



S. ANDREW'S CATHEDRAL, SYDNEY

A CENTURY OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH IN NEW SOUTH WALES

by E. C. ROWLAND

With Foreword by
The Archbishop of
Sydney The Most Rev. H. K.
Mowll, D.D.

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FOREWORD

BY THE ARCHBISHOP OF SYDNEY

I WELCOME the appearance of this book upon the history of the Church in New South Wales and hope it may be widely read. It will prove a useful source to those seeking to learn in general outline something of the main features of church life in this country within the limits of time set by the author in addressing himself to his task. He has used his materials to good effect and presents us with a well-balanced picture of the various aspects of the story; and this one can say without committing himself to every opinion expressed.

While several writers have dealt with various features of our Church history during the first hundred years of our occupancy of this country, they have usually confined themselves, however, to giving an account of some particular person or institution; and although in the treatment of their subjects they have dwelt to some extent on the general setting or background, neither the individual nor combined results of their labours give us that connected and orderly grasp of the whole which, happily, is provided by Mr Rowland. Throughout the book he takes us back to original sources, and the reader will find satisfaction and confidence in noting that the book is well documented. It includes a useful bibliography which will be of much service to those who wish to pursue further a study of the subject, a study which I am sure the present volume will help to stimulate and encourage.

HOWARD SYDNEY.

PREFACE

IN presenting this short study, I have endeavoured to preserve a happy medium between a historical thesis and a light popular reader, and for the benefit of those who would read further I have appended a bibliography.

I should like to express my thanks to two fellow Councillors of the Royal Australian Historical Society for their invaluable help. First, to Dr G. Mackaness, who advised and assisted me throughout the preparation of the book. Secondly, to Mr C. H. Bertie, who put at my disposal a considerable amount of material, dealing in particular with Bishop Broughton. The Rev. Frank Cash most obligingly gave me the benefit of his vast experience in preparing the photographs. It was a help I greatly appreciated. Others to whom I should like to express my thanks are Miss Ida Leeson and her staff at the Mitchell Library, Sydney, Mr J. H. Hornibrook, of the Oxley Library, Brisbane, the Hon. T. D. Mutch, Mr C. A. Bell, of Cranbrook School, the Secretaries of both C.M.S. and A.B.M., Mr Ransome T. Wyatt, Mrs R. P. Leslie, Miss M. M. Oxley, and Mr James Jervis, who contributed the section of Chapter 12 dealing with the Rev. W. B. Clarke.

To the Bishop of Newcastle, Dr. F. de Witt-Batty, and Monsignor Eris O'Brien I am grateful for their helpful criticism of my manuscript, and to His Grace, the Archbishop of Sydney, I offer my respectful thanks for his foreword.

E. C. ROWLAND.

*Cranbrook School,
Bellevue Hill,
June, 1943.*

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INTRODUCTION

THE loss of the American colonies by Britain in the War of Independence deprived her of a receptacle for the surplus convict population from the overcrowded jails of England, Scotland and Ireland. As if ordained by providence, Captain James Cook, R.N., had just completed the survey and exploration of the eastern coast of Australia and had claimed possession of it for the English King, naming the land New South Wales. Acting on the reports of Cook and Sir Joseph Banks, the botanist who had sailed with Cook, the British Government decided to form a convict settlement on the shores of Botany Bay. Here Cook had stayed for some days exploring the neighbourhood. The control of the settlement was placed in the hands of Arthur Phillip, captain of the Navy, who arrived at Botany Bay in January, 1788. Realizing very quickly that the site chosen was not suitable for a settlement, he explored the coast and entered the beautiful Sydney Harbour, then called Port Jackson, which Cook had seen and named but not entered. Thither the settlement was transferred and on 26 January it was formally proclaimed as a Crown Colony. As one of the officers of the First Fleet, came Richard Johnson the chaplain, the first of a line of many clergymen who ministered, some worthily and some unworthily, to the mixed population of officers, convicts and free settlers.

CHAPTER I

INFLUENCES BEHIND THE FIRST CHAPLAINS

To appreciate fully the work of the early chaplains, the pioneers of the Christian Church in the Colony of New South Wales, it would be well first to see something of the men and the institutions at home which supported and influenced them, and, in some cases, were even responsible for their appointments. The official Church of the time unfortunately did not display an unbounded interest in the colonizing scheme at Botany Bay. It was left largely to societies and individuals to furnish and encourage the chaplains in various ways.

One who stands out very prominently on this early stage was William Wilberforce, the friend of the slaves. The more one reads about his activities in the early days of the colony, the more one is led to compare him to the "Father of New South Wales", Sir Joseph Banks. In the ecclesiastical sphere, he shows the same interest, offers advice and moves the Home authorities to action in the same way as the great scientist did in matters temporal. As the early Governors were in constant touch with Banks about the development of the settlement from the point of view of agriculture, government and economics,¹ so the early chaplains wrote fre-

1. See *Sir Joseph Banks*, by G. Mackaness, for evidence of this correspondence.

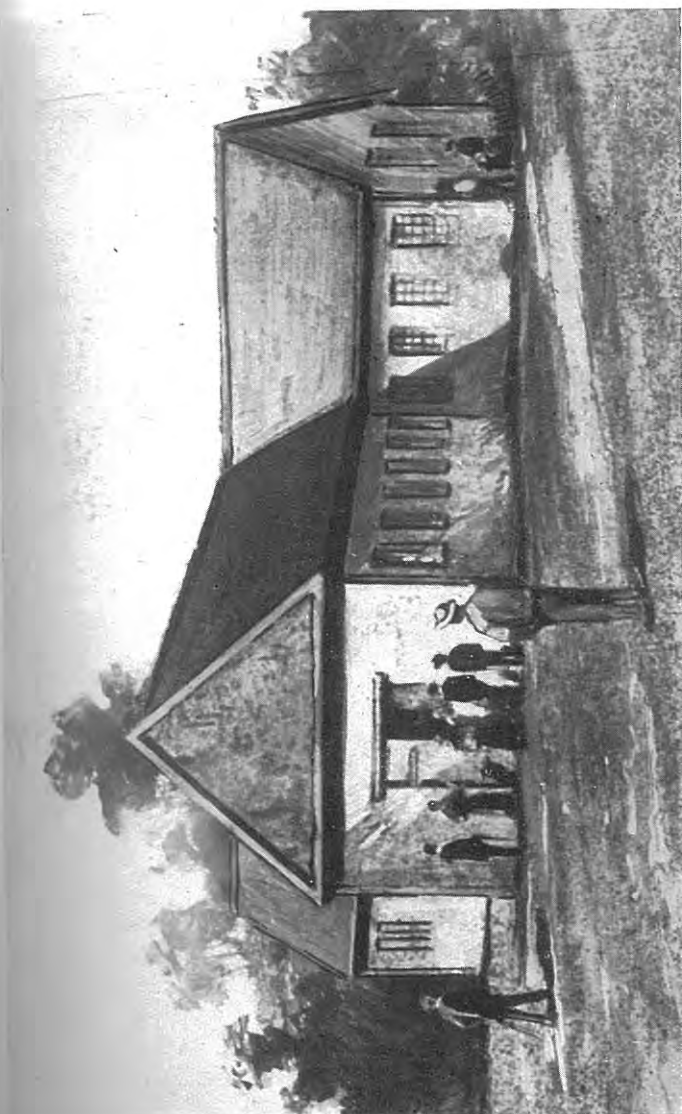
quently to Wilberforce to ask his advice or solicit his intervention in London on their behalf.

