitudes in the incumbent from which the bishop seemed anxious to protect the young curate. What those failings may have been were not discoverable. Presumably Tufnell's letter was one of acceptance; he was curate of Broad Hinton till 1846.³⁵ It was a thoughtful offer by Denison, as Broad Hinton is between Lackham House, where his parents lived, and Oxford, which continued to be the scene of some of Tufnell's activities.

³² These are held at the County Record Office in Trowbridge.

³³ The bishop had his Archdeacon to investigate the situation.

³⁴ He could hold the fellowship concurrently with a curacy, but not necessarily with a living.

³⁵ Letters referring to the Rev. Owen and the offer of the curacy to Tufnell: E. Denison to Mrs. Owen, 21, 25 January 1840; to Archdeacon Macdonald, 21 January, 22 February 1840; to E.W. Tufnell, 11, 13, 22 February 1840; Denison Correspondence, D1/27/6/2, WRO (Wiltshire Records Office).

Broad Hinton parish was completely rural, with a population of about seven hundred in an area untouched by Chartism.³⁶ However, in Broad Town, a part of the parish, Primitive Methodism was attracting members from the Church. With the encouragement of the bishop, Tufnell explored the possibility of countering their influence by building a chapel there.³⁷ It was fairly straightforward, but Tufnell had to consult with the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and negotiate with the impropiators of tithes of the two existing benefices from which the new district was to be created.³⁸ The bishop was satisfied with the arrangements, believing that a population of 400 at such a distance from the parish church was a sufficient number to justify building a chapel and form a new district.³⁹ The simple building, similar to many colonial church buildings (Plate 2.2), was quickly built on land given by the squire, and with money given by the Marchioness of Aylesbury.⁴⁰ The circumstances surrounding the action suggest that Tufnell took a fairly strong position to counter Nonconformity, reflecting the role of the Established Church as guardian of a hierarchical and deferential society. In gaining the assistance of the squire to provide the land, and an aristocrat to provide the funds, Tufnell fits the type of parson in co-operation with the squire in the maintenance of the establishment. It affirms a view of Tufnell's membership of the landed gentry, and as a Tory 'High Church' man, in the sense defined by Peter Nockles, and attributed by Nockles to Monckton-Milnes.⁴¹ Monckton-Milnes distinguished between 'a church and state or High Church' party and a 'catholic'

³⁶R.B. Pugh, 'Chartism in Somerset and Wiltshire', in A. Briggs, ed., *Chartist Studies*, London and Basingstoke, Macmillan, 1959, pp216-218.

³⁷*The Victoria History of the Counties of England (VCH); Wiltshire, volume XII*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1983, pp. 105-119. See volume IX, p.41, for Clyffe Pypard and Broad Town. E. Denison to E.W. Tufnell, 2 January 1843; Denison Correspondence, D1/27/6/3. WRO.

³⁸E. Denison to E.W. Tufnell, 16 February 1843; Denison Correspondence, D1/27/6/3. WRO.

³⁹E. Denison to E.W. Tufnell, 4 March 1843. Denison Correspondence, D1/27/6/3. WRO.

⁴⁰*VCH, Wiltshire, vol. IX*, p.41.

⁴¹ Later Monckton Milnes became Lord Houghton.

or 'Puseyite' party. Interestingly, at a later date, Frederic Barker, the Evangelical Bishop of Sydney, described Tufnell as a 'moderate high churchman'.⁴²

Tufnell's building plans did not end there; he also refurbished the church at Broad Hinton. A gallery at the west end was removed; the nave was re-seated in oak; there was a new pulpit and vestry; and a new hot water heating system for the church. The whole work cost about £400.⁴³ The peal of bells was re-hung with a new one in memory of Tufnell's mother, who had recently died, and who had provided £1/10/- for the font cover.⁴⁴ Tufnell became familiar with finding the money to support his projects. Both this work and that on Christ Church, Broad Town, was assisted by the Diocesan Church Building Society and the Incorporated Church Building Society. Both gave £40 for the refurbishment of the Broad Hinton church.⁴⁵

While at Broad Hinton, Tufnell maintained his contact with his college and the university. He received his M.A. in 1842, and in 1844 was elected moderator in philosophy under the revised examination statutes.⁴⁶ He continued his involvement with the SPG, which he had begun at Broadwindsor.⁴⁷ By the time he left Broadwindsor, Tufnell was secretary of SPG for the Archdeaconry of Wiltshire.⁴⁸ In 1843 and 1844, the Standing Committee of SPG formally thanked Tufnell for his work on behalf of SPG in the previous year.⁴⁹ In July 1846, Tufnell became a Provincial Secretary at the annual salary of £250 plus expenses. His territory included the dioceses of Oxford, Lincoln, and

⁴²P. Nockles, *The Oxford Movement in Context: Anglican High Churchmanship 1760-1857*, Cambridge, CUP, 1994, pp.25-43, 155-156, 274; especially p.36. For Barker's comment, see E.D. Daw, "The Free Churches of England in Queensland", *Queensland Heritage*, 3(2), 1975, p.3.

⁴³C. Spickernell, *St Peter ad Vincula, Broad Hinton*, Broad Hinton, P.C.C., 1983, p.4 (a locally produced pamphlet on the church).

⁴⁴C. Spickernell, p.8.

⁴⁵E. Denison to E.W. Tufnell, 4 March 1843; Denison Correspondence, D1/27/6/3, WRO; 1505/38, WRO.

⁴⁶This task he undertook three times; 1844-6, 1851-3, 1856-58. R.B. Gardner, p. 359; see also, *Crockford's Clerical Directory*, London, 1896.

⁴⁷E. Denison to E.W. Tufnell, 2 February 1840; Denison Correspondence, D1/27/6/2, WRO; AJCP, M1441, ANL.

⁴⁸Annual report of SPG, 1847; AJCP, M1441, ANL.

⁴⁹SPG Standing Committee Minutes, 1 December 1843; AJCP, M1401, ANL; 22 November 1844, AJCP, M1402, ANL.

Gloucester and Bristol. He resigned this position at the end of the year, on accepting preferment to the Rectory of Beechingstoke, but he continued the work he began in Lincoln Diocese and was made an incorporated member of SPG for his services.⁵⁰

Beechingstoke

Beechingstoke is about eight kilometres southeast of Devizes in Wiltshire. It was a quiet little parish (population 196), and this may have been the reason Tufnell began contemplating the possibility of a missionary career. There is a letter of December 1848, from the bishop, in reply to a letter from Tufnell in which he must have raised the subject.⁵¹ The letter clarifies several matters that are important in understanding Tufnell. Denison undoubtedly valued Tufnell's contribution to the life of the Diocese, and hints at future preferment and suggests that there were many opportunities in the wider church for someone of Tufnell's evident abilities. Denison, himself a supporter of SPG, was well aware of Tufnell's work for that organisation and affirmed the value of work done by those who stay at home, rather than in the mission field; effective missionary work must be well-supported from 'home'. In a comment with a modern ring, he counseled Tufnell to let his conscience be the final arbiter in the decision. The letter is especially interesting as it almost charts the future directions of Tufnell's career: he did become more involved in the home organisation of SPG; he received preferment in the Diocese during Denison's episcopate; he became more deeply involved in the affairs of Oxford University; and eventually was able to undertake missionary service for SPG as a colonial bishop.

Preferment came fairly quickly, when Denison offered him the prebendal stall of

Major pars altaris:

⁵⁰SPG Standing Committee Minutes, 10 July, 11 August, 11 December 1846; AJCP, M1402, ANL.

⁵¹E. Denison to E.W. Tufnell, 4 December 1848; Denison Correspondence, D1/27/6/6, WRO.

I should offer it to you as a slight mark of my appreciation of the efforts you have made wherever you have had the opportunity in the service of the Church; and specially of your exertions, which have been so valuable, on behalf of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.⁵²

Tufnell continued to serve SPG well. At his suggestion he extended his activities from the Archdeaconry of Wiltshire into Dorsetshire and Westmoreland, asking for £50 p.a. to help pay a curate. SPG agreed, and he was placed on the list of paid organising secretaries.⁵³

The few remaining letters of Denison to Tufnell before the bishop's death in 1854, indicate that he had brought Tufnell into Diocesan affairs. They concern a preaching engagement at Salisbury, and various matters concerning parishes and staffing. Tufnell may have actually been a rural dean during Denison's episcopate, but there is only clear evidence for this in Bishop Hamilton's time.⁵⁴ Denison's early death at 53 did not affect Tufnell's career. Walter Kerr Hamilton, Tufnell's mentor at Oxford, and by this time canon at Salisbury, succeeded his friend Denison to the See.⁵⁵

Hamilton, like Denison, was an 'improving bishop'. As M.A. Crowther has observed, the expansion of the British press in the nineteenth century brought bishops more and more under public notice, and they began to take their episcopal duties more seriously. She especially mentions residence in their dioceses, and responsibilities to confirm and to conduct visitations of their diocese.⁵⁶ Crowther suggests that Hamilton was

⁵² A prebendary of an older foundation cathedral was the equivalent of a residentiary canon, being a member of the cathedral chapter and sharing in the cathedral's revenues. He officiated at the cathedral at specified times and resided whilst doing so. English cathedral life is well-documented by Philip Barrett, *Barchester; English Cathedral Life in the Nineteenth Century*, London, SPCK, 1993. For prebendaries and canons, see pp. 17, 21, 35-36, 42-43, 57-82 (especially), 132-134, 255, 288, 292, 297-300. For the terms canon and prebendary being interchangeable, see Barrett, p. 334, note 2. Prebendal stalls (seats) were usually named; Tufnell's was *major pars altaris*. Sometimes stalls represented geographical areas within the diocese, such as that of Bedminster and Radcliffe held by Tufnell when he was vicar of St. Peter and Paul, Marlborough, Wiltshire. E. Denison to E.W. Tufnell, 15 May 1850; Denison Correspondence, D1/27/6/7, WRO.

⁵³ SPG Standing Committee Minutes, 2 February 1855; AJCP, M1406, ANL.

⁵⁴ The remaining letters are to be found at D1/27/6/7, WRO.

⁵⁵ The circumstances surrounding Hamilton's appointment ('the sin of Sarum') are set out in his entry in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. See also, W.T. Gibson, 'Disraeli's Church Patronage: 1868-1880', *Anglican and Episcopal History*, 65(2), 1996, p.197-210; and A.E. Bridge, 'The Nineteenth Century Revivification of Salisbury Cathedral: Walter Kerr Hamilton, 1841-1854', in D. Marcombe & C.S. Knighton (eds.), *Close Encounters: English Cathedrals and Society Since 1540*, Nottingham, 1991.

⁵⁶ M.A. Crowther, *Church Embattled*, Newton Abbott, David and Charles, 1970. p.140.

influenced by Bishop Samuel Wilberforce of Oxford, but the influence of his friend and predecessor, Bishop Denison, cannot be underestimated.⁵⁷ Denison and Hamilton were close friends, and Denison had been an advocate of the revival of synodical powers; took his membership of convocation seriously; demonstrated considerable administrative ability; and displayed especial pastoral zeal as a bishop.⁵⁸

At the time of Hamilton's elevation to the episcopate, Tufnell was not quite forty years old. Hamilton, based in Salisbury for most of Denison's episcopate, was quite familiar with Tufnell's ministry and his extra-parochial activities. Tufnell was soon involved in diocesan business. He already held a prebendal stall, and was a rural dean.⁵⁹ In these two capacities Tufnell met with the bishop and senior clergy at ruridecanal and archidiaconal meetings to discuss a wide range of subjects impinging on church life.⁶⁰ He was on the Diocesan Board of Education and was a deputy inspector of schools.⁶¹ These activities kept him in touch with the current education debate, in which his former rector, the Rev. G.A. Denison, figured largely.⁶²

Tufnell maintained his contact with university life as Oxford was still within easy reach. He was elected moderator in philosophy in 1851 and again in 1856. The zenith of his Oxford career was in 1857, when he became Senior Proctor of the university. His office was for twelve months, each college providing a man for the office in cycle. Often they were elected by the college simply by seniority, and this may explain Tufnell's election.⁶³ During their term of office, the Proctors had to reside, and Tufnell sought a

⁵⁷Crowther, p.160.

⁵⁸*DNB* for both Denison and Hamilton, but see A.E. Bridge, *passim*, and especially, R.A. Burns pp.28 n. 25, 71,132,147 n.74, 157.

⁵⁹The office of rural dean had been restored earlier in the century, and rural deans were being given increased administrative duties; rural deans were 'men of business'.

⁶⁰Meeting, 14 July 1856 in HAM 2/1/2, (Hamilton papers), Pusey House (PH), Oxford; R.A. Burns, pp.75-107.

⁶¹Diocesan Diary, 9 January 1855; HAM 2/1/1, PH; and Hamilton's record of 'Meetings of Archdeacons, Rural Deans, etc. at Sarum', 14 August 1857; HAM 2/1/2, PH.

⁶²J. Coombs, *passim*.

⁶³W.R. Ward, *Victorian Oxford*, London, Frank Cass & Co, 1965, p.149.

licence from his bishop for non-residence, and employed a curate in his place.⁶⁴ As Senior Proctor, Tufnell sat on the Hebdomadal Council (University Senate) of the university alongside such people as Francis Jeune (Pembroke), Benjamin Symons (Wadham) and Edward Hawkins (Oriol). At the time, the Earl of Derby was Chancellor of the university, a fact of some importance in the matter of Tufnell's being offered the See of Brisbane, as we will soon see. As Proctor, Tufnell came in contact with the governing elite - the key players in both university and national politics. He was elected Select Preacher in 1858.

Well before he completed his term as Proctor, Hamilton asked Tufnell to take the vacant living of St Peter and St Paul, Marlborough.⁶⁵ He was collated and instituted to the benefice in the rather dilapidated parish church on 29 June 1858.⁶⁶ On his resignation of Beechingstoke, Tufnell had to resign his prebend; however, Hamilton was soon in the position to offer another, that of Bedminster and Radcliffe, which he held from 3 July 1858.⁶⁷ Tufnell hardly had time to settle into his new responsibilities at Marlborough, as Hamilton reported in his diary in early December: '*Tufnell has won golden opinions*, he is I fear about to leave us for Brisbane, an irreparable loss to this diocese'.⁶⁸

The Brisbane Appointment

Colonial bishops were appointed by the Crown under the advice of the Secretary of State for the Colonies who submitted the name to the Archbishop of Canterbury for approval.⁶⁹ There is political colour to the appointment. When Tufnell laid down his office as Senior Proctor at Oxford University, the Earl of Derby was Chancellor of the university and had just formed a government on the fall of the Palmerston administration. Derby was Prime Minister from February 1858 to June 1859. In his oration at the convocation of the

⁶⁴Diocesan Diary, 15 April 1856; 28 December, 1856; HAM 2/1/1, PH.

⁶⁵ It represented a loss of income; Hamilton's Diary, 12 January 1858. HAM 1/1/6. PH. See also Tufnell's obituary in *The Chichester Express and West Sussex Journal*, 15 December 1896, p.1963.

⁶⁶Diocesan Diary, 29 June 1858; HAM 2/1/1, PH.

⁶⁷H.J. Jones, *Fasti Ecclesiae Sarisberiensis*, Salisbury, Brown & Co., 1879.

⁶⁸My emphasis; Hamilton's diary, 11 December, 1858. HAM 2/1/1, PH.

⁶⁹ In a private, not an official, capacity. See p. 69.

university at the termination of his period of office as Proctor, Tufnell reviewed the events of the year significant to the university and the nation, and applauded Derby's appointment, concurring in his policies.⁷⁰ It was a very public affirmation of and identification with the Tory government and its policies.

It seems that Tufnell was sounded out about the bishopric of Brisbane by Ernest Hawkins, the secretary of SPG, in his capacity as secretary of the Colonial Bishoprics Council.⁷¹ Tufnell was hesitant, as he had not been long at Marlborough. He asked for some time to consult privately with his bishop (Hamilton), and his eldest brother, the Rev. John Charles Fowell Tufnell, though he responded positively, expressing a desire to work with Bishop Tyrrell of Newcastle, from whose diocese the Diocese of Brisbane was to be created.⁷² He also made a remark that future critics would seize on when he wrote: 'I suppose it is not necessary to be a rider, for I am not'.⁷³ The letter was dated 14 November, less than a month before Hamilton's diary entry.

Ernest Hawkins, who as secretary of both SPG and CBF, wrote to the Colonial Office on 3 December, communicating the approval of Tufnell 'as a person admirably qualified' for the See of Brisbane by the Archbishop of Canterbury. He was 'well-suited by his devotion, temper and discretion'. There are two copies of the letter, one on plain notepaper (812 New South Wales) and one on SPG notepaper (12380 New South Wales). The former one has some notes written by various officials of the Colonial Secretary's office attached; Bulwer Lytton drew attention to the fact that Tufnell was 'not at ease on horseback', but 'is quite prepared to master the art'. Further he wrote that Tufnell was a 'ready speaker and has great tact and conciliatoriness of manner'.⁷⁴ These letters bear

⁷⁰*The Guardian*, 21 April 1858, p.314.

⁷¹ It was usually better known as the Colonial Bishoprics Fund (CBF), and later became the Overseas Bishoprics Fund.

⁷² For a map of the diocese of Brisbane at the time of its foundation, see Appendix 1, map 2.

⁷³E.W. Tufnell to E. Hawkins, 14 November 1858. Overseas Bishoprics Fund records, OBF/COR/DIO/11 document 6, Church of England Record Centre (CERC), South Bermondsey.

⁷⁴E. Hawkins to E. Bulwer Lytton, 3 December 1858, 812 & 12380, New South Wales. CO 201/506, NSW. AJCP, 673, ANL.

witness to the process of consultation described above on the appointment of colonial bishops being carried out in practice.

Besides the obvious political and ecclesiastical elements of Tufnell's nomination, there were other distinctly colonial considerations. The Governor of New South Wales was Sir William Denison, brother of the late Bishop Denison of Salisbury and of the Rev. G.A. Denison, who had been Tufnell's rector at Broadwindsor. Another brother, John Evelyn Denison, was speaker of the House of Commons from 1857.⁷⁵ Bishop W.K. Hamilton, Bishop Denison's successor, had a brother, E.W.T. Hamilton, who had been a partner of Matthew Henry Marsh in squatting interests in New England and the Darling Downs in the 1840s and 1850s. Marsh was the son of the Chancellor of Salisbury Diocese, the Rev. Matthew Marsh. Both Matthew Henry Marsh and E.W.T. Hamilton represented Salisbury in the House of Commons in the late fifties and early sixties and were well-known to John Evelyn Denison, speaker of the house. Marsh had been very active in lobbying around the House and the Colonial Office for the separation of Queensland from New South Wales. Tufnell would have had considerable notional support, at least, in these directions: in fact he was well-known to the extended Denison and Hamilton families, as Bishop Hamilton's 'visitor's book' demonstrates. Frequent visitors included various members of the Denison family including the bishop's widow; Oxford luminaries such as Francis Jeune (of Pembroke College) and T.L. Cloughton (Professor of Poetry); many colonial and British bishops; and key churchmen such as W.F. Hook of Leeds; the ritualist, A.H. Mackonochie; Henry Drury, chaplain of the House of Commons; Robert Phillimore; and E.W. Gladstone. Tufnell's name is one of the most frequently occurring in the book.⁷⁶ He was a well-connected gentleman in Church, State and University 'at

⁷⁵ W.L. Guttsman used the Denison family as an illustrative example of the English ruling class. See W.L. Guttsman, *The English Ruling Class*, London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1969, pp. 46-47.

⁷⁶ *Autographs*, a domestic visitor's book? HAM 1/5/2, PH. *DNB*, *ADB* for entries on the Denisons, Marshes and Hamiltons. For Marsh's lobbying, see B. Knox, "'Care is More Important than Haste': Imperial Policy and the Creation of Queensland 1856-9", *Historical Studies*, 17, 1976, pp.64-83.

home', and with both the governing elite of the colony and its squatting interests. He was an obvious candidate for the nucleus of a colonial Anglican clerisy.

The wheels of bureaucracy moved slowly and it was not till April of 1859 that Tufnell received formal notification of his episcopal nomination.⁷⁷ The pace then quickened and the appointment was announced in the London *Times* on May 10.⁷⁸ Tufnell's consecration, along with bishops for St Helena and Bangor, took place at Westminster Abbey on Whit-Tuesday, 14 June, 1859. The principal consecrating bishop was the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the preacher was the Rev. T.L. Cloughton, Professor of Poetry at Oxford.⁷⁹

Basing his sermon on Acts 8:14-16, Cloughton preached on 'The Use and Excellency of the Episcopal Office'. The sermon reflected the preacher's High Church leanings, and he began by spelling out the importance in the early church of the laying on of hands by the apostles as a means of imparting the gift of the Holy Spirit.⁸⁰ In true High Church manner he claimed that the kind of gifts released in the early church had ceased; prophecy, tongues and gifts of healing were no longer seen.⁸¹ It was a conservative theological position that deprecated enthusiasm, only manifested among Nonconformists and Dissenters.⁸² Cloughton placed the rite of confirmation in the context of apostolic succession, the rite itself being descendant of the apostolic laying on of hands:

There comes a time in the life of every member of the church . . . when a Father in God, or Bishop, who stands in all those separate congregations or churches in the stead of an apostle . . . lays his hands on each severally, and commends each

⁷⁷ E.W. Tufnell to E. Hawkins, 14 April 1859. OBF/CORR/DIO/11, document 8, CERC.

⁷⁸ See also, *Guardian*, 11 May 1859. The *Wiltshire County Mirror* had it first, on 4 May 1859.

⁷⁹ The assisting bishops were the Bishops of London, Salisbury, Oxford, Columbia, Western New York, Llandaff, Brechin and Capetown. Cloughton was the brother of the new Bishop of St Helena, and of the Rev H.C. Cloughton who served for some years in Brisbane under Bishop Tufnell.

⁸⁰ Cloughton, pp. 3,4.

⁸¹ Cloughton, p. 5.

⁸² Samuel Wilberforce took his clergy to task for co-operating with Dissenters; letter to the Rev. T. Gurme, Pugh, p.125. See also letter to Rev. W.T. Eyre, p. 208 of the same book. Also see, A.B. Webster, *Joshua Watson. Story of a Layman 1771-1855*, London, SPCK, 1954, pp. 20-21.

severally to God in Christ, and prays that the one spirit by which they were all baptised into one body may dwell in each of them forever!⁸³

The bishop's responsibility does not end there, as he is expected to follow up those he has confirmed 'to hold up the weak; heal the sick; bind up the broken; bring again the outcast; seek the lost' as the liturgy for the consecration of a bishop charges him. He also had to care pastorally for his clergy, in a ministry of oversight:

Never shall we find the true energy and vitality of the Episcopal office developed till we can look to our fathers, the Bishops for their real help and aid.⁸⁴

Besides this very patriarchal image of the bishop in relation to both the clergy and the laity, Claughton emphasised the notion of the bishop as the centre of unity of the diocese. This was something the Tractarians, especially Newman, had rediscovered, and we hear echoes of this when Claughton claimed of a diocese, that the unity of churches under one head is the principle of Catholicity. In this sense the bishop was the ruler of the diocese, and his role was to make the work of spreading the Gospel 'sure'; to regulate, control and develop it.⁸⁵ In fact, Claughton claimed that all real Church extension, according to apostolic order, implies extension of the episcopate,⁸⁶ that is another way of saying *ubi episcopus, ibi ecclesia*, where a bishop, there the church.⁸⁷ This high doctrine of the episcopate was brought into conjunction with the expectation that a bishop should be of high social rank when he said:

⁸³ Claughton, pp7,8.

⁸⁴ Claughton, pp. 8,9.

⁸⁵ Claughton, p. 12. Manning makes the point in a letter to Bishop Wilberforce; Newsome, p. 216.

⁸⁶ Claughton, p.14.

⁸⁷ Anonymous, 'Palmer on Protestantism', in *British Critic*, vol.31, January-April 1842. There is a quotation in this article, attributing its use to William Palmer of Magdalen College, Oxford, from the Acts of the Synod of Bethlehem as transmitted to the nonjuring bishops by the Eastern Church: 'without a bishop there cannot exist any Church, nor any Christian man, not so much as in name'. Palmer also emphasised the role of the bishop as a centre of unity in the Church. The expression comes from the Letters of Ignatius of Antioch; Letter to the Smyrneans, 8-2. I thank the Rev. John Steele for identifying this for me.

The nature of influence and access which our bishops have to those in the upper ranks of society especially suggests the benefit which might – and often does – accrue from using the power of theirs thus unto the furtherance of the gospel, so that all people may know that they are not only rulers of the clergy but also shepherds and bishops of souls.⁸⁸

These sentiments reflect the values expressed by Tyrrell and Bulwer Lytton, who were quoted at the beginning of the chapter. The bishop of an English colony needed to be an English gentleman.

Tufnell, The Bishop

Bishop Tyrrell, Professor Cloughton and the Duke of Newcastle all expected the new bishop to use his influence among friends and acquaintances to raise funds for his diocese in England, as it was unlikely that a new colony would be able to endow a see without drawing on the resources of the mother country. He was quick to do so.⁸⁹ He returned to Westminster Abbey on 13 July, the first of many preaching and speaking engagements undertaken before his departure the following May. He visited small villages and big cities in much of the southern half of the country, the eastern counties, London, the Midlands, and the south-west, especially in areas where he could count on support from school-fellows, Oxonians and SPG contacts.⁹⁰ Many of these sermons and speeches were reported in the local press, and we have a good idea of how Tufnell saw his episcopal task. At Norwich, he set forward a three part plan. His primary task would be to provide for the

⁸⁸ Cloughton, p. 10.

⁸⁹ Tyrrell to CBF, 6 June 1857, *CBF Letterbook, No1*, CERC, London; Cloughton, p. 10; Newcastle to Denison, June 23 1858, CO/503 NSW, AJCP reel 671, ANL. These ideas were elaborated in a paper given in Hobart in 2000: H. Le Couteur, 'Using the "Old Boys" Network: Bishop Tufnell's search for men and money,' AHA Conference, Hobart, 2000.

⁹⁰ *Wiltshire County Mirror*, 13, 27 July, 3, 24 August 23 November, 1859; *Norfolk Chronicle and Norwich Gazette*, 15 October 1859; *Congleton Advertiser*, 13 August 1859; *Staffordshire Times and Newcastle Pioneer*, 13 August 1859; *Essex and West Suffolk Gazette*, 9 September 1859; *Cambridge Independent Press*, 17 March 1859; *Guardian*, 13, 20 July, 17 August, 14 September, 12 October, 2, 9, 16, 30 November 1859, 4 January, 7 March, 4 April 1860.

spiritual necessities of the English settlers for whom provision had been woefully inadequate; there being only three clergymen and four permanent churches.⁹¹ The next task was to develop a mission to the Aboriginal people. In this part of his speech he repeated many of the popular misconceptions of the aboriginal population, including that they were incapable of being ‘civilised’ or ‘converted’. Further, he justified white expropriation of their lands on the basis that the English settlers would be better stewards of the land. In return for taking their land, it was the responsibility of English colonists to convert the native people. The third part of his work would be a mission to the ‘coolies’ that were about to be brought in to cultivate cotton and sugar in coastal areas. Here he betrays the sources of his information about the new colony of Queensland: the views of the Aborigines and the prospects of the cotton and sugar industries suggest that his informers were from the squatting classes and the colonial gentry.⁹² As I have noted before, Tufnell had connections with such people.⁹³

The second half of the speech was centred on the needs of the new diocese: men and money. He was clear about the kind of clergy he wanted, quoting a settler’s letter approvingly:

The office of a bush minister is a difficult one to fill . . . He must be a *thorough gentleman*, a man of the world, a clever man (of course the writer pre-supposed that

⁹¹ The diocese was huge, and comprised all of Queensland south of the 21st parallel of latitude. At the time the diocese was formed there was no non-indigenous population living permanently north of that line. The population of the colony was 30,059 at the census of 1861, of which 13,436 were Anglicans (44.7%). Surprisingly, the area north of the 21st parallel was under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Sydney.

⁹² The squatter and member of the House of Commons for Salisbury, Matthew Henry Marsh, shared a platform with Bishop Tufnell at Salisbury in 1859, at which he gave a squatter’s view of the colony of Queensland. *MBC*, 27 December 1859.

⁹³ In fact when he left the diocese in 1875, neither the Church of England nor any other denomination had done anything for the Aborigines at all, and the importation of Coolie labour did not take place. The cotton industry did not get off the ground, and indentured labourers were brought in from the Pacific Islands to provide labour in the sugar industry. The best reference is Kay Saunders, “‘The Black Scourge . . .’”; Racial Responses Towards Melanesians in Colonial Queensland’ in Ray Evans, Kay Saunders and Kathryn Cronin, *Race Relations in Colonial Queensland*, St Lucia, UQP, 1988 [1975], pp. 134-235.

he was a man of piety) - the first that he might be respected by all; the second, in order that he may respect the prejudices of individuals, and converse freely on different topics, and render himself agreeable. Then he should have four good horses - not one - for which he would have to give about 30 pounds each - and he would thus be able to be always on the move. He would be thought none the less of if he could shoe his own horse and mend his own saddle. [My emphasis.]

Tufnell felt that, initially, he would need to take with him seven such clergymen for parochial ministry with the means to support them. For this he sought £10,000 and another £5,000 for a cathedral. He finished with an emotional appeal on behalf of English settlers for whom he would like to provide a peal of bells for the cathedral, one of the few things ‘missed so much in a new country by those who cherished the associations with the mother country’:

The land he was going out to was beautiful and fertile. The finest grapes grew there in open air, and pines prospered like cabbages at home. The flowers there were very beautiful, but had no perfume; the birds were beautiful, but had no song; and the song that the emigrant missed most was the song of the church bells in the old country at home, and like the captive Israelite he felt, “how shall we sing the Lord’s song in a strange land?” A land where there were none of the associations of Christian England must, at least for a time, seem a strange land indeed.⁹⁴

The cultural values of Christian England were among the most important items of luggage Tufnell was to take to Queensland.

One of Tufnell’s Queensland informants was Captain Robert Towns, who had extensive investments there. He was present at a meeting late in October in the schoolroom at Christ Church, St. Pancras.⁹⁵ After Tufnell’s speech, Towns addressed the meeting, confirming all that the bishop had said, but especially the prospects for the cotton trade, for which coolie labour would be needed. In response to Tufnell’s speech, in which he said he would have to live on £200 annually, Towns offered the bishop the use of his

⁹⁴ *Norfolk Chronicle and Norwich Gazette*, 15 October 1859, p.3. This echoes sentiments expressed by Bishop Selwyn prior to his departure for New Zealand; G.A. Selwyn, *How shall we sing the Lord’s song in a strange land? A sermon preached at the Cathedral Church of St Peter, Exeter, on Sunday Dec. 12, 1841, previous to his departure from England*, Exeter, P.A. Hannaford, 1842.

⁹⁵ Towns was identified as ‘Tomes’ in the report.

house in South Brisbane, or the rent, if it had been let. Towns' contribution to the meeting raised considerable interest. The newspaper report of the meeting ended with an extended quotation from a letter from a Queensland clergyman to his sister which described the monthly tours he made to outlying districts under his care, and commented on the acute need for more clergy.⁹⁶ The same newspaper reported on a meeting at Wadham College, where Tufnell addressed a weightier audience, including many heads of colleges (Symons, Bulley, Bliss, Scott, and Lightfoot). Woollcombe of Balliol, a convinced High Churchman, and later to be one of the bishop's commissaries, and J.W. Burgon, another High Churchman, were also present. Tufnell's main purpose was to recruit young clergymen for Brisbane, calling on Oxford men to go out for a few years, at least, to contribute to the Church's ministry in the colony.⁹⁷

Tufnell's speeches were not only reported in the British press, but in Brisbane too. There is a verbatim report from the *Wiltshire County Mirror* in the *Brisbane Courier* of an SPG meeting at Salisbury at which Tufnell spoke.⁹⁸ The content is similar to that of the Norwich speech, adapted for a Salisbury audience. A letter sent out by Bishop Hamilton to his clergy soliciting assistance for the diocese of Brisbane brought a stern rebuke from the editor of the *Brisbane Courier*, who took exception to the reference to the spiritual destitution of Moreton Bay settlers, claiming the colony was portrayed in a miserable light.⁹⁹ Tufnell could not afford to offend colonial sensibilities, but he was very dependent on others for their picture of life in the new colony of Queensland, and they seem to have

⁹⁶ *Guardian*, 2 November 1859, pp.931-932. The letter may have been written by Benjamin Glennie, who was based at Drayton on the Darling Downs or John Mosely, at Ipswich.

⁹⁷ *Guardian*, 2 November 1859.

⁹⁸ *MBC*, 19 October 1859.

⁹⁹ *MBC*, 8, 15 December 1859.

represented the landed interests. When he left he had received £6,036 13s. 6d. for his diocese, and had gathered seven clergymen and four school teachers to go with him.¹⁰⁰ He appointed the Revs. Henry Drury of Salisbury and E. Woollcombe of Balliol to be his commissaries in England.¹⁰¹ The group sailed for Brisbane on 5 May 1860.

From Metropole to Periphery

Tufnell belonged to the English gentry; his social background, education and professional career had prepared him for leadership. Unsurprisingly, he soon inserted himself into the colonial governing and ruling classes, and was readily accepted.¹⁰² The governor, writing to Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, wrote:

As to Religion and Education I shall have the advantage of co-operation of an able and excellent Oxford friend, - Tufnell whom you have appointed first Bishop of Brisbane.¹⁰³

Bowen also commented on their connections a few years later, in a letter to Ernest Hawkins of SPG, displaying the strength of the Eton and Oxford connections and affirming the importance of their social standing:

We are quite an Oxford party at Brisbane. Besides the Bishop and myself, we have two fellows of All Souls' Herbert and Bramston, who came out with me - the first as Colonial Secretary and the second as Private Secretary and there are more gentlemen now than in most colonies.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰ Revs Mackenzie, Sutton, Gee, Ransome, Jones, Moberly, and Tomlinson; and Messrs Fewings, Barber, Ransome, and Kerby

¹⁰¹ *Guardian*, 9 May, (p.409); 23 May, (p.457) 1860.

¹⁰² Terminology here is a minefield. That of William Thorpe has merit for the colonial situation though it must be pointed out that in the colonies the colonial ruling class was not the social equivalent of the English ruling class, which was far more aristocratic. In Thorpe's terms, which do not provide for the ecclesiastical hierarchy, Tufnell is in a rather anomalous position akin to the imperial ruling class and the imperial governing class, as displayed in his table 4.1, p.147. William Thorpe, *Colonial Queensland*, St Lucia, UQP, 1996, pp. 146-153. For English class definitions see, Norman Gash, *Aristocracy and People; Britain 1815-1865*, London, Edward Arnold, 1979, pp.17-20.

¹⁰³ Bowen often 'talked up' the colony in his dispatches. G. Bowen to E. Bulwer Lytton, 3 May 1859. Bulwer Lytton papers, D/EK/024/112; AJCP, M1177, ANL.

¹⁰⁴ G. Bowen to E. Hawkins, 18 December 1861; SPG Letters Received, AJCP, M1454, ANL.

Tufnell's educational and social background was obviously quite acceptable to the cream of Brisbane society. His installation by the Rev. John Mosely as Bishop of Brisbane in St. John's Church took place two days after his arrival, after morning prayers had been read by the Rev. Lacy Rumsey. The governing class were well-represented by the Governor, the Colonial Treasurer, the President of the Legislative Council, a good number of members of the Legislative Assembly, and many other 'gentlemen of influence'.¹⁰⁵ The Governor's private secretary read the Letters Patent in his capacity as acting registrar of the diocese. The newspapers reported it rather as a civic occasion than a religious one, though it was admitted that his sermon was an excellent one.¹⁰⁶

The relationship with the colonial ruling class was soon a matter of newspaper comment. Prior to Tufnell's arrival in the colony, the colonial parliament had abolished all financial and other material aid for religious purposes including the abolition of aid to schools. This issue was raised by the *Courier* during the bishop's initial visitation of the diocese during which he visited many squatters' stations.¹⁰⁷ The *Courier* took him to task:

If report speaks truly, he has commenced a crusade against the blasphemers who believe not in State aid. He is visiting the stations and stirring up the squatters to put their hands in the public purse, and hide their individual stinginess by a successful appropriation of the public revenue. He will no doubt succeed in convincing their willing minds that it is much better that the community should pay the parson than themselves.¹⁰⁸

This relationship with the squatters is not surprising. Squatters comprised a significant part of both the Legislative Assembly and more particularly, the Legislative Council. They

¹⁰⁵ And their wives, presumably, though they do not figure in the press reports.

¹⁰⁶ *MBC*, 6 September 1860.

¹⁰⁷ The visitation took seven weeks and he held services at 27 locations. Tufnell to Hawkins, SPG Letters Received, Australia, 1857-1900. AJCP, M1454, ANL.