William Wilberforce was descended from a well-known Yorkshire family. Born at Hull, he was endowed with a feeble frame, but with rich mental gifts, an inheritance from his mother. He was educated at Hull Grammar School till his father's death and was then transferred to Pocklington Endowed School. He passed on to Cambridge University, where he was a student of S. John's. The deaths of his father and grandfather left him an independent fortune. Then followed a life of social pleasures and neglected studies, which he never ceased to regret in later years, although he was successful in his examinations. He was elected Member of Parliament for his native town in 1780 and found his way in the fast political society of London. Here he came to know William Pitt, an acquaintanceship which developed into a friendship so intimate that Pitt could write:

What I would ask of you as a mark, both of your friendship and of the candour which belongs to your mind, is to open yourself fully and without reserve to one who, believe me, does not know how to separate your happiness from his own.²

A journey to Nice with Dr Isaac Milner led to his conversion to Evangelical Christianity and to the adoption of a more serious outlook on life. This led him to new activities, and in 1788 he was busy with the establishment of a society for the reformation of manners; and, after meeting Clarkson, we see him actively interested in the abolition of slavery. The story of his work in this connexion is so well known that it is unnecessary to repeat it.

2. *Private Papers of Wm. Wilberforce*, edited by G. A. M. Wilberforce, pp. 13-14.



THE FIRST CHURCH IN AUSTRALIA, BUILT BY REV. RICHARD JOHNSON

He was also responsible, in 1801, for the publication of the *Christian Observer*, which he used as a medium for the expression of his ideas and for a discussion of current affairs with "a moderate degree of political and common intelligence". He also showed an interest in the Association for the Better Observance of Sunday and in the foundation by Hannah More of schools at Cheddar.

Such then is the man who became the guide, philosopher and friend to both Richard Johnson, the first chaplain, and Samuel Marsden, the second chaplain to the penal colony of New South Wales at Sydney. He presented the name of the former to Pitt (on the recommendation of the Eclectic Society of which he was a member) as a suitable choice for the post of chaplain to the colony. On his recommendation Johnson was accepted and the appointment authorized by Lord Sydney.

Extracts of letters written during the early years of the settlement show his keen and active interest in the work of the pioneer priests and in the schools under their care. The following examples may serve to illustrate this.

The first is from a letter of Charles Middleton to Mr Evan Nepean, Under-Secretary to the Colonies, dated 29 July, 1789, and reads:

On my coming to town on Monday, I found a note from Mr Wilberforce, desiring I would get an Order sent down to Lieutenant Riou (of the "Guardian") to receive on board the Rev. John Crowther and his servant, Joseph White, for their passage to Port Jackson.

This clergyman, however, suffered shipwreck near the Cape of Good Hope and, after being rescued, returned to England and gave up his intention of coming to New South Wales.

Another letter, from Wilberforce to Lord Dun-

das, dated 7 August, 1792, speaks of the need for more chaplains to serve at Port Jackson. It says:

Ever since I spoke to you in the chaise, as we were coming from Wimbledon, I have been looking out for some fit clergyman to go as Chaplain to New South Wales. . . . I heard of a clergyman of the name of Porter, who, tho' reluctantly, has consented to accept the situation, and who is everyway qualified for it. I wrote without delay to the Archbishop. . . . Two clergymen, one at each settlement, are altogether unequal to the task of watching over such large societies in that attentive way that is to be desired. I wish you would send out another or two, and what is of still more importance, and what I have been for some time turning in my mind, I wish you would send out a few persons with small salaries to take on them the office of Schoolmasters.

This interest in the children of the colony and their education is seen in two further extracts. In the first, Wilberforce writes to the Secretary of State, under the date 2 August, 1794, recommending Lieutenant Dawes, formerly of the First Fleet, who is contemplating returning to New South Wales as a free settler. He states that he is a valuable moral agent, and, as an idea of his own, suggests Dawes might be used as an inspector of schools in the colony. In the second letter, one to Lord Castlereagh dated 9 November, 1805, he urges the appointment of school-teachers as only 100 of 1800 children in the colony are receiving instruction. He mentions that he himself had tried to find suitable persons, but unsuccessfully.³ He concluded:

If the education of the youth of the Colony were attended to, all the rest of the moral evils would begin to abate. Without this they must all increase and multiply.

Wilberforce figures prominently in the correspondence dealing with Johnson's complaints about the treatment of himself by those in authority and,

3. *H.R. of N.S.W.*, vol. v, pp. 727-8-9.

in particular, by Grose. In writing to Governor Hunter on the subject on 5 July, 1798, Johnson said:

I, therefore, only beg leave to inform your Excellency, that I have at different times given my friends in England full and ample information upon this general, and to me painful subject. Either his Lordship, the Bishop of London, or Mr Wilberforce, I believe, is at this time in the possession of those papers.

In another letter from Johnson, this time to Lord Dundas, complaining of his treatment by Grose, particularly over his claim for payment of expenses incurred in building the first church, the chaplain said: "This . . . has induced me to write home more fully upon the subject. These papers I have transmitted to my honoured friend, Mr Wilberforce, to whom I beg leave to refer you."

Wilberforce wrote to Dundas, recommending the payment, which he urged was very moderate, to Johnson. His intervention was successful, and Governor Hunter was authorized to reimburse the chaplain, if he was satisfied as to the correctness of the accounts.

Correspondence with Marsden is more frequent than with the first chaplain, and shows a close co-operation between the two men. In 1797 Marsden writes to tell Wilberforce of the good news that a church building has been begun at Parramatta. He regrets that the completion of the Sydney church is unlikely for a while. He also explains the difficulties under which the Governor is working, and in particular mentions the low moral state of the colony and of the officers of the New South Wales Corps. On 6 February, 1800 he writes again to draw Wilberforce's attention to the neglect of the orphans in the settlement. No proper pro-

vision has been made for their education, a vital factor when one considers the moral state of the colony. He goes on to say that it might be easily made to appear that a proper establishment for these children would eventually be a great saving to the nation, in addition to the religious, civil and moral advantages which would accrue to the colony.

Urging Wilberforce to represent the position on behalf of the Governor and himself to the Home authorities, he states that the orphans are brought up in idleness, uncleanness and robbery, and are scattered up and down in every part of this colony.

In this, Marsden's representations are successful, for he tells Wilberforce in August, 1801 that after many difficulties the orphan school at Sydney is at length opened for the reception of sixty girls. He views this institution as the foundation of religion and morality in this colony.

In 1819 Marsden was under discussion by the English authorities, following Macquarie's accusations against him in a letter to Viscount Sidmouth. T. F. Buxton, a member of the Investigating Committee of Prison Welfare, wrote to the chaplain to assure him of his friends' active support of his cause. He said (the letter is dated 7 May):

Be assured of this, you have friends in the Committee who will guard your reputation as if it were their own. Mr Wilberforce, Mr Bennett and myself all feel that it is with us a matter of Sacred duty to protect you from that gross injustice. . . .

Wilberforce, too, was interested in Marsden's work with the Maoris. He was one of the deputation from the Church Missionary Society (of which he was Vice-President) who waited on Sir Thomas Brisbane, before his departure from London, to assure him of the Society's interest and approval

of Marsden's missionary endeavours in New Zealand.

There can be no doubt, therefore, that Wilberforce exerted considerable influence in the affairs of the early Church of New South Wales, and did much to lighten the burdens of the early chaplains, and for this the Church owes him a great debt of gratitude.

Of the societies which played a part in the early years, the first which calls for our attention is the Eclectic Society, for it selected the first chaplain. It was an association of devout evangelicals, not limited to members of the Church of England, formed for the spiritual uplift of Christianity generally. By general discussion of problems of the day and by practical action, they hoped to forward the cause of Christian truth. The following is the statement made at the society's foundation:

We, the underwritten, propose to form a Society for the investigation of Religious Truth, and as, among the several names by which the professors of Christianity are distinguished, some have clearer views of particular truths than others, it is the intention of this society not to confine their choice of members to any particular denomination, that they may contemplate truth under the various aspects and adopt it wherever it is found. In reference to which design they call themselves "THE ECLECTIC SOCIETY".

(Signed) THE REV. JOHN NEWTON
ELI BATES
THE REV. HENRY FOSTER
THE REV. RICHARD CECIL⁴

Amongst its members were William Wilberforce, the Rev. Charles Simeon of Cambridge, the Rev. John Venn, Rector of Clapham, the Rev. W. Bull, Rector of Newport Pagnell, the Rev. John Good and the Rev. John Clayton, nonconformists, Mr John

4. *Australia's First Preacher*, by James Bonwick (1859), p. 34.

Thornton, the philanthropist, Mr. Bacon, the sculptor, William Cowper, the poet, and Mr La Trobe, Moravian father of the first Lieutenant-Governor of Victoria.

Of the signatories of the document quoted above, the Rev. John Newton, the poet-preacher of Olney, was a well-known evangelical churchman of his day. He remained in constant touch with the first chaplain to the colony, encouraging him in his many moments of despair and advising him in times of difficulty.

The meetings of the Eclectic Society were first held in S. John's Chapel Vestry in Bedford Row, belonging to the Rev. R. Cecil. Later they gathered at the Castle and Falcon, a noted hotel in Falcon Square, off Aldersgate Street. The next move was to the vestry of S. Thomas, Chancery Lane, and finally to the offices of the Pastoral Aid Society.

It was from among the members of this group that, in 1799, came the foundation of the Church Missionary Society, following the discussion of the Rev. C. Simeon's papers: "With what propriety and in what mode can a mission be attempted to the heathen from the Established Church?"

Wilberforce had asked the Eclectics to discuss the question of selecting a suitable person to send as chaplain with the Fleet to Botany Bay, and to submit a name to him that it might be presented to the Prime Minister for confirmation and appointment. The Rev. John Newton introduced, as a suitable selection, the name of Richard Johnson, who had just received priest's orders. The Society having approved of the nomination on 24 October, 1786, Johnson received his official commission from Viscount Sydney. He kept the society in touch

with his activities through his letters to Newton, and attended several gatherings of the society after his return to England in 1800.

The choice of the second chaplain was made by the Elland Society, another group of evangelicals, chiefly in the Yorkshire district, and all members of the Church of England. They were an association who set out to give encouragement in their spiritual life to the clergy of the district and to assist young men of enlightened zeal and suitable talents with a means of obtaining an education with a view to Holy orders. It received its name from the chapelry of Halifax, where the quarterly meetings were held. It was founded by the Rev. Henry Venn, Vicar of Huddersfield, to whom, for a long period, the cause of the evangelical truth in the Church of England was much indebted. It still exists, though since 1843 its meetings have been held in Huddersfield, where the very earliest of the meetings had been conducted. Its membership is limited to thirty, who are selected in such a manner as to safeguard the distinctive features of the society. In its early days its funds were supplied by Thornton, the philanthropist, Simeon, Wilberforce and others like-minded with themselves.

To this society, Samuel Marsden was introduced by his friend, the Rev. Mr Whittaker, a neighbouring clergyman. He became one of the earliest of those men helped to Holy Orders. He was made a probationer of the society and followed a preliminary course of study under the Rev. E. Storrs, Vicar of Rawdon, near Leeds, and the Rev. Miles Atkinson, of S. Paul's, Leeds. He was then sent to Hull Grammar School under the Rev. Joseph Milner. After two years there, he entered Cambridge as

sizar of Magdalene Hall a day before his twenty-sixth birthday. Marsden always felt that he owed much to this society, and when his financial circumstances permitted it he made arrangements for a regular money order to be sent to the treasurer as a token of his appreciation.

The Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge added its contribution to the work of the early chaplains in the form of a plentiful supply of prayer books, Bibles and tracts. The society owed its origin in 1698 to the energies of Dr Thomas Bray, Rector of Sheldon, Warwickshire. With four lay friends he formed an association which agreed to "consult (under the conduct of Divine Providence and assistance) how we may be able by due and lawful methods to promote Christian knowledge". The new society was to provide schools and literature for that purpose, for they felt that "the growth of vices and immorality is greatly owing to the gross ignorance of the principles of the Christian religion".⁵ It was to this society that the first chaplain turned for help in the way of literature to aid him in his work. In response to a message from the Archbishop of Canterbury, S.P.C.K. presented him with a large consignment. In addition to Bibles, prayer books, Testaments, psalters and catechism books, he received numerous pamphlets dealing with Christian morals and practice. These show a wide range of topics, including such titles as "Caution to Swearers", "Exercise on Lying", "Conversion", "Self-resignation", and "Dissuasives from Stealing". The society also gave him their best wishes and prayers for the success of his mission and asked that he might write to them

5. *History of the Church Missionary Society*, by E. V. Stock.

from time to time. It would be interesting to know what was the reaction of the convicts to these very moral tracts.

The other great Church society of the time was the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and with this society Australia has a lengthy connexion. It owed its origin to the energies of the same founder as S.P.C.K., who realized that, in addition to suitable literature, it was necessary to have living agents of the Faith. Dr Bray had been Commissary to the Bishop of London in Maryland, U.S.A., and had begun there to see the need for Christian missionaries. A petition was drawn up and sent to the King for the incorporation of the new society, which had the backing of the Archbishop of Canterbury. It was a public organization, with eleven bishops among its incorporated members. It was intended to cater only for the needs of the colonies and dependencies of the Crown, to serve for the spiritual benefit of "our loving subjects" who were in danger of falling into "atheism, infidelity, popish superstition and idolatry".⁶ From the beginning it showed its practical interest in the Red Indians and Negro slaves in the American colonies. It was not till it had been in existence for a century and a half that the heathen and Mohammedan worlds outside the Empire were included within its range. It is worthy of note that when John Wesley went to Georgia in 1736 he went as an S.P.G. missionary.⁷

The first Australian chaplain was in touch with the society both before and after his departure from England. Amongst the records we read of grants of Bibles, prayer books, spelling-books and

6. *ibid.*

7. *ibid.*

tracts being sent to him. We note also that small grants of £10 per annum and more, the only financial help of either Church or Government, were made to schoolmasters and catechists in the colony. The first, recorded on 25 February, 1795, were to William Webster⁸ and William Richardson, who had been teaching for a year in the school at Sydney. It was then agreed to continue the salary to such others as the Governor might deem necessary and suitable. Susanna Hunt, teacher, and Mr Haddock, catechist at Norfolk Island, were other beneficiaries under this society's early grants.

The first Bishop of Australia, William Grant Broughton, was in constant touch with S.P.G., from which he received large grants of money and many priests as missionaries. Reference to "S.P.G. Proceedings" during the years of his episcopate gives some idea of the part that society played in the life of the Church in New South Wales.

The Church Missionary Society was not in contact with the first chaplain, but supported the second in his work with the Maoris in New Zealand. Later, at the request of the British Government, it supplied missionaries to several aboriginal missions, notably to Wellington Valley and Moreton Bay.⁹

As mentioned earlier, this society owed its foundation to the discussions of the Eclectic Society. Charles Simeon's motion on 8 February, 1796 set men's minds moving in the direction of missionary work, and after many months' pondering, it appeared again in the discussions of February and

8. Of this man, Johnson later complained that he was too much addicted to drink, and treated his scholars severely. He recommended that the grant be transferred to the new school at Parramatta.

9. *History of the Church Missionary Society*, by E. V. Stock.

March, 1799. John Venn, who was the leader in these debates, urged that the whole scheme be placed under guidance of God, who would move the right type of men to offer themselves for the work of missionaries. He also pleaded that they should begin on a small scale. On 1 April, a meeting was called to prepare rules, and eleven days later a public meeting was held at which the Church Missionary Society was definitely established. Wilberforce was chosen as Vice-President.