¹⁰⁸ *MBC*, 3 November 1860.

were men of wealth and power – and even, of education.¹⁰⁹ As most of them were Anglican, it was good strategy on the bishop's part to work with them. His close relationships with the ruling class can be seen in those whom he chose as his advisory committee for the investment of the endowment monies of the see – Colonel Maurice O'Connell, President of the Legislative Council, the Attorney-General, Ratcliffe Pring, John James Galloway, MLC, and Henry Buckley, MLA. Initially, John Bramston the Governor's private secretary, was the diocesan registrar.¹¹⁰ However, there was a difference in the colonial situation from that 'at home', as 'gentlemen' did not have quite the same amount of leisure time to spend on church matters. He complained that it was hard to get people to exert themselves, which he attributed to the enervating climate and 'partly from every one being so fully occupied'.¹¹¹ This difficulty arose again later in his episcopate with the creation of a synod to govern the diocese. It was hard to get men to commit themselves to the work of committees of synod.

The debate about the virtues of denominational versus National education drew Bishop Tufnell into the public arena more than anything else during his Brisbane episcopate.¹¹² One of the characteristics of a Tory High Churchman was his defence of the Church of England as the National Church and he claimed for the church the responsibility for educating the children of the nation.¹¹³ He also claimed the right of the church to be the interpreter of scripture, as against the right of private judgement in such matters, and that the Book of Common Prayer, the Thirty-Nine Articles and the Catechism

¹⁰⁹ Arthur Hodgson of 'Eton Vale' had been with Tufnell at Eton, and had been to Cambridge without graduating. *ADB*, vol.4, p. 405.

¹¹⁰ Tufnell to Hawkins, SPG, 18 May, June 1861. SPG, Letters Received, AJCP, M1454, ANL.

¹¹¹ Tufnell to Hawkins, 11 April 1861. SPG Letters Received AJCP, M1454, ANL.

¹¹² Lawry, pp. 181-203.

¹¹³ E. Denison, *passim*.

were standards for the interpretation of scripture and the basis of the education of children.¹¹⁴ These views were in direct conflict with those of Dissenters/Nonconformists, radicals and liberals, all of whom denied the role of the church as the educator of the nation and its pre-eminent role in the interpretation of scripture.¹¹⁵ They all also claimed the right of private judgement in matters of faith (and politics).

During the debate about denominational education in 1864, when discussion was at its most acrimonious, the bishop fell back to a Tory High Church position:

It was said why can't members of the Church of England send their children to the board's schools? Because he, for one, preferred educating the children of his church as he and that church thought fit – (hear) – with religion as a basis. As members of the Church of England, they must desire to see carried out the directions they found in the prayer-book for the education of the young. (“Educate them at home”, “teach them on Sundays.”) So they would, but they would do it at school, too . . . on a late occasion in Toowoomba, the chairman of the board had praised the system as one that taught religion while another at the same meeting had boasted that the system had removed the apple of discord – religion – altogether. (Laughter.) Some thought religious differences of little consequence, and therefore could accept a system which, as was said, “eliminated” everything objectionable in religious instruction; but he, as a minister of the Church of England, did not think little of any of the forms of that church, nor any of the doctrinal points on which it differed from other communions.¹¹⁶

The consequence of not having a religiously based system of education would be a breakdown in law and order; they would see bushranging, and vice, and Sabbath-breaking prevailing in the land, and then they would remember that they had abolished state-aid to religion. On another occasion, Bishop Tufnell saw the exclusion of the Bible from schools as a contributory cause of the Indian Mutiny.¹¹⁷ There is little in this point of view that

¹¹⁴ E. Denison, pp. 3, 4. These views were also held by Denison's brother, the Rev. George Anthony Denison. Tufnell was influenced by both men as we have already seen.

¹¹⁵ The general reference here is still A.G. Austin, *Australian Education 1788-1900; Church, State and Public Education in Colonial Australia*, Carlton, Pitman Pacific, 3rd edition, 1972, pp. 75, 86, 118-123, 127-130, 174-177. Austin's citation of C.M.H. Clark and his assessment of it (p. 174) are especially apposite.

¹¹⁶ *BC*, 7 October 1864.

¹¹⁷ *BC*, 19 March 1863. He was quoted in the editorial.

differs from the kind of arguments put forward by Tory High Churchmen in support of the extension of the colonial episcopate, as was discussed in a previous chapter.

There was also a subtle class element in Tufnell's position. The Anglican population was largely working-class in its composition,¹¹⁸ but Tufnell was unwilling to leave the religious education of children to their parents:

The government system allowed of secular education only and left it to the parents or clergymen to impart the religious instruction. The laboring men in this colony had not the time to do this; nor were they all capable. It was the duty of the clergyman to watch over every child that he baptized: it was a duty required by the Church.¹¹⁹

At a time of rapid population growth, when the church's resources were greatly stretched, he was as keen as any Anglican bishop to claim as many Anglican children, however nominal, for the Church. Providing the children of the working class with a religiously based education was the best way of attaching them to the church; it was a view coloured by Coleridgean conservatism.

This class element came to the fore on another occasion, again in the context of the education debate, further defining Tufnell's own class views. In late 1864, a brief address was presented to Bishop Tufnell by a deputation of working men, thanking him for trying to provide for their children a religious education 'based on the Bible'. At the end of Tufnell's response to the address, we read:

I am sometimes told by those who are favourable to religious education, that they are afraid that the wishes of the working men will have little weight because so many of them have no voice in the election of our representatives; but I entertain a very different opinion of the members of the members of the Legislative Assembly; they ought not and I believe will not, so much regard this as a question affecting the education of their own children as that of the children of the working-classes. Be this, however, as it may, a large number of intelligent working men

¹¹⁸ This is fully discussed in chapter 5.

¹¹⁹ *BC*, editorial, 19 March 1863.

will, I trust, each year, by Divine blessing upon their honest industry obtain the privilege of the franchise, and it becomes our duty to use every constitutional means in our power that those who come after us may inherit the same freedom of religion and education which we in the mother country have ourselves inherited from our forefathers.¹²⁰

Two threads of this need to be drawn out; the first acknowledges that, because of the limited franchise, the Legislative Assembly was not representative of the views of working men.¹²¹ Tufnell seems afraid of greater democracy which could extend the franchise to all adult men (or women) and rather encourages working men to accumulate the necessary capital to meet the qualifications for the franchise.¹²² One could also be sceptical that the members of the Assembly would somehow protect the interests of the (unfranchised) working men of the colony. In fact it was in their interest not to do so, as they were generally professionals, squatters, and propertied urban men who were more likely to be committed to extending their own power and influence. The second thread is the wish that the colony may have the blessing of the freedom of religion and education that pertained in the 'mother country'. This expressed a yearning for a denominationally-based, State-assisted system of education more consonant with his views.

That Tufnell was more sympathetic to squatters and planters than to the working man is most clearly seen in his attitude to 'coolie' labour. Even prior to his arrival in Queensland he had accepted the desirability and even the inevitability of some kind of

¹²⁰ *BC*, 17 January 1865.

¹²¹ For a good overview of suffrage in Queensland at Separation, see G. Shaw, "'Filched From Us . . .': The Loss of Universal Manhood Suffrage in Queensland 1859-1863", *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, 26(3), 1980, pp. 372-385.

¹²² Those eligible to vote were to be natural-born or naturalised adult males who had lived in a particular location for six months or who had freehold or leasehold estate to the value of £100 or an annual value of £10, but there were strict qualifications that excluded many wage-earners, as Waterson notes; Duncan Waterson, *Squatter, selector and Storekeeper*, Sydney, SUP, 1968, p. 236. See also, A.A. Morrison, 'Politics in Early Queensland', *Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland*, 4, 1948-52, pp. 293-312.

indentured or coolie labour in the sugar and cotton industries.¹²³ He again put forward this view of the colony's labour needs in Toowoomba ten years later, when he advocated 'Polynesian' labour in the sugar industry to restore Queensland's prosperity. Writers of letters to both the *Toowoomba Chronicle* and the *Brisbane Courier* rebuked him.¹²⁴ This aligned him with the Premier, Robert Herbert, and Sir George Bowen who had both supported the introduction of coolie or indentured labour, and those who actually used it in the sugar industry, such as the Rev. Edward Tanner, Hon. Louis Hope, and Captain Robert Towns.¹²⁵ These relationships tied Bishop Tufnell closely to the ruling class in the eyes of the colonial liberals.

Tufnell's private life also reflected the social values of his background among the English gentry. Whatever his opinions on education or indentured labour may have been, he was recognisably a gentleman in speech, manner, bearing and lifestyle and belonged to the ruling class.¹²⁶ Soon after his arrival, his association with the squatters was noted critically in the Brisbane papers.¹²⁷ It was his practice on his pastoral visitations of the diocese to stay with the leading families of the district, cementing his ties with squatters both socially and as the bishop of the diocese.¹²⁸ It was also an opportunity to privately

¹²³ *Guardian*, 2 November 1859, reporting meetings at Christ Church schoolroom, St. Pancras and Wadham College, Oxford. Captain Robert Towns (see n. 13) was present at the meeting at St. Pancras, at which he endorsed Tufnell's views and offered him financial support.

¹²⁴ *TC*, 22 December, 1869; *BC*, 31 December 1869. Unfortunately we do not have the text of the speech. The speech post-dated the passing of the Polynesian Labourers Act of 1868, which aimed to prevent abuses. I am indebted to the Rev John Steele for this comment.

¹²⁵ Saunders, *passim* (especially); Knox, pp. 28-29; R.B. Joyce, pp. 28-30. In *ADB* there are references to indentured labour in the items on Herbert, Bowen, Hope and Towns. Tufnell described a visit to Towns plantation at Cleveland and his impressions of the Kanakas working there in a letter to Bullock at SPG; Tufnell to Bullock, 27 December 1869. SPG Letters Received, AJCP, M1454, ANL.

¹²⁶ Nancy Bonnin, ed., *Katie Hume on the Darling Downs*, Toowoomba, DDI Press 1985, pp. 71, 138; and in an item of Ipswich news, *BC*, 10 December.

¹²⁷ Letter from an Indignant Parishioner, *MBC*, 27 October 1860; editorial, *MBC*, 3 November 1860.

¹²⁸ M.M. Banks, *Memories of Pioneer Days in Queensland*, London, Heath Cranton, 1931, pp. 38-39; Bonnin, pp. 71, 138, 187; Tufnell to Hawkins, December 1860, SPG Letters Received, AJCP, M1454, ANL. This letter lists the stations he stayed at on a 7 week visitation.

canvass their material and moral support for the Church. At home in Brisbane, he lived a fairly simple bachelor's life at the vicarage of St John's Church, possibly sharing the house with one of the curates of the parish.

Early in 1865, Bishop Tufnell returned to England to raise more money for the diocese, to recruit more clergymen, and for a rest, especially in the light of several weeks of illness in mid-1864. His English visit was forcibly extended by two near-fatal illnesses.¹²⁹ Recovery was slow and he did not get back to Brisbane till mid-1867. When he did return, he took with him a wife, Laura Louisa. The records do not reveal his views on this step, though the reasons given by Bishop Edmund Hobhouse for marrying would be apposite. Hobhouse wanted to be able to create something of an English home and provide a remedy against 'isolation from congenial society'.¹³⁰ Nor is it surprising that the bishop should seek a wife in England. Few Australian women could claim the qualities of an English 'lady' necessary to advance the ecclesiastical/ imperial cause.¹³¹ To be genteel was necessary, with appropriate education and a substantial marriage settlement. Besides the three 'Rs', ladies needed to be more than passingly acquainted with music, languages, painting and needlework.¹³² Their speech and manners needed to be commensurate with their social standing,¹³³ and their demeanour was to be dignified, submissive to authority,

¹²⁹ Smallpox and what may have been typhoid fever.

¹³⁰ P. Sherlock, "'This Episcopal Hotel and Boarding House': Bishop's wives in colonial Australia and New Zealand", in M. Crotty and D Scobie, *Raiding Clio's Closet, Postgraduate Presentations in History 1997*, Parkville, History Dept, University of Melbourne, 1997, pp. 32-43.

¹³¹ B. Kingston, 'The Lady and the Australian Girl: Some Thoughts on Nationalism and Class', in *Australian Women, New Feminist Perspectives*, Melbourne, OUP, 1986, pp. 27-41; P. Clarke, *The Governesses: Letters from the Colonies, 1862-1882*, Sydney, Allen and Unwin, 1985, p. 56.

¹³² Clarke, p. 54; 84; Kingston, p.35. There is much in Nora Murray-Prior's letters touching on these matters, *NMPL*.

¹³³ Kingston, pp31-32; Clarke, p. 56; and Katie Hume's criticism of Mrs. Nevill; of women riding horses, and her approval of the ladylike Lady Bowen, pp. 98, 40, and 80 respectively of Bonnin.

and chaste, with more than a modicum of piety, especially for a bishop's wife.¹³⁴ They also had to be an adept hostess and competent household manager.¹³⁵ Bishop Tufnell did not have to look far to find a suitable English lady; he proposed to his distant cousin, Laura Louisa Tufnell. He rescued her from a spinsterly shelf in his late middle age. She was 28, and he was 53. The wedding itself was appropriate for families of landed wealth. The account in the *Essex Herald* was reprinted in the *Brisbane Courier*. The village and the park in front of the Tufnell seat were decorated by the locals with triumphal arches of evergreens decorated with mottos and coats of arms. (For her family home, see Plate 2.3).



Plate 2.3 Langleys, the Tufnell seat in Essex. The house has a substantial estate of about 4,000 acres, placing its owners among the ‘great’ landowners of the nineteenth century. It was Laura Tufnell’s family home. Photo taken by the author in 1997.

¹³⁴ Kingston, p 29. Blanch Mitchell’s diary indicates her very pious nature – see for example her entries relating to the death of Mrs Hely, 9-12 September 1866; *BMD*.

¹³⁵ Kingston, pp 32-33; p.189 of Anthony Fletcher, ‘Beyond the Church, Women’s Spiritual Experience at Home and in the community 1600-1900’, in R.N. Swanson, ed, *Gender and Christian Religion; Papers Read at the 1996 Summer Meeting and 1997 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, Boydell Press, 1998, p188-203.



Plate 2.4 Bishop Tufnell in episcopal dress, and his wife Laura Louisa, probably taken soon after their wedding in 1867. The bishop was almost 26 years older than his wife.

Photo courtesy of Mrs. Sarah Micklem, Langleys, Great Waltham, Essex.

The celebrant was a schoolfellow of Tufnell at Eton, now the Bishop of Rochester (Lord George Murray). Murray's daughter was also Laura's stepmother. Both branches of the Tufnell family were well-represented at the celebrations. The bride wore white satin and lace and had nine bridesmaids, also dressed in white. The wedding, before a 'large and fashionable company' of friends and family in the village church, was also something of a musical feast, with hymns from the recently released *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, and voluntaries by Mendelssohn. The newlyweds then holidayed at Brighton, resort of the well-to-do and an old Tufnell haunt. The day before the wedding, there was a deputation of tenants and friends who presented Laura with their wedding gift – a handsome silver

salver – proof that the days of deference to the squire and his family had not yet passed.¹³⁶

Mrs. Tufnell (pictured with the bishop in Plate 2.4) received no attention from the Brisbane press, and contemporary references are rare. Katie Hume noted that she was pleasant-looking, but not pretty. Mrs. Tufnell, Mrs. Robert Ramsay and Mrs. Arthur Hodgson were ‘bridesmaids’ at Mary Crawshaw’s marriage to the Rev. Benjamin Glennie, and the associations confirm the good relations enjoyed by the Tufnells and Glennies with the squatters.¹³⁷ Before the birth of their two children, Laura sometimes accompanied the bishop on his parish visitations. One such trip, with his wife and a servant, took him from Brisbane to Caboolture, Gympie, Maryborough, Gayndah, Nanango and Ipswich in an ‘American Buggy’. The trip, of 640 miles, took six weeks, during which they enjoyed the hospitality of many of the squatting fraternity. We know little of Mrs Tufnell’s life, except that she did not particularly enjoy the duty of entertaining.¹³⁸

The bishop’s occupancy of the St. John’s Parsonage was inconvenient for the incumbent of the parish and, while in England, Tufnell raised funds among his friends to build a more suitable bishop’s residence.¹³⁹ The result was the large, imposing house, *Bishopsbourne*, built in 1867-8 on a prominent hill in Milton.¹⁴⁰ Critics of the house thought the cost, about £3,000, was extravagant.¹⁴¹ The two-storeyed stone house with wide verandahs was well suited to the climate. It is still probably the grandest of houses of

¹³⁶ *BC*, 22 April 1867, taken from *Essex Herald*, 19 February 1867. The property, of about 4,000 acres would have placed the Tufnells among the great landowners of Britain; W.L. Burn, *The Age of Equipoise*, New York, Norton, 1965, p. 306; Guttman, p. 115.

¹³⁷ Bonnin, p. 128. Arthur Hodgson was a contemporary of Tufnell at Eton. Ramsay was Colonial treasurer and later became baronet of Coul, in Scotland.

¹³⁸ Memoir of her half-sister, Maria Strutt. Typescript held by Mrs. David Micklem at the Tufnell family seat of Langleys, Great Waltham, Essex.

¹³⁹ Account of synod meeting, *BC*, 4 February 1874.

¹⁴⁰ See map 4, Appendix 1.

¹⁴¹ W. Coote, from articles in *The Week* newspaper, Brisbane, 15 September 1877 to 12 January 1878. Unpaginated transcription (typescript) in the Brisbane Diocesan Archives

that period in the fashionable area between Toowong and ‘town’; neighbours included many of Brisbane’s wealthy elite; retired squatters, propertied townsmen, merchants and upper level public servants.¹⁴² The low hills provided river views and cooling breezes in the hot weather. The building and the site were appropriate for a representative of England’s ruling class, sent to the colony as a bearer of the values that class held dear.

Gentleman and Imperial Agent

Tufnell’s return to England was in itself a class-determined decision; only the well-to-do could afford it. For most emigrants, the trip to Australia was one-way only. A return to the metropole enabled the returnee to re-assess the relationship between metropole and periphery. The bishop could review his colonial role and make decisions about how he could more effectively achieve his goals. Tufnell’s objectives were all assertions of his class position: to raise money for the diocese; to recruit English clergy for the diocese; to gather funds for an episcopal residence; and his marriage. The money and clergy for the diocese were to reinforce the Englishness of the Anglican Church. In fact, the diocese was dependent on English clergy (but not so on English money) well into the twentieth century. The episcopal residence was a very assertive and powerful class symbol, locating the bishop as being well-entrenched in the colonial social elite and fed the criticism of his detractors. It was no palace, but it put the houses of most of his neighbours in their (lowlier) place. The bishop’s choice of a wife from his own social class in England implied that there were no suitable candidates in Brisbane, but was also an assertion of his need to stamp his domestic life with an unimpeachable genteel English character.

¹⁴² It is now the site of St Francis’ College; W. Stegemann, *Striving Together for the Faith of the Gospel: A History of St. Francis’ Theological College 1897-1997*, Woolloongabba, ATA-Riverside Graphics, 1997, pp. 92-93.

In appointing Tufnell to the See of Brisbane, those responsible for the choice selected someone with the appropriate educational and social background to be a leader in colonial society. However, in a society that was taking more account of merit, they chose someone with quite a wide experience in the church; an interest in education; considerable empathy for the colonial missionary work of SPG, and with the added prestige of his recent connection to Oxford University. To characterise Tufnell as a country parson, a Tractarian fellow traveller or an unworldly academic as some critics did, is a limited characterisation of his ability and his achievements. It ignores the role he was given – to be a colonial leader who would help attach the people to the institutions of the mother country by representing the values of the class who chose him for the task. Though the Church of England was not established in the colony, his English patrons expected him to defend her rights and privileges as far as he was able and to be an imperial agent of English culture.

Chapter 3

A Clerical Caste? A Different Kind of Gentlemen? Clergy and their Wives.

. . . people begin to complain that 'the accomplishments of a scholar and the refinement of a gentleman' are not such common attributes of the English clergy as they used to be, and that there is reason to fear that they will become more scarce still. It is, moreover,

asserted that a significant correspondence exists between the decline of these qualities among the clergy and the increase of the number of literates. Consequently it is thought that the best way to check this deterioration, and to maintain, and even improve, the scholarly and gentlemanly tone of the English priesthood, is to make such reforms in the two great universities as shall attract to them those candidates for holy orders who now go forth as literates.

Christian Remembrancer, vol. LIII, no XXXV, 1867, p. 117.

When asked how they imagined a nineteenth century Anglican parson, a group of Anglicans attending a parish function all referred in some way to Trollope, either from the *Barchester Chronicles*, or from the television adaptation of them. In one sense Trollope's *Barchester* novels are an exploration (or exploitation?) of clerical character.¹ As is often the case with writers of fiction, he tends to exaggerate some of their qualities for the purposes of a good story. Nevertheless, his books were topical, as there was a real concern in the society of his day about what were appropriate qualities for a clergyman. The quotation at the head of the chapter, by an anonymous reviewer of two books on pastoral theology, raises the

¹ W.L. Burn, *The Age of Equipoise*, New York, Norton & Co., 1965, pp. 78, 79.

issue of what constituted ‘clerical character’, and insists on a clergyman necessarily being both a scholar and a gentleman.² This raises the issue of the Anglican parson’s place in the community and how closely Anglican clergy in colonial Queensland matched the imagined English ideal.

The ‘Gentleman Heresy’

Brian Heeney has made the point that ‘what a clergyman was mattered quite as much as what he did’. He quoted Ashton Oxenden, the Evangelical rector of Pluckley:

He is not to go through a certain routine of duties; he is not to put on a little official sanctity now and then. He is to be a living pattern to Christians, a living rebuke to sinners . . . He is, in short, a man of consecrated character.³

This consecrated character was conferred at ordination; as one reviewer put it, ‘each clergyman derives his dignity from the fact of his ordination’.⁴ In this sense he was a ‘different sort of gentleman’ giving credence to the view that clergymen constituted a ‘clerical caste’. It connotes a sense of difference underwritten by personal sanctity:

There must . . . be . . . even for parochial purposes, deep abstract learning, and the profoundest piety – learning and piety which shrink instinctively from the rough work in the battle of the world . . . the parochial clergyman must . . . reserve to himself from the absorption of business his hours of study and devotion. If he fails in this, the fruits of his labours and the powers of his own mind must wither and die away.

One wonders whether such a parson would be too heavenly minded to be any earthly use.

The conscious separation of clerical character from the mundane was meant to create

² *Christian Remembrancer*, vol. LIII, no. XXXV, 1867, p. 117; responding to Lecky’s *Rise and Influence of Rationalism in Europe*, vol. ii, p. 62. Literates had not had a university education before ordination.

³ Brian Heeney, *A Different Kind of Gentleman; Parish Clergy as Professional Men in Early and Mid-Victorian England*, Hampden, Conn., Archon Books, 1976, p.11.

⁴ *Christian Remembrancer*, ‘The Pastoral Office’, vol. XLIX, no. CXXVIII, April 1865, p. 417. *The Bishopric of Souls* is a sustained discussion of this view of clerical character; R.W. Evans, *The Bishopric of Souls*, 5th. edition, London, Rivingtons, 1877.

social distance between clergy and laity, or rather, to separate the clergyman from the ‘worldliness’ of the laity.⁵ Social distance was seen as an integral part of clerical character, with the laity being ‘distant imitators’ of the clergy.⁶ The corollary was that the clergy should come from the ‘more educated classes of society . . . not the lower’; clergy must be gentlemen. The occupation was well-designed for a leisured class:

‘the social rank of the English clergyman . . . draws into the clerical profession not only many men and sons of men who possess money, but not rank, but also many who possess both rank and money, *and desire only a healthy and beneficial occupation for their lives*’ (my emphasis).⁷

There was a real fear that if the social standing of clerical recruits was lowered, the church would lose the benefit of the wealth of gentlemen clergy, and ‘some of the highest and most gifted minds most capable of discharging its functions’.⁸ The clerical profession could provide the leisure and income to support a life dedicated to literary or scientific pursuits. This elitist view of the clerical profession provided no place at all for people from the lower strata of English society, and as it will be argued, was inappropriate for colonial society.

The broad elements of the discussion on ‘gentlemanly values’ in a previous chapter applied to the clergy. Education was of central importance, preferably beginning at a private school and stamping boys with ‘a manly, practical, sensible English

⁵ The same writer claimed: ‘Both truth and holiness risk defilement – risk, at least, the lowering of the tone – by too much collision with the world. The hard labourers, rough battlers with the world, must see above them a reserved force of knowledge, and a most elevated standard of spiritual life, to correct, guide, and elevate themselves’; Anon., ‘Training of the Clergy’, *Quarterly Review*, vol. 3, no. 222, 1862, pp. 409, 410. This was not an isolated view. Another writer claimed that the social status of the Anglican clergy was higher than any other, and was concerned that it could be easily undermined. *Christian Remembrancer*, vol. XLIX, no. CXXVIII, April 1865, p. 445.

⁶ *Christian Remembrancer*, vol. XLIX, no. CXXVIII, April 1865, p. 445. For social distance between clergy and laity, see Rowan Strong, ‘the Reverend John Wollaston and Colonial Christianity in Western Australia, 1840-1863’, *Journal of Religious History*, 25(3), October, 2001, pp. 266-271.

⁷ ‘Training of Clergy’, p. 411.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 413.

character'.⁹ Such schools were factories for gentlemen providing the environment for middle class children (and a few from the lower classes) to become gentlemen, and perhaps Anglican clergymen. Beyond a classical education, the schools encouraged and developed the qualities that made gentlemen; manners, responsibility, character. The product of such schools was leadership, and their graduates became politicians, civil servants, army officers, magistrates – and clergy.¹⁰ One gets the impression that these values were being espoused by someone who was himself the product of a public school, and was writing with a kind of nostalgia for an idealised past.¹¹ The system of education in the all-male society of the public school was imperative for future parsons, and dispensed best by clergymen, of course. It was to be characterised by Anglican moderation; the school must be imbued with religion, but it must be restrained, the 'religion of the English church – calm, simple, sober, and sincere'. The writer held Winchester, Eton and Harrow up as examples of the institutions he favoured. They were characterised by 'power, wealth, dignity, position, habits of command, which they imparted in degree to all their members'.¹² It was a narrow view of education, which restricted the provenance of future clergy to the sons of men of rank and money. This view extended beyond school to University. A University education was indispensable, as at mid-nineteenth century theological colleges had yet to prove their worth:

our clergy . . . for the most part, have been educated in our great Universities [read Oxford and Cambridge], where they have learned, not the temper of clerical partisans, but that of *scholars and gentlemen*. And we think the day would be much deplored, when desire for some effectual clerical training should separate off

⁹ Ibid., p. 420.

¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 418-419. See also, Philip Mason, *The English Gentleman: The Rise and Fall of an Ideal*. London, Pimlico, 1993, p.163.

¹¹ 'Training of the Clergy', p. 419.

¹² Ibid.

our youth, and consign the future candidates for Orders to seminaries and theological colleges.¹³ (My emphasis.)

This expresses the Coleridgean idea that parishes should have ‘resident gentlemen’, and that only a highly cultivated clergy could provide appropriate leadership. The writer claimed that ‘the religion of the multitude will not rise above the intellectual level of its teachers’.¹⁴ This did not take account of the great cultural distance between a clergyman with such a privileged education, and the workingman to whom he was expected to minister. A shared educational experience did, however, provide a bond between the clergy and the laity of the upper reaches of society, which was of great importance to some.¹⁵ Perhaps that may have been true if their ministry was limited to the ‘top ten thousand’. The alternative, a specifically clerical education, could be dangerous, especially if it took place in a seminary patterned on the Roman Catholic ones like Maynooth in Ireland, with its ‘exclusive and sacerdotal spirit’.¹⁶ Archdeacon Harris of Wiltshire criticised the Roman Catholic system of clerical education, involving the separation of ordination candidates from the laity from the age of about sixteen, so that their ‘associations and tastes’ diverged radically from them.¹⁷ The fear was that a clerical caste would not properly integrate into broader society because it did not share its values. It was a strong argument in favour of the education of the clergy alongside the laity.

¹³ Anon., ‘Mr. Anthony Trollope and the English Clergy’, in *The Contemporary Review*, vol. 2, 1866, p. 254.

¹⁴ C.P. Reichel, ‘University Reform in Relation to Theological Study’, *Contemporary Review*, vol. 1, April 1866, p. 518.

¹⁵ ‘Mr. Anthony Trollope’, p. 254. The writer was reviewing Trollope’s book, *Clergymen of the Church of England*. See also, *Quarterly Review*, vol. 103, no. 205, 1858, p. 160.

¹⁶ *Quarterly Review*, vol. 103, no. 205, p. 160.

¹⁷ Cited by Heeney, p. 30.

The Oxbridge education placed great value on a classical education – principally the study of two dead languages, Latin and Greek, and the cultures that produced them. The University study of theology and subjects pertaining to the clerical profession were not compulsory for those intending to seek ordination. The desideratum of an Oxbridge education was a guarantee of gentility, but its value in preparing clergy for their pastoral roles was debatable. This was recognised by bishops who were advocating a more thorough preparation for ordinands at theological colleges. Ideally, these colleges provided postgraduate training, but they were also providing education for ordinands who were not graduates. Some critics saw this as a backdoor entrance to a clerical career for those without the academic ability or social polish.¹⁸

An alternative was to place ordinands, after their graduation from University, with senior clergymen with whom they would ‘read’ theology for a year or more before being made a deacon. Often the candidate also taught in the parish school and undertook limited pastoral work, under close supervision. In this case the ordinand was to pattern himself on the older clergyman; a common process in the colonies where educational facilities were limited.¹⁹ Nevertheless, theological colleges were needed to supplement the inadequate supply of clergy coming from the universities, and they were valued by those who believed that the clerical profession needed to be less exclusively gentlemanly.

Hurrell Froude, one of Newman’s early Tractarian colleagues,²⁰ coined the expression the ‘gentleman-heresy’ for the gentlemanly ideal of clerical ministry.²¹

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ A.E. Selwyn, *Letter of Dean Selwyn*, Sydney, 1902, passim. There are many instances of this in A.P. Elkin, *The Diocese of Newcastle*, Glebe, Australasian Medical Publishing Company, 1955. For example, in Newcastle diocese, the Rev. Coles Child read with the Rev. Boodle before his ordination to the diaconate.

²⁰ He was brother of the historian, A.J. Froude.

²¹ Heeney, p. 25.

Another critic created a dilemma for himself. He was concerned that those from ‘the class just below the line of gentility’ saw a chance to gain gentlemanly status and a higher ‘footing in society’, by education at a theological college. Such men were often awkward or socially inept in their newly-acquired character of ‘gentleman’. He recognised a need for more clergy; he could not see how more graduates could be supplied, but yet was critical of theological colleges for pandering to the social aspirations of the not quite genteel.²²

These views of clerical character extended to the colonies. Bishop Tyrrell wrote:

It is not desirable to have persons of inferior education and inferior station sent out from England to be prepared for the ministry. We must hope to receive from England every now and then, an experienced Clergyman of University education, who will devote himself to the work with true Missionary spirit . . . I should like men of twenty-eight or thirty years of age, who have been at the University, and of some experience in the ministry . . .²³

To get men of University education and experience to go out to the colonies to become bush parsons was a tall order. Tyrrell acknowledged the difficulty but still he wanted ‘earnest and good clergymen’ and asked that SPG not send out:

doubtful men who leave England from debt, or weak health, or from untoward event in their past ministry . . . You would be anxious, I know, to keep in England the very men whom we want here, but surely there are some without prospect of advancement in England, or with a desire for a more strictly missionary work, who might be found to come and help us.

He really wanted clerical gentlemen to suit a particular market in the colonies:

Many of the settlers are men of family and education, and though their worldly circumstances are now in many cases low, many of them working like common

²² *Christian Remembrancer*, vol. LIII, January 1867, pp. 121-122.

²³ SPG Annual Report, 1849, p. clxvii, AJCP, M1442, ANL.

men in the cultivation of their own little portions of land, *yet they are gentlemen still, and require that their teachers also should be like them.*²⁴ (My emphasis.)

The Australian bush environment may not have seemed like home, but the immigrant squatters wanted the parson to fill the familiar role they had with the local gentry in rural England. We must ask, then, if this idealised image of the nineteenth century Anglican clergyman actually took root in the colonies.

Social Class and Education of Colonial Clergy

Country of Origin of Clergy

Between 1842 and 1875, 57 clergy held a bishop's licence for ministry in the Moreton Bay District or in the Diocese of Brisbane. Of these, Bishop Broughton appointed only one, the Rev. John Gregor.²⁵ Thirteen ministered in the Moreton Bay District under the Bishop Tyrell of Newcastle. The remaining forty-three came to the Diocese of Brisbane under Bishop Tufnell. As the Anglican Church was Established in England, we would expect most of the clergy in this period to be English, and the birthplace of the clergy in our sample affirms this. Forty-four were born in England (77.2%), six in Ireland, two in Scotland, two in other British colonies, one in Wales, and one in Australia.²⁶ The necessity of bringing out clergy from England was referred to by Bishop Tyrrell in a letter to the Newcastle Church Society in 1860:

It is now and for some years will be, necessary to look to the Church in England to supply us with almost all the clergy we may require. Sometimes a religious, self-

²⁴ Ibid. It was a theme he returned to when he wrote: 'The districts committed here to the care of a clergyman are immense, isolated, settled over by a fastidious, tho' impoverished class of proprietors, who are most keen-sighted to all defects of common scholarship and gentlemanly bearing.' Elkin, p. 171.

²⁵ It was then part of the Diocese of Australia.

²⁶ One other was possibly born in Australia.

denying layman may be found here, fit to be trained for the ministry; but such persons are rarely met with in a new Colony, and when found, their training must occupy some years. So that, if many Clergymen are required, arrangements must be made to obtain them from England.²⁷

Bishops Tufnell and Tyrrell depended on their commissaries in England and SPG for a regular supply of both ordinands and clergy to extend the church's mission and to replace those who had died, retired or left the diocese.²⁸ The diocese depended on England for most of its clergy, a fact of concern to Bishops Hale and Webber, as Bill Stegemann has recorded.²⁹ The dependence continued, though to a much lesser extent, into the 1970s, especially for recruits to the Bush Brotherhoods. The first Australian-born bishop of Brisbane was not consecrated till 1990 (Archbishop Peter Hollingworth).³⁰

The Rev. J.H.L. Zillman, the first Queenslander to be ordained priest, saw things differently, when he wrote:

The Bishops of the English Episcopal Church in the colonies who were, without exception, Englishmen, and have strong English prejudices, appear to regard with great disfavour any native born clerical aspirant; and the leaders amongst the laity who are also for the most part Englishmen have equally strong prejudices of the same kind.³¹

Without episcopal records for the period we do not know how many colonial clerical aspirants may have been turned away by Tyrrell or Tufnell.³²

²⁷ Cited by Elkin, p. 173. The real problem was that few immigrants met episcopal expectations concerning education and social background.

²⁸ Elkin, pp. 171-175; 185-191. For examples of the bishops' dealings with SPG, see Tyrrell to SPG, 17 October 1856; Tufnell to SPG, 4 April 1861; SPG copies of letters received. AJCP, M1300, ANL. Report of the Newcastle Church Society, 1855, p. 53.

²⁹ Bill Stegemann, *Striving Together for the Faith of the Gospel: A History of St Francis' Theological College 1897-1997*, Woolloongabba, ATA-Riverside, 1997, pp. 3-5.

³⁰ Frank Coaldrake was elected to the Archbishopric in July 1970, but died on July 22, before his consecration could take place.

³¹ J.H.L. Zillman, *Past and Present Australian Life*, London, Sampson Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington, 1889, p.50. Zillman's parents were German, and this possibly colours his views.

³² Recruitment from England continued well into the twentieth century. It may be that there was some prejudice against Irish clergy. Both Broughton and Perry had difficulties with them. See, for example, A.deQ. Robin, *Charles Perry Bishop of Melbourne*, Perth, UWA Press, 1967, p. 152.

Occupations of Fathers of Clergy

The occupation of 60% of the fathers of clergy has been determined.³³ The classification of these occupations follows the scheme outlined in chapter 5. Twelve were from the substantial middle class, being gentlemen or merchants. None of the clergy had aristocratic origins and only two came from families listed in standard references on the landed gentry.³⁴ Sixteen fathers were professional men; two were military officers; one a police magistrate; one a solicitor; one ran a private school; and eleven were clergy. Quite a few came from clerical 'dynasties'. The father and two elder brothers of Thomas Jones were priests. Bowyer Shaw had two brothers who were also priests; the three ministered together in Newcastle diocese for many years. Lloyd Cosmo Williams also had two brothers in Holy Orders. James Hassall was the son and grandson of Anglican clergymen. His grandfather was Samuel Marsden, and his father, Thomas Hassall.³⁵ Three of Benjamin Glennie's brothers were priests.³⁶ Besides Glennie and Hassall, James Moffatt was also directly connected to the squattocracy. His brother was Thomas de Lacey Moffatt, a Darling Downs squatter, and one time Queensland treasurer.

Two of Hugh Claughton's brothers were bishops. Thomas Legh Claughton, Professor of Poetry at Oxford, became Bishop of St Alban's, and Piers Claverly Claughton was consecrated bishop of St Helena at the same time that Bishop Tufnell was

³³ This figure compares favourably with that of Haig, who was relying on Venn for the social background of clerical graduates from Cambridge. Alan Haig, *The Victorian Clergy*, London, Croom Helm, 1984, p. 35; H. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, Part II, 1752 to 1900, 6 volumes, CUP, 1940-1954.

³⁴ The Rev D.C. Mackenzie and the Rev Robert Creyke; it is important to bear in mind that the word 'gentleman' usually refers to those who live off the income of investments or the rental of property.

³⁵ He was therefore related by marriage to another priest who served in Brisbane, James Theophilus Carter, who had married Sarah Betts, Hassall's first cousin. Sarah was the daughter of John Betts and Mary Marsden. Hassall was also a cousin of Samuel Marsden, first Bishop of Bathurst.

³⁶ One served in England (John David); one in the United States (Alexander); and another (Alfred) in the Diocese of Newcastle. Two other Glennie brothers and one sister also migrated to Australia. Glennie's brother James was a squatter, as had Alfred been before his ordination.

consecrated Bishop of Brisbane.³⁷ Edward Berry Nevill's brother was a bishop in New Zealand. On this basis we can claim that many of the clergy who served in Brisbane Diocese or the Moreton Bay district were intimately connected to both colonial and English clerical families, giving the group a 'respectable genteel colour'. These networks were often buttressed by friendships formed at school, university and theological college, and were important for patronage and the dissemination of news and information.³⁸

Six clergy came from a petty bourgeois background (yeoman, civil servants, farmer, schoolteacher, and ironmonger). Of the twenty-four clergy whose paternal occupation is not known, two had Oxford or Cambridge degrees, and seven had degrees from other institutions. It is tempting, and probably not altogether unjustified to consider most of that nine to have had genteel or professional fathers. Sons of working-class men would not have been graduates at this time, and none was identified in this cohort.³⁹

These figures are similar to those presented by Alan Haig for Victorian clergy in England. His data are only drawn from Venn's *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, and therein is a difference from the data presented here. The occupations of fathers in my sample were drawn from a much wider variety of sources, and I am therefore able to include data for many who were not Cambridge (or Oxford) graduates.⁴⁰ Some of these men were graduates of theological colleges, or had no formal theological education, so we can make the assumption that some at least, came from a rather poorer social background than the

³⁷ T.L. Claughton preached at this service. Piers Claughton was later translated to Colombo (Ceylon), and then returned to England.

³⁸ The collection of letters written by ex-students of St Augustine's to the college bear witness to the ongoing connections between old Augustinians, both in Australia and 'home'. See Robert S.M. Withycombe, *Anglican Ministry in Colonial Australia: Some Early Letters*, Canberra, St Mark's, 1993.

³⁹ For Oxford, 1870-1910, see Table 11, p. 103, of Lawrence Stone, 'The Size and Composition of the Oxford Student Body 1580-1909', in L. Stone, ed., *The University in Society, Volume 1: Oxford and Cambridge from the 14th to the early 19th Century*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1975, pp. 3-110.

⁴⁰ Other sources are marriage and birth records, diocesan records, newspaper references, manuscripts.

Oxbridge 'set', and are more likely to have been drawn from lower socio-economic strata than those in Haig's sample - my sample of colonial clergy should be less skewed toward higher socio-economic groups. In comparing colonial data with Haig's data, several observations can be made. First, the gentry and aristocracy make up a higher proportion of his sample.⁴¹ Only two of the colonial clergy (3.4%) would fit into the same category, suggesting that colonial service did not appeal to this group, who may have been more attracted to the better opportunities for preferment, or the higher material and social benefits of ministry 'at home'.⁴² The number of clergy whose fathers were clergy is also lower in the colonial sample, being 19%; this is 1.85% to 4.8% lower than the English figure.⁴³ Combining Haig's categories 2, 3 and 4 for the various professions in order to compare better with the colonial data (which is also a much smaller sample), a similar proportion of the colonial clergy (25.6%) were drawn from this group. Haig's figure is from 2.9% lower in 1841-3, to 7.7% higher in 1851-3. My category of petty bourgeoisie approximates Haig's category 6. Colonial representatives of this group are somewhat higher (8.6%).⁴⁴ There are no clear-cut conclusions to draw from this data except that there is a tendency for the figures for the higher socio-economic groups to have lower representation in the colonial data and for the figure for the petty bourgeoisie to be higher. Colonial clergy were a little less likely to be gentlemen confirming Richard Twopeny's view that they were an inferior class to those 'at home'.⁴⁵

⁴¹ **1841-3**, 10.3%; **1851-3**, 8.4%; **1861-3**, 9.8%; **1871-3**, 7.6%

⁴² W.E. Gladstone comments on this; see Paul Knaplund, *Gladstone and Britain's Imperial Policy*. London, Frank Cass and Co, 1966 [1927], pp. 170-171.

⁴³ **1841-3**, 21.0%; **1851-3**, 20.8%; **1861-3**, 24.1%; **1871-3**, 23.8%

⁴⁴ **1841-3**, 1.7%; **1851-3**, 7.2%; **1861-3**, 7.7%; **1871-3**, 4.8%

⁴⁵ Twopeny, p. 116.

School Education of Clergy

We know the school education of thirty of these colonial clergy. Twenty-two attended ‘grammar schools’, two of which were Australian. John Mosely, well-known for his egalitarianism, attended an Australian school; he is pictured in Plate 3.1. Some of the English grammar schools were distinguished foundations like Sedbergh, Christ’s Hospital, and St Paul’s. Five attended privately operated schools in England, and two went to major public schools in England (Harrow and Winchester). One attended a parish school in Ireland. Almost all of these clergy had a solid basic education, and it is probably safe to assume that another eleven who were university graduates also had a substantial elementary education. It is not unreasonable to assume that of the rest, some would have been educated at parish schools or local grammar schools. This data confirms the impression we get from what we know of the occupations of fathers of these men – none were aristocratic and very few were landed gentry. It was a substantially middle-class cohort; gentlemen and professionals who would send their sons to a good grammar school, but who were unlikely to have the social clout or deep enough pockets for the big-name public schools.

‘Tertiary’ Education of Clergy

Of the 57 colonial clergy, 52.6% were graduates of the four principal universities in the United Kingdom, especially Cambridge and Oxford. In England in 1861, 76.6% of ordinands graduated from these four institutions, and whereas the proportion of the colonial sample from Dublin and Durham are comparable, the figure for both Oxford and

Cambridge is substantially less than the English figure.⁴⁶ Seven graduates had also been to one of the English theological colleges.

Thirteen of the non-graduate clergy (22.8%) were educated at one of the theological colleges; seven of them at St. Augustine's at Canterbury (founded by SPG to train colonial and missionary clergy). Two were graduates of Australian colleges (Christ's College, Tasmania and Moore College in Sydney). One was from Highbury College in London, and another, had been first to Codrington College in Barbados, and then to St Bee's, in Lancashire. One had been trained at St Mark's Teacher Training College in London.⁴⁷ The proportion of English ordinands for 1861 trained in one of these institutions was 18.2%, rather lower than for the colonial sample (22.8%). That there were more clergy trained at theological colleges in the colonial sample should not surprise us. For those seeking an appointment in England, graduates were the preferred choice, as noted above, but colonials had limited access to university education.

More of the colonial clergy were literates (14.0%, c.f. 4.6%).⁴⁸ This is to be expected, as the opportunities for formal education at university and theological college was not available in the Australian colonies. Very few Australians were sent to university or theological college in England until a much later date, mainly because of the expense of the exercise. Nor can it be assumed that the social background of the colonial literates was necessarily lower than that of their colleagues who were educated in England. Their

⁴⁶ Data from F.W.B. Bullock, *A History of Training for the Ministry of the Church of England and Wales from 1800 to 1874*, St Leonards-on-Sea, Budd and Gillatt, 1955, p. 100. This data comes from the statistics quoted from the *Guardian* on this page. See also his tables for 1850-59, on p. 75, and for 1860-68, on p. 100. Cambridge graduates (13) just outnumber Oxford graduates (12) in the colonial sample, but are far more numerous in the English figures. In England, Cambridge graduates (39.2%) outnumbered Oxford graduates (28.4%) for all ordinations in 1861.

⁴⁷ Two convert clergy, John Gregor and James Love, had been ordained in the Presbyterian Church. Both gave dedicated service in their new environment, and Love gained the high esteem of his bishop (Tufnell). Gregor (received by Bishop Broughton) made a less successful transition to Anglicanism.

⁴⁸ Literates were those who had been ordained without receiving a university degree.

stories are unusual, on account of their diverse backgrounds. Four were prepared for ordination by reading with senior clergy. Two of these were ordained by Bishop Tyrrell of Newcastle (T.L. Dodd and W.W. Dove), and two in Sydney diocese (Tom Bodenham and James Hassall). James McCleverty was ordained by Bishop Tufnell after an interesting career in the Church. He was born in County Down, Ireland in 1809, and educated at the local parish school. Little is known of his early career, except that he worked for the Irish Church Mission for five years before coming to Melbourne, where he also worked as some kind of catechist or lay reader. He was persuaded to move to the Darling Downs by his brother George, and worked for eighteen months as a lay reader at Allora. At the age of 61 he was ordained by Bishop Tufnell at Warwick. He served as a priest at Mackay and then Drayton. Edmund Moberly had been working as a chemist when he approached SPG about a missionary vocation.⁴⁹ SPG recommended that he undertake more theological study. He was ordained deacon by the Bishop of London at Tufnell's request, and came to Queensland with the bishop.



⁴⁹ SPG, Candidates, Board of Examiners, 1848-1868. Meeting on 24 January 1860; p.6; AJCP, M1305, ANL.

Plate 3.1 John Mosely was one of two early clergymen who received all of their education in Australia. Of his ministry it was said that he did not distinguish between the 'Pure Merinos' and the 'crossbreds'. Picture: John Oxley Library, neg. No. 7604.

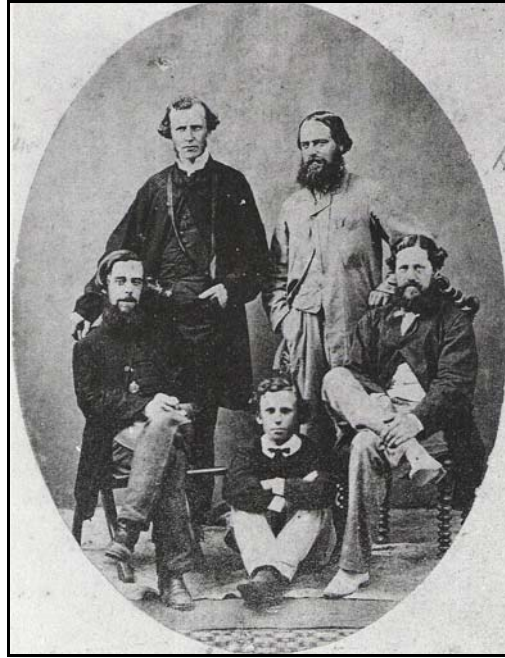


Plate 3.2 From left, standing; the Rev Bowyer Shaw, and Robert Herbert. Seated; the Rev John Tomlinson and John Bramston. The boy is C. Miles Cox. All four men were Oxford graduates, and therefore part of the educated elite of the colony. Herbert was Queensland's first Premier, and Bramston was the Governor's private secretary. Picture, John Oxley Library, neg. no. 72601.

The strictures against literates in the quotation at the head of the chapter are at best an overstatement of the position. Stone has suggested that the sons of clergy and of poor laymen were being squeezed out of Oxford by the excessive cost of maintaining a student there.⁵⁰ Haig makes a related observation in relation to the different career paths of older and younger sons at Cambridge. There was a greater likelihood of ordination for younger sons, and less likelihood of ordination among the aristocracy and gentry.⁵¹ A similar situation may pertain here, that is, that due to the expense of educating elder sons, the younger sons were given a cheaper education at theological colleges, and further, that

⁵⁰ Stone, p.63.

⁵¹ Haig, pp. 42-43.

younger sons, the sons of poorer clergy, or of less well-to-do professionals provided their regular clientele – and ended up in the colonies. One further observation can be made. Some of the colonial clergy were what we would these days call ‘late vocations’. They had had another career before ordination. Edmund Moberly, Thomas Jones and James McCleverty had either vocational education or life experience that made them attractive ordination candidates, and Bishop Tufnell capitalised on their suitability without insisting on a formal theological education. In doing so, Tufnell was actually rejecting the premise that a University education was necessary for his ordinands.⁵² All three were very successful clergymen, so Tufnell’s decision was vindicated.

Previous Clerical Experience

Few of the clergy had any pastoral experience before emigrating, and it is simplest to mention exceptions to the rule. The Rev. Robert Creyke, who was living in Brisbane for health reasons when Bishop Tufnell arrived in 1860, had been ordained in 1843. He came to Brisbane about 1858 and had had some pastoral experience before his arrival. Eventually, in the late 1860s he was well enough to undertake full time parish ministry. James Richard Moffatt and John Sutton, both of whom came to Brisbane with Bishop Tufnell, had many years experience; Moffatt had been ordained fifteen years and Sutton thirteen years when they arrived in the colony.⁵³ Both were ‘self-starters’ and did not require the close supervision of the newly ordained. Another with long experience was James Hassall who had been ordained twenty-six years when he came to Brisbane diocese in 1874. He was a colonial, and all his experience had been gained in New South Wales, so his transfer to the diocese was a considerable gain. At about the same time James

⁵² Although I believe Jones may have been an Oxford graduate.

⁵³ Note that Moffatt’s brother, Thomas de Lacy Moffatt was already a successful squatter in Queensland.

Kirkpatrick Black came to Brisbane diocese with eighteen years' experience in England and in New South Wales.

The difficulty in employing inexperienced clergy was the need to place them for a while at least, with an older man from whom they could learn. A.E. Selwyn reported in his letters to his fiancée, Rose Rusden, that the Rev. H.O. Irwin believed that young clergy 'all ought to be kept as curates near the Bishop or some other clergyman, even if the country districts should be without any'.⁵⁴ Bishop Tufnell relied on Benjamin Glennie for this kind of mentor relationship. G.G. Danvers, James Matthews, Joshua Jones, C.J. Clayton, and James Love are a few of the clergy who benefited from Glennie's wisdom and colonial experience. Tufnell supervised some young clergy himself when he lived at John's parsonage.⁵⁵

Two clergymen were converts from Presbyterianism, the first being John Gregor, whom Broughton ordained in 1842. Although he had impressive credentials and some pastoral experience, it was not a successful transition. History has judged him harshly, and his ministry probably hindered the development of the church in the Moreton Bay District rather than encouraged it. His personality and behaviour often alienated people, and there was a widespread feeling that he was unfit for his clerical office.⁵⁶ He did not have the opportunity of working with an experienced priest to introduce him to the Anglican tradition before having the responsibility for the whole of the Moreton Bay District.⁵⁷ In contrast, James Love, an Irish Presbyterian minister who served a congregation in

⁵⁴ Selwyn, letter no. 10, Monday, September 1 1851.

⁵⁵ John Tomlinson and Thomas Jones, for example.

⁵⁶ J. Mackenzie-Smith, 'Rev. John Gregor - Like a Lamb to the Slaughter', *Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland*, 14, 1992, pp.517-528; especially pp. 524-527.

⁵⁷ At the time (1842), Moreton Bay was an insignificant outpost of New South Wales. Broughton seemed to be 'plugging a hole' with Gregor. Mackenzie-Smith likens Broughton's decision to send him to Moreton Bay to sending 'a lamb to the slaughter.' Mackenzie-Smith, p. 518.

Brisbane for some years was received into the Anglican Church and ordained by Bishop Tufnell. He died relatively young, having served the Anglican Church for only ten years, by which time he had made his mark as a much-loved pastor.⁵⁸

Inexperienced clergy could be easily overwhelmed by the sheer physicality of the work of a bush parson, as they often had to spend long hours in the saddle between stations. Many succumbed to illness, exacerbated by the climate and their living and working conditions, and the deaths of Brakenridge, Bodenham, Botting, Clayton, Nevill, Dodd, Dove and Gregor can probably all be partly attributed in this way. Both Postlethwaite and Bailey managed to get lost as ‘new chums’ because of their inexperience of the bush, and a poor sense of direction. Perhaps it is remarkable that the toll wasn’t higher.

Churchmanship

Churchmanship was an issue in Queensland because it was an issue in England. Queenslanders read in newspapers about attempts to establish religious orders and about ritualism in England, and the themes were reworked in correspondence with family ‘back home’. Evangelical and Low Church Anglicans were concerned that the Protestant heritage of the church was under threat from an encroaching Romanism, and any deviations from the locally accepted traditions was treated suspiciously. To illustrate these positions is not difficult. The Nicholsons, who initiated the building of the church at Grovely, had a deep evangelical faith, which is especially clear in Mary Nicholson’s letters.⁵⁹ The reason the church is still held under a trust arrangement is that the

⁵⁸ *BC*, 23 July 1881.

⁵⁹ John and Mary Nicholson came to Brisbane in the early 1860s from Wiltshire and began farming in the Grovely and Samford areas just to the northwest of Brisbane itself. Mary wrote detailed letters to her family, the basis of Isobel Nicholson’s book (following footnote).

Nicholsons feared that Tractarians would gain control of the church they (the Nicholsons) were instrumental in building.⁶⁰ On the other hand, Katie Hume's letters show an interest in the English controversies over ritualism.⁶¹

In considering the churchmanship⁶² of colonial clergy, it is worth bearing in mind William Coote's view, that there was little understanding among the laity as to what Tractarianism was:

One thing was quite obvious – a strong hatred of what was called Puseyism was combined with great ignorance of what Puseyism really was.⁶³

Anything that could be described as an innovation was branded as being a Puseyite or Tractarian practice. A good example of this was the controversy over the introduction of the offertory at St. John's Church in Brisbane, during Irwin's incumbency. There is nothing inherent in the taking up of a collection during a service that can be regarded as a Tractarian innovation, except that any innovation in relation to ritual or any departure from current practice was regarded with suspicion.⁶⁴ Benjamin Glennie related an incident early in his ministry at Moreton Bay when a woman who had come out on one of Dr. Lang's ships asked pointedly if he were a Church of England clergyman. On replying in

⁶⁰ Isobel Nicholson, *Grovely, Grovely, Grovely*, Brisbane, Boolarong, 1984; P. Chamberllin, *The First One Hundred Years of 'The Little Church on the hill' St Matthew's Grovely*, typescript, BDA.

⁶¹ Walter Hume makes fun of the issues in a postscript to one of his letters home; Bonnin, p.68. Katie does make allusions to liturgy but was much more interested in improving the music; Bonnin, pp.23, 27, 29, 52, 53, 58, 67, 75, 80, 85, 121, 166.

⁶² The word churchmanship refers to the party divisions within Anglicanism. These divisions were largely identified with different views of theology and discipline, but as the divisions often grade one into another, it is sometimes difficult to make hard and fast labels stick. See Peter Nockles, 'Church parties in the pre-Tractarian Church of England 1750-1833: the 'Orthodox' - some problems of definition and identity', in John Walsh, Colin Haydon and Stephen Taylor, *The Church of England c.1689-1833; From Toleration to Tractarianism*, Cambridge, CUP, 1993, pp. 334-359; and also his *The Oxford Movement in Context; High Anglican Churchmanship 1760-1857*, Cambridge, CUP, 1994, pp. 33-43.

⁶³ 'Tractarians' were those who subscribed to the theology of the *Tracts for the Times*, written by John Henry Newman and his colleagues including E.B. Pusey and also known as 'Puseyism'.

⁶⁴ W. Coote, a series of articles in *The Week* newspaper, Brisbane, 15 September 1877 – 12 January 1878; typed unpaginated transcript, BDA. The quotation is from the second page of text. See also, *MBC*, 10, 17, 31 March, 14, 21 April; 12 May; 4 August 1855 and Benjamin Glennie's reminiscences in *The Parish Chronicle*, September and October, 1889.

the affirmative she said she had been told he was not; that he was a 'Puseyite'.⁶⁵ This confusion about what Puseyism was is also illustrated by his reference to an incident involving Bishop Tyrrell:

On one occasion he was officiating in a church, when on going to the Holy Table, he took his place at the south side instead of on the north. This caused a considerable sensation in the parish. A meeting was held, at which it was loudly proclaimed that such 'Puseyite' practices could not be tolerated. A deputation was appointed to wait upon the Bishop, with the view of remonstrating against such an innovation. The deputation was received most politely and informed by the Bishop, that the reason of his sitting on the south side of the Holy Table was that the ceiling over the north side was unsafe.⁶⁶

This anxiety about Romanising tendencies, especially in ritual matters, is a frequent subject of newspaper controversy. In the light of this, the epithet Puseyite or Tractarian, when applied to a colonial clergyman by a contemporary, needs to be very well substantiated.⁶⁷

During Tyrrell's episcopate, only one clergyman serving in Brisbane or the Moreton Bay district had Tractarian sympathies; the evidence in Selwyn's letters is clear about Irwin's churchmanship. Bishop Tufnell is probably better described as 'High Church' rather than Tractarian, but some of his clergy certainly had Tractarian leanings, though there has been a tendency among historians to colour the picture too strongly. There is good evidence that Duncan Mackenzie, John Sutton and Thomas Jones were Tractarian. The problems Mackenzie had at Maryborough and Gayndah were due to his churchmanship, and were presumably the reason he decided to leave the colony.⁶⁸ Jones was a Tractarian, and during his time at All Saints, Wickham Terrace, the church was

⁶⁵ *The Parish Chronicle*, October 1889, p.3.

⁶⁶ *ibid.*

⁶⁷ Richard Twopeny, writing in 1883, made the comment that ritualism was 'unknown' in Australia, though there were some places known for their High-church proclivities. Richard Twopeny, *Town Life in Australia*. Ringwood, Penguin, 1976 [Elliott Stock, 1883], p. 119.

⁶⁸ H.J. Richards 'Glimpses of the Past', a lecture given at the Pialba Clergy conference in April 1971, p.1; typescript, BDA

nicknamed 'the Tabernacle'.⁶⁹ Sutton, who served at St. John's, Brisbane for many years, can probably also be called a Tractarian on the basis of the 'advanced' ritual at St. John's during the episcopate of Bishop Hale.⁷⁰ Edmund Moberly ran into problems of ritual at Gympie, but it may not have been simply a matter of churchmanship. He had been providing a full choral Morning Prayer, including the intoning of versicles and responses. This was opposed by most of the parishioners. It was probably this issue that induced him to resign the cure. His very long terms at Dalby and Walcha (Diocese of Grafton and Armidale) where there were no hints of dissatisfaction based on churchmanship issues, suggest there may have been other problems at Gympie that have not surfaced in the written record.

There were others with decided views. The Rev. Edward Tanner was an Evangelical who ministered at various times in the Diocese, and there is evidence that the Rev. T.V. Alkin was an Evangelical. As a curate in Toowoomba, he had incurred the ire of Catholics when he distributed anti-Catholic tracts to Irish domestic servants.⁷¹ Alkin's Evangelical tradition may explain his success as the incumbent of Gayndah, where previously the Tractarian the Rev. D.C. Mackenzie had been a failure.⁷² Apart from these obvious examples, the other clergy do not seem to have attracted particular attention because of their churchmanship. They were probably Broad Churchmen or moderate High Churchmen.⁷³

⁶⁹ John G. Steele, *The Petersons and the Uhers*, revised and enlarged edition, Brisbane, self-published, 2003, pp.55, 56.

⁷⁰ A.deQ. Robin, *Mathew Blagden Hale, the Life of An Australian Pioneer Bishop*, Melbourne, the Hawthorn Press, 1976, pp. 168-169.

⁷¹ N. Byrne, *Robert Dunne, Archbishop of Brisbane*, St Lucia, UQP, 1991, p.91.

⁷² Richards, p. 9.

⁷³ This was the impression of Richard Twopeny, too; Twopeny, p.119.

Clergy Wives

There is little material on clergy wives in the Moreton Bay district and early colonial Queensland. The sources just are not there.⁷⁴ Up to 1875, only three articles in Brisbane newspapers say much at all about them. In one, the Rev. Philip Bailey and his wife were lost for two days out of Gatton. By the time they found their way back to Gatton on foot, having released their horses, Mrs. Bailey was exhausted.⁷⁵ Another relates a near disaster when a spring cart collided with a buggy carrying the Rev. John Sutton and his family.⁷⁶ The third relates the story of mistreatment meted out by Mrs. Abraham on her serving girl.⁷⁷ All three stories *seem* to have been recorded by the press *because* the women were clergy wives. This is a poignant reminder that a woman's social location was dependent on her husband's social status:

What a man 'does' defines his status, but whom she marries defines a woman's. In meeting strangers, one can "place" a man socially by asking what he does, a woman by asking what her husband does.⁷⁸

In documenting the lives of clergy wives, the poverty of sources is testimony to the fact; there is far more material on clergymen than their wives.

As far as I am aware there have been no substantive studies of the wives of colonial Anglican clergy.⁷⁹ There are studies of bishop's wives, such as Mrs Barker, and

⁷⁴ Peter Sherlock makes much the same point in relation to colonial clergy wives in Victoria, though he did have the autographical material available to him from Frances Perry, Ada Cambridge and Jane Macartney. See p.36, P. Sherlock, 'Wholesome Examples and the Getting of Wisdom: Colonial Clerical Wives at St. Peter's', in C. Holden, ed., *Anglo-Catholicism in Melbourne*, Melbourne University Conference Series No. 6, History Department, University of Melbourne, 1997, pp.33-47.

⁷⁵ NA, 29 July 1862.

⁷⁶ BC, 15 September 1873

⁷⁷ BC, 1 April 1872.

⁷⁸ Cited by J. Finch, *Married to the Job: Wives' Incorporation in Men's Work*, London, George Allen and Unwin, 1983, p.70

of women who created a persona separate from their husband, such as Ada Cambridge, but none of women whose lives were largely lived behind the parsonage door.⁸⁰ There have been some helpful pointers in this direction by Anne O'Brien, Elizabeth Windschuttle, and Peter Sherlock, but a definitive study seems to be a long way off.⁸¹

Colonial bishops had reservations about their clergy marrying too soon. Most preferred to employ young unmarried men for various reasons. Younger, single men were usually better placed to do the pioneering work in physically demanding rural locations. Places like Leyburn or Goondiwindi were not altogether suitable for women, especially as they were so far from medical help for women during pregnancy and childbirth. Nor were the ephemeral mining settlements and pastoral outposts considered suitable places for ladies, because of the primitive conditions of life.⁸² The problems of living in a remote location are exemplified by Rachel Henning's description of her brother Biddulph's station homestead at Exmoor, inland from Port Denison, and the primitive conditions she

⁷⁹ There is an English study, which, though quite old is still exceptionally perceptive; Margaret H. Watt, *The History of the Parson's Wife*, London, Faber and Faber, 1943. I am indebted to Professor Jill Roe for this reference. There is a good short article on the wives of clergy of Christ Church St Laurence in Sydney which takes Watt's book as its point of departure; Joseph Waugh, 'The Parsons' Wives', *The Deacon's Treasure*, number 46, Christmas, 2005, pp. 33-39. *The Deacon's Treasure* is the parish's stimulating magazine, published three times a year.

⁸⁰ Ada Cambridge's husband, George Cross, was an Anglican clergyman in Victoria. He was the rector of the parish of Beechworth, my home-town, at one stage. See A. Tate, *Ada Cambridge: Her Life and Work 1844-1926*, Melbourne, MUP, 1991; Ada Cambridge, *Thirty Years in Australia*, London, Methuen, 1989.

⁸¹ A. O'Brien, 'Anglicanism and Gender Issues', in B. Kaye, ed., *Anglicanism in Australia, A History*, Melbourne, MUP, 2002, pp. 270-292; E. Windschuttle, "'Feeding the Poor and Sapping their Strength": the Public Role of Ruling-Class Women in Eastern Australia, 1788-1850', in E. Windschuttle, ed., *Women, Class and History, Feminist Perspectives on Australia 1788-1978*, Melbourne, Fontana Collins, 1980; P. Sherlock, ' "Well-known, Energetic and Useful": Anglican Clergymen's Wives in Colonial Victoria' BA (Hons) thesis, University of Melbourne, 1995; P. Sherlock, "'This Episcopal Hotel and Boarding House": Bishops' Wives in Colonial Australia and New Zealand', in M. Crotty and D. Scobie, eds., *Raiding Clio's Closet*, Postgraduate Presentations in History 1997, Parkville, History Department, University of Melbourne, 1997.

⁸² In his report to SPG in May 1864, the Rev. W.H. Dunning reported from Taroom that the people had built a three-roomed hut for him to live in. The following year he reported that the building of a parsonage was being considered. SPG "E" Manuscripts, Missionary Returns, Australia. AJCP, M 1473, 1859-1869. See also, Richmond, below, *passim*.

and her sister Annie experienced there.⁸³ The kind of itinerant horseback ministry conducted in the backblocks of the colony by priests like H.J. Grosvenor and Frederick Richmond was not conducive to married life.⁸⁴ Bishops liked their young clergy to be free of family commitments in their early years of ministry, so that they could develop devotional and pastoral practices that would stand them in good stead in their later careers – and so they could be sent to the difficult outposts. Selwyn made this point explicit in a letter to his fiancée, Rose:

I want to strengthen myself in my new ideas and habits, before I have to mix much with others. In short, I have to take up a new position in the world, and six months, even of solitude, although disagreeable enough in some respects, would enable me to do this more easily. I hope, however, without this, I shall be able to adapt my manners and habits to what I think so very necessary in a clergyman.⁸⁵

Bishop Tufnell wanted ‘young, unmarried, earnest, active’ men who were not likely to be ‘disheartened by difficulties’. He preferred deacons, presumably because of the difficulty in adequately preparing them for ordination; men who could be placed in parishes or missionary districts immediately on their arrival.⁸⁶ Only one of the clergy that came out to Queensland with Bishop Tufnell was married (Rev. Duncan Campbell Mackenzie). Of the 58 clergy serving in the area to 1875, eleven remained single.

The Social Background of Clergy Wives.

⁸³ She describes ‘flooring’ the house with timber, and the erection of canvas and wallpaper in the bedrooms. David Adams, ed., *The Letters of Rachel Henning*, Ringwood, Penguin, 1988 [*The Bulletin*, 1951-2], pp. 134, 136, 143. She also describes her tattered clothing, because of the distance from a supplier; pp. 143, 148, 204.

⁸⁴ F. Richmond, *Queensland in the ‘Seventies’; Reminiscences of the Early Days of a Young Clergyman*, Singapore, CA Ribeiro, 1928.

⁸⁵ Bishop Perry in Melbourne would not invite middle-aged clergy with families to his diocese because of the uncertainty of stipends; Tate, p. 43. See also, Selwyn, Letter no. 11, September 9th to 28th, 1851.

⁸⁶ Tufnell to Hawkins, 13 August 1861; 16 May 1863; SPG, Copies of Letters Received, AJCP, M1300, ANL.

When the clergy did marry, Bishops had high expectations concerning the kind of wife they should find. Bishops Tyrrell of Newcastle and Thomas of Goulburn preferred that their clergymen should find English wives. Bishop Tyrrell wrote that:

English ladies will usually make better clergymen's wives than Colonial ladies; therefore when a Clergyman is married or to be married – as contrary to my own practice, I think most Clergymen should be – I should consider it a gain that the wife be an English lady.⁸⁷

Hearing rumours about a young man whom he had ordained, Bishop Thomas of Goulburn went to great trouble to ascertain that the rumours were baseless, but then concluded:

We must wish Mr. So and So a good pious *English* wife, one who would strengthen him in the Lord, and guide him in *ordinary* matters. Such a wife would be a *great* boon to him. This would put an end to the excessive attentions of families which have *daughters*.⁸⁸ [Original emphasis]

Young clergymen must have been considered to be 'a good catch' for the daughters of squatters and professionals, especially in rural areas. Presumably the attentions of such young ladies were distracting to young clergymen. Two questions Bishop Thomas always asked of potential ordinands or applicants for work in the diocese were whether they were gentlemen, and 'will his wife pass muster as a lady?' These characteristics of Englishness and gentility came together when one of his clergy was on leave in England. He wrote to the man thus:

We both hope that by God's guiding hand you will be led to choose a godly, sensible wife – a lady – with money if God will – one who will be a real helpmeet for a clergyman – and make you happy. I suppose you will add that if she can speak *French* so much the better. The more piety, knowledge, wisdom, language and money she may possess the better I should be pleased.

To the man's vicar in England he wrote;

⁸⁷ R. G. Boodle, *The Life and Labours of the Right Rev William Tyrrell, D.D.*, London, Wells Gardner, Darton & Co, 1881, p. 168.

⁸⁸ Ransome Wyatt, *The History of the Diocese of Goulburn*, Sydney, Edgar Bragg and Sons, 1937, p. 53.

We most earnestly trust that he may be led to choose a godly wife, with means sufficient. Mrs. Thomas has been wont to advise him on the subject.⁸⁹

Though the bishop approached the subject in a light-hearted way, there is an underlying seriousness about the matter. Clergy stipends generally were not great, and in agricultural and pastoral districts could be quite uncertain, as prosperity was dependent on good seasons and firm markets for produce. Some clergy may have had private means, but evidence for this is hard to find. If there was a substantial marriage settlement, a wife's income could help carry a clerical family through the rough times. This is how the Rev. Thomas Jones and his wife Frances managed to run a large household, as his stipend alone (between £200-300) would not have been sufficient.⁹⁰ Few clergy wives had the income Ada Cambridge had from her writing, which supplemented her husband's meagre income as a clergyman.⁹¹ In these cases, the social status was provided by the clergyman's occupation, but the lifestyle depended on the wife's material resources.⁹²

A woman's background was also considered critical. As she would have to mix with all classes of society, she needed to be at least the social equal of the locally 'notable', able to converse as an equal, and dress appropriately to her status as the parson's wife. Katie Hume's patronising view of Mrs. Nevill in Drayton is an example of the way in which a local 'lady' could distance a clergyman's wife as being inferior. One gets the impression that Katie Hume did not altogether approve of the Rev. Nevill either.⁹³

⁸⁹ Wyatt, p. 55.

⁹⁰ Frances was the daughter of the merchant, Richard Jones; E. Bancroft and D. Hacker, compilers and editors, *The Colonial Diaries, Recording the Strength of Family and Faith of the Jones Women*, Brisbane, Queensland Women's Historical Association, 2000, pp. 26-28, 33.

⁹¹ Cambridge, p. 86; Tate, pp. 68, 70, 71, 118, 154; J. West, *Daughters of Freedom. A History of Women in the Australian Church*, Sutherland, Australia, Albatross Books, 1997, p.79.

⁹² This differs radically from the mid-twentieth century perception that 'the level of material provision which [a man's] job offers is a major determinant of [his wife's] lifestyle'; Windschuttle, p. 70.

⁹³ Katie was especially referring to Mrs Nevill's dress. Nancy Bonnin, ed, *Katie Hume on the Darling Downs*, Toowoomba, DDI Press, 1985, pp. 98, 116.

On the other hand she did approve of Agatha Harward who had come from England to marry the Rev. George Danvers, and the two ladies exchanged 'visits'.⁹⁴ As Audrey Tate has pointed out, clergy wives drew their social status from their husband's position, and while it gave them entrée to the 'higher classes of country society' it also gave them freedom to establish friendships across all social classes, which Ada Cambridge successfully managed to do.⁹⁵ Frances Jones, both in the town of Brisbane, and provincial Toowoomba, did much the same.⁹⁶

Clergy wives were involved in the organisation of Sunday School activities, such as organising the food for the annual Sunday School 'feast';⁹⁷ in philanthropic organisations, especially those involving children and women; and in fundraising activities such as concerts and bazaars as Mrs. Jones and Mrs. Tomlinson did on the organising committee of a bazaar for All Saints' Wickham Terrace.⁹⁸ The parsonage was something like an information exchange for the parish.⁹⁹ The clergyman and his wife were often people to whom those in need could resort in time of crisis. The inadequacy of social services in the colonial period meant that the parsonage was the first port of call, as when a new-born child was deposited on the doorstep of the Rev. and Mrs. John Bliss. This may have been because of Mrs. Bliss's involvement with the Lady Bowen Lying-in Hospital, rather than on her husband's role as clergyman.¹⁰⁰ Nevertheless, her position on the hospital's ladies committee was because of her husband's position as a clergyman.

⁹⁴ Bonnin, p. 28.

⁹⁵ Tate, pp. 55, 57, 59; see also Sherlock, 'Wholesome Examples . . .', pp.36,38.

⁹⁶ Bancroft & Hacker, pp. 26-37.

⁹⁷ *BC*, 6 April 1872.

⁹⁸ *BC*, 7 March 1864.

⁹⁹ West, p. 67.

¹⁰⁰ *BC*, 26 January 1867.

Some wives are well known to us, but most are at best shadowy figures of whom we know little but a name. This is especially true of women born in England who either married their clergy husbands in England before coming to Australia, or who came from England to Australia to marry. Of the 48 wives of clergy we do know a little about the background of 16, all of whom married their clergymen in the colonies. At least seven of the sixteen were born in Australia.¹⁰¹ None came from working-class backgrounds, and only one could be considered as petty bourgeois.¹⁰² The professional class was well represented. The fathers of three held high civil service positions, one was an accountant, another a doctor, and two were Anglican priests. The fathers of eight clergy wives could be considered as 'colonial gentry'; three daughters of merchants, two of squatters, and three whose fathers were 'gentlemen'. These eight would probably have had some kind of marriage settlement.