Before leaving this introductory section, it might be fitting to mention a very popular and apparently erroneous idea that is widespread. One often reads that there was no thought on the part of the British Government of providing a chaplain for the First Fleet, and that it would have sailed without one had it not been for Wilberforce's last-minute intervention. Marsden apparently thought this, for Mr Justice Burton writes:

And here it must be remarked, upon the authority of the late Reverend Samuel Marsden, (who filled the office of Chaplain in the Colony from the year 1794 to the time of his death, the 12th May, 1838) that 'when the Fleet was on the point of sailing with the first convicts for New South Wales, in the year 1787, no clergyman had been thought of, and that a friend of his own, a pious man of some influence, anxious for the spiritual welfare of the convicts, made a strong appeal to those in authority upon the subject, and through the interest of the late Bishop Porteous with Sir Joseph Banks, the Reverend Richard Johnson was appointed chaplain'.¹⁰

Other evidence available shows that this had not been the case. Three references will perhaps serve to illustrate. The first is from an article or editorial in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, a periodical of literary

10. *State of Religion and Education in N.S.W.*, by W. W. Burton (1840), pp. 2-3.

and scientific interest, published in 1778 and quoted in the Rev. J. B. Marsden's *Life of Samuel Marsden*. In the article, the editors, under their nom-de-plume "Sylvanus Urban", complain of the extravagance of the proposed expedition to Botany Bay, and in particular draw attention to the lavish staff planned for it.

It was said that it was to consist of a post Captain, a Governor, with a salary of £500 a year, four captains, twelve subalterns, twelve sergeants and one hundred and sixty rank and file from the marines, a surgeon, *chaplain* and quarter-master.¹¹

This was written ten years before the expedition sailed. The second reference is to a letter from William Pitt to Wilberforce dated 23 September, 1786, in which Pitt says:

The Colony for Botany Bay will be much indebted to you for your assistance in providing a Chaplain. The enclosed will, however, show you that its interests have not been neglected, as well as that you have a nearer connection with them than perhaps you yourself were aware of. Seriously speaking, if you can find such a clergyman as you mention, we shall be very glad of it; but it must be soon.¹²

This shows that the matter had been in the minds of both Pitt and Wilberforce many months before the Fleet sailed. One thing which probably would delay an appointment being made would be the dearth of men willing to leave their home appointments and venture forth into a new land. This same difficulty was experienced again after the settlement began, for two men selected, Porter and Crowther, never reached their jobs. But while it assists the point under discussion, it hardly reflects

11. *The Life of The Reverend Samuel Marsden*, by J. B. Marsden, pp. 15-16.

12. *Private Papers of Wm. Wilberforce*, edited by G. A. M. Wilberforce, pp. 15-16.

credit on the Church of that time. It also shows that the Government had little real idea of the spiritual needs of the convicts when it appointed only one instead of several chaplains for that important work.

The third reference is to the fact that Richard Johnson received his appointment as chaplain on 24 October, 1786, whereas the Fleet was ordered to assemble off Portsmouth on 12 May, 1787, seven months later. The appointment of the chaplain, therefore, can hardly be said to have been a last-minute affair. There was enough time apparently for Newton and other Eclectics to wonder whether Johnson had lost his missionary fervour, as he had visited his future congregation in the Thames Hulks only once in that time. The close friendship between Wilberforce and Pitt suggests, too, that the Prime Minister discussed the matter with his friend and left it largely in his hands, simply ratifying officially the choice made when Johnson's name was submitted to him.

CHAPTER II

IN THE BEGINNING

MAJOR ROSS sent to ask me if I would be so good as to let the Governor have our marquee to take Sacrament in, which I did not refuse, and I am happy that it is to be my marquee —never did it receive so much honour. Oh, my God, my God, I wish I was fit to take the Lord's Supper. When it please Him that I return home, the first thing that I will do shall be to take It with you, my dear Betsy. I will keep His table also, as long as I live, for it is the first table that ever the Lord's Supper was eaten from in this country.

THESE words,¹ written to his wife by Lieutenant Clark, an officer of the Marines with the First Fleet, tell of a memorable day in Australian history—Sunday, 17 February, 1788, the day on which the first celebration of Holy Communion was held, and an occasion which left an indelible impression on the mind of at least one member of that early settlement. The first service on shore, followed by the first baptism had been held a fortnight previously, 3 February,² under a great tree, somewhere, it is thought, near the Macquarie Place of today. To this service the whole company paraded. A sermon was preached from the text "What shall I render unto the Lord for all His benefits towards me?" (Psalm 116, v. 12). It is probable that, the day after the arrival of the First Fleet in Port Jackson, a service was held on board the *Golden*

1. *William Grant Broughton*, by T. F. Whittington, Chapter 1.
2. "A Journal of the Voyage from Portsmouth to New South Wales and China", by Bowes. Under the date 3 February, 1788, he wrote: "This day Rev. Mr. Johnson preached on shore for the first time."

Grove, the vessel that carried the chaplain. The officiating minister at all the services was the Rev. Richard Johnson, first chaplain to the Colony of New South Wales. He was then thirty-five years of age, a Cambridge scholar who had graduated *senior optime* from Magdalene Hall. He had not been long in priest's orders when he received the appointment as chaplain at a salary of £182/10/- per annum. He was a simple-minded man, humble and sincere, but not of a very robust physique. He was rather liable to spasms of despondency. This was not improved by his sensitive nature, which led him to take offence easily.

He had been the only clergyman allowed to go with the First Fleet, an application from two Roman Catholic priests being refused, even though they offered to pay their passage and work without charge to the Government. Johnson received his commission from Viscount Sydney, for he ranked as a military chaplain, subject to "the rules and discipline of war".³ He joined the Fleet in June, 1787, and conducted service on board each Sunday when it was possible throughout the eight months' voyage.

It seems inexcusable that the authorities in the early settlement made no move towards the erection of a proper church, leaving the chaplain to perform divine worship for five years mostly in the open air, subject to the variations of weather and the seasons. Phillip had been given instructions to set aside land for the erection of a church,⁴ but beyond occasionally providing an empty storehouse

3. *H.R. of N.S.W.*, vol. i, part 2, p. 27.

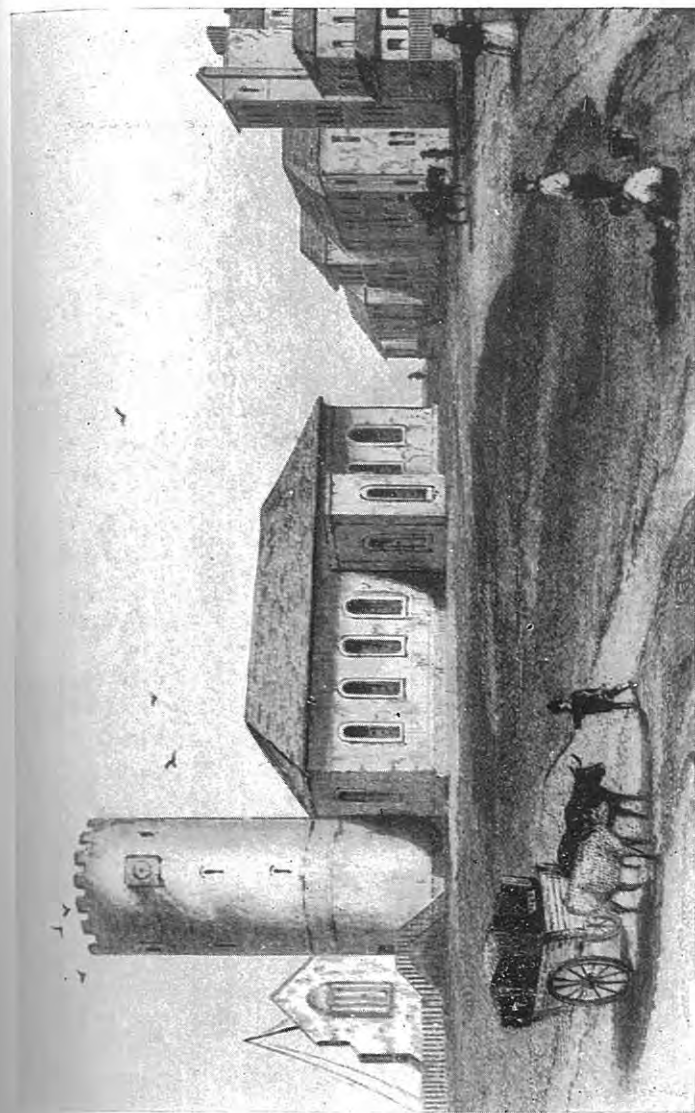
4. *ibid.*, p. 259.

for service, nothing was done. As a result the colony was still without a church when the first Governor laid down the reins of office. A visiting padre from some Spanish ships, which called at Sydney, was heard to remark on this strange omission. With his people, the House of God would have been erected first!