Of 23 clergymen who brought wives with them to the colony, 10 returned with their wives to England and one went to New Zealand. Of the 23 who married in Australia, only three returned to England.¹⁰³ This is a marked difference. The simplest explanation is that those who came to Australia with their wives never intended to stay, while those who came out as single men were more inclined to see themselves as permanent emigrants. An

¹⁰¹ Mary Alford, wife of Vincent Ransome, was the daughter of Thomas Alford storekeeper, of Drayton; J.G. Alford, *Alford Family Notes*, London, Phillimore and Co, p. 143. Octavia Laidley, who married James Moffatt, was the daughter of James Laidley, Deputy Commissary in Sydney and West Moreton squatter; Clergy Card index, BDA. Julia Frances Suttor, wife of Edmund Moberly, was the daughter of the squatter William Suttor; Clergy Card index, BDA. Mary Susan Margetts was the daughter of Dr. Margetts of the Darling Downs; *BC*, 1 August 1865, marriage notices. Thomas Jones married Frances Sophia Jones, daughter of the politician and entrepreneur, Richard Jones; Steele, p. 55. Mary Agnes Talbot, who married Robert Creyke as his second wife, was the widowed daughter of John Ramsden Wollaston of Western Australia, Clergy Card Index, BDA. Sarah Betts who married James Carter was the daughter of John Betts and his wife Mary, and was the grand-daughter of Samuel Marsden; A.T. Yarwood, *Samuel Marsden, the Grand survivor*, p. 271; R. Wyatt, *The Diocese of Goulburn*, p. 138.

¹⁰² Mary Crawshaw's father was a master mariner. She married the Rev Benjamin Glennie. There is a discussion of terms describing class in chapter five.

¹⁰³ This contradicts West's claim that the majority of overseas clergy brought their wives with them. The matter needs more exploration. West, p. 78

important consideration was that colonial women had families in Australia to give them material, social and emotional support that immigrant wives would have lacked.¹⁰⁴ Health was an issue. Some of the English clergy, their wives or their children suffered on account of the climate, especially the summer heat and humidity, and they lacked the support of parents and siblings in times of stress.¹⁰⁵ Hannah Mary Court, the wife of the Rev. D.A. Court; Susan Mary, wife of the Rev. James Matthews; and Frances Jones, the wife of the Rev. Thomas Jones all had family support at times of crisis.¹⁰⁶ Life in the colonies without the comfort of having family members nearby could be very stressful.¹⁰⁷

The Role of the Clergyman's Wife in the Parish.

Janet West, in her pioneering study of women in the church in Australia, observed that the role of clergy wives in the home country and the colonies was much the same. They were to be 'paragons of virtue and industry, retiring helpmeets to their husbands and matriarchs of a model family . . . [but in] no way threatening to the masculine leadership of the Victorian age'.¹⁰⁸ She believed that this was easier 'at home', where clergy wives had a more comfortable home, with better household help, and were accorded greater respect in the community. West also notes the toll of the climate and poor medical services in the

¹⁰⁴ Beverley Kingston, 'The Lady and the Australian Girl' in Norma Grieve and Ailsa Burns, eds., *Australian Women: New Feminist Perspectives*, Melbourne, OUP, 1986, pp. 29, 30; See Colin Roderick's introduction, especially pp. 11-16, of *Rose Patterson's Illalong Letters 1873-188*, Sydney, Kangaroo Press, 2000. The contrasting stories of Elizabeth à Beckett (p. 21) and her daughter, Elizabeth Conley (p. 22) are illustrative; in Penny Russell, *A Wish of Distinction*, Melbourne, MUP, 1994.

¹⁰⁵ West, pp. 48, 49; Katie Hume on the heat of summer; Bonnin, pp. 39, 45, 94.

¹⁰⁶ For Frances and Tommy Jones, see Bancroft & Hacker., pp. 22-38.

¹⁰⁷ P. McClymont, *The Cross Family Book*, Brisbane, self-published, 1996. The letters written by Julia Cross to her mother in Ely are a poignant example of the stresses faced by a woman in the colonies without the support of an extended family.

¹⁰⁸ The word helpmeet needs a little explanation. It is an archaic expression derived from Genesis 2:18, 20, *King James' Version*. Eve was created for Adam to be 'an help meet for him'. The phrase in *Today's English Version* is 'a suitable companion for him'. The word helpmate is a corruption of helpmeet.

colonies on clergy wives, and that some clergy wives died ‘prematurely’, citing the three marriages of Archdeacon William Cowper and the chronic illness of Eliza Marsden.¹⁰⁹

Frederick Richmond (a bachelor) gives us some idea of the role of the previous clergyman’s wife in the parish:

Several clergy had been there. One a sincere active and capable man had stayed some years and then married. The excellent work and good influence of his wife, acting as honorary curate as she was sometimes designated, was as solidly effective as if she were on the salaried staff. Her teaching inspired a lasting affection among the upgrowing girls of the township for herself and for the divine love and purity she inculcates. Her sphere of usefulness was sometimes extended to the choir and the organ.¹¹⁰



Plate 3.3 Frances Sophia Jones, wife of the Rev Thomas Jones. Picture from *The Petersons and the Uhers*, by John Gladstone Steele, page 54.

¹⁰⁹ West, p. 97

¹¹⁰ Richmond, p.13. This is almost certainly a reference to Adeline Alkin. The Rev. Thomas Verrier Alkin was appointed to Gayndah on the Burnett River in 1868, married Adeline Tozer in 1870, and was moved to Allora in 1872.



Plate 3.4 The Rev James Moffatt and Mrs Moffatt. Both had strong connections to squatting families; James Moffatt's brother was a squatter and Treasurer of Queensland and Mrs Moffatt was daughter of the squatter James Laidley. Source of picture not recorded.

Clergy wives often contributed to church music by playing the harmonium or organ, enhancing the worship; hymns were an increasingly important element in the competition for a congregation with the 'dissenters' at the local 'schism shop'.¹¹¹ It is something Katie Hume refers to frequently. Mrs. Nevill at Drayton preferred not to play the harmonium, so Katie felt obliged to do so. Mrs. Danvers, the wife of the curate at Warwick, played the harmonium regularly. Katie was critical of the efforts of several lady harmonium players, but their contribution was significant. Poorer rural parishes could not afford to pay an

¹¹¹ Bonnin, pp. 27, 29, 35, 52, 58, 67.

organist (assuming one could be found), unlike Brisbane parishes such as St John's and All Saints', and St Paul's Ipswich, all of which had paid (*male*) organists.¹¹²

The letters of A.E. Selwyn give us some idea of how a clergyman perceived his fiancée, and their future relationship. Selwyn was living in Brisbane with the Rev. H.O. Irwin, reading theology in preparation for his ordination as a deacon. Selwyn had been a squatter on the Namoi before offering himself as an ordinand to Bishop Tyrrell at the age of twenty-eight.¹¹³ His fiancée was Rose Rusden, daughter of the rector of Maitland, in Newcastle diocese. On the basis of social acceptability the match would have met with the approval of the most discerning bishop. The letters to Rose are full of enthusiasm for new experiences, such as reading the lessons in church for the first time; taking a full church service by himself for the first time; and teaching at the parish school when the schoolmaster and mistress were ill.¹¹⁴ Internal evidence in the letters suggests that Rose had been teaching in the parish school in her father's parish of Maitland, and Selwyn wrote that: 'All I wished was that it was our own school, and that you were there to help me, and then I should have quite enjoyed it'.¹¹⁵ He envisaged a shared ministry or rather, that Rose would share aspects of his ministry. He was anxious that they settle down together at the earliest opportunity, preferably near the bishop's home at Morpeth to be

¹¹² Cf. p. 448, W. Hillsman, 'Women in Victorian Church Music: Their Social, Liturgical, and Performing Roles in Anglicanism', in WJ Shiels and D Wood, eds, *Women in the Church*, published at Oxford for the Ecclesiastical History Society, by Basil Blackwell, 1990, pp. 443-452.

¹¹³ He was a cousin of Bishop Selwyn of New Zealand, the son of Canon Townsend Selwyn and Charlotte Sophia Murray, eldest daughter of Lord George Murray, Bishop of St David's and later of Rochester. Laura Tufnell's stepmother and Selwyn's mother were sisters. Bishop Murray was the celebrant of the Tufnell-Tufnell marriage.

¹¹⁴ Reading the first time, 20 May 1851; first service, letter no. 4, Sunday evening; school teaching, 27 July 1851

¹¹⁵ Rose's brother, G.W. Rusden, became a schools inspector in New South Wales, and then in Victoria. Ezra Wyeth, *Education in Queensland*, Melbourne, ACER, n.d., p. 31. See also, A.G. Austin, *Australian Education, 1788-1900*, Carlton, Pitman Pacific, 1972 (3rd edition), pp. 54-65.

supervised by him. Morpeth was near enough to Maitland for Selwyn to visit Rose until they could marry.¹¹⁶

Selwyn's understanding of the role of the parson's wife could be seen as the norm. An Adelaide clergyman, writing to his *Alma Mater* in England, sketched out his wife's role in the parish:

In this place, my wife can have a field of labour as well as myself, which she much desires. She teaches twice a day in the Sunday School, and there are good day schools in which she will be glad to make herself useful; and she is able to visit people as well as myself, for which visits I find them very thankful.¹¹⁷

Mary Crawshaw, who chaperoned Katie Hume on her voyage to Australia, was expecting a position as a companion or governess on Pikedale station, but when the owners of the property 'failed', she went to live in Warwick, hoping to find 'some kind of situation'. Katie Hume felt that her friends had let her down. In the meantime, she helped the Rev. Benjamin Glennie in the parish.¹¹⁸ At this stage Glennie was a confirmed bachelor, but after Miss Crawshaw returned to England, he invited her back to marry him. She was 42 and he was 56 when they married in 1868. Locally it was perceived to be a good match, and Katie Hume thought that Mrs. Glennie would have a congenial sphere in 'school and parish work'.¹¹⁹ She was right; Mrs. Glennie was soon involved in preparing Warwick youngsters for confirmation. As Mrs. Glennie was beyond child-bearing age, she had greater freedom for parish involvement than a woman with a growing family. Bigger towns provided greater opportunities for service and later, in Brisbane, Mrs. Glennie (with Mrs. Hale) was instrumental in establishing the Governesses' Home and Young Women's

¹¹⁶ Letter no. 11, Tuesday morning (27 September), 1851.

¹¹⁷ Withycombe, p. 74.

¹¹⁸ Bonnin, pp. 68, 74.

¹¹⁹ Bonnin, pp. 111, 128.

Institute, and helped form the first branch of the Girls' Friendly Society (GFS).¹²⁰ Her obituary lists many other activities to which she devoted much of her time on moving to Brisbane. Parish-based activities included mothers' meetings and the St. John's Sunday School. In the early 1880s, besides being instrumental in the establishment GFS, her philanthropic work included the North Brisbane Benevolent Society, the St. John's Temperance Society, and the Lady Bowen Hospital. It was a whole-hearted commitment:

Mrs. Glennie brought with her the untiring energy and whole-hearted devotion to the cause of religion and charity which had so distinguished her in her earlier sphere of usefulness.¹²¹

Mrs Glennie predeceased her husband. Another clergyman's wife without children, whose parish-based activities were extensive, was Mrs. Moffatt. Her husband, the Rev. J.R. Moffatt, was the incumbent of Kangaroo Point. Mrs Moffatt was very committed to the Sunday School at Kangaroo Point, and its success was attributed to her labours. The children of 'the working classes' were well represented among the children, reflecting the concern of the Moffatts for their welfare and education in the parish.¹²² Getting a glimpse into these aspects of women's lives in Brisbane life is not easy, but occasionally there were clues to be found in the Brisbane papers. For instance, when Lady Bowen left the colony with her husband for New Zealand at the end of 1867, an address presented to her informs us that several Anglican clergy wives were on the Ladies Committee of the Lady Bowen Hospital; Jane Bliss, Mary Love, and Laura Tufnell worked with other prominent Anglican women on the committee, including Eliza O'Connell, Susan Buckley, Anne Drew, and Ellen Thornton. At the same time, an address presented by the 'married ladies of Brisbane', was signed by the wives of five clergy, Revs. Bliss, Danvers, Jones, Moffatt

¹²⁰ Max Brightman, *Benjamin Glennie, Apostle of the Downs*, Toowoomba, self-published, 1983, p.57.

¹²¹ *BC*, 8 May 1890.

¹²² *The Queenslander*, 23 May 1868.

and Tufnell. Other signatures were mainly of the wives of prominent politicians, professionals and businessmen.¹²³ These activities were precisely the kind that was expected of women belonging to the middle class in other parts of Australia, as Elizabeth Windschuttle has shown.¹²⁴

The scope for clergy wives in rural areas was more limited to parish-based activities. When Edmund Moberly was transferred from Dalby to Gympie, his wife played the harmonium there to start with, but by July 1876 she asked to be relieved of the responsibility, and the parish decided to employ an organist.¹²⁵ For younger women, family responsibilities took a higher priority. Mrs. Nevill, the wife of the incumbent of Drayton and mother of numerous small children, preferred not to have to play the harmonium in church, and Katie Hume generally undertook the task. Katie had domestic help that gave her rather more freedom in this regard.¹²⁶ For some clergy wives, raising children could be a full-time job. Hannah Mary Court gave birth to eleven children between 1867 and 1887, all of whom were baptised at St. Mary's Kangaroo Point. When her husband, David Alexander, died in 1888 she still had four children under ten years old.¹²⁷ While extolling her husband's ministry in the parish over about twenty years, there was no reference at all to her, her parish activities, or the children, in her husband's obituary in the *Brisbane Courier*.¹²⁸ This invisibility was also true of many clergy wives, such as the wife of the Rev. James McCleverty. The statement is frequently made that he

¹²³ *QDG*, 18 December 1867.

¹²⁴ Windschuttle, pp.55-57.

¹²⁵ Minutes of parish meeting, July 24 1876, Minutes of Parish Meetings, Gympie, 1876-1882, Gympie box 5, BDA.

¹²⁶ Bonnin, pp 86,109.

¹²⁷ Clergy Card Index, BDA.

¹²⁸ *BC*, 1 October 1888. Mrs Court lived till 1937, and maintained her connection with the parish.

was unmarried, but his obituary in the Brisbane *Courier*, reprinted in the *Toowoomba Chronicle*, refutes this:

The deceased gentleman leaves a widow and a family of nine, the youngest of whom is about eight years of age. His eldest son, it will be remembered, obtained very distinguished honours at the Brisbane Grammar School, and is now a student at the Edinburgh University.¹²⁹

Such large families were the norm. At much the same time, Fanny Lucy Sutton, who met her husband, the Rev. John Sutton, on the voyage to Australia, gave birth to eleven children, only one of whom seems to have died in infancy.¹³⁰ The Rev. John Mosely and his wife Charlotte also had a large family. Five daughters and three sons were baptised between 1857 and 1871.¹³¹

Childbirth could be traumatic and fatal. The Rev. Thomas Dodd married Emily Barker in 1852, and their first son was born the following year, living less than three months. A second son was born in 1854, but eleven days later Emily died, just short of her 23rd birthday. Dodd stuck to his vocation and was ordained to the diaconate five months after Emily's death. He left the baby with family in Sydney and went to take up an appointment at Maryborough. The baby died in January 1855. Dodd persisted with his vocation and was ordained priest later in 1855, serving in Maryborough till 1857 and then at Williams River and Hexham. He died in 1864, aged 42.¹³²

Death was a constant element of colonial life. Several clergymen died before they could find a wife (Thomas Bodenham, John Brakenridge, James Clayton, James Warr and Lloyd Williams) and three died leaving young widows and families (W.W. Dove, Edward

¹²⁹ *TC*, 13 July 1881; c.f. *The History of the First Anglican Church on the Darling Downs*, locally produced booklet, Drayton Parish records, BDA, pp. 18-19.

¹³⁰ Clergy Card Index, BDA.

¹³¹ Clergy Card Index, BDA.

¹³² J. Downman, typescript, BDA. This biographical information was extracted from a parish history of St Luke's Wallsend, in the Diocese of Newcastle. Sherlock records a similar story of Daniel and Mary Ann Newham; 'Wholesome Examples . . .', p. 37

Nevill, and John Botting). Dove married Martha Hensley in Sydney in 1859. They had known each other in England, and Martha came out to join William after his ordination. They had four children in the next seven years. Dove died of heart disease in 1866, soon after the birth of his daughter Agnes. There is a similar, rather pathetic story of Elizabeth Wyatt, who came to Brisbane to be married to the Rev. John Botting in 1869. The wedding was celebrated in the chapel at Bishopsbourne on 13 May 1869 and they went to the parish of Gladstone. John died of phthisis only nine months later. Both Mrs. Dove and Mrs. Botting returned to England, to their families.¹³³ The Nevills transferred to Wellington diocese, in New Zealand in 1872. The Rev. Nevill, whose health was in a parlous state when he arrived in Brisbane in 1867, only lived for another three years in New Zealand.¹³⁴

Keeping the Home Fires Burning; Clergy Wives and Domestic Help

The clergyman was the public face of the Church, while his wife facilitated and supported his ministry in a less public manner within the parsonage. The structure of his life placed significant demands on his wife and on household management. The domestic timetable fitted around his schedule of church services, religious teaching in schools, pastoral visiting, interviews, and sermon preparation; and parish, community and diocesan meetings. Although urban clergy may have been involved in meetings to a greater degree than their rural colleagues, the latter were not without broader community responsibilities, such as involvement in hospital, school of arts, and library committees. A well-run household with enough flexibility to accommodate her husband's ministry was a key

¹³³ Clergy Card Index, BDA. For Dove see, J.J. Halcombe, *The Emigrant and the Heathen, or Sketches of Missionary Life*, London, SPCK, n.d., pp. 134ff; *The Church Chronicle*, 1 October 1928. For Botting, see *BC*, 7 March 1870, Rockhampton news; *The Queenslander*, 26 March 1870, Gladstone news.

¹³⁴ Clergy Card Index, BDA; Bonnin, p.97.

element of Frances Jones' contribution as a clergy wife when her husband Thomas was rector of All Saint's, Wickham Terrace.¹³⁵ Domestic flexibility needed to accommodate visitors. In the country, hospitality to the bishop and travelling clergy was taken for granted (and still is), but often extended to laity visiting 'town' on private or church business. A parson was never 'off duty', which meant that his wife could be drawn into his pastoral ministry to provide meals, accommodation and other assistance at short notice.

Women with large families usually needed some kind of domestic help. Younger sisters, nieces or daughters of friends could be co-opted to help as not all clergymen could afford paid help on the stipends they received. In her account as a clergymen's wife in Victoria, Ada Cambridge refers to her domestic servants, but there is little detail of how the household was actually run, especially how the daily routine accommodated her husband's parish ministry. When her health deteriorated and her career as a writer developed, she resisted being drawn into her husband's ministry as an unpaid curate.¹³⁶ She relates the 'killing strain' on clergy wives recognised by both Bishops Perry and Moorhouse of Melbourne to the 'high rate of sickness and untimely death amongst them' and backs the claims with her own stories.¹³⁷

Some households had many staff. When the Rev. Thomas Jones and his family lived at 'Bunya Cottage' on Windmill Hill in Brisbane, there was a 'cook, housemaid, nurse and young nursemaid, a laundress every Monday; and a manservant, William'. Frances Jones did not have to go shopping 'as the tradesmen called for orders, and the

¹³⁵ Bancroft & Hacker, pp. 26-27.

¹³⁶ Cambridge, p. 89.

¹³⁷ Cambridge, pp. 87-88.

butcher delivered twice a day'.¹³⁸ One servant, Sarah Spence, joined the household as a nursemaid when Eva Jones was six weeks old. She stayed forty years.¹³⁹ Such an extensive household was in keeping with the Jones family's social status, and seems to have depended on Mrs. Jones' income.¹⁴⁰ An extensive network of family and friends visited 'for tea or more substantial meals'. Hospitality also was accorded to clergy, parishioners, neighbours and 'community minded citizens involved in furthering the life of the church'. The household is portrayed as a lively centre of family and parish life.¹⁴¹ Interestingly, Katie Hume does not comment on whether the Glennies at Warwick or the Nevills at Drayton had domestic staff. She does say that the Rev. James Clayton (a bachelor) and his brother 'did for themselves' at Drayton.¹⁴² This she attributed to Clayton's meagre stipend.

It is hard to discern what may have been typical for a clergyman's household, but few clergymen would have had quite as large an establishment as Tommy and Frances Jones, and West claims that rarely could a clergyman afford domestic help.¹⁴³ It took considerable skill to juggle the demands of the parish and the demands of a family, and there was considerable danger that clergy wives could be overwhelmed with work. There could be severe limits to domestic flexibility. Not all parsonages were adequate for a clergyman's family. Early in the ministry of James Love in Warwick, the parish was asked to enclose the verandahs of the parsonage to provide extra bedrooms, 'for the comfort of

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Bancroft & Hacker, p. 33.

¹⁴¹ Bancroft & Hacker, p. 27.

¹⁴² Bonnin, pp. 31, 35.

¹⁴³ West, p. 275.

the clergyman and his family'.¹⁴⁴ Without domestic help, even with a small family, the demands on a wife's time to feed, clothe, wash, and care for a family in colonial Australia was exhausting and time-consuming, without even addressing the additional demands created by a parson's ministry. It is not easy to locate evidence for ambivalence on the part of a clergyman's wife to the demands of her husband's vocation, but it is easy to imagine.

Two for the Price of One

A clergyman and his wife had to share a calling. To use Finch's language, the life of a clergy wife was incorporated into her husband's job. It was difficult, if not impossible for her, to separate herself from the demands of his parish ministry. His job intruded into almost every aspect of domestic life, from the impact of his timetable onto daily routine, to the hospitality expected of the parsonage to all kinds of people and her active participation in his pastoral ministry. In terms of their work, it was manifestly two for the price of one. The key point to fully appreciating this is that her proxy activities implicitly recognise her competence and expertise.¹⁴⁵ The clergyman's wife was regarded as an honorary curate, as the Rev. Frederick Richmond pointed out in reference to Adeline Alkin:

The excellent work and good influence of his wife, acting as honorary curate as she was sometimes designated, was as solidly effective as if she were on the salaried staff.¹⁴⁶

Returning to the quotation at the head of this chapter, it is possible to respond to its claim. In exploring the educational and social background of our sample of colonial clergy, most seem to have been of a similar stamp to their English counterparts. Perhaps

¹⁴⁴ Warwick Vestry Minute Book, printed copy of the Annual Report, 1873, Records of Warwick Parish, box 7, BDA.

¹⁴⁵ Finch, pp. 99, 101.

¹⁴⁶ Richmond, p.13.

they did not enjoy quite such as high a standard of education, and though there were fewer of aristocratic or landed gentry backgrounds, nevertheless they could be ranked alongside their English counterparts. The Catholic Priest Father Robert Dunne, later Archbishop of Brisbane, had no doubts about the Anglican clergy, believing that ‘they possessed those gentlemanly qualities that their catholic counterparts lacked, and gave good tone to colonial life’.¹⁴⁷ The English exponents of clerical gentlemanliness would have been pleased with such an encomium. Not only were they gentlemen, but colonial clergy chose competent wives with the skills and social accomplishments that enhanced their ministry – and sometimes the means to go with them. There is no doubt that clergy wives were a great asset in establishing the Anglican Church in the colony. Sherlock goes so far as to describe their contribution as indispensable in furthering their husbands’ careers.¹⁴⁸ From what we know of the clergy and their wives, they were solidly middle class, and both Bishops Tyrrell and Tufnell had no fear that they were not placing a ‘gentleman’ in every parish. It is only to be regretted that the early clergy and their wives did not have the time to write about their lives in colonial Queensland for us.

¹⁴⁷ Byrne, p. 171.

¹⁴⁸ Sherlock, ‘Wholesome Examples . . .’ p. 44.

CHAPTER 4

IN THEIR PLACE: BEING ENGLISH AND BEING ANGLICAN IN EARLY QUEENSLAND

The ex-Dissenters have a lively remembrance of the yoke they endured in the old country, and even now that the spirit of supremacy has completely died out, they spring up to do battle against any formality that recalls it to them . . . a few years ago the whole colony of South Australia was convulsed on the question of the Bishop's right to follow the Governor and precede the Chief Justice at official ceremonies, and peace amongst the devout was only restored by the Bishop's graceful relinquishment of a position to which his legal right was undeniable.

Richard Twopeny, *Town Life in Australia*, p.113

I think it is in a work by Mr. Roebuck that the expression is used, "that the object of colonisation is the creation of so many little Englands". It is the reproduction of the image and likeness of England – the reproduction of a country in which liberty is reconciled with order, in which ancient institutions stand in harmony with popular freedom, and a full recognition of popular rights, and in which religion and law have found one of their most favoured homes.

W.E. Gladstone, in a speech before the Chester Mechanics Institute, 1855.

In the past, Anglicans in this country [England] have seen their faith coming through Englishness. In the days of the Empire, we exported Englishness with our Christianity . . .

Archbishop Robert Runcie,
Windows Into God, p.29

Anglicanism is quintessentially English, and was exported to colonial Queensland in the cultural baggage of English emigrants.¹ Often in the sources there are nostalgic yearnings for the English village church; the English musical tradition of the Anglican liturgy; and for the social, political and cultural status of the church in England.² Even before Separation from New South Wales in 1859, the Anglican Church had to begin to come to terms with reality; it was one of many Christian denominations and never came to enjoy the hegemony of the Established church 'at home', in England.³

What then, are those characteristics which link Anglicanism and Englishness? *The Study of Anglicanism*, edited by Sykes and others, begins with the Reformation in England, a decision defended in the preface to the first edition, and largely justified in the first two contributions to the book, which emphasise the Protestant nature of the Church of England.⁴ Linda Colley has argued that Protestantism was the cement that bound the British together, specifically in the period prior to the Act of Union incorporating (Catholic) Ireland into the British nation in 1800. Before 1800, the prevailing temper of Wales, Scotland and England was Protestant.⁵ Colley argues convincingly that this Protestantism was a bulwark against the 'Other', in particular, French or Roman Catholic

¹ On the 'Englishness' of the Anglican Church, see John S. Pobee, 'Non-Anglo-Saxon Anglicanism' in Stephen Sykes, John Booty and Jonathan Knight, eds, *The Study of Anglicanism*, revised edition, London and Minneapolis, SPCK/Fortress Press, 1998, pp. 446-459; and Paul Avis, 'What is Anglicanism?' *ibid*, pp. 459-476. See also; Martin Thornton, *English Spirituality*, London, SPCK, 1963; John Bayton, ed., *Anglican Spirituality*, Melbourne, Anglican Media, 1982; Bruce Kaye, 'The Anglican Tradition in Australia', *St Mark's Review*, no. 141, Autumn 1990, pp. 24-33.

² For church buildings, *The Church Chronicle*, 1 September 1898; letter from M.A., *BC*, 5 December 1865; for the church bell, advertisement for parish meeting, *MBC*, 5 January 1856; note from the Gayndah correspondent, *BC*, 23 June 1862; for liturgical music, opening of church at Maryborough, *QDG*, 7 January 1873; for political influence, editorial, *BC*, 30 June 1862; article and editorial, *BC*, 23 August 1862.

³ Editorial, *BC*, 23 August 1862.

⁴ W.P. Haugaard, 'From the Reformation to the Eighteenth Century', in Sykes et al., pp.3-30, especially p. 22; Perry Butler, 'From the Early Eighteenth Century to the Present Day', in Sykes et al., pp.31-54.

⁵ Linda Colley, *Britons; Forging a Nation, 1707-1837*. New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1992, pp. 11-54.

Other. She demonstrates that this was a defining characteristic of wars in which England/Britain was engaged throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries – with the significant exception of the American War of Independence.⁶ Being Protestant, Anglicanism was defined in opposition to Roman Catholicism, a fact of some significance in colonial history.

Second, the Reformation made the liturgy and scriptures available in the vernacular - English. The translation of the Bible, especially in the Authorised Version, and the development of the Book of Common Prayer were significant aspects of the assertion of Englishness, and became archetypal expressions of English language.⁷ With their increased availability from the beginning of the eighteenth century, English Protestants had access to the scriptures and their religious heritage in a way they believed Roman Catholics did not.⁸ It also meant that the Anglican Church developed distinctive liturgical and musical traditions in the post-Reformation period.

Third, the Anglican Church retained an episcopal polity, distinguishing it from the Presbyterianism of Scotland and most of the reformed churches of Europe.⁹ Episcopacy enshrines some of the social attitudes of deference/defiance that mark English society.

Fourth, Anglicanism was the Established Church of England and by law enjoyed privileges and responsibilities not shared with other English denominations. The English monarch is the 'supreme governor' of the Church of England. In England, the clergy were

⁶ Colley, pp. 18-19, 52.

⁷ Haugaard, pp. 11, 12, 23; Maurice Betteridge, 'The Spirituality of Cranmer' in John Bayton, ed, *Anglican Spirituality*, Melbourne, Anglican Media, 1982; Marion J. Hatchett, 'Prayer Books', in Sykes et al., pp.131-139; Frank Woods, 'Anglican Spirituality and the Book of Common Prayer', *St Mark's Review*, No 141, Autumn 1990, pp. 20-22; also Colley, p. 42.

⁸ Colley, p. 42.

⁹ A significant exception is the episcopal Lutheran churches of Scandinavia.

expected to extend pastoral care to all who live within their parish.¹⁰ However it is the political significance of Establishment that is most powerful, as the State had significant authority in the administration of ecclesiastical affairs, largely by Act of Parliament.¹¹

Fifth, the imbrication of the church in the apparatus of the state, and the State's control over episcopal and other senior appointments, ensured that the church was strongly connected to the English ruling class. The bench of bishops was drawn mainly from the aristocracy, and they had seats in the House of Lords.¹² The close ties between the Church of England and conservative political forces in England have led to it being described as the 'Tory party at prayer'.¹³

Sixth, Anglicanism developed a distinctive spirituality centred in its understanding of scripture, in its liturgy and music, and its intimate connections with English culture, especially its literary and artistic traditions.¹⁴

These characteristics are not exhaustive, but were important elements of what constituted Anglicanism, and from time to time manifested themselves in the colonial context. All of them contributed to the way English immigrants constructed an Anglican identity in colonial Queensland. However, neither Anglicans nor the English were the only people to settle in Queensland, where they had to adjust to quite a different social and cultural milieu.

¹⁰ O.C. Edwards, 'Anglican Pastoral Tradition', in Sykes et al., pp. 378-391, (especially p. 380).

¹¹ E.A. Livingstone, ed., *Oxford Concise Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2nd edition. Oxford, OUP, 2000, p. 197.

¹² William T. Gibson, 'The Professionalisation of an Elite; the Nineteenth Century Episcopate', *Albion*, 23,3 (Fall 1991), pp. 459-482; idem, 'The social origins of an elite: the nineteenth century episcopate'; *History of Education*, 20, 2, 1991, pp. 95-105

¹³ James Jupp, *The English in Australia*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2004, p. 21.

¹⁴ A.M. Allchin, 'Anglican Spirituality', in Sykes et al., pp.351-364.

The Dominance of the English among Colonial Anglicans

Early in my work I came across a statement that seemed unlikely to be true if applied to colonial Queensland.¹⁵ It voices a popular perception of colonial Anglicans:

The Anglican Church in Australia often faces problems from its history of being the church of the British, of the ruling group, and of the privileged. While these perceived aspects are also great sources of strength they can be great stumbling blocks in any attempt to reach out to an increasingly multicultural Australia.

The nature of this quotation shifted in a review:

The church's heritage as the church for the British and the ruling class was . . . hampering its efforts to attract members in Australia.¹⁶

As I worked on primary sources it appeared that there were several generalisations in these comments that were not altogether accurate. As with all generalisations, there is an element of truth in each, but it is not the whole story.

It is not true to claim that the Anglican Church was the church of the British; this was not even quite constitutionally true. In Wales, the Act of Union in 1536 enabled the enforcement of the Elizabethan Settlement of 1559, though with active, Welsh-speaking bishops, and Welsh language Bible and Prayer-book.¹⁷ This promising beginning faded by the early seventeenth century and Old Dissent, in the form of Congregationalism, Baptism and Presbyterianism, were beginning to take hold. In the eighteenth century, Methodism also contributed to the decline of the *Eglwys Loegr*, the 'English Church'. In Wales, Dissenters and Nonconformists became more numerous than Anglicans.¹⁸ The decline of Anglicanism and the Englishness of the church in Wales contributed to its

¹⁵Tricia Blombery, *The Anglicans in Australia*, Canberra, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, for the Bureau of Immigration, Multicultural and Population Research, 1996, p.81.

¹⁶ I have not been able to re-locate this source, despite searches.

¹⁷ Colley, p. 11; Livingstone, pp. 615-616.

¹⁸ W.R. Ward, 'The eighteenth century church: a European view', p. 297, in John Walsh, Colin Haydon & Stephen Taylor, *The Church of England, c. 1689-c.1833; From Toleration to Tractarianism*, Cambridge, CUP, 1993, pp. 285-298.

disestablishment early in the twentieth century. In Scotland, the Presbyterian Church has been the national church since the Reformation in spite of attempts to impose episcopacy, especially in the early seventeenth century and at the Restoration. Presbyterian polity has been maintained since 1690, since when it has been the Established Church. A very small episcopal body continued after 1690, becoming the Episcopal Church of Scotland, in communion with, but independent from, the Church of England.¹⁹ Thus the Act of Union of 1707, linking Scotland to England and Wales, was a political, rather than religious instrument.²⁰ The Church of Ireland was established by an Act of the Irish Parliament in 1560, but the Reformation made little headway. Protestantism, both Presbyterian and Anglican, was imported with Scottish and English colonizers, but the establishment of an Irish Roman Catholic hierarchy in 1618 revitalised Roman Catholicism, which has since retained the allegiance of most of the inhabitants.²¹ Most Scots, Irish and Welsh would have taken exception to the statement that the Anglican Church was the church of the 'British', as would many English-born Australians, for whom Anglicanism is closely connected with their English identity. In the colonies there were some Scots, Welsh and Irish who were Anglican, and some were prominent colonials, but the Anglican Church was often referred to as the 'English church'. In some areas, it is still called the 'English church'. Archbishop Runcie of Canterbury perceptively pointed out that: 'In the past, Anglicans in this country [England] have seen their faith coming through Englishness. In the days of the Empire, we exported Englishness with our Christianity . . .'.²² Anglicanism

¹⁹ Livingstone, p. 522; Daniel B. Stevick, 'Canon Law', in Sykes et al., pp. 222-223; P. Hinchliff, 'Church-State Relations', in Sykes et al., pp. 400, 402.

²⁰ Colley, p. 12.

²¹ Livingstone, pp. 293-294; Haugaard, p. 22; Linda Colley, 'Britishness and Otherness: An Argument', *Journal of British Studies*, 31, October 1992, pp. 309-329, especially p. 314.

²² Robert Runcie, *Windows Into God*, London, SPCK, 1983, p29.

is an English, rather than British, institution. Imprecision in using adjectives like the word 'British' can obscure, rather than clarify an argument.²³

The second of Blombery's problematical generalisations is that the Anglican Church was the church of the ruling class. On one level this is correct. It is probably true to say that the Church of England was the denomination of choice of much of the ruling class, especially in New South Wales and Tasmania. In Victoria and Queensland, there were significant numbers of Presbyterians in the ruling class, who were arguably more committed churchmen.²⁴ In South Australia, there were 'dissenters', especially Methodists and Congregationalists, among the ruling class.²⁵ These are probably quibbles, but there is a popular impression that the Church of England was predominantly elitist, largely composed of the wealthy and influential. My perception, based on my reading of primary sources in Queensland history, was different: there were Anglicans among the ruling class, but there were a very great number who were not.²⁶

Finally, the overall generalisation that the British/ruling class heritage hampered

²³ Colley, 'Britishness . . .', passim. Colley argues that a balance is needed in the distinction between the 'four nations' of the United Kingdom and a hegemonic concept of Britishness. Simon Gikandi, drawing on the writings of Raymond Williams, makes the point that for Williams the adjective 'British' was 'hardly ever used without "Empire" following and for that nobody had any use at all, including the small farmers'. Simon Gikandi, *Maps of Englishness: Writing Identity in the Culture of Colonialism*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1996, pp. 28-29. On Wales as an English colony, see pp. 42-44. For another exploration of Englishness, see Ian Baucom, *Out of Place. Englishness, Empire and the Locations of Identity*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1999, pp. 41-47.

²⁴ Bill Thorpe, *Colonial Queensland: Perspectives on a Frontier Society*, St Lucia, UQP, 1996, pp.148-149; R.W. Connell and T.H. Irving, *Class Structure in Australian History: Documents, Narrative and Argument*, Melbourne, Longman Cheshire, 1980, pp. 108-109, 113-119. For the Scots, see Malcolm Prentis, *The Scots in Australia*. Sydney, SUP, pp. 137-139. For the importance of Presbyterianism see Tim Prenzler, 'The Influence of Religion on Australian Political Behaviour', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, 38(2), 1992, pp. 274-288, especially, p. 276.