Relations between Phillip and Johnson do not seem to have been of the happiest, although there does not appear to have been open antagonism. One of Johnson's earliest concerns arose from the fact that the Governor asked him in his sermons to begin with moral subjects. Newton urged him to accede and preach something which was "a medium between dry detail of doctrine and a dry enforcement of moral duties".⁵ But the chaplain seems to have lacked a proper appreciation of the situation and of the people to whom he ministered. There is some good in the worst of us. Johnson failed to find that. The constant preaching of "hell-fire for the sinner" was not the strain to appeal to men who had endured the vileness of an eight-months' voyage on a convict transport and were now suffering under the harsh discipline of a convict settlement.

The early days of the colony were noticeable for the rapid decline of the moral standards of the people. With the chaplain working under difficulty from the start, his task must have appeared hopeless. From his letters to Newton from time to time, we can see he felt that way. To read of the events of the first few years from records such as we find in David Collins's *Account of the English Colony*, published in 1798, is to be presented with an appall-

5. *Jnl. and Proc., R.A.H.S.*, vol. xii, p. 243.



OLD S. PHILLIP'S, SYDNEY (WITH THE NEW CHURCH AT LEFT)

ing spectacle of thieving, brutal assault, immorality and murder. But Collins records:

Notwithstanding the pressure of the important business we had upon our hands after the landing, the discharge of our religious duties was never omitted, Divine Service being performed every Sunday that weather permitted; at which time the detachment of marines paraded with their arms, the whole body of convicts attended, and were observed to conduct themselves in general with the respect and attention due to the occasion on which they were assembled.⁶

With the foundation of another settlement at Rose Hill or Parramatta, and later at Toongabbie, the chaplain's duties were further increased. In 1790 Tench wrote that service was performed at Rose Hill morning and afternoon one Sunday every month, all the convicts being obliged to attend or lose part of their provisions.⁷ Johnson recorded that he took service at Toongabbie early in the morning (7 a.m.) when he was at Rose Hill. Then the practice was instituted of making chaplains magistrates, a practice which created considerable unpleasantness in later years as well as adding to the work of the clergyman. To these duties must be added the care of the children, a very special task for Johnson. His school on week-days and Sundays occupied much of his time. He also paid a visit to Norfolk Island, which was without a chaplain. The Lieutenant-Governor, King, mentioned in a private letter to Nepean that Johnson had administered baptism to many and had conducted several weddings. He stressed the fact that a permanent chaplain was most necessary.⁸ Johnson also wrote that besides his public duty, he had to visit the sick,

6. *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales*, by David Collins (1798).

7. *A Complete Account of the Settlement at Port Jackson*, by Watkin Tench, p. 79.

8. *H.R. of N.S.W.*, vol. i, part 2, page 564.

which, both in Sydney and Parramatta, were a great many: numbers were dying every day. Last month about sixty died, he said, and he feared, before another expired, there would again be near the same number.⁹

A request to the Governor for some assistance resulted in the chaplain of the New South Wales Corps, Mr Bain, being detailed to take the service at Parramatta. This regiment, which was to be a thorn in the side of several Governors, had just arrived to relieve the Marines brought out with the First Fleet. George Barrington, who had come out as a convict and by his faithful service had risen to the position of Superintendent, helped by taking service regularly at Toongabbie.¹⁰

With the departure of Governor Phillip in 1792, conditions for the chaplain became worse. There was open antagonism between the Lieutenant-Governor, Francis Grose, and Johnson. The former did not hesitate to snub the chaplain, an example quickly followed by many of the subordinate officers. Lack of reverence for the Supreme Being and an absence of the observance of His just and righteous precepts became prevalent throughout the colony.

The wise and useful regulations which Governor Phillip had so successfully adopted for the security and conservation of good order and public peace were in a moment almost annihilated, and a torrent of licentiousness bore down everything sacred and civil before it.¹¹

Seeing immorality, drunkenness, riots and even murders committed around him, Johnson was frequently led to protest to the authorities, but all to no avail. To Governor Hunter in later years he

9. *ibid.*, p. 601.
10. *ibid.*, p. 505.

11. *ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 437.

wrote that all such complaints and remonstrances had answered no other end than to add to the insults and pointed opposition he had already experienced.¹²

He was required to conduct the morning service at 6 a.m., and was allowed three-quarters of an hour to complete it. He records in a letter to Hunter one instance of the treatment he received:

I had got up at day break as usual, to be ready in time to perform public service. At six o'clock the drum beat for church. I met the soldiers at the place appointed, in the open air. Before I had begun, I heard the drum-major give directions to the drummers to beat off at ten minutes or a quarter before seven, as usual. Suspecting what was going on, I looked at my watch, read part of the morning service, then (without any singing) gave out my text, and had gone through half of my discourse when the drum beat, the soldiers instantly got up, took their arms, fell into their ranks, and marched away. Judge you, sir, what must have been my astonishment and concern. I looked around, and saw about half a dozen convicts standing behind me, but (such were my feelings on this occasion) I could not go on with my discourse and therefore returned home, greatly distressed in mind at such barefaced profanity and infidelity.¹³

He continued to complain to Newton of his treatment by those in authority. His friend and counsellor tried to raise his spirits. In his replies to Johnson, he treats the various points of dissatisfaction and hints that the chaplain is too sensitive and too concerned about his position as a gentleman and a clergyman to be really effective. Johnson had written that he did not suppose the Government meant him to use axe or spade, but this he had done day after day; his duty as a clergyman fully took up all his time and his constitution would not stand up to it. He had been in poor health since he came to the colony, and had suffered

12. *ibid.*, p. 434.

13. *ibid.*, p. 433.

so much from rheumatic pains and weakness that he could scarcely go through the duties of his office.¹⁴

He complained that he had not the time to give to reading and study, which he longed to do. Newton counselled him that preaching, reading and study, etc., are of first consideration; but if necessity required him to work with his hands to procure necessary sustenance for his family, it was a part of his calling as well.¹⁵

In another letter Newton tried to inspire him with the thought that he was sent to lay the foundation upon which others would build. It would be more clearly seen by posterity than at present that the Lord directed and upheld him. He had been slighted and despised by those who ought to have assisted and encouraged him, but he had not failed.¹⁶

In spite of these grumbles, Johnson seems to have been very successful on the farm he had at Canterbury, to which he had to travel eight miles. Captain Tench, an agricultural inspector of the colony, recorded in 1790:—

Next morning walked around the whole of the cleared and cultivated land with the Rev. Mr Johnson, who is the best farmer in the country.¹⁷

Newton wrote to the chaplain in August, 1796:

Methinks I see you, like Abraham and Isaac whom the Lord blessed. You have flocks, if not herds, chickens, and pigs, and ducks, and I suppose, men servants and women servants.¹⁸

14. *ibid.*, vol. i, part 2, p. 602.

15. Letter from Newton to Johnson, dated 29 March, 1794.

16. *H.R. of N.S.W.*, vol. ii, p. 27.

17. *A Complete Account of the Settlement at Port Jackson*, by Watkin Tench, p. 75.

18. *H.R. of N.S.W.*, vol. iii, p. 90.

For five years he had preached wherever he could persuade a congregation to gather; first under the great tree until it was cut down; in a new store-room till he was turned out to make room for the stores; in an old boat-shed, open at the sides, and which he said was not fit or safe for a stable or cowhouse—any place was good enough for a parson.¹⁹ He found his health so impaired by exposure to the weather that he dreaded Sunday for the consequences he would suffer.

Finding all requests for a suitable church ignored, Johnson himself decided to take in hand the building of a temporary place of worship. This church stood where Hunter, Bligh and Castlereagh Streets meet today. Here a monument has been erected, and every year the clergy and people of the Church in Sydney commemorate the event and hold a service of thanksgiving. The building was of wattle and daub, T-shaped, the nave being seventy-five feet long and the east end and transepts ninety-five feet across. It was capable of seating five hundred persons, and was furnished with a Holy table, font, prayer-desk and pulpit. In addition to being the architect, Johnson also helped with the building. It cost in all £76 12s. 11½d., of which he paid £59 18s. 6d., in Spanish dollars, and the remainder in provisions and spirits.²⁰ The first service was held on 25 August, 1793.

He had some difficulty in persuading the authorities at home to reimburse him for the expense of its construction. When Lieutenant-Governor Grose forwarded the claim and the estimate of expenses,

19. *Jnl. and Proc.*, R.A.H.S., vol. xii, p. 250.

20. *Australian Encyclopædia*, vol. i.

he gave Lord Dundas clearly to understand that he did not approve of it or the chaplain, and thought the charge was excessive. Johnson wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury and to Wilberforce to explain his actions and to refute Grose's allegation that he was "a very troublesome and discontented character". The claim was eventually paid after a lapse of three and a half years. The whole episode hardly redounds to the credit of the authorities involved.

Assistance for Johnson was forthcoming shortly after the church was opened, when the Reverend Samuel Marsden arrived as assistant-chaplain in March, 1794. After a brief visit to Norfolk Island in June of the same year, Marsden was assigned duties centred in Parramatta, where he was successful, two years later, in having erected a temporary church. Johnson then launched an appeal to the colonists in the form of a pastoral letter, the first instance of free publication in Australia. The dedication ran thus:

To all the inhabitants, and especially to the unhappy Prisoners and Convicts, of the Colonies established at Port Jackson and Norfolk Island, this affectionate Address is dedicated and presented by their very sincere and sympathising friend and faithful servant in the Gospel of Christ, Richard Johnson.

After explaining why he had written the message he goes on:

I beseech you, brethren, suffer this word of exhortation. Your souls are precious. They are precious in the sight of God. They are precious to the Lord Jesus Christ. They are precious in my esteem. O that you yourselves were equally sensible of their value. . . .²¹

It was a singularly genuine message to the people under his care, calling them to seek a state of grace.

21. *Australia's First Preacher*, by James Bonwick, p. 157, *et seq.*

But it was a sick man who was found ministering to them upon the arrival in the colony of the second Governor, Captain John Hunter.

The new commander-in-chief was much more helpful to the chaplains than his predecessors in office. He was alarmed at the low moral standards prevailing in the settlement and did all he could to raise them and assist those who were striving to do the same. Attendance at church each Sunday was made compulsory, and a more serious attitude to worship required of the convicts.²² Magistrates and officers were asked to assist in this order both by precept and example. Hunter made strong efforts to suppress the rum traffic, which had spread rapidly through the colony, but here he found himself up against the officers of the New South Wales Corps, who had a virtual monopoly of the trade. Several public houses were closed in an endeavour to lessen the prevalence of drunkenness. He requested Chaplains Johnson and Marsden and Surgeon Arndell to make an exhaustive inquiry into the state of the colony and the grievances of the settlers, but the sound advice he offered when those gentlemen had sent him their reports seems to have fallen on deaf ears. The officers of the Corps in particular opposed his reforms, and eventually made things so unpleasant for him that he was recalled by the British Government.

A set-back to the work of the clergy occurred in October, 1798, when the temporary church was burnt down. All assistance in trying to save it was of no avail, and it was reduced to ashes in two hours. No doubt was left in the official mind that it had been deliberately fired by some convict who

22. Government and General Order, dated 27 August, 1798.

objected to the Governor's edict concerning compulsory attendance at church. It was hoped, no doubt, by this act to render the order of no value. But the Governor thought otherwise. To quote Collins again:

The perpetrators of this mischief were, however, disappointed in their expectations, for the Governor, justly deeming this act to have been the motive, and highly irritated at such a shameful act, resolved, if no convenient place could immediately be found for the performance of public worship, that instead of Sunday being employed as each should propose to himself, the whole of the labour gangs should be employed on that day in erecting another building for that purpose. It happened, however, that a large shore-house was just at that time finished, and not being immediately wanted, it was fitted up as a church; and thus not a single Sunday was lost by this wicked design.²³

A reward of £30 and an offer of absolute pardon were unavailing in the efforts to arrest the culprit.

The time had now come to start the building of permanent churches. In 1797 one had been begun at Parramatta. In October, 1798, seven days after the burning of the temporary church, Hunter laid the foundation of another at Sydney. These churches were later designated S. John's, Parramatta (after Hunter), and S. Phillip's, Sydney (after Governor Phillip).

Johnson felt that the time had come for him to resign his charge, and he applied to the Colonial Office for leave of absence owing to failing health.²⁴ His attacks of sickness had become more frequent and severe, and were preventing his discharging the functions of his office as he felt he ought. "Every lapse," he wrote in 1798, "leaves me still weaker and weaker." His doctors told him that his only

23. *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales*, by David Collins, vol. ii.

24. *H.R. of N.S.W.*, vol. iii, p. 416.

hope of recovery was to return to England. Leave was eventually granted, and he returned home in the *Buffalo* in company with Hunter. Marsden then became senior chaplain.

Johnson received poor recognition of his pioneer work from the mother Church. A country curacy at West Thurcock, near Grays in Essex, was all that was offered to him some time after his return. He had presented a memorial to Lord Hobart for some satisfactory reward for his services, but his appeal was forgotten in the whirl of public affairs. Later he was offered a London living, St Antholin's, where he died at the age of 74, after seventeen years' service.²⁵ A tablet to his memory was erected in the porch of St Andrew's Cathedral, Sydney, as an Australian tribute to his noble work. Other tributes to his sincere devotion to duty are worth recording. Some of the convicts amongst whom he had worked declared "they did not believe that there was so good a man beside in the world". His pastoral interest in his flock has been recorded by one young man in Sydney at the height of the famine period. "I believe," he wrote, "few of the sick would recover if it was not for the kindness of the Rev. Mr Johnson, whose assistance out of his own stores makes him the physician both of soul and body."²⁶

Ida Lee, in her book *The Coming of the English*, wrote of him that no one in that small company proved more earnest, more painstaking, or held office more faithfully than the chaplain of the *Sirius*.²⁷

He had persevered in the face of great difficulties,

25. *Australia's First Preacher*, by James Bonwick, p. 260.

26. *ibid.*, p. 168.

27. *The Coming of the British to Australia*, by Ida Lee, p. 263.

and though often tempted to give up his work, he remained amidst the godlessness and apathy that surrounded him. "Never, surely," he wrote in 1791, "was a man and a minister more exercised and tried with the crooked and ungodly ways of sinners, and few, I believe, have met with more or greater trials in worldly matters, considering my status and office . . . but I have no immediate intention of returning to Europe. I am persuaded I am where God aims and intends me to be."²⁸

A year later he tells Newton that by the Grace of God he is resolved to go on in the discharge of his duty till he can hold out no longer. Only then will he give up and leave the people to spend their sabbaths wholly like heathens.²⁹

With his departure, the first chapter, a unique one in the history of the Church in the colony, was closed.

28. From an original letter in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, dated 4 October, 1791.

29. *Australia's First Preacher*, by James Bonwick, pp. 89-90.

CHAPTER III

FARMER, MAGISTRATE AND MINISTER

YESTERDAY, I was in the field assisting in getting in my wheat. Today I have been sitting in the Civil Court hearing the complaints of the people. Tomorrow if well must ascend the pulpit and preach to my people.¹

WRITING to a friend in England not long after his arrival, the Rev. Samuel Marsden thus describes the extent and variety of his work in the colony. His duties, however, were to be further increased, for the Rev. Richard Johnson, the senior chaplain, soon resigned and returned to England, leaving him for many years the sole priest for the settlement.