²⁵ Jill Roe, *Beyond Belief: Theosophy in Australia 1879-1939*, Kensington, University of NSW Press, 1986, p. 43. For good comparative figures for 1901, see pp. 382-383. See also; Tim Prenzler, 'Recent Writing on the History of Religion in Australia: A Critique', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, 41 (special issue), 1995, pp.139-156, especially p. 144.

²⁶ James Jupp makes the point that most English emigrants were from the labouring and artisanal classes, and came from areas of Anglican strength in England. James Jupp, *The English in Australia*, Cambridge, CUP, 2004, pp. 22, 35, 55-60, 112-117.

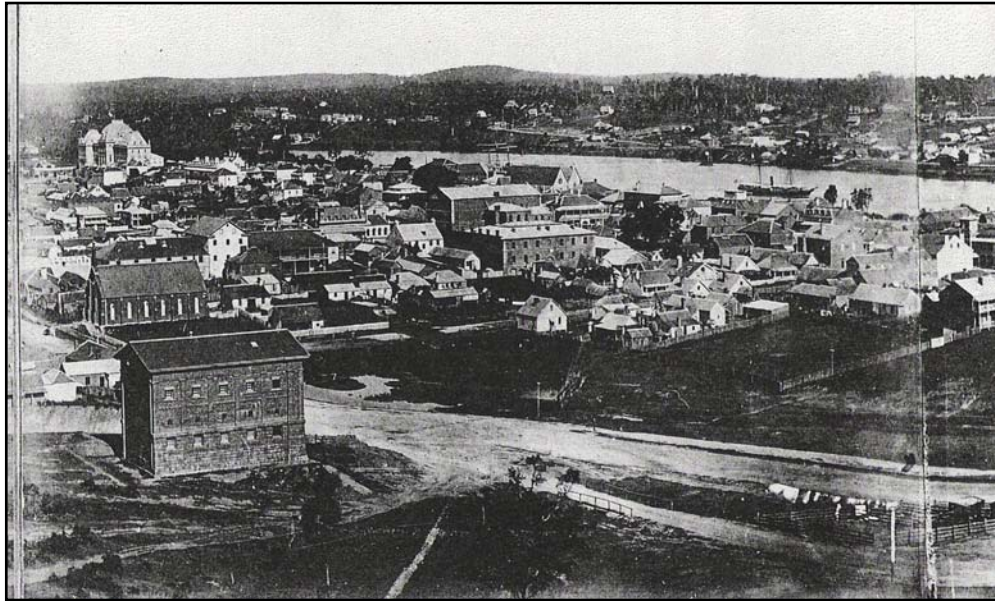


Plate 4.1 North Brisbane in 1872. The handsome building in the distance at the left is Parliament House. St John's Anglican Church is the twin-gabled building at the centre of the photo, near the river.

John Oxley Library, neg. no. 172356C.

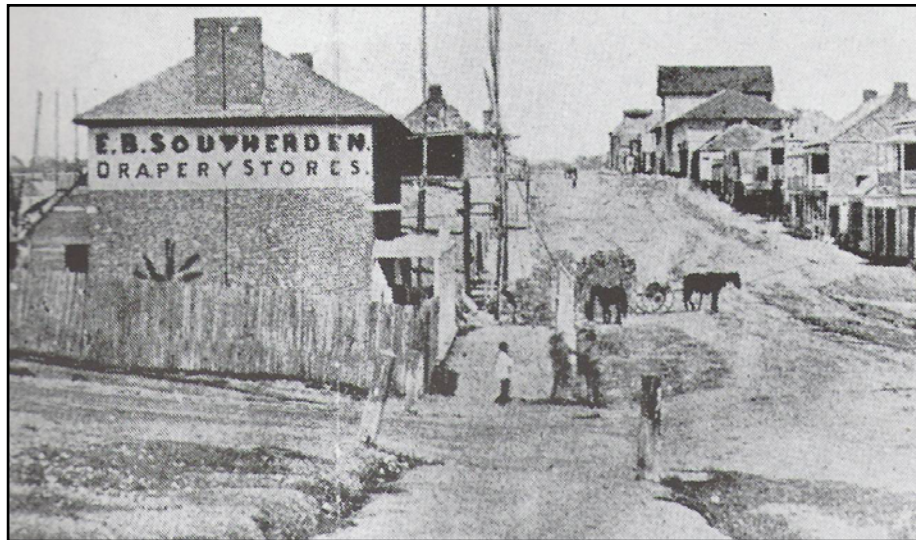


Plate 4.2 The kind of streetscape that would have welcomed immigrants to Queensland: Queen Street, Brisbane, with Edward Street in the foreground.

The old convict barracks is at the top right.

Picture from Terry O'Connor, *A Pictorial History of Queensland*.

the efforts of the Church of England to attract members needs to be questioned.²⁷ It may be true in New South Wales and Tasmania, whose early formation was so strongly influenced by their penal past, and where Grocott's arguments concerning the coercive social control function of Anglican parsons has some force.²⁸ Although Queensland did have a penal past, by the time of Separation, in 1859, that past had been almost obliterated by massive immigration. There were even few visual reminders of the convict past for Moreton Bay residents (Plates 4.1 and 4.2). However, in the 1860s in Brisbane, there was a considerable pressure to build new churches because of the large numbers attending the existing parish churches. These large numbers were not all members of the ruling class. The implications in the statement, that the Anglican Church was not attracting members, and those who did not come from the ruling class were inhibited from joining, may not be sustainable in every colonial situation.²⁹

The original statement, if applied to Queensland, begs the question of the nature of the demographic structure of society in Queensland and the socio-economic structure of the Anglican community. It raises the issue of what the ethnic and denominational structure of colonial society was. How many people were there from each of the four constituent parts of Great Britain – from Wales, Scotland, Ireland and England? What was the denominational mix in the colony? These are important questions, as the public life of a colony could be influenced by these factors. Issues of educational policy, Sunday

²⁷ This is partly addressed later in this study in chapter eight. One of the reasons for a spate of church-building in the 1860s in Brisbane was the overcrowding of St John's Church in Brisbane, and at the Wickham Terrace and Fortitude Valley churches.

²⁸ A.M. Grocott, *Convicts, Clergymen and Churches: Attitudes of Convicts and Ex-Convicts towards the Churches and Clergy in New South Wales from 1788 to 1851*, Sydney, SUP, 1980; Prenzler, 'Recent Writing', pp. 141, 143. See also p. 22 Jupp, *The English in Australia* where he identifies areas of Anglican strength with the penal past.

²⁹ See note 15, above. The next chapter addresses the socio-economic class of Anglicans.

observance, marriage, birth and death, suffrage, and temperance movements could all be affected by the relevant proportions of different ethnic and denominational groups. This chapter examines some of the demographic issues, and the next deals with the socio-economic structure of the Anglican community in Queensland.

Country of Birth

It is almost a truism to say that, in the mid-nineteenth century, the population of the Australian colonies was substantially comprised of immigrants. It is also a truism of similar scale to say that the population was substantially British; after all, they were British colonies. The implications of such statements are that all the colonies were more or less the same – that their populations were similarly structured. A superficial test of such assumptions would suggest we dig deeper.³⁰ South Australia had a distinctive English dissenting character, and a significant German population. Gold-mining areas had many Chinese miners, and Western Victoria and New England had a substantial Scots/Presbyterian population. These ethnic and religious differences contributed to the cultural and economic diversity of colonial Australia. In what follows, I explore the census records to look at the country of origin of Queensland residents, and to look at patterns of denominational adherence.

The 1846 New South Wales census figures for the populated part of the pastoral districts later to become Queensland (county of Stanley, and the pastoral districts of Moreton Bay and the Darling Downs) show that almost the entire population (all but 1.9%) was born in the colony or in Britain (Table 4.1). Colonial born women outnumbered colonial born men. The difference was marginal in Stanley, but there were appreciable

³⁰ For assumptions about ethnicity and religious affiliation, see Jupp, pp. *The English in Australia*, 24-25.

Table 4.1

Origin of colonists by country, 1846 census.

	Colony	England	Wales	Ireland	Scotland	Other British	Other
Stanley							
Males	189	421	3	300	124	56	29
Females	193	101	1	125	39	9	9
Total	382	522	4	425	163	65	38
M/F	0.98	4.17	3.0	2.4	3.18	6.22	3.22
M as %	16.8	37.5	0.3	26.7	11.1	5.0	2.6
M(tot)							
F as %	40.5	21.2	0.2	26.2	8.2	1.9	1.9
F(tot)							
As % Total pop	23.9	32.6	0.3	26.6	10.2	4.1	2.4
Darling Downs							
		NOTE:	60.8% of	adult men	'not free'.		
Males	41	251	1	152	82	18	7
Females	46	9		25	26		
Total	87	260	1	177	108	18	7
M/F	0.89	27.88		6.08	3.15		
M as %	7.4	45.5	0.2	27.5	14.9	3.3	1.3
M(tot)							
F as %	43.4	8.5		23.6	24.5		
F(tot)							
As % Total pop	13.2	39.5	0.2	26.9	16.4	2.7	1.1
Moreton Bay							
Males	11	92	2	78	35	3	3
Females	16	7	2	12	9		
Total	27	99	4	90	44	3	3
M/F	0.69	13.1	1.0	6.5	3.9		
M as %	4.9	41.0	0.9	34.8	15.6	1.3	1.3
M(tot)							
F as %	34.8	15.2	4.3	26.1	19.6		
F(tot)							
As % Total pop	10.0	36.7	1.5	33.3	16.3	1.1	1.1
% total population							
% M(tot)	12.7	40.3	0.3	28.0	12.7	4.1	2.1
% F(tot)	40.7	18.7	0.5	25.8	14.0	1.4	1.4

Source: New South Wales census, 1846.

differences on the Darling Downs and in the Moreton Bay District (on low absolute figures). In Stanley, colonial born women (40.5%) were nearly as numerous as English and Irish born women together; only the Scots provided another significant figure. On the Downs, colonial born women were slightly more numerous, but Scottish-born women (24.5%) outnumbered even the Irish (23.6%). Very few English-born women ventured out to the Downs (8.5%). These figures underline the importance of the early settlement of Scots on the Darling Downs, and of colonial women as marriage partners for men not born in the colony.³¹

The composition of the population of the towns varied. In Brisbane, colonial-born residents represented 30.7% of the population, fractionally lower than the figure for the English (Table 4.2). The Irish (24.3%) and the Scots (7.9%) made up the bulk of the rest of the population. Ipswich was strongly “Celtic”, with 33.3% Irish and 17.2% Scots. What is striking is the under-representation of English women (18.7%) in pre-Separation Queensland, compared with the Irish (25.8%) and the Scots (14.8%), possibly reflecting the immigration and transportation pattern of preceding years bringing fewer English women to Australia. Colonial-born women were 40.7% of the population of the area in 1846. Conversely, the high proportion of English men (40.3%) in the male population is significant, as noted above. The fact that men outnumbered women by five to one in the

³¹For the Scots, see M. French, *A Pastoral Romance*, Toowoomba, USQ Press, 1990, p169; M. French, ‘In Search of Another Warhill: A Scottish Migration to New South Wales in the 1830s’, *JRAHS*, 73(3), 1987, pp187-204; L.J. Jay, ‘Pioneer Settlement on the Darling Downs: A Scottish Contribution to Australian Colonisation’, *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, 73(1), 1957, pp35-49; D.B. Waterson, *Squatter, Selector and Storekeeper; A History of the Darling Downs, 1859-93*. Sydney, SUP, 1968, pp. 15-16, 134-136; J.W. Collinson, ‘From the Downs to the Don and the Dee: The Story of the Brothers, Leith-Hay’, *Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland*, 3(6), 1947, pp466-471; T. Welsby, ‘John Campbell – A Squatter of ‘41’, *Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland*, 3(1), 1937, pp27-36; W.R.F. Love, ‘G.R.E. Fairholme, Gentleman, Scholar, and Squatter’, *Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland*, 12(1), 1984, pp55-72; J. Mackenzie-Smith, *Moreton Bay Scots 1841-1859*. Virginia (Qld), Church Archivist’s Press, 2000.

Table 4.2

Country of Birth of Colonists in Towns, 1846 census.

	colony	England	Wales	Ireland	Scotland	Other British	Other
North							
Brisbane							
Males	90	147	2	101	36	12	17
Females	78	51		52	18	4	6
Total	168	198	2	153	54	16	23
M/F	1.15	2.88		1.94	2.0	3.0	2.83
% total pop	27.4	32.2	0.3	24.9	8.8	2.6	3.7
South							
Brisbane							
Males	60	76	1	40	18	7	7
Females	67	22		40	4	1	3
Total	127	98	1	80	22	8	10
M/F	0.9	3.45		1.0	4.5	7.0	2.3
% total pop	35.7	27.5	0.3	22.5	6.2	2.2	9.3
Brisbane, total	295	296	3	233	76	24	33
% of Bris total	30.7	30.8	0.3	24.3	7.9	2.5	3.4
Ipswich							
Males	12	19		18	11	4	
Females	5	6		13	5		
Total	17	25		31	16	4	
M/F	2.4	3.2		1.4	2.2		
% of total pop	18.3	26.9		33.3	17.2	4.3	

Source: New South Wales Census, 1846.

pastoral districts, makes it very clear that the squatting districts were very much a ‘man’s world’. This early data is very difficult to correlate with later figures collected by census in colonial Queensland; the census districts are quite different, the population more widely spread, and many more countries of origin are represented. Table 4.3 gives a synopsis of the relevant data for 1876.³²

³² The year 1876 was chosen as being at the end of Tufnell’s episcopate.

TABLE 4.3

Population of Queensland by country of Birth, 1876 Census

Country	males	females	total	M/F	% total population	M as % all m	F as % all f
England & Wales	22,560	13,643	36,203	1.65	20.9	21.48	19.99
Ireland	13,603	11,280	24,883	1.21	14.36	12.96	16.52
Scotland	5,866	3,508	9,374	1.67	5.41	5.59	5.14
Queensland	29,643	29,130	58,773	1.02	33.92	28.23	42.67
Other Aust (inc. Tas & NZ)	7,184	4,949	12,133	1.45	7.00	6.84	7.25
China & Japan	10,399	13	10,412	800	6.01	9.90	0.02
Germany	6,064	3,825	9,889	1.59	5.71	5.77	5.60
Polynesia	4,938	170	5,108	29.05	2.95	4.70	0.25
Other	4,752	1,756	6,508	2.71	3.74	4.53	2.57
Total	105,009	68,274	173,283	1.54			

Source: 1876 Census Report, bound with Queensland Legislative Council Journal, 1877, Fryer library, University of Queensland.

1. Kanakas and Chinese comprised 8.96% of the population.
2. The ratio of English + Welsh : Irish : Scottish was 51:35:13

One in five residents of Queensland was from England or Wales; 14.4% were from Ireland, and 40.9% were born in the Australian colonies (including New Zealand). Other significant sources of migrants were Germany (5.7%), China (6.0%), and Polynesia (2.9%). These latter figures represent the importance of German settlement, especially on the Darling Downs; the employment of Chinese as shepherds and in mining; and the use of indentured Polynesian labour in the sugar and pastoral industries.³³ In 1876, the gender imbalance was still marked, the male/female ratio being 1.54:1 – or, to put it another way,

³³These were actually ethnically Melanesian, rather than Polynesian. In these figures, the numbers of 'Polynesian' women and Chinese women are very small: 170 out of 5,108, and 13 out of 10,412 respectively. This imbalance represents a significant social problem and social injustice outside the scope of this study; see Beverley Kingston, *The Oxford History of Australia, Volume: 1860-1900, Glad Confident Morning*, Melbourne, OUP, 1988, p. 115. For the German population; P. Overlack, 'German Settlers in the Moreton Bay Region 1838-1914', *Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland*, 12(1), 1984, pp103-118; Waterson, *Squatter*, pp. 126-134; for 'Polynesians' see R. Evans, K. Saunders, and K. Cronin, *Race Relations in Colonial Queensland: a History of Exclusion, Exploitation, and Extermination*, St Lucia, UQP, 1975, especially the section authored by Kay Saunders, pp147-234; for Chinese, see the section by K. Cronin, in Evans, Saunders and Cronin, pp235-340; also, C.Y. Choi, *Chinese Migration and Settlement in Australia*, Sydney, SUP, 1975.

39.4% of the population were female.³⁴ The colonial-born portion of the population had more than doubled from the 1846 figure to 40.92%. The German population of 5.71% in 1868 compares with 1.9% non-British in 1846. These are very strong shifts in the demographics of Queensland. The percentage of English and Welsh born Queenslanders had dropped from 35.3% to 20.9%; the Irish were down from 27.4% to 14.36%; and the figure for the Scots had fallen from 12.5% to 5.41%.³⁵

James Jupp's study of the English in Australia sheds light on the significance of these figures. It was British policy to try to maintain the various national and religious proportions among colonial immigrants as existed in the United Kingdom: the proportions were 59% English (and Welsh); 10% Scots; and 31% Irish.³⁶ The Queensland figures for the birthplace of its population in 1876 reveal that the proportion was 51:13:35, though Jupp points out that for the period 1861-1901, the figure for the English and Welsh was 58.5, almost precisely the official target.³⁷ The strength of the Irish Catholic component was due to the activities of the Bishop James Quinn of Brisbane and his clergy in

³⁴ These figures are almost exactly the same as in 1868 – 1.55 and 39.2% respectively. In 1868, in the well-established towns (Brisbane, Ipswich, Drayton, Toowoomba, Warwick) the ratio was close to 1, but in Maryborough, which still retained some of its frontier character, the ratio was 1.38. In fact, in Brisbane where most immigrants first landed (Figure 4.2), and in Ipswich, women slightly outnumbered men. For comments on the gender imbalance, see Kingston, *Glad, Confident Morning*, p. 115.

³⁵ Camm and Sumner cite estimates of the Aboriginal population in 1881. They quote an estimate of 70,000 Aborigines in Queensland in the 1881 census and a figure of 20,585 given by the Commissioner of Police. An estimate in the 1886 census gives a figure of 11,906, which represents a significant downward revision of the earlier figure. J.C.R. Camm and R. Sumner, 'Counting People in Queensland – A Survey of the Queensland Censuses, 1861-1901', *Australian Historical Statistics*, no. 5, May, 1982, n. 11, p. 75. In his report for 1876, the Registrar-General, Henry Jordan, wrote: 'It is to be regretted that the means have not been devised for getting some approximate estimate, at least, of the aboriginal inhabitants; but there are great, if not insuperable difficulties in the way, arising out of the habits and condition of the natives; and the only plan that could be thought of for attempting a rough estimate in connection with this enumeration was considered likely to interfere with the ordinary work of the census collectors.' p. vi, Prefatory Report to the 1876 Census.

³⁶ Jupp, pp 68, 69; see also, Helen R. Woolcock, *Rights of Passage, Emigration to Australia in the Nineteenth Century*, London and New York, Tavistock Publications, 1986, p. 31, 38.

³⁷ Jupp, p. 113.

promoting Irish migration.³⁸ There were significant consequences for this form of social engineering. The Queensland policy of fixing the proportions of the various ‘national’ groups of British emigrants ensured a numerical hegemony of English migrants. Furthermore, the emigrants were dominated by those who were unskilled or skilled labourers on assisted passages.³⁹ What is often overlooked, is that immigration to the colonies was a continuing ‘event’ – English settlers continued arriving till the end of the twentieth century, constantly renewing the ties between the colony and ‘home’. In 1868, the English and Welsh born in Brisbane were still 28.3% of the population and there were three times as many English/Welsh born than Scots-born, and they outnumbered the Irish 4 to 3. Ipswich and Maryborough both had large numbers of English-born residents (28.3% and 24.8%).

One was more likely to hear a German accent in Maryborough, Drayton and Toowoomba than in Ipswich, Warwick or Brisbane (Table 4.4). Scots were numerous in Maryborough (10.6%). The Chinese were not plentiful in any of these towns: they were busy mining; 620 in the Port Curtis region; 433 in Clermont; 280 in Kennedy; and 310 in Leichhardt. Those on the Darling Downs were most probably shepherds or gardeners. The colonial-born represented about 40% of the population of Ipswich, Drayton, Toowoomba and Warwick, but only 27.7% at Maryborough.

Germans came early to Queensland - the Nundah missionaries being first, creating an agricultural settlement out of their failed mission to the Aborigines.⁴⁰ In the 1850s some German shepherds were brought to the Darling Downs under contract. They were

³⁸ Jupp, p. 114.

³⁹ Jupp, p. 113-115.

⁴⁰ W.N. Gunson, ‘The Nundah Missionaries’, *Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland*, 6, 1959-62, pp. 511-539; Nundah is just north of Brisbane.

Table 4.4**Population of Principal Towns by Country of Birth in 1868.⁴¹**

	England and Wales	Ireland	Scotland	Q'land	Other Colonies	Tasmania &NZ	China	Germany	Polynesia	Other
Brisbane										
Males	2076	1200	630	1925	565	37	18	221	1	220
Females	1963	1884	637	1913	645	39	3	155	2	131
Total	4039	3084	1267	3838	1210	76	21	376	3	351
As % of Total pop	28.3	21.6	8.9	26.9	8.5	0.5	0.1	2.6		2.5
Maryboro'										
Males	699	379	251	428	125	11	9	270	124	53
Females	456	317	179	452	116	8		159	1	10
Total	1155	696	430	880	241	19	9	429	125	63
As % of Total pop	28.5	17.2	10.6	21.7	6.0	0.5	0.2	10.6	3.1	1.6
Ipswich										
Males	632	454	191	860	119	5	8	97		44
Females	611	679	196	870	135	3		93		24
Total	1243	1133	387	1730	254	8	8	190		68
As % of Total pop	24.8	22.6	7.7	33.9	5.1	0.2	0.2	3.8		1.4
Drayton and T'ba										
Males	578	612	147	1008	189	13	28	420		61
Females	523	725	151	1018	199	14		323		23
Total	1101	1337	298	2026	388	27	28	743		84
As % of Total pop	18.3	22.2	4.9	33.6	6.4	0.4	0.5	12.3		1.4
Warwick										
Males	231	209	82	430	89	4	15	79		18
Females	170	289	77	431	80	6		38		6
Total	401	498	159	861	169	10	15	117		24
As % of Total	17.8	22.1	7.1	38.2	7.5	0.4	0.7	5.2		1.1

Source: *Queensland Census, 1868*, bound with *Queensland Legislative Council Journal, 1868*.

‘reliable, frugal and sober workers who invariable managed to save sufficient cash ... to take up land in the sixties’.⁴² Most German migration to the Downs took place between

⁴¹ In subsequent censuses, data on country of birth for towns were not given in this form, but were given for census districts surrounding and including the towns, thus undermining direct comparability with the 1846 data for towns in Table 4.2

1861 and 1879, and they became very competent small farmers.⁴³ Their emphasis on diversity of production, exemplified by Christoph Donges at Drayton is characteristic of the determination of the German settlers to improve their lot. Waterson describes them as becoming ‘unshakably “petty *bourgeois*”’.⁴⁴ Germans were widely scattered through Queensland, with significant populations in the Logan, Albert, Moreton and Burnett districts.⁴⁵ Most were Lutheran, though German Baptists were numerous in the Fassifern Valley, and there were also some Catholics.⁴⁶

Perhaps more significant to the early settlement period were the Scots especially among the squatters; sixty percent of Darling Downs squatters in 1848 were Scots.⁴⁷ French notes a strong Aberdonian connection among these early Scots settlers, and they were among the first to establish themselves on the eastern side of the Main Range, around Fassifern.⁴⁸ Scots also went to the Wide Bay and Burnett regions quite early.⁴⁹ This early influence was not sustained: as land on the Darling Downs was opened up for selection, Scots were quickly outnumbered by the Irish who arrived in greater numbers in the 1860s and 1870s under the migration scheme of the Catholic bishop, James Quinn (Plate 4.3).⁵⁰ It is tempting to assume that all Scots were Presbyterians, but some were

⁴² Waterson, *Squatter*, p.126.

⁴³ Kingston, *Glad, Confident Morning* . . . , pp. 129-130.

⁴⁴ Waterson, *Squatter*, p.131.

⁴⁵ Gunson, pp.511-539; P. Overlack, p.108-109; Waterson, pp.126-131.

⁴⁶ For Baptists; Melvin Williams, *Cameos of Baptist Men in 19th Century Queensland*, Brisbane, Baptist Historical Society of Queensland, 1995, pp.40-44; and for Catholics, see A. McLay, *James Quinn, First Catholic Bishop of Brisbane*, Toowoomba, Church Archivist's Society, 1989, pp.86-88.

⁴⁷ The Leslies; the Mackenzie brothers; Gilbert Elliott; Fairholme; Deuchar; McLean; the Leith-Hays; E. Dalrymple; Campbell; Cameron; Coulson; the Macdonalds; Farquharson; and the Gammies.

⁴⁸ Macdonalds, Cameron and Coulson; French, ‘In Search . . .’, p. 189-193; Jay, pp. 1-41.

⁴⁹ Including the Archers, Balfours, Mackenzies, MacTaggerts, and MacPhersons; Firmin McKinnon, ‘The Early Days of Maryborough’, *JRHSQ*, 3(6), 1947, pp.473-484; and his ‘Early Pioneers of the Wide Bay and Burnett’, *Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland*, 3(2), 1940, pp. 90-99.

⁵⁰ The Catholic priest in Toowoomba, the Rev Robert Dunne, encouraged Irish selectors. Neil Byrne, *Robert Dunne, Archbishop of Brisbane*. St Lucia, UQP, 1991, p.91. pp. 80-83.

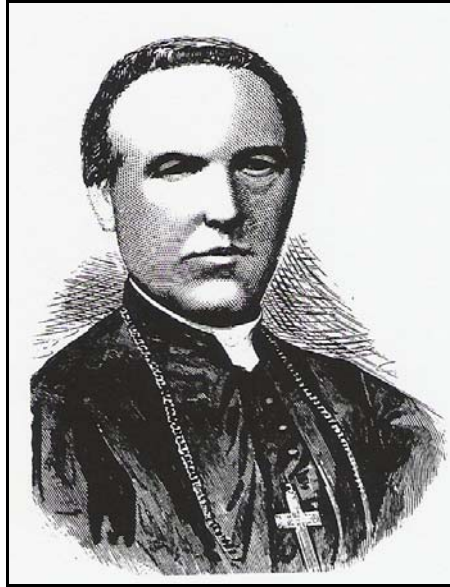


Plate 4.3 James Quinn, Roman Catholic Bishop of Brisbane from 1861 to 1881. He and Bishop Tufnell co-operated in their efforts on behalf of denominational education. The Catholic community was strong, partly because of Quinn's proactive policy on Catholic immigration to the colony.

From Neil Byrne, *Robert Dunne, Archbishop of Brisbane*.



Plate 4.4 Robert Ramsay Mackenzie was a Scot who may have represented the phenomenon of 'double allegiance' to the two 'established' churches, the Church of England and the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. Certainly while in Queensland, he was a member of the Church of England. He returned to Scotland on inheriting the baronetcy of Coul.

John Oxley Library, neg. no. 68169.

Catholic, and a few were Episcopalian.⁵¹ Malcolm Prentis noted a high proportion of Scots-born Episcopalians in the Queensland parliament, which he suggests could be due to Presbyterians “conforming” as a result of upward mobility. This explanation may be misleading, as many of the educated upper and landed classes of Scotland were Episcopalian and many of the landed gentry maintained a ‘double allegiance’ professing to be Episcopalian whilst at the same time supporting the local Presbyterian Church. As many of the Scots-born squatters came from these classes, ‘double allegiance’ would not be surprising (e.g. R.R. Ramsay, pictured in Plate 4.4).⁵² Perhaps their most significant contribution was to strengthen the Protestant nature of civil life.

The Irish were always numerous in Queensland. Along with the English they were plentiful in the days of the penal colony. Convicts and ex-convicts made a significant contribution to the population of pre-Separation Queensland. There were some Irish among their guards, too, like Foster Fyans, who was commandant of the penal colony between 1835 and 1837.⁵³ Jan Walker has noted that the English, Scots and Irish dominated the workforce at Jondaryan station around mid-century,⁵⁴ and Ross Johnston has recorded that many Irish immigrants arriving in the early fifties soon found employment ‘in the interior’.⁵⁵ In the sixties and the seventies Irish navvies built Queensland’s railways. Irish men and women were also legendary innkeepers. Irishmen also marked out the land; the Irishmen Bagot and Moriarty were two of the earliest surveyors. With the growth in population from immigration, the diversity of Irish

⁵¹ A point Beverley Kingston also makes; *Glad, Confident Morning*, pp. 126-127.

⁵² Prentis, pp.38-139; A.L. Drummond and J. Bulloch, *The Church in Victorian Scotland 1843-1874*, Edinburgh, The St. Andrew Press, 1975, pp59, 62,63; M. French, *APR*, chapter 9; W.R.F. Love, p.55.

⁵³ J.G. Steele, *Brisbane Town in Convict Days 1824-1842*. St Lucia, UQP, 1975, p.204.

⁵⁴ Jan Walker, *Jondaryan Station; the Relationship Between Pastoral Capital and Pastoral Labour 1840-1890*. St Lucia, UQP, 1988, p.91.

⁵⁵ W. Ross Johnston, *Brisbane, The First 30 Years*. Brisbane, Boolarong, 1988, p215.

employment increased, and quickly ranged into the professions such as medicine (Dr O'Doherty in Ipswich); and business (Stephen Mehan, Drayton; Paddy O'Sullivan, Ipswich). As with Scots not always being Presbyterian, not all Irish were Catholics. The Presbyterian minister, the Rev. B.G. Wilson, was Irish, as was the case of many from the northern counties. There were also many Anglican Irish, from the squatters (the Gores and the Bells) to small-farmers (the Carrs of Long Pocket, Brisbane). The first Governor, Sir George Bowen, was Anglo-Irish. But it was the Catholicism of most of the Irish that was to be significant in the social formation of early Queensland. Perhaps the greatest fault-line in colonial society was that between Protestant and Catholic, as debates about state aid for religion and denominational education show.⁵⁶

English colonists filled positions from the humblest to the greatest. James Jupp has emphasized the Queensland policy of recruiting immigrants from the villages for agricultural settlement, and by 1891 the majority were still farmers, labourers, farm servants, domestic servants and pastoral workers. He notes, however, that the English also made a significant contribution to the population of the coastal towns, and that by 1886 the English born immigrants outnumbered the Scots and Irish combined.⁵⁷ They were not uniformly Anglican, and were represented among Congregationalists, Methodists (Wesleyans), and Baptists. The English and the Scots contributed to Queensland's Protestant hegemony so effectively that it excluded Catholics from Queensland's legislature, with a couple of notable exceptions, till the 1890s.⁵⁸ Jupp's recent study, *The English in Australia* reclaims a central role for the English in Australia:

⁵⁶ Naomi Turner, *Sinews of Sectarian Warfare? State Aid in New South Wales, 1836-1862*, Canberra, ANU Press, 1972; Michael Hogan, *The Sectarian Strand*. Ringwood, Penguin, 1987.

⁵⁷ James Jupp, *Australian Retrospectives: Immigration*. Sydney, Sydney University Press, 1991, pp. 18-19.

⁵⁸ Byrne, pp. 84-85; Waterson, *Squatter*, pp. 235-276, especially pp. 260-261.

[B]ecause Australia was colonized and developed after 1788 by more settlers from England than from anywhere else, their distinctive characters and experiences have often been overlooked or taken as the norm to which all others must conform.⁵⁹

Further, he maintains that:

The English who came to Australia in the first century were building a predominantly English society, with an important Scottish and Irish population. The English language, English law, English constitutional systems, English elites, and the need to answer to London and be loyal to Queen Victoria and the empire all reinforced the English sense of having moved within a single society.⁶⁰

Jupp omits any reference to the influence of English eating habits on colonial cuisine, an oversight Colin Bannerman has addressed compellingly in *A Friend in the Kitchen*. In the context of food habits, Bannerman anticipates Jupp's claim that other British cultures were assimilated to a dominant Englishness.⁶¹ Another item of cultural baggage Jupp does not mention was Anglicanism. English emigrants were drawn mainly from Anglican strongholds in the east and south of England, and they carried with them their attachment to the Church of England into the colonies where they settled, including Queensland.⁶²

Denominational Adherence

Charles Dilke remarked that Australians were very conservative in their ecclesiastical affairs; there was none of the enthusiastic religion that characterized the Americans. He pointed out that of the 'white' population, 80% of Victorians were Episcopalians, Roman Catholics or Presbyterians.⁶³ For a comparable section of the Queensland population in 1876, the figure would have been just over 90%.⁶⁴ The seven major religious groups listed

⁵⁹ Jupp, *The English in Australia*, p.7.

⁶⁰ Jupp, *The English in Australia*, p. 110. See also, p. 182.

⁶¹ Colin Bannerman, *A Friend in the Kitchen*, Kenthurst, Kangaroo Press, 1996, pp. 206-208; Jupp, *The English in Australia*, pp. 182-185.

⁶² *ibid*, pp. 11, 115.

⁶³ Charles Dilke (edited by Geoffrey Blainey), *Greater Britain*, North Ryde, Methuen Haynes, 1985 [1868], p.117.

⁶⁴ Based on the 1876 census figures.

in the 1876 Queensland census were all long-established institutions.

TABLE 4.5

Denominational Affiliation, Queensland, census data, 1841-1876, by percentage.

year	CofE	RC	Pres	Wes	Cong	Luth	Baptist	Other
1841	40.0	38.5	21.0					0.5
1846	50.2	27.9	16.2	1.1				4.6
1851	44.8	27.0	11.4	3.5				13.3
1856	45.1	29.2	12.5	3.8	1.7			7.4
1861	44.7	25.5	12.3	4.8	2.3			10.4
1864	45.9	23.2	13.6	4.3	2.1			10.9
1868	37.5	26.5	13.3	5.2	2.1	6.4	2.1	6.9
1871	36.4	26.5	12.1	6.0	2.2	7.2	2.4	11.6
1876	35.8	24.9	10.9	6.4	2.1	7.0	2.5	10.4

Table 4.5 gives the percentage of the population professing to be members of the principal Christian denominations. For the period 1841-1876, the trend is for a decrease in the proportion of Anglicans in the colony, an especially noticeable drop being between 1864 and 1868. In 1876, more than one third of the population of Queensland was still Anglican.⁶⁵ The Roman Catholic population fluctuated between 23.2% and 29.2% between 1846 and 1876, and in 1876, one quarter of the population was Catholic. The Presbyterian Church was the next most numerous denomination and, like the Catholics, shows some variation in its proportion of the population, but at the end of the period, still comprised 10.9% of the population. Lutherans, only counted separately from 1868, were already 6.4% of the population at that time. The three English Protestant groups, the Wesleyans, Congregationalists and Baptists, were next in numerical strength. The Wesleyans showed steady growth for the entire period being reviewed; whether their gains

⁶⁵ At this time, there were 52,737 Anglicans in the diocese according to the Census figures, and another 9,225 in North Queensland, under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Sydney.

were solely from immigration, or whether the number was added to by local missionary activities is not clear. Congregationalists and Baptists only became a significant force in the large towns, especially Brisbane. In 1876, Anglicans, (35.8%), Roman Catholics (24.9%) and Presbyterians (10.9%) still dominated. Colonial society was dominated by Protestants who outnumbered Catholics 2.6:1.

It is helpful to compare the Queensland figures with those for New South Wales, as published by Phillips (Table 4.6).⁶⁶ There are some significant differences between the two colonies - bearing in mind that the NSW figures for 1851 include the Queensland population. Phillips made some general observations about various denominations that parallel some of the conclusions made above concerning denominational affiliation in Queensland.⁶⁷ In New South Wales, Anglicanism was numerically strong (still 46% in 1901, compared with 36.4% in Queensland in 1871) contributing he says, to its prestige, especially as it 'represented the Established Church of England and Wales'.⁶⁸

Presbyterians were more numerous in Queensland than New South Wales. In New South Wales they were strongest in the pastoral districts of the Riverina and New England, and on the north coast.⁶⁹ Methodism (especially the Primitive Methodists) was associated with mining around Newcastle and Broken Hill, reflecting the involvement of Cornish and Welsh in underground mining.⁷⁰ His comment on Methodist strength in the lower middle classes may suggest that they were more highly urbanised.⁷¹ Phillips' comments about Congregationalists also apply to Queensland: 'Congregationalists, the most bourgeois of

⁶⁶W. Phillips, *Defending a "Christian Country"*, St Lucia, University of Queensland Press, 1981, p. 6.

⁶⁷Phillips, *Defending*, pp. 6-11.

⁶⁸Phillips, *Defending*, 6.

⁶⁹Phillips, *Defending*, p. 8; see also, W. Phillips, 'The Social Composition of the Religious Denominations in Late Nineteenth Century Australia', *Church Heritage*, 4(2), 1985, p.82.

⁷⁰Welsh coalminers became a strong element of Ipswich society.

⁷¹Phillips, *Defending*, p. 9; c.f., R. Howe, 'Social Composition of the Wesleyan Church in Victoria During the Nineteenth Century', *Journal of Religious History*, 4, 1966-67, pp. 206-217.

the Protestant denominations, were largely confined to the metropolitan area and a few of the large towns near Sydney', and failed to successfully extend into rural New South Wales. Baptists faced the same problems, and considered cooperation with Congregationalists to 'represent the "congregationalist order" in the interior'.⁷² Nonconformists were 22.8% of the population in NSW and 22.7% in Queensland.

Table 4.6 Denominational Affiliation in New South Wales, 1851-1901, after Phillips

	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
C of E	49.7	45.6	45.5	45.6	44.7	46.0
Presbyterian	9.7	9.9	9.8	9.6	9.7	9.8
Wesleyan			7.2	7.6	7.8	
Other Methodist			0.6	1.0	2.2	
(all Methodist)	5.3	6.7				10.2
Congregationalist		1.5	1.8	1.9	2.1	1.8
Baptist			0.8	1.0	1.2	1.1
Other Protestant	3.5	2.8	1.6	2.1	2.6	2.4
Total Protestant	68.2	66.5	67.3	68.8	70.3	71.3
Roman Catholic	30.4	28.3	29.3	27.6	25.6	25.7
Total Christian	98.6	94.8	96.6	96.4	95.9	97.0

Source: census of New South Wales, 1851-1901.

Roman Catholic figures for 1891 and 1901 include Greek Orthodox (0.02% in 1891 and 0.04% in 1901).

Roman Catholics were slightly more numerous in New South Wales, and Phillips claims that the largely Irish Catholic population was concentrated in relatively unskilled occupations, which ensured that they were widely dispersed through the colony. There was a strong Catholic presence in primary industry in rural areas of the Southern Tablelands and Southwest Slopes where they were commonly free selectors, as on the Darling Downs.⁷³ Lutherans were a significant community in Queensland, where they

⁷²Phillips, *Defending*, p.11.

⁷³Phillips, *Defending*, p. 18; for a useful discussion of Baptists in Early New South Wales, see, N. Iliffe, 'First Fruits: Baptists in New South Wales, c.1830-1856', *Journal of Australian Colonial History*, 1(2), August 1999, pp. 45-79.

were 7.2% of the population in 1871, compared with their incorporation into the category ‘Other Protestant’ in NSW, at only 1.6% of the population. As in Queensland, the Protestant portion of the population outnumbered the Catholic population. The ratio of Protestants to Catholics grew from 2.2:1 to 2.8:1 in NSW between 1861 and 1901.

Dilke’s impression was that ‘Australian society resembles English middle-class society; the people have, in matters of literature and religion, tastes and feelings similar to those which pervade such communities as Birmingham and Manchester’.⁷⁴ Unfortunately he does not elaborate the observation, but as Birmingham and Manchester were strongholds of evangelical Protestantism, it is not too much to suggest that he is referring to a distinctively Protestant cast to colonial religion.⁷⁵ Twopeny is far more explicit, maintaining that toleration was not extended to Roman Catholics because ‘their doctrines are so directly in opposition to the prevailing democratic and Protestant spirit of the community’; the Protestant sects form ‘the most important element in the community’.⁷⁶

The religious census of church attendance in England taken in 1851 reported attendance at churches on a given day (30 March). For Queensland, there is no comparable data to this English census with figures for church attendance.⁷⁷

Hugh McLeod reviewed the English census and estimated the proportion of the main religious denominations.⁷⁸ He estimated that 60% of the English population was Anglican; about 30% Nonconformist; and about 4% Roman Catholic. The numbers

⁷⁴ Dilke, p. 114.

⁷⁵ For the strength of evangelical Protestantism in the Midlands, see, B.I. Coleman, *The Church of England in the Mid-Nineteenth Century: A Social Biography*, London, The Historical Association, 1978, pp 12-13; Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850*. London, Hutchinson, 1987, pp. 13-69; Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and colony in the English Imagination 1830-1867*, Cambridge, Polity, 2002, pp. 267-289.

⁷⁶ Richard Twopeny, *Town Life in Australia*, Ringwood, Penguin, 1973 [Elliott Stock, 1883], p. 115. Trollope makes a similar point; Anthony Trollope, *Australia*, Gloucester, Alan Sutton, 1987, vol.1, pp. 135-138.

attending the different churches on census day are listed in Table 4.7, and taken from McLeod. Much ink has been spilt on the accuracy of the census figures, and of their significance, but broadly speaking, the figures can be given reasonable credence.⁷⁹ There is no doubt of an Anglican numerical hegemony.

TABLE 4.7

1851 Religious Census, England; from H. McLeod, p.253⁸⁰

Denomination	Attendances	As Percentage of Churchgoers	As Percentage of Population
Church of England	5,102,845	51.5	30.5
Wesleyans	1,440,962	14.4	8.6
Independents	997,830	10.1	6
Baptist	759,508	7.7	4.5
Primitive Methodists	497,112	5	3
Roman Catholics	375,257	3.8	2.1
Other Methodists	355,748	3.6	2.1
Presbyterians	80,510	0.8	0.5
Unitarians	46,249	0.5	0.3
Countess of Huntingdon	43,592	0.4	0.3
Mormons	28,874	0.3	0.2
Quakers	28,333	0.3	0.2
Brethren	17,276	0.2	0.1
Moravians	10,594	0.1	0.1
Swedenborgians	10,352	0.1	0.1
Jews	5,952	0.1	0.1
Other	112,798	1.1	0.7
Total	9,913,792	100	59.4

⁷⁷ Nor could I find any equivalent set of data to that which I have extracted from Australian censuses.

⁷⁸ The following discussion relies on the data in H. McLeod, *Religion and Society In England, 1850-1914*, Basingstoke, Macmillan, 1996. There is also a useful discussion of the issues in Coleman, pp. 5-7.

⁷⁹ H. McLeod, pp. 12-13. See also, Geoffrey Best, *Mid-Victorian Britain 1851-75*, London, Fontana, 1979, [Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1970], pp. 200-203.

⁸⁰ Note that the 'Countess of Huntingdon' is a reference to a Methodist group. The total figure for all Methodists is 23.1% of churchgoers representing 14% of the population.

Compared to the Anglican Church in England, its Queensland counterpart was numerically in a much less favoured position, Roman Catholics (4%) and Presbyterians in England (less than 1%) were not very numerous, but in Queensland where they were relatively strong (24.9% and 10.9% respectively in 1876) and were social and political forces to be reckoned with. However, Anglicanism was relatively numerically stronger in Queensland than in England in relation to the other English Protestant denominations (Wesleyans, Congregationalists and Baptists).⁸¹ In Queensland, Anglicans were faced with a quite different religious milieu than in England, and were obliged to adjust to these changed circumstances.

Relations between the Denominations

Denominational adherence in the nineteenth century was rather fluid. Frances Knight provides evidence for David Hempton's claim for the existence of a 'band of denominational gypsies of no fixed abode' in the English countryside; a group that moved freely between church and chapel. This is not evidence of indifference or a lack of commitment but, rather evidence of 'an underlying seriousness about religious matters':

In the confusion of an increasingly plural religious culture it was not unnatural for those concerned about their souls to take advantage of the variety of religious opportunities available, particularly if the offered paths to salvation appeared intriguingly different.⁸²

There is evidence for this denominational fluidity in colonial Queensland. In talking of her Methodist father, one elderly woman said that in his youth, he and his family attended church four times on Sundays, at two different churches.⁸³ In the colony, there were additional reasons for denominational migration. In many places it was simply impossible

⁸¹ The English census figures compared to the 1876 Queensland census: Wesleyans 14% in England c.f. 6.5% in Queensland; Congregationalists or Independents 6% c.f. 2.1%; Baptists 4.5% c.f. 2.5%.

⁸² Knight, p. 31.

⁸³ Mrs. Val Jackson, Currumbin Waters, in conversation, 29 August 2002. Her father, Henry Lewis Jones, was born in 1865. The Jones family lived at Goodna, between Ipswich and Brisbane.

to attend the church of one's upbringing because it was too far away, and the tendency was for Protestants to attend the church of another Protestant denomination.⁸⁴ Where small townships did not have an Anglican Church, Anglicans were likely to attend the Methodist or Congregational Church, and sometimes even a Baptist or Presbyterian Church. When the Anglican, William Perram, settled at Rosewood Scrub, the area was served on alternate Sundays by Congregationalist and Methodist ministers from Ipswich. The eventual establishment of a church in the district was a Methodist initiative, in which Perram was active.⁸⁵ In this way, the next generation often stayed with the 'adopted' denomination. The fluidity could be quite complex. Daniel Jones was brought up Methodist, but married one of James Josey's daughters (Anglican) in the Congregational church at Goodna. Jones became disenchanted with the literalist understanding of the Old Testament of the Congregationalist minister, and became interested in theosophy, and ultimately, with spiritualism.⁸⁶ This was not a matter of Jones' indifference, but rather because of his serious attitude to religious belief.

The Jones-Josey marriage is an example of another cause of denominational drift, inter-faith marriages. It was matter of great concern to the Catholic clergy as Neil Byrne discusses in his biography of Archbishop Robert Dunne. He cites the example of a young Catholic woman in Toowoomba who wanted to marry a Protestant man. As parish priest of the town, Dunne refused to do so; the Church's hierarchy had only recently tightened up the policy on mixed marriages. The woman's brother-in-law had married under an earlier, more liberal attitude. She immediately went to the Anglican clergyman, who agreed to perform the ceremony.⁸⁷ It was a two-way traffic. The Anglican politician, John

⁸⁴ *QDG*, 17 March 1866. Anglicans in Roma were attending services conducted by the Rev. Mr. Macintyre, a Presbyterian minister, as there was no Anglican clergyman available for the district. The Rev. H.J. Campbell was the first Anglican cleric to serve there, from late the following year. Narelle Iliffe makes this point about Baptists who may have ended up being Anglicans for this reason. Iliffe, p. 64.

⁸⁵ *QT*, 26 September 1914.

⁸⁶ From a conversation with Val Jackson at Currumbin Waters, 29 August 2002; Daniel Jones was the elder brother of her father, Henry Lewis Jones. See note 76.

⁸⁷ Byrne, p. 91.

Douglas, was a strong supporter of Bishop Tufnell's education policy in the 1860s, and had a high profile in colonial society. In 1877, as a widower, he quietly married an Irish Catholic woman under the stricter regulations and his sons were brought up as Catholics.⁸⁸

These shifts in affiliation were a matter of concern and, early in his episcopacy, Bishop Tufnell had neither the men nor the money to supply clergy to all towns that sought them, and gave vent to some of his frustration in letters 'home':

I feel I have lost an important place, Rockhampton – they applied to me for a clergyman but [as] I would not guarantee his stipend I could not supply. Now a Presbyterian is going from Sydney.⁸⁹

He realised that without a resident Anglican clergyman it was highly likely that Anglicans would drift to the Presbyterian Church. A few months later, he expressed a similar concern about the Port Curtis district. In this letter to SPG he was applying for funds for Rev. John Sutton's stipend, noting that: 'If I have to remove Mr. Sutton, the Port Curtis District would probably be occupied by a Presbyterian or Congregationalist minister'.⁹⁰

However, it was not simply a matter of logistics. Some Anglicans expected a high standard of pastoral care, an expectation occasionally aired in the Press. A letter to the editor of the *Guardian* in 1861 is an example of the genre:

"A house-going clergyman makes a church-going people," – *Vide speech of the Bishop of Brisbane at Ipswich.*

Sir, - The above statement will doubtless be agreed to by those paying any attention to the subject. It is easy to understand how, in Ipswich, a single minister is unable to visit all his parishioners; but it is to be regretted in Brisbane, where there is not the same dearth of clergymen, a similar state exists. I arrived in the colony some months since, and (having been reared in the Church of England doctrines) with my family attended St. John's church, waited patiently, but was not favoured by a call by any of the clergymen. Happening to visit a dissenting place of worship on several occasions the clergyman soon came to us, and formed a connection not likely to be broken.

⁸⁸ McLay, p.178.

⁸⁹ Tufnell to Hawkins, 1 June 1861. SPG Letters Received, M1454, AJCP, ANL.

⁹⁰ Tufnell to Hawkins, 12 November 1861. SPG Letters Received, M1454, AJCP, ANL.

I trust the Bishop of Brisbane may act on his conviction, and not allow his flock to wander to other folds, through the want of a shepherd's care.

D.M.E.⁹¹

Some years later, another Brisbane resident made a similar complaint to the editor of the *Courier*, saying that: 'I have been a resident of Brisbane for four years, and a regular attendant at church, and have not even once had a visit from the clergyman of my parish.'⁹² There was an enlightening letter from another penman in reply to the second letter. Though not an Anglican, he claimed:

I have some knowledge of all the clergymen in that church, from the bishop down to the humble, overworked, and underpaid curate, and I state it not as my own opinion, but as a fact, and of my own knowledge, that every minister in the Church of England in Brisbane is overworked . . .⁹³

There were more needs than the clergy were able to meet, and there was probably quite a bit of traffic of people between the various denominations, who were unhappy with the ministrations of their clergy. These letters complain that the Anglican clergy were not diligent in visiting, but there were other complaints, too - about ritual, hymnbooks, clergy involvement in public debate (especially concerning education), alleged pastoral insensitivity, and other issues. Early colonial Queensland was a dynamic society with a rapidly growing population. It would have been more remarkable if there hadn't been any complaints. Some clergy succumbed to serious illness from the pressure of work, for example: Bishop Tufnell, and Benjamin Glennie, Thomas Jones, Henry Poole, J.C. Clayton, Lacy Rumsey, Tom Bodenham, Robert Creyke, Edward Tanner, and John Brakenridge. Colonial ministry was not an easy vocation to fulfil.

Some Protestant lay people were not too concerned what denomination a minister represented, especially in the more sparsely populated parts of the colony, as the following report from the Port Denison correspondent to the *Queensland Daily Guardian* wrote:

⁹¹ Letter to the editor, *QDG*, 31 August 1861.

⁹² Letter to the editor, *BC*, 5 August 1865.

⁹³ *BC*, 5 August 1865.

We are at last to have a church. Three subscription volunteers last week, on behalf of the good cause, pleaded for the three sections of religion – viz. the Church of England, Church of Scotland, and Wesleyan – stormed the dwelling place of our uncared for souls, and at the termination of that sacred work of labour, it was found that the sum of £200 per annum could be held out as an invitation to the first Protestant clergyman taking in hand the joyous mission of sowing the seeds of righteousness in this untilled corner of the land. As the Church of England canvasser obtained the majority of members, we shall, as a matter of course, have in the beginning of church bell sounds, to make up our minds to be Episcopalian for a season. It is, however, some consolation to know that, as soon as the first sermon is preached, there will assuredly be other servants entering the field, so that in due time we shall all have our favourite clerical shepherds.⁹⁴

The diversity of denominational options anticipated by the Port Denison correspondent was in the process of being fulfilled in Gayndah eighteen months later. A correspondent of the same journal noted that the effort of a Baptist minister to establish ministry there was soon followed by that of the Presbyterian and Anglican clergy. They no doubt feared the loss of some of their sheep to the Baptist fold, though the correspondent commented that ‘we are not all Baptists’.⁹⁵ Some deliberate ‘sheep stealing’ took place, especially as the various denominations tried desperately to establish a beach-head in new towns as they sprang up, or in the context of simple religious intolerance. The Rev. T.V. Alkin was one to try. He was the evangelical curate of the Anglican incumbent of Toowoomba, the Rev. F.C. Jagg. The Roman Catholic priest, Father Robert Dunne, complained to Jagg that Alkin had been distributing ultra Protestant tracts to Irish Catholic domestics. Alkin was asked by the eirenic Jagg to desist.⁹⁶ However, movement was likely between one Protestant denomination and another; there is not much evidence of significant traffic

⁹⁴ *QDG*, 19 June 1863.

⁹⁵ *QDG*, 13 November 1865, in a report taken from the *Burnett Argus*, of 4 November 1865.

⁹⁶ N. Byrne, p.91

between Protestant denominations and the Catholic Church. Such cases as John Douglas' second marriage tended to be the exception rather than the rule.⁹⁷

Cooperation between evangelical churches was possible; David Parker has traced the history of the United Evangelical Church in Brisbane in the 1850s, which involved the cooperation of Methodists, Baptist, Congregationalists and Presbyterians.⁹⁸ Eventually the project foundered because of differences in church polity and doctrine, but it was a praiseworthy attempt to avoid unnecessary duplication of effort in a small field. Somewhat more radical was the report of the mutual assistance provided by Anglicans, Roman Catholics, and others in establishing ministry of their respective churches in Drayton in 1865.⁹⁹ At this stage, Drayton, which had been the locus for Anglican ministry on the Darling Downs since 1850, had been eclipsed in most respects by Toowoomba, whose population was growing rapidly. The real problem was that there were limited material resources to fund buildings and stipends in every town seeking them.

Movement was not only from Anglican to 'Dissenting' churches; Nonconformists in the colony sometimes came into contact with Anglicanism for the first time. Mary Nicholson was an evangelical Anglican living at Grovely on the (then) outskirts of Brisbane. She and her husband were active in evangelising their neighbours, and she described visiting one young couple who lived nearby. The young man was from Manchester, from a Primitive Methodist tradition. He had become quite dispirited by two years living 'in the bush'. On his return to Brisbane, he attended an Anglican Church one Sunday, and 'the first words the minister read were – "I will arise and go to my Father" &

⁹⁷ See note 81.

⁹⁸ D. Parker and A Edmonds, *Fortitude; Dr Lang's Vision for Queensland and the United Evangelical Church*. Brisbane, Baptist Historical Society, 1999.

⁹⁹ *QDG*, 13 November 1865, in a report from the *DDG*.

then came that heavenly confession which I had never heard, & it melted my hard heart till I sobbed like a child'.¹⁰⁰ This vignette attests the importance of the church in the lives of new immigrants; churches provided an integrative function in the creation of colonial society for settlers who had broken ties of kinship and place to migrate to the colonies. It is the 'obverse of anomie' as described by Alan Gilbert – 'a heightened demand for new associational and communal foci to replace those which had been lost'.¹⁰¹ If the denomination of their upbringing was not available to them, settlers sought out a religious group that could provide stability and community relationships in a totally new social context, and sometimes, as Ada Cambridge has recorded, an Anglican individual or congregation could be quite unfamiliar with the Anglican liturgy.¹⁰²

From the 1840s to the 1870s, colonial Queensland was involved in a dynamic phase of social formation in which institutions like the churches were cement. The churches provided many services apart from the frequently mentioned 'ordinances of religion'.¹⁰³ They provided education for children; they served ethnically diverse cultures; they were a context in which people found work; 'church' was a centre for sociability; and in the absence of government programmes provided social welfare.¹⁰⁴ Thus, being an integral part of a church community had social and economic as well as conventional

¹⁰⁰ M. Nicholson, Extracts of Letters, OM 79-17/35, OL. The church may have been the one at Fortitude Valley.

¹⁰¹ A. Gilbert, *Religion and Society in Industrial England: Church Chapel and Social Change, 1740-1914*, Longman, London & New York, 1976, p. 89. Anomie is described by Gilbert as '[s]ocial disorganisation – the breakdown of established social and cultural systems – in which there is a loss of *solidarity* produced by the collapse of old social structures, and a loss of *consensus* as norms and values taken for granted are challenged or overthrown.'

¹⁰² Ada Cambridge, *Thirty Years in Australia*, London, Methuen, 1903, pp. 115-118.

¹⁰³ The 'ordinances of religion' is a common phrase in the sources. It refers to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England, primarily Sunday worship; pastoral services like baptisms, weddings and funerals; and the pastoral care of his flock by the clergyman – according to the Book of Common Prayer.

¹⁰⁴ For church as a place to find work, see Kingston, *Glad Confident Morning*, p. 130.

religious value.¹⁰⁵ There is anecdotal evidence from family histories for this, and it may be that some immigrants with little church background could find themselves a niche in a church. It has been claimed, for example, that the ex-convict, James Josey of Redbank Plains, sought respectability by marrying into a well-to-do Anglican family. For him it paid off economically, as he became a very successful accumulator of capital through his new social context. When his first wife died, he married a 'respectable' Congregationalist woman, again allegedly seeking 'respectability'.¹⁰⁶ For colonial Queenslanders, denominational identification could be especially important, having religious, social, economic, and cultural connotations.

The Political and Social Place of Anglicans

In Queensland, Anglicans were faced with a quite different religious milieu to that in England. It was never likely that they could achieve anything like social/political/religious hegemony they enjoyed in England. There was a religious pluralism undreamt of 'at home' that had notable political and social consequences.

From Separation in 1859, the colonial legislature was dominated by men of property, especially squatters and merchants – and Anglicans.¹⁰⁷ The first Queensland Legislative Assembly comprised 27 members (including the speaker), of whom twenty were Anglican.¹⁰⁸ Twelve of the fifteen Legislative Councilors were also Anglican.¹⁰⁹ Of the thirty-seven representatives of the Darling Downs in parliament between 1860 and

¹⁰⁵ c.f. Gilbert, p.90.

¹⁰⁶ Josey Family Newsletter (unpublished). I am indebted to Linda Josey Treasure of Kallangur, for this material.

¹⁰⁷ Ross Fitzgerald, *From the Dreaming to 1915; A History of Queensland*, St Lucia, UQP, 1982, pp. 308-317.

¹⁰⁸ And 3 Presbyterians, 2 Roman Catholics, and 2 Congregationalists; drawing information from D.B. Waterson, *A Biographical Register of the Queensland Parliament, 1860-1929*, Canberra, ANU Press, 1972.

¹⁰⁹ There was one Wesleyan and two Presbyterians.

1893, 26 were Anglican.¹¹⁰ Even though many were committed Anglicans, they were driven by business and political interests, rather than religion.¹¹¹ Anglican parliamentary candidates had one of two choices. They could court the non-Anglican Protestant vote, or that of Roman Catholics. In the first election they took the first path. Nonconformists were opposed to any form of State aid for religion, and Anglican candidates for parliament generally took that line to secure the Protestant vote. Nonconformists and liberals were particularly opposed to denominational education, funded by the state. Of thirty-six candidates who published their election promises in the *Courier*, twenty-one opposed all state aid; four expressed qualified support for state aid, and only two showed unqualified support for state aid. The rest expressed no opinion.¹¹² Having been elected with Protestant support, when the issue of state aid was raised in parliament, Anglican members voted for its abolition, out of sensitivity to their electoral base. State aid for religion and for denominational schools would be a financial burden on the state, and was not compatible with the 'small government' usually advocated by colonial capitalists, whose taxes were a major source of government revenue.¹¹³ Denominational rivalry provided a basis for this anxiety.¹¹⁴ Politicians were concerned that each denomination would want to establish a school in every little town.¹¹⁵ This had been a problem for Governor Gipps of New South Wales, who quoted Woollongong as an example of the problem.¹¹⁶ Competitively sectarian education was believed to be as divisive as it was economically

¹¹⁰ There were five Presbyterians, three Roman Catholics, one Baptist, one Wesleyan, and one Jew.

¹¹¹ Allan Morrison, 'Colonial Society, 1860-1890', *Queensland Heritage*, 1(5), 1966, pp. 24, 25.

¹¹² Advertisements were run regularly through late 1859 and early 1860. For an example, see the advertisement placed by Thomas Lodge Murray Prior, *MBC*, 31 January 1860.

¹¹³ Two members who Waterson claims were driven by self-interest were Edward Weinholt and James Taylor, both of whom were active Anglicans. Waterson, *Squatter*, p. 220-221.

¹¹⁴ Editorials, *QDG*, 22 Aug 1864; 20 September 1864.

¹¹⁵ Wyeth, p. 29.

¹¹⁶ Hogan, 1987, p. 55.

unmanageable.¹¹⁷ In sparsely settled areas the arguments for a single 'national' school were almost unanswerable.¹¹⁸ The Presbyterian minister, B.G. Wilson, a supporter of National education, aptly characterised this concern when he rhetorically asked:

would it be better to give each denomination that moiety of the education grant which falls to them, and have an Episcopalian humpy, a Roman Catholic humpy, a Presbyterian humpy, or perhaps a Congregational or Wesleyan humpy, with a handful of badly taught children in each, presided over by half-starved and utterly incompetent schoolmasters?¹¹⁹

The proponents of national education keenly appealed to the benefits of social integration in national schools that would overcome sectarianism which was perceived to be a destabilising threat to a society in formation.¹²⁰

Some Anglican politicians actively sought Roman Catholic support. Anne McLay, Neil Byrne and Duncan Waterson have all documented W.H. Groom's electioneering on the Darling Downs. Groom was a storekeeper and hotelier who was transported to Australia in 1849. By the late 1850s he had married respectably, and his initial business was financed by his father-in-law. He entered politics in 1862 representing a Darling Downs seat.¹²¹ Waterson described Groom as an 'agrarian liberal' and McLay claimed him as a natural candidate to represent rural Catholics on the Downs, where Roman Catholics represented about one third of the population.¹²² Waterson maintained that there were few suitable Catholic candidates on the Downs, and so Irish voters tended to support 'liberals' like Groom whose electoral success depended on Irish and German support.¹²³

¹¹⁷ Speech by Gramp at the Toowoomba education meeting; *NA*, 15 September 1864.

¹¹⁸ Editorials, *QDG*, 16 August, 10 September 1864, quoting a motion moved at the Dalby education meeting.

¹¹⁹ *QDG*, 22 October, 1864; c.f. editorial, 24 October 1864.

¹²⁰ McLay, p. 134.

¹²¹ D.B. Waterson, 'The Remarkable Career of Wm.H. Groom', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, 4(1), June 1963, pp. 38-57.

¹²² McLay, p. 172; Waterson, *Squatter*, p. 259.

¹²³ Waterson, *Squatter*, p. 258; McLay, p. 172; Byrne, p. 87.

His support for denominational education, and for Irish immigration and land settlement in Queensland, was enough to gain the support of Catholic clergy, who recommended him to their congregations.¹²⁴ However, McLay has perceptively noted that:

the education issue – always in the forefront – became the vital touchstone of Catholic support. As a non-Catholic politician's support of the non-vested schools waxed and waned, so, too, did Catholic enthusiasm for his candidature.¹²⁵

Those advocating support for non-vested schools, such as the Presbyterian Thomas McIlwraith and the Anglican H.E. King, were assured of Catholic support, while R.R. Mackenzie and S.W. Griffith were 'anathema' to Catholic voters.¹²⁶ Those who prevaricated, like John Douglas (an Anglican) and Arthur Macalister, had to clarify their policies to gain Catholic votes.

Taking into account the theological diversity of Anglicans, their relative numerical weakness in Queensland gave them less social and political 'clout' than in Sydney. It enabled 'Nonconformists' and Roman Catholics to display greater self-confidence in the public arena. This was probably more apparent where Nonconformists were numerically strong, as in Brisbane, Ipswich and their connecting corridor through Goodna; or where Catholics were strong, notably Brisbane, Ipswich and the Darling Downs. In the debate on education in the 1860s, Anglicans were inclined to take a defensive position, but Catholics and Nonconformists often led the debate.¹²⁷ The strong Nonconformist influence in the Brisbane and Ipswich press, and the Catholic *North Australian* in Ipswich provided a level

¹²⁴ Allan Morrison, 'Religion and Politics in Queensland to 1881', *Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland*, 4(4), December 1951, p. 468; McLay, pp. 170 ff; Byrne, pp. 84-87.

¹²⁵ McLay, p. 177.

¹²⁶ McLay, p. 178. Mackenzie was a Scot, a squatter and an Anglican. Griffith, whose father was a stridently anti-Catholic Congregationalist clergyman, became a High Church Anglican. Both had backgrounds unsympathetic to the Catholic cause.

¹²⁷ They even commented on matters of internal policy for the Church of England – as we will see, for example, the creation of synodical government for the church in chapter 9.

of sectarian hostility not found on the Downs¹²⁸ where Anglicans were more numerous than Nonconformists and debate was less stridently sectarian.¹²⁹

For example, there was a lively competitiveness focused on the relative strengths of the various denominations. In 1860, writing to the secretary of SPG in England, Bishop Tufnell was quite testy about the composition of the Board of Education:

the difficulty is – there are five members – 1 Ch of England, 1 Ch of Rome, 3 Nonconformists. We are 1/3 of the population and have 1/5 of the representation. The Romanists [ditto]. The Nonconformists are 1/3 of the population and have 3/5 of the representation.¹³⁰

Eighteen months later, the editor of the *Courier* was complaining that Anglicans were over-represented on the Education Board. There were now three Anglicans, one Presbyterian, one Roman Catholic, and one Baptist:

by what principle of justice the various sects can thus be said to be represented . . . We do not say that there is any necessity for a muster of sects at the Board table, but it is natural that jealousy should arise amongst denominationalists and that misgivings should be created in the public mind, when there is an undue preponderance of any one sect.¹³¹

Clearly the editor of the *Courier*, at least, felt that the Anglicans were over-represented.

The constitution of the Board continued to be contentious, and during the joint campaign by the Roman Catholic and Anglican bishops on behalf of denominational education, it was suggested at the education meeting at Dalby that the Board should be comprised of the heads of all the main Christian denominations. Bishop Quinn retorted:

¹²⁸ For a contemporary comment on this, see *BC*, 25 October 1864, letter from ‘Catholic’; for a comment on the ownership of *North Australian*, see *BC*, 24 October 1864. The *North Australian* was edited first by Arthur Stanley Lyon, and then John Kent. It was owned by the Roman Catholic Bishop Quinn, and nominally run by his secretary, Randall McDonnell. Denis Cryle, *The Press in Colonial Queensland; A Social and Political History, 1845-1875*, St Lucia, UQP, 1989, p. 23; McLay, p. 20.

¹²⁹ Waterson, *Squatter*, p. 258; Morrison, ‘Religion’, pp. 461-463.

¹³⁰ Tufnell to Hawkins, June 1860. SPG Letters Received, AJCP, M1454, ANL.

¹³¹ *BC*, 8 February 1863.

he did not desire a board in which the leading clergy of all denominations should have a seat, but one in which the Roman Catholic and Anglican bishops should sit with the President of the [Legislative] Council, Speaker of the [Legislative] Assembly, and the judges. *He did not think that gentlemen could be expected to sit with men who were tinkers and tailors, which might be the case if the leading clergy of the other denominations had a seat at the board.*¹³² [My emphasis.]

This arrogant response rapidly polarized the debate; the explicit class claims of Bishop Quinn were precisely the material to foment sectarianism.¹³³ Tufnell was too diplomatic an Englishman to make such remarks publicly. Quinn's comments reinforced a negative stereotype which was applied to both men – overpaid prelates who lived in palaces.¹³⁴

Putting Anglicans in Their Place

Twopeny's observations about precedence in the quotation at the head of the chapter were mirrored in Brisbane. When the Prince of Wales visited Brisbane in 1868, a procession was arranged to celebrate the event. A Nonconformist correspondent to the *Courier* complained of the precedence accorded the Anglican and Roman Catholic bishops over nonconformist clergy in the procession. It raised the issue of who should be first, the Roman Catholic or Anglican bishop? It was a privilege claimed by Bishop Broughton in Sydney over Bishop Polding.¹³⁵ Governor Bowen's novel and naïve approach was to avoid 'all difficulties . . . by simply taking care that the rival dignitaries are never asked to dinner at government house on the same day'.¹³⁶ Bowen's solution to the problem may seem amusing to us, but rank was an important element of social relationships imported from 'home', whether home was Ireland, England, Scotland or Wales. In Queensland,

¹³² *BC*, 14 September 1864.

¹³³ See editorials in *QDG* between September 1864 and January 1865, but especially 14 September, 7, 11 October 1864; *BC*, 26 September 1864.

¹³⁴ *MBC*, 13 October 1858; *MBC*, 30 July 1859; *QDG*, 21 November 1864; *BC*, 18 December 1869.

¹³⁵ G.P. Shaw, *Patriarch and Patriot; William Grant Broughton 1788-1853*, Melbourne, MUP, 1978, pp. 214-215; Turner, p. 186.

¹³⁶ Bowen to Newcastle, despatch 67, 12 December 1862, CO 234/7, AJCP, reel no1909, ANL. The despatch deals with broader issues of precedence, concerning the relative status of bishops and judges. Bowen was reluctant to assign Tufnell a rank higher than Bishop Barker enjoyed in Sydney.

without an established church, the assumption was often that no denomination had a right to precedence. Again an editorial in the *Courier* makes a keen point:

[Bishop Tufnell] cannot shake off his old country notions as to the supremacy of the church of which he is the first minister in this colony . . . the Church of England is, in this colony, on an equal footing with every other sect.¹³⁷

Someone even questioned the bishop's right to the title Lord Bishop, granted to him in his Letters Patent¹³⁸ and staunch Anglicans such as James Dickson were quick to defend the right, maintaining that Tufnell was as entitled to use his honorific (Lord Bishop) as Sir George Bowen was his knighthood, as both were conferred by the Crown.¹³⁹

In a sense this is the nub of the issue. It was a matter of authority. Many Anglicans, of whom Dickson was one, hankered after some connection between Church and State, but in the light of the demographics of the colony, this was never possible. Discussing Anglican opposition to the national system of education the *Courier* recognised the Tory High Church shadow over the colonial education debate:

[It results] from the importation of no little of that state-church spirit which overshadows England with a mighty incubus. "Supreme at home, supreme throughout the empire", is the despotic motto which the most conservative clergy and members of the Church of England would like to adopt, with power to enforce it.¹⁴⁰

Perhaps the editor was overstating his case, but he was forcing the point home: the situation in the colonies was not the same as that at home. Bishop Barker made the same point in his visitation speech in Brisbane a few months later:

In this country we commonly have everything to begin, and in the midst of a population from all parts of the world, and representing every creed and

¹³⁷ *BC*, 23 August 1862.

¹³⁸ *MBC*, 15 September 1860; 2 April 1862.

¹³⁹ *QDG*, 30 August 1862. Dickson was a successful and wealthy auctioneer, who was elected to the Legislative Assembly in 1873. He 'shared' honours with Bowen, being made a CMG in 1897, and KCMG in 1901.

¹⁴⁰ Editorial, *BC*, 18 April 1864.

denomination. The previous training of the members of the Church of England does not ordinarily qualify them for such a state of things. They have everything to unlearn and everything to do for themselves.¹⁴¹

It was not just the problem of a more pluriform society that faced the colonial church, but also a matter of smaller numbers which could only be redressed by unity of action.¹⁴² In consequence, the colony of Queensland was far from the 'little England' of Gladstone's imagining.¹⁴³ Adjustment to a different set of social circumstances meant that the Church of England in Queensland would not be simply a pale copy of the church in England.

¹⁴¹ *BC*, 29 July 1864.

¹⁴² *ibid.*

¹⁴³ W.E. Gladstone, in a speech 'Our Colonies', to the Chester Mechanic's Institute, 12 November 1855. Cited by Paul Knaplund, *Gladstone and Britain's Imperial Policy*, London, Frank Cass & co, 1966, p. 202.

Chapter 5

BRISBANE ANGLICANS; A SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILE

Mrs. Moffatt very kind indeed – and passed a very pleasant evening looking at photographs and talking over the past. The house is like a little cabin, so small, but Mrs. Moffatt has everything very clean. But I thought what a contract was this little box, and one servant of all work – to the well-furnished mansions of her sisters with their large establishments, and out of their magnificence, could they not allow a trifle to give more comfort to the curate's wife. Ah well! In this world we would get on but badly if we had only to trust to our own [presumably, family] – for this very often, are the most selfish, and most censorious.

Blanche Mitchell Diary, Thursday October 25th, 1866.

he is my hinderance every way, if I go out washing when I come home he will abuse me, when I go out sewing it is just the same, he blazards me for not staying at home to get his meals ready when I am obliged to go and work for my own. I get three shillings a day for washing and 16 a day for sewing. I could always be out doing something if my strength did permit. I have confirmed several women about here. The midwife has a pund for that . . . [original spelling]

Julia Cross to her mother, 23 February, 1869(?)

The quotations at the head of the chapter represent the two social extremes of colonial society. Blanche Mitchell, writing about Mrs. Moffatt, whom she knew from Sydney ‘Society’, and Julia Cross, writing about her life near Goodna, are indicative of the social ‘stretch’ of the Anglican Church. Both were conscious of their own social status; Blanche as a member of the social elite, and Julia as a member of the working class. As Ada Cambridge has made clear with respect to Victoria at the time, a wide range of people made claim to membership of the Anglican Church.¹

One of the striking observations of the early Anglican Church in Queensland is that the language of class was constantly in use. Anglicans (and others) were not averse to describing other Anglicans in class terms. Sometimes the results can be wryly amusing as the following letter, to the editor of the Ipswich paper, the *North Australian*, demonstrates:

Sir,

Permit me, through you, to inform the fashionable ladies and gentlemen who attend the Episcopalian Church in this town, and who gossip outside the door after Divine Service, that such conduct is extremely unseemly, and productive of great pain to those who, visiting the church from religious motives, are compelled on their departure, to elbow their way through the crowd and listen to exchanges of compliments which, even if sincere, should be uttered in a different place.