Samuel Marsden was thirty years of age when he arrived in Sydney. Like Johnson, he had been educated at Hull Free Grammar School and Magdalene Hall, Cambridge.² His parents had been influenced, it would appear, by the religious revival sponsored by John Wesley, an influence which was passed on to their son, for he became a Methodist local preacher.^{3, 4} Aided by the Elland Society, he

1. *Some Private Correspondence of the Rev. Samuel Marsden and Family, 1794-1824*, edited by G. Mackaness, p. 17.

2. Now Magdalene College, Cambridge.

3. *Samuel Marsden*, by S. M. Johnstone, Chapter I.

4. The term "Methodist" was frequently applied to members of the Eclectic Society and the first two chaplains. Lieut.-Governor Grose referred to Johnson as "one of those troublesome people called 'Methodists'". This did not imply separation from the Church in those days, for Methodism had not then become another denomination. It meant rather an extreme type of low churchman. Wesley himself remained a loyal member of the Church of England till his death in 1791. It was not till the plan of Pacification was issued in 1795 that a move towards separation began. (*A New History of Methodism* by W. J. Townsend and others, p. 386).

passed through the university to Holy Orders. When the possibility of becoming a chaplain to the new settlement in New South Wales was mentioned to him, he saw there an opportunity for the missionary work in which he was so keenly interested. He sacrificed his degree, and was ordained by the Bishop of Exeter for the Archbishop of Canterbury on 26 May, 1793. He sailed in July of the same year for the colony where he was to minister until his death in 1835 at the age of seventy-three.

He was stationed at Parramatta, which for long years was to be the centre of his activities. He found no church awaiting him, and used the barrack square each Sunday for divine worship. He was soon introduced to the duties of magistrate, for he had not been in the colony more than ten days when he was present at the trial of two housebreakers who were found guilty and sentenced to death.

With Johnson's departure, Marsden was left alone to carry out the religious duties for the whole colony. Norfolk Island had been added to his parish since the newly appointed chaplain, Crowther, had turned back after shipwreck on the way out. He was wont to preach at Parramatta in the morning, and ride to Sydney for a later service. The other growing centres were visited during the week, as official duties permitted. To relieve the situation somewhat, several members of a band of missionaries from Tahiti, who had sought refuge in Sydney, were called upon to help as catechists and teachers. They had been evacuated with their families owing to the troublesome state of the natives of the islands. They had been kindly received by the Governor, Captain Hunter, and the chaplains. Some had decided to settle on land

offered them by the Governor, while one or two returned home to look for other avenues of service. Marsden called upon them for help, especially with the children. Rowland Hassall, whose son was eventually ordained, had been stationed at Ryde or Kissing Point, where he was successful in having a church erected by the voluntary work of settlers. It was opened by Johnson on 16 July, 1800, the Rev. Samuel Marsden assisting. Pascoe Crook and James Cover worked at Parramatta and Toongabbie, and William Henry was stationed in the Hawkesbury district.

The turn of the century saw the opening of new churches both in central and outlying districts. Marsden had been able to procure a temporary church at Parramatta by the conversion of two cottages into a suitable building. In addition to the church mentioned at Ryde, one was opened at Green Hills or Windsor in 1802, and the permanent church at Parramatta consecrated in 1803. The new church in Sydney, started by Hunter in 1798, was, however, not finished for several years. The first attempt at parochial organization occurred about this time. Governor King, in a Government and General Order of 23 July, 1802, declared that in all spiritual, judicial and parochial proceedings the district of Sydney and its surrounds be comprised within a parish to be named "S. Phillip's" in honour of the first Governor. The districts of Parramatta and its surroundings were to be included within a parish named "S. John's" in honour of the late Governor, Captain John Hunter. The churches being built at Sydney and Parramatta were to be dedicated to S. Phillip and S. John.

Marsden, like Johnson, was attacked by depres-

sion at times, and his letters to a London friend, Mrs Stokes, show that he felt the hopelessness of his work in the colony. The following extracts will illustrate this despair:

Satan's Kingdom seems to be so fully established and his power and influence so universal among us that nothing but an uncommon display of Almighty power can shake his throne. My situation becomes disgusting and painful to the last degree. I long to quit the Colony and retire from such scenes of ungodliness and wrong.⁵

The monopolies, extortions and the oppressions of the great, and the wickedness, poverty and ruin of the inhabitants . . . must become a national concern speedily or you will hear of the murder of the greatest part of us by and by.⁶

After all one's caution, troubles will come; they must be expected while we live in the midst of unreasonable and wicked men.⁷

He found relief for his spirit in the work of establishing the female orphan school at Parramatta. Very soon there were thirty girls in residence with more to come. Help and encouragement in the work were given by those in authority, so that Marsden could proudly report to his friends in London that he had spent an evening with them for the first time and made a beginning in instructing them in the principles of Christianity.⁸

In 1807 Marsden returned to England to endeavour to enlist the services of several new chaplains. He had been able to leave the spiritual care of the colony in the hands of the Rev. Henry Fulton, who had come out in unusual circumstances. He had been ordained in Ireland in 1794, and had unguardedly sympathized with the rebels in a political

5. *Some Private Correspondence of the Rev. Samuel Marsden and Family 1794-1824*, edited by G. Mackaness, p. 21.

6. *ibid.*, p. 23.

7. *ibid.*, p. 27.

8. *ibid.*, p. 27.

rising. He had been deported to New South Wales in 1800, but upon receiving a pardon, he had been restored to his former walk of life by Lieutenant-Governor King. He was also permitted to resume his ministerial functions. He served in New South Wales, and records tell us of one occasion when he preached at Hawkesbury.⁹ As the Rev. Charles Haddock had declined to come to Norfolk Island after being appointed through King's interest, Fulton was sent there as chaplain. King spoke highly of the manner in which he carried out his duties.¹⁰ His transfer to Sydney gave Marsden the long-awaited opportunity to visit England.¹¹ Some of Marsden's parishioners presented him with a highly complimentary address before leaving, the signatories being from all classes. It spoke of their gratitude for his "pious, humane, exemplary conduct in the various and arduous situations" in which he served, and assured him that his "sanctity, philanthropy and disinterested character" would ever remain an example to future ministers.¹² He was fortunate thus to escape being involved in the insurrection which led to Governor Bligh's arrest early in 1808, in which he felt he was bound to be embroiled, for he had fallen foul of the officers of the troublesome New South Wales Corps, who were the instigators of the rebellion. In a letter to Sir Joseph Banks written while in England, he said:

It was well for me that I was out of the way when the disturbances took place in N.S. Wales or I should have had

9. *H.R. of N.S.W.*, vol. iv, p. 259.

10. *ibid.*, vol. v, p. 116.

11. *ibid.*, vol. vi, p. 21.

12. From an original document in the family papers. Quoted from *Samuel Marsden*, by S. M. Johnstone, pp. 66-7.

a good share in their Resentment. They have got my private Papers to Governor Bligh which contain some pretty pointed references; such as will not tend to conciliate their former good will toward me.¹³

Fulton remained loyal to Bligh in the rebellion and was suspended by Johnston and Paterson. He returned to England with Bligh, the colony being thus left without the ministrations of a priest.

Marsden was successful in his quest for new chaplains, two arriving in the colony. The Rev. W. Cowper landed in 1809 and the Rev. Robert Cartwright accompanied Marsden on his return in 1810. The former was stationed at S. Phillip's, Sydney, and the latter appointed to Windsor. Just before Marsden's return, a new Governor, Lachlan Macquarie, Colonel of the Black Watch, arrived with his regiment to take control of the colony. Soon a very different official attitude to the work of the Church prevailed. By a series of Government and General Orders, arrangements were made for all classes of the community to attend church. Troops paraded at 8 a.m. and free settlers, convicts, servants and ticket-of-leave men attended the later morning service. There was also an afternoon service. Laws were promulgated to punish sabbath-breakers, so that a due observance of Sunday became the expected duty of all residents. The chaplains were required to keep proper records of baptisms, weddings and funerals. A regular scale of fees was drawn up for parson, clerk and sexton for these occasions, although convicts were exempt from payment.