Yours, etc,

THE CHURCH BELL²

It would be interesting to know just who it was who dared tell the fashionable set in Ipswich how to behave after church. Whoever it was used the language of class and popular perceptions of the ‘upper classes’ to make a point or two. The ladies and gentlemen were ‘fashionable’, and does one get the impression of a hint of envy there? At least they knew how to dress/present themselves in public. The writer also gives the impression that the ladies and gentlemen referred to were not at church from religious

¹ Ada Cambridge describes the social structure of Wangaratta; Ada Cambridge, *Thirty Years in Australia*, London, Methuen & Co., 1903, pp.38-44.

² NA, 26 April 1859.

conviction, and were there to exchange pleasantries after the serious business of Sunday morning was over. If the fashionable set could be so readily identified by their demeanour and dress, it was possible because *they* knew they were ladies and gentlemen. Another correspondent was happier to send up the Ipswich upper crust in a letter of advice addressed to the Bishop in the columns of the *North Australian*:

[T]here are two or three wealthy families in this town who would very willingly share the burden of supporting their clergymen with the other denominations, if they could. One old boy, in particular, who is always snivelling on this subject, has had to put his hand in his well-filled pocket at length and pull something heavy therefrom. You must stick to these critters and shame them into shelling out; there probably is not too much true religion in their souls, but they go regularly to church with their wives and families – perhaps for the sake of showing their finery – themselves for the sake of appearances.³

It seems that from these letters, the ‘gentry’ did attend church in Ipswich. They not only attended church, but were very involved in parish business. When the Bishop came to town to get a branch of the Diocesan Church Society on its way, it became clear who could and who could not run the parish. The following men were suggested for the committee: Messrs Faircloth, Moffatt, Panton, Thorn, Wilson, Cardew, Rowlands, and Abbott. Faircloth and Abbott were bank managers; Panton, Wilson and Thorn were merchants and investors; Moffatt was a squatter and a member of parliament; Rowlands was a surgeon; and Cardew appears in the baptismal register as a gentleman.⁴ It would be a committee of distinguished local worthies. At that point Bishop Tufnell, who was presiding at the meeting, suggested the nomination of one or two ‘working men’ to the committee, to which Mr. Lamb, also described in the baptismal register as a ‘gentleman’, expostulated that they were all ‘working men’. This created some excitement in the

³ NA, 30 November 1860

⁴ For Panton, Thorn and Moffatt, see Waterson, *A Biographical Register of the Queensland Parliament, 1860-1929*, Canberra, ANU Press, 1972, pp. 145, 179, 129 respectively. The occupation of the others is taken from the baptismal registers.

meeting. It was the mayor who put the whole situation right, remarking that ‘unfortunately it was the practice in this town to confine societies to one class of persons’. The Diocesan Church Society committee was to be deprived of working class membership. In the end the meeting broke up over another issue without forming a committee and was adjourned.⁵

The reconvened meeting was also marked by further claims to privilege by those attending. The debate focused on the amount of money to be subscribed by those who were to be elected honorary vice-president and treasurer. The Bishop said that the honorary vice-presidents should subscribe £10, but he considered that anyone who subscribed 10 shillings should be eligible, or, in poor districts, they could do without an honorary vice-president. This suggestion was too radical to be comprehended by Mr Forbes, a merchant and Legislative Councillor:

Mr Forbes thought that this would be very unfair to those members of the church who had hitherto borne the great burden of church affairs, and had given both their money and their time for the welfare of the church, and proposed that only subscribers of ten pounds be eligible for election to the offices of vice-president and treasurer, which was seconded by Mr Collins and passed.⁶

There was no room here for those who were not well off - for those who did not have the money (a spare £10 at least) or the leisure time to devote to church affairs; parish officers should be ‘gentlemen’.⁷ Mr. Panton was elected to be vice-president. On declining the post of Treasurer, George Faircloth nominated George Wilson, who was then elected to the post. Excepting one respectable farmer (James Jones), the committee comprised parliamentarians, merchants, ‘gentlemen’, and a lawyer. This exchange of views was a clear indicator of the depth of class feeling in Ipswich.

⁵ NA, 8 February 1861; *QDG*, 11 February 1861.

⁶ NA, 15 February 1861. For Forbes, see Waterson, *A Biographical Register*, p. 60.

⁷ See the discussion in chapter 1, pp.2ff.



Plate 5.1 Sir George Bowen, Queensland's first Governor, was Anglo-Irish, and had little empathy with Bishop Tufnell. He is pictured here in 'formal attire', asserting his class location.

Photo, John Oxley Library, neg. no. 68310.



Plate 5.2 Timber getters in the Logan and Albert district (Beenleigh area). The rough hut is dominated by its environment, and gives a good feel of the simplicity and hardship of life in the bush for some workers. In 1872, when the picture was taken, the area was still very isolated from any centre of population. Picture from Dianne Byrne, *A Travelling Photographer in colonial Queensland: the work of William Boag*, p. 46.



Plate 5.3 An example of conspicuous consumption, Toorak House, overlooking the Hamilton reach of the Brisbane River. It was the home of James Dickson, pictured here with his wife, Annie and eleven of his thirteen children in 1872. Dickson was active in the Anglican parish of Fortitude Valley.

Picture: Dianne Byrne, *A Travelling Photographer*, p. 74.



Plate 5.4 Serious looking and uncomfortable, Walter Male was photographed in an Ipswich studio. Working class settlers were as keen as the well-to-do to send their folks at home their 'likeness'. Male was an Ipswich labourer whose children were baptized in St Paul's Church. Photo, John Oxley Library, neg. no. 11180.

Someone else who knew he was a gentleman was the Governor, Sir George

Bowen (pictured in Plate 5.1 in formal dress). Replying to a welcome address from the clergy of Brisbane he said:

Gentlemen – I beg to return to the clergymen of the Church of England and Ireland . . . my sincere and hearty thanks for the hearty welcome which they have awarded to me on my arrival in this colony. A dutiful son of the University of Oxford, that old centre and stronghold of the English Church, I rejoice to find myself here, amongst so many men formed by the same institutions and nurtured by the same influences.

I gladly remember, moreover, that many of the clergy now foremost in the ranks of the Colonial Church were my own contemporaries at College. Among these I am proud to reckon my right Reverend friend, our Diocesan, Bishop Tufnell, to whose arrival among us I confidently look forward, as to the inauguration of a liberal, energetic, and enlightened direction of our communion in this colony.⁸

Here was a man who knew he was a gentleman, and in the context of a public occasion, gave his credentials for the claim; he had been educated at Oxford, which gave him more than a foot in the door; he was an Anglican, and claimed the upper echelons of that communion's colonial hierarchy as his contemporaries, including the soon-to-arrive Anglican Bishop, and that must be a help, too. What is more, there were more of them in Brisbane (that is, gentlemen) who had shared his privileges. This is a clear claim to a class of gentlemen in the colony who were conscious of their elite social position. When Bishop Tufnell was installed as Bishop of Brisbane, some of these gentlemen were there, as the report in the *North Australian* told its readers:

Among the gentlemen present, we noticed His Excellency, the Governor, Mr. Herbert, Colonial Secretary, Mr. Mackenzie, Colonial Treasurer, Captain O'Connell, President of the Legislative Council, Gilbert Elliott, speaker of the Legislative Assembly, Mr. Galloway, MLC, Mr. Buckley, MLA, Mr. Blakeney, MLA, and many other gentlemen of influence, together with the whole of the Church of England clergymen in Brisbane.⁹

⁸ NA, 20 December 1859.

⁹ NA, 20 December 1959.

The named men were all Anglicans. Perhaps Nonconformists chose not to attend. Clearly the upper ranks of Brisbane society were inhabited by Anglican gentlemen, and leadership of the government of the colony was in many safe Anglican hands. Furthermore, no one was mentioned who was not a gentleman.

It can be said of Presbyterians in early Australia, that they were mostly Scots, but the reverse is not true, as not all Scots were Presbyterians. Some were Episcopalians (Anglican), or Roman Catholic. We can similarly say that while many of the ‘upper’ classes in colonial Australia were Anglicans, not all Anglicans came from the ‘upper’ classes. There has been a tendency to simply view Anglicanism as the religious choice of the social elite, and perhaps with some justification, as the foregoing discussion would imply. What follows is an exploration of the socio-economic stratification within Anglicanism in colonial southeast Queensland to test that claim, using Anglican baptismal records to do so. It draws on data from the baptismal registers held on microfiche, by the Anglican Diocese of Brisbane in its archives.¹⁰ The methodology for the analysis and the scheme of classification of occupation is to be found in Appendix 2.

Counting the People

With political economy stimulating the interest in statistics through the early nineteenth century, colonial governments became keen generators of this kind of information, especially to demonstrate population growth and the economic advance of the colony.¹¹

The annual publication of ‘blue books’ as repositories of such information began in

¹⁰This project would never have been undertaken without the assistance and encouragement of Mrs. Patricia Ramsay, who was the Diocesan Archivist up till the end of 1999.

¹¹ On Statistical registers and the collection of statistical data in general, see the entry on Henry Heylyn Hayter, *ADB*, vol. 4, pp. 366-367. Hayter was Deputy Registrar-General to William Henry Archer, see n. 11, below.

Queensland at Separation. A key part in generating this kind of information was the census. Queensland, where population growth was rapid after Separation, was especially keen, and conducted censuses in 1861, 1864, 1868, 1871, 1876. Along with the civil registration of births, marriages and deaths, there was plenty of scope for civil servants to display their actuarial skills. William Henry Archer, who was influential in establishing Victoria's civil registration practices, had earlier experience in life assurance.¹² Likewise Christopher Rolleston, who became Registrar-General of New South Wales in late 1855, had some experience in 'a mercantile house' in Liverpool before emigrating, and about ten years as crown lands commissioner on the Darling Downs. He initiated compulsory civil registration in New South Wales using Archer's principles.¹³ It was this system that was inherited by Queensland on separation from New South Wales. Census records and statistical registers have often been used by historians, but to date, there seem to have only been limited attempts to use civil registration records (births, deaths and marriages) to explore the demographics of the colonies. In the Australian colonial context, Glenda Strachan's study of the Upper Williams Valley uses parish baptismal or marriage registers for demographic analysis, which she does along with census data. However she does not use registers specifically for occupational information.¹⁴

¹² *ADB*, vol. 3, pp. 41-42.

¹³ *ADB*, vol. 6, pp. 55-56

¹⁴ For use of census material, see J.C.R. Camm and R. Sumner, 'Counting People in Queensland – A Survey of Queensland Censuses, 1861-1901', *Australian Historical Statistics*, no. 5, May, 1982, pp. 44-76; and Ronald Lawson, "'Class or Status", Social Structure of Brisbane in the 1890's', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, 18(3), 1972, pp.344-359. The work of Glenda Strachan on the Upper Williams Valley is the only substantial study of which I am aware that uses civil registration data; Glenda Strachan, 'Settling the "Wet Frontier": The Upper Williams Valley, 1850-1880', paper presented at the Australian Historical Association Conference in Hobart, 1 October 1999; Glenda Strachan, Ellen Jordan and Hilary Carey, 'Women's work in a rural community: Dungog and the Upper Williams Valley, 1880-1900', *Labour History*, 78, May 2000, pp. 33-52. My own unsuccessful attempts to get access to the Queensland civil registration records were hampered by official caution and 'red tape'. By regulation, only employees of the Registrar-General's Department have access to the original registers, and the information is not yet available

English baptismal registers have been used extensively.¹⁵ In particular, parish records, including baptismal registers, have been used in family reconstruction as a means for estimating the English population in the era prior to national censuses.¹⁶ In the context of such a project, Wrigley and others used the 1831 census records to try to gain some idea of the occupational structure of the parishes they studied. Their techniques and the data they were using were different to those used in this study, and their broad classification of occupations is not comparable with that used in the analysis of pollbooks by O’Gorman or Bradley, but they demonstrate the amenability of parish records to this kind of analysis.¹⁷

English clergymen had been collectors of such data for a long time.¹⁸ Prior to the Civil Registration Act of 1837, parishes were the only source of information about births and marriages, and a baptismal certificate had the legal standing of a birth certificate,

in a digitized form. Similar work in England has used poll-books as the data base for occupational data, as part of an analysis of electoral behaviour. See Frank O’Gorman, *Voters, Patrons, and Parties; The Unreformed Electoral System of Hanoverian England 1734-1832*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1989, especially pp. 172-223; James Bradley, *Religion, Revolution and English Radicalism; Non-conformity in Eighteenth Century Politics and Society*, Cambridge, CUP, 1990, pp. 195-309. [Shirley Fitzgerald, ‘Life and Work in Sydney, 1870-1890: aspects of social development in a nineteenth century city’, unpublished PhD thesis, Macquarie University, 1977. See also, John Stenhouse, ‘Christianity, Gender and the Working Class in Southern Dunedin, 1880-1940’, *Journal of Religious History*, 30 (1), February 2006, pp. 18-44.]

¹⁵ For example, D.E.C. Eversley, ‘Exploitation of Anglican Parish Registers by Aggregative Analysis’, in E.A. Wrigley, ed, *An Introduction to English Historical Demography*, New York, Basic Books, 1966, pp. 44-95

¹⁶ Peter Laslett, ‘The Study of Social Structure from Listings of Inhabitants’, in E.A. Wrigley, *An Introduction to English Historical Demography*, New York, Basic Books, 1966, pp. 160-208; W.A. Armstrong, ‘Social Structure from Early Census Returns’, in E.A. Wrigley, ed, *An Introduction to English Historical Demography*, New York, Basic Books, pp. 209-237; E.A. Wrigley, and R.S. Schofield, *The Population History of England, 1541-1871*, London, Edward Arnold, 1981; E.A. Wrigley, R.S. Davies, J.E. Oeppen, and R.S. Schofield, *English Population History from Family Reconstruction 1580-1837*, Cambridge, CUP, 1997.

¹⁷ Wrigley, Davies, et al., pp. 41-53.

¹⁸ Arthur Burns has a useful chapter in which he discusses the collection of statistics by church authorities. In the nineteenth century, statistics were being increasingly collected to quantify some of the problems the church was facing. A good example is non-residence of clergy. Arthur Burns, *The Diocesan Revival in the Church of England c. 1800-1870*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1999, pp108-114. But see the qualification by John Walsh and Stephen Taylor, ‘Introduction: the Church and Anglicanism in the ‘long’ eighteenth century’, in John Walsh, Colin Haydon and Stephen Taylor, eds., *The Church of England c. 1689-1833; From Toleration to Tractarianism*, Cambridge, CUP, 1993, p.8

therefore care was exercised in recording details of a child's parents and date of birth.¹⁹ This function carried over to the colonial situation, where civil registration did not begin till the 1850s. The civil registrar at Brisbane from the late 1850s was an Anglican clergyman, the Reverend Robert Creyke, who continued to work in that capacity after Separation.²⁰ He was in a good position to encourage Anglican clergymen to collect all the relevant data. Only one or two clergymen were lax in recording in this respect.²¹

That no-one has undertaken this sort of analysis of colonial records is not surprising. It is a massively labour-intensive task.²² Originally, information was inserted into printed forms, so every opportunity was provided for gathering full information. Often the records have faded and the handwriting can be difficult to decipher, so the work of transcribing the records is very slow and tedious. However, these records are a rich source of information for historical research because of the quantity of information collected about identifiable people: the name of the child; the names of the parents; where the parents lived; occupation of the father of the child, or in the case of a single woman, her occupation; date of birth; date of baptism; and the name of the officiating clergyman.²³ The records are almost always complete.²⁴ This analysis focuses on the occupation of the father of the baptised child, using a scheme of occupational classification detailed by Thorpe. Its application to the baptismal data is discussed more fully in the Appendix 2. The categories used in the analysis of the baptismal registers is set out in Table 5.1

¹⁹ Frances Knight, *The Nineteenth Century Church and English Society*, Cambridge, CUP, 1995, pp. 25, 26, 98, 99.

²⁰ H.J. Gibbney and Ann G. Smith, *A Biographical Register 1788-1939, volume 1*, Canberra, Australian Dictionary of Biography, 1987, p. 151.

²¹ The Rev W.H. Hoare did not always record all the information on baptisms at South Brisbane, when they were entered into the register at St, John's Brisbane.

²² For the scale of the work involved in family reconstruction based on parish registers, see Wrigley, et al., pp. 6-7.

²³ The marriage records for the Diocese of Brisbane have all been transcribed, and are very accessible.

²⁴ This is not so true of all English registers; Wrigley, et.al; pp. 28-39.

Table 5.1 The class structure of paid occupations, based on W. Thorpe.

Category	Description
1	unskilled labourers
2	skilled labourers/artisans/craftsmen
3	rural and urban petty bourgeoisie, including small farmers
4	overseers/foremen
5	professions/managers
6	gentlemen/manufacturers/ 'big landholders'/merchants
7	'governing' class
8	other

Parish Profiles

1. *St John's, Brisbane.*

St John's, Brisbane is the oldest parish in Queensland, and grew out of the Moreton Bay penal colony chaplaincy. Up to 1850, when the Ipswich and Drayton registers began, all baptisms for what was to become Queensland were registered at St John's. The Warwick register was begun in 1861. Altogether 2478 male parents are represented by registrations at St John's (Table 5.2); the working class comprising nearly $\frac{2}{3}$ of that number; the petite bourgeoisie one in five; and the 'big' bourgeoisie $\frac{1}{8}$ of the cohort. Table 5.3 summarises the occupational information of fathers in 4173 baptismal registrations in the St John's register as percentages of each occupational category, and Figure 1 charts the same data.²⁵

²⁵ That is there were 4173 registrations of baptisms representing the children of 2478 couples.

Table 5.2 St John's, Brisbane, the merged data.

Category	Number	Percentage	Thorpe's Class
1	1030	41.6	
2	531	21.4	
1+2	1561	63.0	working class
3	465	18.8	
4	27	1.1	
3+4	492	19.9	petite bourgeois
5	105	4.2	managerial/professional
6	182	7.3	ruling class
7	20	0.8	governing class
8	119	4.8	

N = 2478

Categories 1 and 2 change with time. Category 2 drops sharply when registers were opened in Ipswich and Drayton. This suggests that it was there, rather than in Brisbane, that skilled workers were finding employment. At the same time there was a jump in the proportion of unskilled labourers in the Brisbane register, suggesting a significant pool of unskilled labour there. The proportion of unskilled labourers in the St John's population was almost halved between the mid-1850s and the mid-1870s, giving credence to the contemporary observation that there were many labourers in the growing parishes of South Brisbane, Fortitude Valley and Toowong. Taking categories 1 and 2 together, the highs and lows show a tendency to compensate for each other, and the trend smooths out. The peak was in the late 1850s when well over 70% of the baptismal registrations were by the labouring classes; thereafter the trend was downwards to 50% (1871). This needs some explanation: there was a significant change after 1868, suggesting that after baptismal registers were opened in other city parishes, we begin to see more of the nature of the congregation at St. John's; it had less of a working class character, and had more of the petite bourgeoisie and 'gentry'. What is striking in the pre-

1868 data is the strength of the working-class contribution to baptismal registrations; it was still 68.8% in 1868.²⁶

In 1871-2, the Rev. Dan Desbois was a travelling chaplain through the newly settled Logan and Albert areas (Plate 5.2). The high figure for category 3 in these years reflects his work among timberworkers and farmers. The trend in category 3 is interesting; the figure is initially fairly erratic in the 1840s when the register covered all Queensland baptisms. At that time the category comprised mostly publicans and storekeepers. The percentage in this category slumped to single figures for three years before Separation, when the Anglican population was dominated by the labouring classes. It had found a plateau-like level around 25% by the 1870s, reflecting the growing number of clerks and schoolteachers among the urban petite bourgeoisie, and the growth of retail trade as the population of Brisbane increased.

Clerks represent 16.6% of registrations in category 3. This occupation grew with the establishment of the colonial administration in Brisbane. There were no registrations for clerks in 1860, 5 in 1861, 2 in 1863, 7 in 1864, and 14 in 1866. The figure dropped off after 1868, probably because the church on Wickham Terrace became their 'home'; it was known as the 'clerk's church' at one stage. Anglicans were also well-represented among shopkeepers (9.5%) and publicans (8.6%). Retailers, including publicans and shopkeepers, were nearly as big a group as farmers, at 32.7% of category three registrations.²⁷

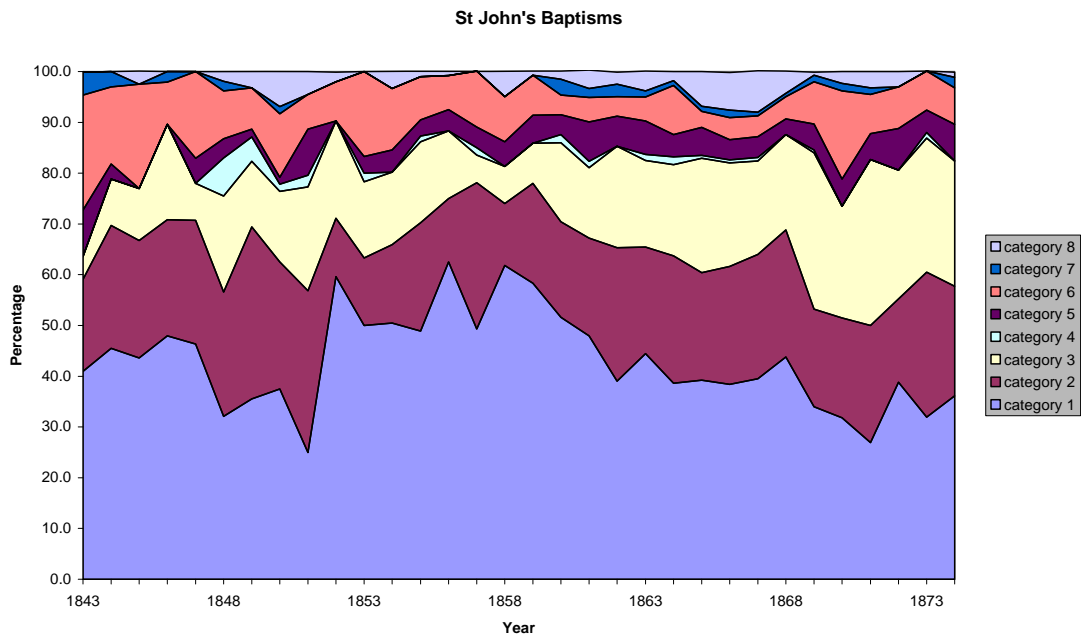
²⁶ The major contributor to the unskilled figure (category 1) was from labourers, 54.7% of the unskilled Anglican labour force. Then came sailors, mariners and boatmen (10.7%); sawyers (4.5%); gardeners (3.0%); draymen (2.8%); servants (2.7%); brick makers (2.6%) and policemen (2.1%). In a total population of 1030 people, only four other occupations in this category reached double figures. The high figure for sailors, mariners and boatmen testifies to Brisbane's importance as a coastal port. The occupations represented in category 2 are dominated by the building trades (46.7%), especially carpenters (22.8%), not surprising for a rapidly growing town. What is notable about the remaining figures is the sheer diversity of occupations, from the gunmaker and oven maker, to a sawmaker and taxidermist. After carpenters, the more numerous occupations were shoe and boot makers (10%); butchers (6.5%); and stonemasons (6.1%).

²⁷ There were few people described as farmers until 1855, when they are recorded for Bulimba, Breakfast Creek, South Brisbane and Cooper's Plains. The number increased to twenty in 1868, when other Brisbane registers were opened. Fortitude Valley, South Brisbane, Wickham Terrace, and later, Toowong, all took responsibility for areas counting farmers among their parishioners.

Table 5.3 St John's, Brisbane; occupational category, by percentage.

Year	Category								N
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
1843	40.9	18.2	4.5	-	9.1	22.7	4.5	-	22
1844	45.5	24.2	9.1	-	3.0	15.2	3.0	-	33
1845	43.6	23.1	10.3	-	-	20.5	-	2.6	39
1846	47.9	22.9	18.8	-	-	8.3	2.1	-	48
1847	46.3	24.4	7.3	-	4.9	17.1	-	-	41
1848	32.1	24.5	18.9	7.5	3.8	9.4	1.9	1.9	53
1849	35.5	33.9	12.9	4.8	1.6	8.1	-	3.2	62
1850	37.5	25.0	13.9	1.4	1.4	12.5	1.4	6.9	72
1851	25.0	31.8	20.5	2.3	9.1	6.8	-	4.5	44
1852	59.6	11.5	19.2	-	-	7.7	-	1.9	52
1853	50.0	13.3	15.0	1.7	3.3	16.7	-	-	60
1854	50.5	15.4	14.3	-	4.4	12.1	-	3.3	91
1855	48.9	21.3	16.0	1.1	3.2	8.5	-	1.1	94
1856	62.5	112.5	13.3	-	4.2	6.7	-	0.8	120
1857	49.3	28.8	5.5	1.4	4.1	11.0	-	-	73
1858	61.8	12.2	7.3	-	4.9	8.9	-	4.9	123
1859	58.3	19.7	7.9	-	5.5	7.9	-	0.8	127
1860	51.6	18.8	15.6	1.6	3.9	3.9	3.1	1.6	128
1861	47.9	19.3	13.9	1.2	7.8	4.8	1.8	3.6	165
1862	39.0	26.3	20.0	-	5.9	3.9	2.4	2.4	205
1863	44.4	21.0	17.1	1.2	6.6	4.7	1.2	3.9	257
1864	38.6	25.1	18.0	1.5	4.4	9.7	0.9	1.8	339
1865	39.2	21.2	22.5	0.6	5.5	3.2	1.0	6.8	311
1866	38.4	23.2	20.4	0.6	4.0	4.3	1.5	7.6	323
1867	39.5	24.5	18.4	0.7	4.1	4.1	0.7	8.2	294
1868	43.8	25.0	18.8	-	3.1	4.4	0.6	4.4	160
1869	34.0	19.2	30.8	0.6	5.1	8.3	1.3	0.6	156
1870	31.8	19.7	22.0	-	5.3	17.4	1.5	2.3	132
1871	26.9	23.1	32.7	-	5.1	7.7	1.3	3.2	156
1872	38.8	16.4	25.4	-	8.2	8.2	-	3.0	134
1873	31.9	28.6	26.4	1.1	4.4	7.7	-	-	91
1874	36.1	21.6	24.7	-	7.2	7.2	2.1	1.0	97

The generally low figure in category 4 reflects the fact that pastoral overseers, the main contributors to this category did not bring their children 'into town' for baptism. The higher figures for 1848-9 were when Benjamin Glennie had an itinerating ministry on the Darling Downs; with the opening of a baptismal register at Drayton in 1850, these registrations at St John's became insignificant.

Figure 5.1

Category 5 has a rather erratic trend until the mid-fifties, thereafter falling in the range 4-8%. The contribution of managers and professionals is rather variable to 1853, with a peak in 1861-3, and showing a higher rate of registration after 1868. Engineers, solicitors, clergymen and accountants have the highest frequency of registration.

For category 6 the high figures up to 1850 largely represent the squatters.²⁸ Thereafter urban merchants and entrepreneurial investors became more numerous. James Dickson, who began his Brisbane career as an auctioneer, and eventually became an influential politician, was one of these 'successful' Anglican entrepreneurs. He is pictured in Plate 5.3 with his family outside his magnificent Hamilton home, Toorak House. With the development of centres of ministry at Drayton and Ipswich, many squatters chose to have their children baptised there, rather than in Brisbane. There is no explanation for the anomalously high figure for 1870. The regularly higher registration rate in category 6 after the establishment of baptismal registers in other city parishes in 1868 suggests that more

²⁸ 'Gentlemen' figure largely, being 46.4% of the merged data; then follow squatters (31.1%) and merchants (10.9%).

Anglicans from this category attended St John's than the other parish churches in Brisbane (Wickham Terrace, Kangaroo Point and Fortitude Valley).

The category 7 has little regular representation until the colony of Queensland came into being in 1859. Early figures in this category are for resident government officers; the governing class 'governed' from Sydney. After Separation, leading political figures had children baptised at St John's, including the children of Governor George Bowen and Bishop Tufnell.²⁹

2. St Paul's, Ipswich.

The merged data shows similarities with that for Brisbane, but with a somewhat stronger petite bourgeoisie. This is due to two factors: the numerical strength of the petite bourgeoisie relative to the labouring class in early Brisbane; and the strength in the petite bourgeoisie in the Ipswich in the 1870s. Ipswich with its early industrial development centred in mining and the railway-related industries offered plenty of employment opportunities for the working class (Plate 5.4). The merged data (Table 5.4) demonstrate the numerical strength of the laboring classes (61.4%) in the parish, making up more than 50% of registrations in all but four years (1851, 1871-3). From 1868, the petite bourgeoisie compensated for their decreasing numbers (24.9% of the merged data). The 'big' bourgeoisie represents a similar proportion in both sets of figures.

Category 1 was initially very small, but by 1853 unskilled labourers represented 55% of all registrations, a level it maintained till 1868, when unskilled workers comprised 60.2% of registrations. The figure fell more or less steadily from there to 24% in 1873. 1874, at the end of the period under review, showed a strong recovery to 44.7%. Only in the early 1870s did the figure dip below one third of registrations. The ministry of John Wallace, Lacy Rumsey and John Mosely seems to have been very effective to this group.

²⁹ The relatively high figure in category 8 in 1865-7 is due to the poor record-keeping by the Rev W.H. Hoare. In many cases individual registrations are incomplete, especially in regard to the occupation of the father.

Of the merged data, concerning 599 men in this category, 65.5% were designated labourer.³⁰

Table 5.4 St Paul's Ipswich; the merged data.

Category	Number	Percentage	Thorpe's class
1	599	42.5	
2	266	18.9	
1+2	865	61.4	labouring class
3	324	23.0	
4	27	1.9	
3+4	351	24.9	petite bourgeoisie
5	42	3.0	professional/managerial
6	111	7.9	ruling class
7	17	1.2	governing class
8	24	1.7	

N = 1410

Artisans were numerically important in the early years of Ipswich parish, but the number slumped to 8.2% in 1855. There was again steady growth to the early 1870s, with high registration rates in 1866-8, 1870 and 1873. Carpenters comprise 26.5% of the 266 registrations in this category and altogether, building trades made up 41.2%. Throughout the period, the population of Ipswich was steadily increasing, so there was a constant demand for domestic, commercial and industrial building in an expanding local economy. The diversity among the trades represented is notable - 45 in all. The second most numerous trade is that of butcher; many were employed at the three boiling down works (owned by Flemings, Smiths and Campbells).³¹

³⁰Shepherds and stockmen accounted for 7.5%, sawyers 4.4%, and bullockies, 2.5%. Railway navvies, brick makers, miners and servants were minor contributors to the number.

³¹ John Campbell was a partner with Captain Robert Towns in this sizable venture. David Phillips and Robyn Buchanan, *Ipswich; Views from the Verandah*, Ipswich, Ipswich City Council, 1993, p. 36. Other trades of consequence were blacksmiths (7.0%), boot and shoemakers (6.5%), stonemasons (5.8%), wheelwrights (5.1%), and bakers (4.3%).

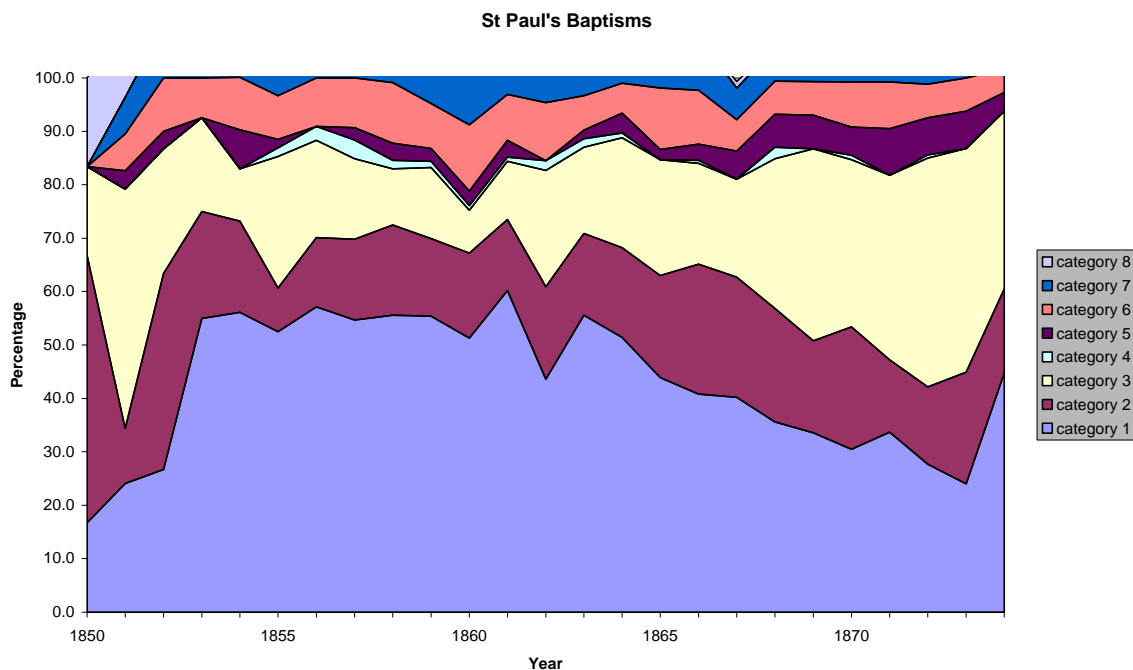
Table 5.5 St Paul's, Ipswich; occupational categories, by percentage.

Year	Category								N
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
1850	16.7	50.0	16.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	16.7	6
1851	24.1	10.3	44.8	0.0	3.4	6.9	0.0	10.3	29
1852	26.7	36.7	23.3	0.0	3.3	10.0	0.0	0.0	30
1853	55.0	20.0	17.5	0.0	0.0	7.5	0.0	0.0	40
1854	56.1	17.1	9.8	0.0	7.3	9.8	0.0	0.0	41
1855	52.5	8.2	24.6	1.6	1.6	8.2	0.0	0.0	61
1856	57.1	13.0	18.2	2.6	0.0	9.1	0.0	0.0	77
1857	54.7	15.1	15.1	3.5	2.3	9.3	0.0	0.0	86
1858	55.6	16.9	10.5	1.6	3.2	11.3	0.0	0.8	124
1859	55.4	14.5	13.3	1.2	2.4	8.4	0.0	4.8	83
1860	51.3	15.9	8.0	0.9	2.7	12.4	0.0	8.8	113
1861	60.2	13.3	10.9	0.8	3.1	8.6	0.0	3.1	128
1862	43.6	17.3	21.8	1.8	0.0	10.9	1.8	2.7	110
1863	55.6	15.3	16.1	1.6	1.6	6.5	1.6	1.6	124
1864	51.4	16.8	20.6	0.9	3.7	5.6	0.0	0.9	107
1865	43.9	19.1	21.7	0.0	1.9	11.5	1.3	0.6	157
1866	40.8	24.3	18.9	0.6	3.0	10.1	1.8	0.6	169
1867	40.2	22.5	18.3	0	5.3	5.9	1.8	1.2	169
1868	35.6	21.2	28.1	2.1	6.2	6.2	0	0.7	146
1869	33.6	17.2	35.9	0	6.3	6.3	0	0.8	128
1870	30.5	22.9	31.3	0.8	5.3	8.4	0	0.8	131
1871	33.7	13.5	34.6	0	8.7	8.7	0	1.0	104
1872	27.7	14.5	42.8	0.6	6.9	6.3	0	1.3	159
1873	24.0	20.9	41.9	0	7.0	6.2	0	0	129
1874	44.7	15.8	33.3	0	3.5	4.4	0	0.9	114

The change in the size and composition of the petite bourgeoisie says a lot about Ipswich Anglicans. In the early years of the parish, when the number of annual registrations was still low, farmers, publicans and storekeepers figured significantly. From 1854 to 1868, the figure tends to be quite variable, dipping twice below double figures, but then grew rapidly to nearly 42% in 1872 and 1873. This was due to the 'population explosion' among small farmers - at Laidley, Moggill, Ipswich Reserve, Brassall, Pine Mountain, Redbank Plains, and Normanby Reserve where agricultural development was

greatest.³² This development was pushed along by the cotton industry during the 1860s, and then by dairying and small-cropping. Of the merged data, 51.7% of the registrants were farmers, and 12.55% carriers and carters. The number of carriers and carters among Anglicans testify to the importance of transport in the Ipswich economy, especially of agricultural and pastoral products.³³

Figure 5.2



Category 5 was never numerous, and accountants (21%), engineers (18.4%) and clergymen (15.8%) were best represented. Bank managers, solicitors, surgeons and surveyors make up most of the remaining professionals. Category 4 (overseers and foremen) never reached appreciable numbers. As the main sheep properties employing such people were on the Downs, they came under the care of Drayton parish

³² Farmers are identified at these localities are mentioned in the registers. Clerks (8.8%), storekeepers (6.1%), and publicans (6.1%) were next in order.

³³ Bowden, pp. 172-173.

initially, and then Warwick, Toowoomba and Dalby parishes.³⁴

Category 6, though variable, does occasionally reach double figures (1852, 1858, 1860, 1862, 1865, and 1866). The most numerous here were ‘gentlemen’ (56.6%) and squatters (23.6%). The latter would have either resided in Ipswich and have employed a station manager, or had their children baptised at their homestead when the clergyman was itinerating the pastoral districts.³⁵ ‘Big’ business is not well represented. Of the 111 registrations in this category there were only four merchants, 3 newspaper proprietors, and seven sodawater manufacturers; 13.2% of the category. The term ‘gentleman’ could, however, be misleading. For example the storekeepers F.A. Forbes and John Panton were listed as ‘gentlemen’, though not necessarily inappropriately. Similarly George Harrison Wilson is alternately designated ‘merchant’ or gentleman’.

Category 7 is generally not represented or very low, as we would expect. Not many of the governing class lived in Ipswich in preference to nearby Brisbane, the seat of government of the colony from 1859.

Except for the years 1859-1861 and during the period 1850-51 when registrations were low, category 8 is small, and indicates that the clergy were diligent in recording occupational data (Table 5.5 and Figure 5.2).

3. *St Mark's, Warwick*

Benjamin Glennie opened the registers at Warwick when he was moved from Drayton in 1861. Dalby and Toowoomba registers were also begun at about the same time, by Vincent Ransome in Toowoomba, and Edmund Moberly in Dalby, when ministry

³⁴ Cattle stations, such as the properties owned by Thomas Lodge Murray Prior at Maroon and Rathdowney, developed early. *NMPL*, passim; Roderick, pp. 177-178.

³⁵ Brisbane Valley or the properties to the south (Dugandan, Coochin Coochin, Maroon, etc.); baptisms on properties ‘out of town’ can be identified in the registers.

on the Darling Downs was completely restructured. The merged data in Table 5.6 is significant for the high percentage of petite bourgeoisie in the parish (largely small farmers), and the number of overseers in category 4, employed in the pastoral industry; this latter figure compares closely with that of Drayton, the only other of the four towns in a similar pastoral district. In Drayton there were fewer small farmers.

Table 5.6 The merged data, St Mark's Warwick.

Category	Number	Percentage	Thorpe's class
1	213	38.7	
2	91	16.5	
1+2	304	55.2	working class
3	153	27.8	
4	29	5.3	
3+4	182	33.1	petite bourgeoisie
5	17	3.1	managerial/professional
6	35	6.4	ruling class
7	1	0.2	governing class
8	12	2.2	

N=551

There is a downward trend in the number of working class registrations over time that is most noticeable when categories 1 and 2 are combined (Table 5.7 and Figure 5.3). Though not a smooth curve, the drop is from 74.3% in 1861 to 49.2% in 1874. A significant contribution to category 1 was made by the railway navvies for the period 1866-1871, when the Toowoomba-Warwick railway line was under construction.³⁶ The occupational content of category 1 reflects Warwick's pastoral context; labourers comprise 36.2%; followed by shepherds (19.3%), stockmen (9.2%), bushmen (7.2%), sawyers (5.8%), and bullockies (4.8%). As wire fencing was introduced, the need for

³⁶ John Kerr, *Triumph of the Narrow Gauge*, Moorooka, Boolarong Press, 1998, pp. 20-22.

shepherds and stockmen fell, and eventually shepherds had become redundant.³⁷

‘Bushmen’ would do almost any kind of labouring work, including stock-work, bush carpentry, fencing or bullock driving.³⁸ The structure of the unskilled labour force in Warwick closely resembles that of Drayton. The proportion of skilled labourers is variable, but from 1868, it twice dipped below 20%. The number of carpenters registered (35.2%) attests to the importance of the building trade. The population of both Warwick and the agricultural districts around it were growing, and carpenter’s skills were in demand for commercial, domestic and farm buildings; other building trades included bricklayers, painters, plasterers, joiners, and stonemasons. Trades more specifically servicing the agricultural and pastoral sectors were wheelwrights, a horse-breaker and a wellsinker, and, as in Ipswich, blacksmiths were now manufacturing agricultural

Table 5.7 St Mark’s Warwick; occupational category by percentage.

Year	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	N
1861	51.9	22.4	9.3	11.1	-	3.3	-	-	54
1862	43.3	16.7	33.3	2.2	1.1	3.3	-	-	90
1863	37.3	21.3	25.3	8.0	-	5.3	-	4.0	75
1864	46.1	16.7	28.4	2.9	1.0	4.9	-	-	102
1865	32.9	17.6	28.2	7.1	2.4	8.2	-	3.5	85
1866	45.0	15.0	28.8	2.5	1.3	7.5	-	-	80
1867	45.3	11.6	29.5	7.4	2.1	3.2	-	1.1	95
1868	28.9	23.7	31.6	3.9	3.9	6.6	-	1.3	76
1869	36.3	20.0	32.5	5.0	2.5	2.5	-	1.3	80
1870	45.1	20.1	24.4	2.4	1.2	3.7	1.2	1.2	82
1871	37.3	17.3	24.0	2.7	6.7	6.7	-	5.3	75
1872	35.7	21.4	23.2	1.8	3.6	14.3	1.8	-	56
1873	19.0	23.8	36.5	3.2	7.9	7.9	-	1.6	63
1874	33.9	15.3	39.2	-	3.4	13.6	1.7	-	59

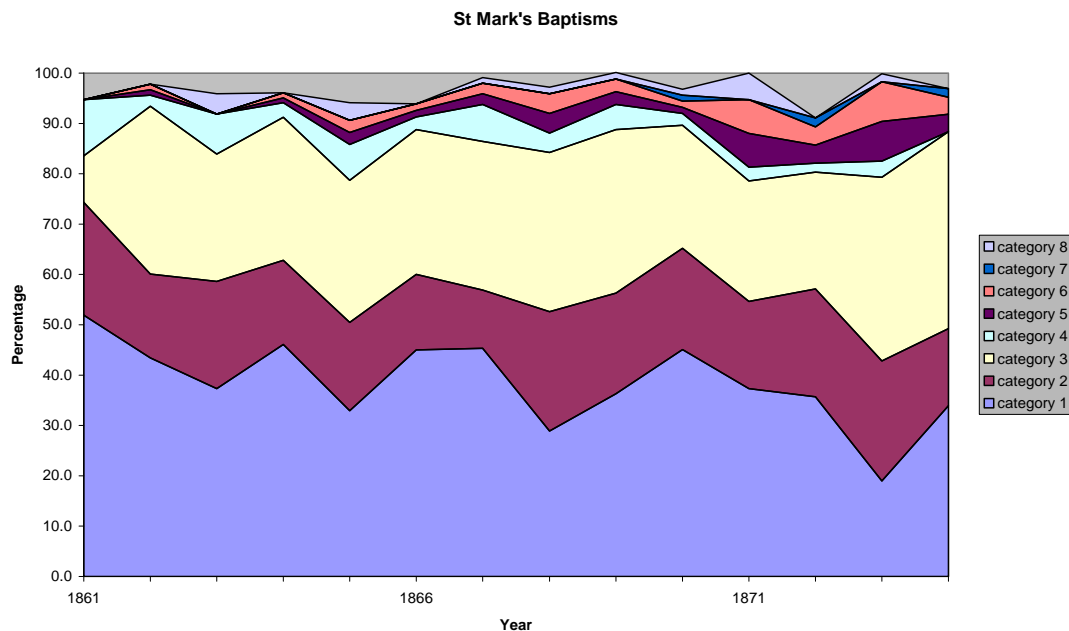
³⁷ Walker, pp. 110, 119; S. Winslade, ‘Wire-fencing investment in eastern Australia: 1858-1914’, *Australian Economic History Review*, XXXIV, No. 1, March 1994. Waterson noted that by 1873, George Clark of East Talgai had fenced all of his 32,000 acres of freehold; Waterson, *Squatter*, p. 61.

³⁸ Similar bushworkers still exist in many parts of rural Australia today.

implements. The other principal skilled workers were butchers, and boot and shoemakers.

The petite bourgeoisie in the Anglican population of Warwick generally exceeds 28%. The category is dominated by farmers from around Warwick, Warwick Reserve, Sandy Creek, and Allora.³⁹ These farmers were producing some wheat, stock fodder (lucerne, maize, etc.), dairy products, livestock for meat (cattle, sheep, pigs) and working horses.⁴⁰ Carriers were quite numerous (18.6%), and then storekeepers (9.0%), publicans (6.2%) and teachers (3.5%).

Figure 5.3



Unlike the situation in Brisbane, salaried workers, such as clerks and teachers were few, and there were few employment opportunities for clerks except in banks and a few larger businesses. Anglicans did not seem to become country school- teachers. The composite figure for retailers (22.8%), including storekeepers, grocers, publicans,

³⁹ Waterson, *Squatter*, pp. 138-139.

⁴⁰ *ibid.* pp. 152-163.

druggists, dealers and booksellers, attests to the importance of Anglicans in the commercial life of the town and its importance as a service centre to the farming and pastoral community. The figure includes two retail butchers and two owners of large blacksmith's works.

The Warwick register suggests some significant demographic trends on the Downs. The number of working class people decreased; the number of petite bourgeoisie increased; a reduction in the role of the overseer in pastoral operations can be detected; there was an upward trend in the numbers in the managerial/ professional class; and a trend up in category 6, the 'big' bourgeoisie. The change in land use patterns and pastoral land management were a feature of the period, noticeable in the Drayton records too. By 1874, the use of fencing on the Downs and the development of farming put overseers out of work; category 4 dropped to zero in 1874.⁴¹

The professional/managerial class in Warwick was never large, though the higher number of registrations in 1871 to 1874 may signify a changing trend. Of the seventeen registrations, there were four solicitors, and three each of engineers, surveyors and clergymen. The surveyors were busy setting out the course of the railway, and surveying boundaries for selectors taking up agricultural land, and the construction of the railway provided work for the engineers. The high rate of registrations in the 1870s for category 6 is notable and can be attributed to 'gentlemen' living off their investments and some squatters or graziers living comfortably in town while managers looked after their properties. Registrations in category 7 are of local politicians.

⁴¹ Walker, p. 119.

4. *St Matthew's, Drayton.*

Making sense of the Drayton data is only possible when its history is put briefly in place. Benjamin Glennie opened its registers in 1850, when he began ministry in the 'parish' of the Darling Downs. Drayton, at the top of the Main Range on the road leading east to Ipswich, also gave access to the northern and southern downs.⁴² There was no township at Toowoomba, and Warwick was in an embryonic state.⁴³ Until 1860 all Darling Downs baptisms were recorded in its register. On the basis of population and logistics, Tufnell placed clergy at Dalby, Toowoomba and Warwick in 1860. Drayton's importance had been eclipsed; it was not till 1866 that Tufnell was able to appoint a priest to Drayton. Meanwhile, the rector of Toowoomba conducted services at Drayton, and its registers were kept open, with few registrations between 1860 and 1866. Registrations after 1866

Table 5.8 The merged data, St Matthew's Drayton.

Category	Percentage	Number	Thorpe's class
1	50.1	306	
2	14.7	90	
1+2	64.8	396	labouring classes
3	19.0	116	
4	5.4	33	
3+4	24.4	149	petite bourgeoisie
5	2.3	14	managerial/professional
6	6.2	38	ruling class
7	1.1	7	governing class
8	1.1	7	

N=611

⁴² For the growth of Drayton and Toowoomba, see French, *Pubs*, pp. 11-31.

⁴³ For early Warwick, *ibid*, pp. 33-38.

were at about a third of the previous level. A full understanding of the Drayton figures after 1861 would only be possible by comparison with Toowoomba data, but the Toowoomba records have not survived.

The Drayton statistics shed important light on Anglicanism on the Darling Downs in the 1850s; especially the high percentage of unskilled labourers (table 5.8); they represented the bulk of the Anglican population and with skilled labourers constituted about 65% of the Anglican population. They were poorly paid, and it is no surprise that Glennie depended on squatters and merchants for financial support of the church. Labourers and the petite bourgeoisie were not in any position to supply the church's needs at the time. The provision of slab churches at Drayton, Toowoomba and Warwick was a considerable achievement, especially when some squatters, such as the leaseholders of Jimbour, Yandilla and Jondaryan provided church buildings on their properties at their own expense.⁴⁴ Most striking is the high proportion of unskilled labourers prior to Separation - up to 62.8% in 1859, (table 5.9), similar to the urban areas of Ipswich and Brisbane. From 1866, when the new clergyman was appointed, the registrations of this category recommenced at a much lower level (44.8%). Throughout the period, labourers made up 42% of unskilled workers, while shepherds and stockmen comprised 26.7%. The number of skilled workers (Category 2) fluctuates considerably, with no obvious explanation. An exodus from Drayton to other parts of the Downs should not affect the registers at Drayton, the only town with a baptismal register at the time. Nor was it necessarily related to the pattern of ministry; Benjamin Glennie was the incumbent up to 1860. Taking categories 1 and 2 together, the combined figure reached the low 70s in

⁴⁴ This may explain their reluctance to contribute to the construction of churches in town. Having a church on the property also gave them a bit more control over their workforce. In any case few were close enough to make a trip into 'town' to church practical.

1857, and stayed at that level till Glennie left for Warwick. The skilled group recommenced the new era after 1866 at a similar level to that at the end of Glennie's ministry. After 1867, the proportion of this category among Drayton Anglicans fell. Nearby Toowoomba, which was growing rapidly from the early 1860s, may have provided more employment opportunities than Drayton, where population growth was

Table 5.9 St Matthew's Drayton; occupational categories by percentage.

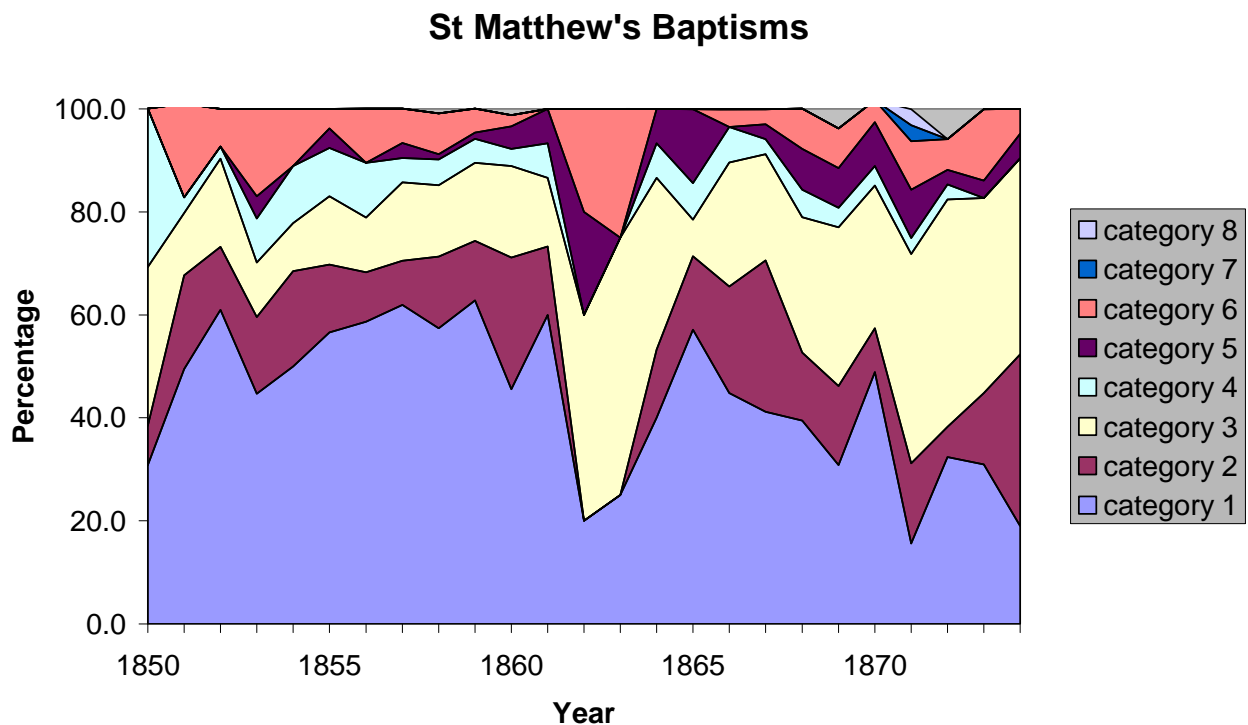
Year	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	N
<i>1850</i>	<i>30.8</i>	<i>7.7</i>	<i>30.8</i>	<i>30.8</i>	-	-	-	-	<i>13</i>
1851	49.5	18.2	12.1	3.0	-	18.2	-	3.0	33
1852	61.0	12.2	17.1	2.4	-	7.3	-	-	41
1853	44.7	14.9	10.6	8.5	4.3	17.0	-	-	47
1854	50.0	18.5	9.3	11.1	-	11.1	-	-	54
1855	56.6	13.2	13.2	9.4	3.8	3.8	-	-	53
1856	58.7	9.6	10.6	10.6	-	10.6	-	-	104
1857	61.9	8.6	15.2	4.8	2.9	6.7	-	-	105
1858	57.4	13.9	13.9	5.0	1.0	7.9	-	1.0	101
1859	62.8	11.6	15.1	4.7	1.2	4.7	-	-	86
1860	45.6	25.5	17.8	3.3	4.4	2.2	-	1.1	90
<i>1861</i>	<i>60.0</i>	<i>13.3</i>	<i>13.3</i>	<i>6.7</i>	<i>6.7</i>	-	-	-	<i>15</i>
<i>1862</i>	<i>20.0</i>	-	<i>40.0</i>	-	<i>20.0</i>	<i>20.0</i>	-	-	<i>5</i>
<i>1863</i>	<i>25.0</i>	-	<i>50.0</i>	-	-	<i>25.0</i>	-	-	<i>4</i>
<i>1864</i>	<i>40.0</i>	<i>13.3</i>	<i>33.3</i>	<i>6.7</i>	<i>6.7</i>	-	-	-	<i>15</i>
<i>1865</i>	<i>57.1</i>	<i>14.3</i>	<i>7.1</i>	<i>7.1</i>	<i>14.3</i>	-	-	-	<i>14</i>
1866	44.8	20.7	24.1	6.9	-	3.4	-	-	29
1867	41.2	29.4	20.6	2.9	2.9	2.9	-	-	34
1868	39.5	13.2	26.3	5.3	7.9	7.9	-	-	38
1869	30.8	15.4	30.8	3.8	7.7	7.7	-	3.8	26
1870	48.9	8.5	27.7	3.8	8.5	4.3	-	-	47
1871	15.6	15.6	40.6	3.1	9.4	9.4	3.1	3.1	32
1872	32.4	5.9	44.1	2.9	2.9	5.9	-	5.9	34
1873	31.0	13.8	37.9	-	3.4	13.8	-	-	29
<i>1874</i>	<i>19.0</i>	<i>33.3</i>	<i>38.1</i>	-	<i>4.8</i>	<i>4.8</i>	-	-	<i>21</i>

Years with less than 25 registrations are in *italic*.

stagnant. In category 2 (N=90) carpenters are the most numerous, followed by blacksmiths (12.6%); butchers (10.1%); saddlers (7.9%) and boot- and shoemakers (6.7%).⁴⁵

Up to 1860, the petite bourgeoisie fluctuated between 9.3% and 17.8%. The strength of the petite bourgeoisie is comparable with that at Warwick. The total figure for this class was 116, with farmers representing over a third of the number (35.6%); carriers and storekeepers, both with 17.4%, represent the main businesses: publicans (7.8%) and other retailers (3.6%) make up the rest. Most of the farmers date from the 1870s, as more land on agricultural reserves came on the market. Drayton's strategic location for communication with Ipswich and Brisbane, at the top of the range, accounts for the number of carriers, storekeepers and publicans.⁴⁶

Figure 5.4



⁴⁵ Building trades constitute 40.4% of the skilled workers; those dealing with pastoral produce (meat, wool, hides) 15.7%; and leather workers (shoes, boots, saddles), 14.6%.

⁴⁶ See the map in French, *Pubs*, p. 15, and pp.16ff.

The role of overseers in the high summer of the pastoral industry is evident from the figures for category 4, twice reaching double figures (1854, 1856). As the job of overseer was overtaken, the number appearing in the registers fell away after 1866, as noted earlier in considering the Warwick data. Category 5 was never strongly represented, as Drayton did not grow to a great enough size in this period to attract professionals, and it did not have the businesses to employ managers. Doctors (5), engineers, solicitors and clergymen (2 each) account for 11 of the 14 registrations.

Category 6, representing the 'big' bourgeoisie, is well represented, noticeably during Glennie's early ministry as incumbent of the Darling Downs. All but three of the 38 registrations were of squatters or station managers.

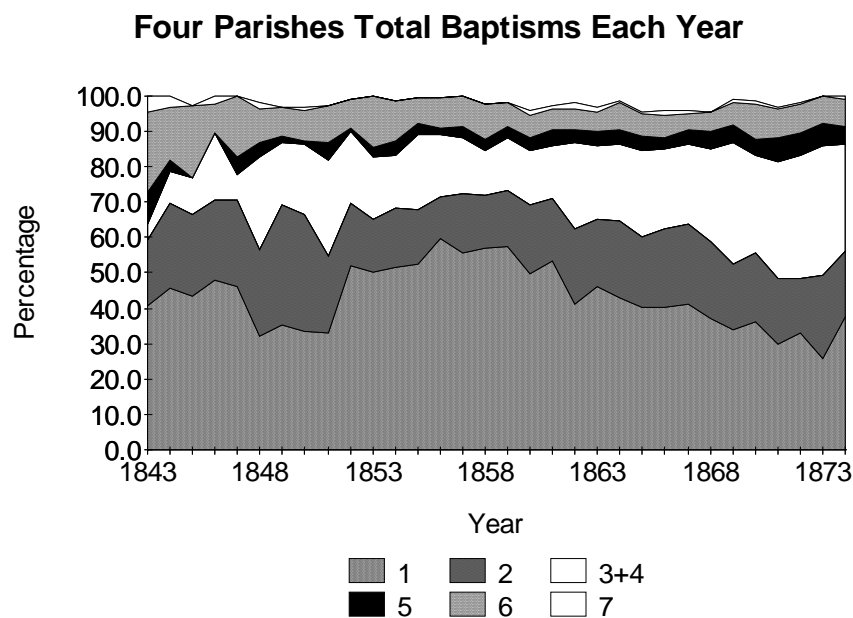
The Merged Data

The summed annual data for all four parishes is presented in the graph, Figure 5.5. The proportion of unskilled labourers among Anglicans changed with time. The significant dip between 1848 and 1851 confirms the contemporary observation that immigration was not providing the kind of rural labour that the squatters had been seeking. In fact there was considerable agitation on behalf of the squatters to bring in indentured labour to satisfy demand. This agitation was strongly opposed by urban liberals, spearheaded by immigrants sponsored by the Rev. J.D. Lang. The same period marks the rapid growth of the petite bourgeoisie (category 3), the group most closely associated with urban liberalism. The size of the population of unskilled Anglican labourers reached a broad plateau in the decade before Separation. Thereafter there was a steady decline in their proportion of the Anglican population, but at the end of the period under review, both skilled and unskilled labourers still represented a surprisingly high proportion of Anglicans. This bears out the observations of Helen Woolcock and James Jupp that emigration to the colonies from Britain was dominated by labourers and artisans, a fact

also adverted to by Charles Dilke at the time.⁴⁷

There are three main mechanisms to explain this long-term trend. With the expansion of agriculture, some of the men from category 1 became selectors or small farmers, and as men earning some or all of their income from property they owned or were in the process of buying, they are then part of the *petite bourgeoisie*. This drive to become property owners ('with a stake in the country') in the search of a greater measure of independence is precisely what radicals and urban liberals were urging. In spite of this slight upward mobility, not all were liberated from the necessity of some kind of off-farm waged work to maintain their families. They often also depended on the farm-derived income of their wives.⁴⁸

Figure 5.5



Categories 3 and 4 have been combined because the latter is so small.

The second mechanism for the trend was a change in immigration patterns. Although hard to quantify adequately, there was a greater proportion of skilled labourers

⁴⁷ Dilke, pp. 89, 90; Woolcock, p. 40, 42; Jupp, pp. 35, 54, 115.

⁴⁸ Waterson, *Squatters*, pp. 108, 130.

and petite bourgeoisie entering the colony. Furthermore, especially in Ipswich, coalminers from Wales and the north of England coming into the colony tended to be nonconformists, swelling the non-Anglican representatives of this category.⁴⁹ The third mechanism was the loss of unskilled labour to the goldfields at places like Morinish Station, Gympie, and Kilkivan, and to the tin mines at Stanthorpe.

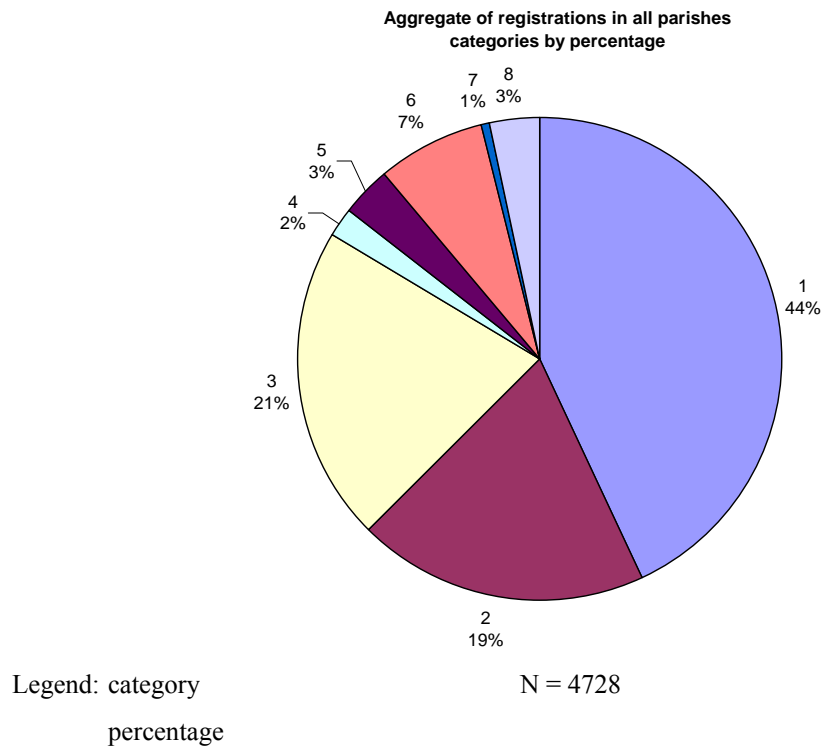
Some 'sheep-stealing' was also likely and some were lost to other denominations. There is anecdotal evidence for Anglicans to be drawn into other Protestant congregations, as we noted in the last chapter.⁵⁰ Some members of this group may have become less likely to identify with the Anglican Church in the passage of time, especially in view of its rapid embourgeoisement. In Brisbane, there is evidence that the different Anglican churches attracted congregations with different socio-economic profiles: Fortitude Valley and South Brisbane were rather 'working class'; St John's and Kangaroo Point, were the churches of the elite; and the Wickham Terrace Church was more petite bourgeois in character. The elucidation of this issue would require a far more substantive study of baptismal records than that undertaken here. Nevertheless it is possible that working class families may no longer have felt as comfortable in the Anglican Church, once it became increasingly bourgeois. Overall, working class men comprised 63% of the total sample of 4728 Anglican registrants (Figure 5.6; categories 1 and 2 combined). That is, almost two out of every three Anglican men were working class. Almost one in four was petite bourgeois (categories 3 and 4 combined). In the overall sample, they were fewest in Brisbane (19.9%) where the managerial /professional and ruling class groups were

⁴⁹ Coalminers often belonged to Wesleyan groups, and in Ipswich the United Welsh Church was a focus for Welsh life. Bradley Bowden, 'A Time 'the like of which was never before experienced': Changing Community Loyalties in Ipswich, 1900-12', *Labour History*, 78, May 2000, pp.74-75.

⁵⁰ For example, some of the Adsett family became Primitive Methodists. See N.E. Adsett, *The Adsett Families 1851-1991*, Brisbane, privately published, 1991, pp22-25. Charles and Jane Yarrow, who were married in the Anglican church at Tadlow, Cambridgeshire, and who had one child baptised in the Anglican Church at Ipswich, became stalwarts of the Methodist Church. N. Yarrow, *A Vision Splendid: The History of Charles and Jane Yarrow of "Spring Meadows"*, Ipswich, n.d, p. 43. Joseph Ivett, whose parents were Anglican, and who was baptised in the Anglican Church, became a Baptist, having come under the influence of the Baptist minister, the Rev R. Morton, in his youth; *QT*, 10 July 1915.

especially strong (because it was the seat of government and the main centre of business for the colony); and highest in Warwick where small farming was developing strongly. The professional and managerial ranks (3%) were strongest and most diverse in Brisbane where opportunities were greatest. The other centres also had doctors, accountants, surveyors and their like, though they were not numerous.

Figure 5.6 Chart of aggregated registrations.



Note: In the pie chart representing the merged data, all people are counted once only. That is, people whose names appear more than once in a register or in more than one register are counted once.

The ruling class, 7% of the aggregated registrations in Figure 5.6, was strongest in Ipswich and Brisbane, where there was a greater opportunity for investment in property, development of service industries, processing of agricultural and pastoral produce,

industrial production, and the attractions of urban living. Nevertheless, the group was represented in the rural parishes of Drayton and Warwick, where squatters and local merchants swelled their ranks. It was largely from this class that the governing class was drawn. In the period covered by this analysis, 77% of colonial parliamentarians were drawn from this group, and 17% from among the professionals (especially doctors and lawyers).⁵¹

There were very few who came from the English ruling class. Notable was Basil Berkeley Moreton, who eventually returned to England when he became the fourth Earl of Ducie on the death of his brother, and Lord Henry Phipps who had a selection not far from Maroon.⁵² R.R. Mackenzie inherited the baronetcy of Coul, in Scotland, and there were a few others with aristocratic connections, such as the Hon. Louis Hope, Gilbert Elliott, and Robert Herbert.⁵³ Besides these, there were a few men of landed or ‘gentlemanly’ backgrounds, such as Arthur Hodgson of Eton Vale, the Gores of Yandilla, John Douglas, John Bramston, and Ratcliffe Pring.⁵⁴ Nevertheless, Dilke’s claim that Australian society was English with the upper class left out, has considerable force as far as Queensland was concerned.⁵⁵ What is more, many of those who made a competent fortune retired or returned to the milder climate of England or Scotland.⁵⁶

⁵¹ These estimates are based on the occupation of members of parliament derived from Waterson, *A Biographical Register*.

⁵² For Moreton, see *ADB*, vol5, p. 286; *NMPL*, 27 January, 1879; 21 December, 1884. According to Nora Murray Prior, Phipps squandered a great deal of money on his project before returning to England about the end of 1884. He was the son of Lord Ellesmere.

⁵³ For Mackenzie, *ADB*, vol5, pp171-172. Hope was son of the fourth Earl of Hopetoun, *ADB*, vol. 4, pp. 418-419. Elliott was the son of a baronet; *ADB*, vol. 4, p. 235. Herbert was the first cousin of the Earl of Carnarvon, *ADB*, vol. 4, pp. 382-385.

⁵⁴ Hodgson, *ADB*, vol. 4, pp. 405-406; the Gores, *ADB*, vol. 4, pp. 272-273; John Douglas, *ADB*, vol. 4, pp. 89-92; Bramston, *ADB*, vol. 3, pp. 219-220; Pring, *ADB*, vol. 5, pp. 457-458.

⁵⁵ Jupp, p. 158.

⁵⁶ Basil Berkeley Moreton, R.R. Mackenzie, Arthur Hodgson, Robert Herbert, John Bramston, Louis Hope all left Queensland for ‘home’; see notes 44, 45, 46, above.

Anglicanism, a Class-Structured Community

Brisbane was, in a sense, a 'branch office' to Sydney and to London during this period. Its provincial nature is illustrated by Blanche Mitchell's comment in 1866, that it was 'like Goulburn', and Charles Dilke described Sydney as the 'metropolis of pleasure' for Queensland squatters.⁵⁷ The squatters not only went there to entertain themselves and find suitable wives, but also to do business, often at the offices of London or Sydney-based mercantile houses that controlled their lines of credit.⁵⁸ Rachel Henning's letters reveal something of this Sydney-centred activity for squatters from central Queensland. Her brother's financial affairs were conducted in Sydney, and Rachel hoped he would find a wife there.⁵⁹ The heroine of Rosa Praed's novelisation of Queensland colonial politics and society, *Policy and Passion*, was sent to Sydney for her education, reflecting the Sydney centred thinking of those who could pay well for their daughters' education.⁶⁰ This provincialism of Brisbane's social elite is reflected in the attitude of some Brisbane 'belles' who at one time were concerned at the number of eligible Sydney girls visiting Brisbane who could upset the local marriage market.⁶¹ Such travel was certainly only possible for those with money; members of the working class and the petite bourgeoisie were unlikely to find either their entertainment or their spouses in Sydney.

⁵⁷ *BMD*, Thursday 11 September 1866; Dilke pp. 93, 94.

⁵⁸ For entertainment and marriage partners see Henning, pp. 139, 150. The relationship between squatter and merchant is spelt out by Trollope, vol. 2, pp. 33-36; Waterson, *Squatter*, pp. 12, 16, 55-59.

⁵⁹ All these matters are mentioned in David Adams, ed., *The Letters of Rachel Henning*, Ringwood, Penguin, 1988 [*The Bulletin*, 1951-2], pp. 139, 150, 170-172, 176, 191.

⁶⁰ Rosa Praed, *Policy and Passion*, Sydney, SUP, 2004 [London, Richard & Son, 1881], pp. 13, 46.

⁶¹ *NMPL*, 25 July, 1879.

Certainly as far as the Anglican Church was concerned, it was a 'branch' of the Church of England, staffed with bishop and clergy from England.⁶² According to Trollope, Queensland was even politically rather dependent on London, possibly the legacy of the English 'imported openers', the Governor Sir George Bowen and his first Premier and erstwhile private secretary, Robert Herbert.⁶³ Both were professional civil servants for whom Queensland was but a step on the ladder to higher imperial service; Bowen in a succession of governorships (New Zealand, Victoria, Mauritius, and Hong Kong) and Herbert in civil service in London where he eventually became permanent under-secretary in the colonial Office.⁶⁴ The high visibility of a small social and political elite containing a significant number of Anglicans, contributed to the perception of some kind of Anglican hegemony, and I suspect is the source of kind of assessment made of colonial Anglicanism made by Tricia Blombery, whose view was quoted at the beginning of this chapter.

In briefly reviewing the content of this chapter, there are several features of the Anglican community of the period that stand out. First, the working class component of the Anglican population, though showing signs of shrinkage with the passage of time, was numerically large. It may partly explain the financial struggles of colonial Anglicanism in Queensland.

⁶² The word 'branch' was used to describe the relationship during the debate on the constitution of the Diocese of Brisbane; see speech of Lutwyche when he was introducing the clause about 'fundamentals'; *BC*, 11 June, 1868.

⁶³ Trollope, vol.2, p. 68; the cricketing allusion was first used by R.B. Joyce, 'George Ferguson Bowen, and Robert George Wyndham Herbert; The Imported Openers', in *Queensland Political Portraits*, St Lucia, UQP, 1978, pp. 9-43. Joyce's portrayal of the close co-operation of Bowen and Herbert, especially in the crisis of 1866 would suggest this (pp. 38-40). See also, *ADB*, vol. 4, p. 203-207 for Bowen, and p. 382-385 for Herbert.

⁶⁴ *ADB*, vol. 4, p. 203 for Bowen and p. 382-385 for Herbert.

Second, the petite bourgeoisie grew in numbers. As the population grew, there were greater opportunities for salaried work in the cities and provincial towns, as for example, clerks and teachers, who contributed to this growth. The other significant contribution to the petite bourgeoisie came from the expansion of the agricultural industry as free selectors brought their small farms into production. Dairying, horticulture, cropping (including cotton, sugar, arrowroot, tobacco, and wheat) and specialised animal husbandry (horses, draught cattle, pigs, and poultry) gave families an opportunity of a measure of economic independence. Many of these selectors had come from the ranks of the labouring classes, in search of a more secure future, and also thereby contributed to the numerical decline of the labouring classes.⁶⁵

Third, in spite of the extent of the political and economic influence exercised by Anglicans in the governing and ruling classes, this elite group was never numerically large, something noticed by other historians, such as Michael Roe and Miriam Dixon.⁶⁶ The effective power of the elite was out of proportion to its numbers. Throughout the period professionals, especially architects, engineers, doctors and lawyers, were a significant part of the Anglican polity and contributed some of its members to the colonial governing class. As we will see later, they were important laymen in Anglican parishes.

⁶⁵ There was some stratification within the farming community that persisted into the twentieth century. In the context of an argument with a neighbour, Mary Carr pointed out that the Carrs had 'paid for their own passage' and had paid for their land 'with their own money', unlike the neighbour who had received an assisted passage and a land grant. This story was related to me by Miss Leila Carr who overheard the argument between her grandmother and the neighbour when she was a young girl. Pers. comm., August, 2001.

⁶⁶ Michael Roe, *Quest for Authority in Eastern Australia 1835-1851*, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1965, p. 205; Miriam Dixon, *The Real Matilda*, Ringwood, Penguin, 1976, pp. 80, 179, 199, 201. Both testify to the weakness of the colonial bourgeoisie and the strength of the working class in the moulding of national identity.