Macquarie was a man who evidently believed that religion was an important element in a nation's welfare. As a con-

13. From an unpublished letter to Sir Joseph Banks quoted in *Sir Joseph Banks*, by G. Mackaness, pp. 135-6.

sequence of this belief, whenever the population became concentrated in any district, he held that they should have a church to worship in, and a clergyman to minister to them.¹⁴

S. James's, Sydney, S. Matthew's, Windsor, S. Luke's, Liverpool, S. Peter's, Campbelltown and S. Thomas's, Port Macquarie were churches he had erected. They remain today as a tribute to this great Governor. In the early stages Marsden was able to work easily with Macquarie, although later, through mutual distrust, they were at daggers drawn. He found the Governor a willing helper in any scheme to improve the moral and spiritual tone of the inhabitants.

Through chance contacts with vessels trading with New Zealand, Marsden had come to know the Maori people. He admired them and felt a keen desire to take the message of the Gospel to them. "They are a noble race," he wrote to John Terry, "vastly superior in understanding to anything you can imagine in a savage race." While in England in 1808 and 1809, he presented their case to the Church Missionary Society and procured from them offers of help. On the ship coming back he met a young Maori chief, Duaterra, who had been very badly treated by white ships' captains, and was suffering from a serious illness. Marsden nursed him until he regained his former good health. The chaplain had long talks with him, and told him of the Christian faith. On his return, Marsden at once began preparations for a mission to the Maoris. He bought a brig, the *Active*, at a cost to himself of £1500, by which he hoped to carry on trade with New Zealand, Tahiti and the Friendly Islands to

14. *Autobiography and Reminiscences*, by W. M. Cowper, p. 34.

repay the expenses of the venture. When necessary the vessel would also carry missionaries, stores and equipment.

Marsden's views on the method of christianizing heathen peoples are worthy of mention, for at the time they caused some discussion amongst interested people. His chief principle was that the first duty of the missionary was to civilize his future flock, as this was the best preparation for the Christian Faith. He chose his helpers in the New Zealand mission with this end in view.

"Commerce and the arts," he said, "having a natural tendency to inculcate industrious and moral habits, open a way for the introduction of the gospel, and lay the foundation for its continuance when once received."¹⁵ And, "It becomes the indispensable duty of the missionaries to use every means for their civilisation and not to imagine they are already prepared to receive the blessings of Divine revelations."¹⁶ And again, "Civilisation must pave the way for the conversion of the heathen."¹⁷

To these ideas he added another opinion, not acceptable to many, when he said that a mission would not succeed unless the missionaries are furnished with the means of self-defence, and are able to convince the natives of their superiority in the point of skill and protection.¹⁸

Marsden's trip to New Zealand was unfortunately held up because of the slaughter of the crew and passengers of an English ship, the *Boyd*, by the cannibals in the Bay of Islands. A native chief had been ill-treated on board, and in revenge the *Boyd*

15. *The Life of the Rev. Samuel Marsden*, by J. B. Marsden, p. 56.

16. *ibid.*, p. 42.

17. *ibid.*, p. 41.

18. *ibid.*, p. 40.

was seized and burnt and all the party of seventy except three were eaten. Marsden sent two missionaries, Hall and Kendall, to New Zealand with a message to Duaterra, inviting him to return to Parramatta. Marsden, King, Kendall and Hall later set sail for New Zealand in 1814 and arrived at the Bay of Islands on 15 December. Feeling was running high between the tribes, for another native chief and his family had been killed by the crew of an English vessel in revenge for the *Boyd* massacre. One tribe was accused of conspiring with the English in the murders. However, all came to welcome Marsden who spent the night on shore with them. In the morning he invited the various chiefs on board for breakfast, and at the conclusion of the meal, to show his goodwill, gave them presents. He managed to get them to renew their friendships so that it was a happy party that went ashore. On Christmas Day, he held the first Christian service on New Zealand soil. Duaterra, his faithful friend, fenced and cleared a piece of ground, and erected a pulpit and reading desk for the service. After arranging for the sale of a portion of land for a mission station, Marsden returned to Sydney, where he arrived on 23 March, 1815. He reported his progress to the Governor, who approved and complimented him on what he had done. This was the beginning of a missionary work that was constantly in his mind, and which he supervised and controlled throughout its early stages. He established a seminary at Parramatta for the instruction of young Maori leaders, and through them was able to make good progress in the spreading of the Faith.

One aspect of a chaplain's work called forth considerable comment in those early days. Phillip had

established the custom of appointing chaplains as magistrates, and this had been continued by his successors in office. Whether it was detrimental to a chaplain's work or not is a very moot point, but Marsden certainly received severe criticism on his magisterial activities from time to time. Dr J. D. Lang, in his history of New South Wales, aptly describes the system thus:

Under so preposterous and so enormous a system, well might the miserable wretch, whose back was still smarting under Saturday's afflictions, join in the oft repeated prayer of the Litany, "Lord have mercy upon us," and well might he add from the bottom of his heart, "For his Reverence has none."¹⁹

Macquarie alleged that Marsden's punishments were more severe than those of any other magistrate. Marsden defended himself on the ground that a quarterly return of all punishments inflicted by magistrates had been sent to the Governor for many years and Macquarie had made no complaint. He added that since 1814 the maximum penalty had been fixed at fifty lashes. He also pointed out that from the general state of dissipation and from the riots and robberies committed in Parramatta, where he exercised his office, it became imperative that the magistrates should be strict. This strictness he did not consider severity. He considered that the certainty of punishment operated more powerfully upon the mind of the delinquent than the severity of punishment. On this principle he had acted.²⁰

One must realise, too, the severity of the penal code of his day. The sentences and punishments inflicted then, for what are considered trivial

19. *History of New South Wales*, by J. D. Lang (1853 ed.), vol. ii, p. 458.

20. Marsden's "Answer to Macquarie's Pamphlet".

offences now, appear almost barbaric. Flogging was quite common in both the Army and the Navy, and slavery still existed in the British colonies. As a magistrate Marsden had no option. Every government official was expected to help in the maintenance of law and order, and the chaplains were Government officials. The appointment of clerical magistrates ceased during the regime of Governor Darling.

It was unfortunate, and yet to be expected, that sooner or later, two strong-willed people such as Macquarie and Marsden would clash. The difference of opinion centred around Macquarie's emancipist policy. He took the view that once a man had served his punishment he should be able to resume his former walk of life without his past being held against him. Macquarie gave these "emancipists" every encouragement, even to inviting them to dine at Government House. Some few were raised to the rank of magistrate or other Government official. Marsden objected to sitting with these men on the Bench and made a very strong protest to the Governor. When he was appointed one of the Commissioners of Public Roads, and discovered that a colleague was an emancipist he flatly refused to take up the position. For this Macquarie never forgave him.

A later event brought matters to a head. The Governor had been much troubled by trespassers in Government House grounds, who broke away the wall in their endeavours to climb in. He issued several warnings before he acted. Three men caught offending were flogged by the public flagellator, Hughes. One man was a convict, one an emancipist and one a free man. Marsden objected

to the flogging of a free settler. He visited Hughes and took depositions of the case. Macquarie, indignant at what he considered was an attempt to undermine his authority, called Marsden to Government House, and in the presence of witnesses sternly rebuked him, and forbade him to speak to him except on official business. He said:

I have long known, Mr Marsden, that you are a secret enemy of mine, and as long as you continued a secret one, I despised too much malicious attempts to injure my character to take any notice of your treacherous conduct.

After claiming that Marsden was a disturber of the peace he went on:

Such conduct would be highly criminal in any man, but it is still more in you, being both a magistrate and clergyman, who ought to be the first to set an example of loyalty and obedience.²¹

Like his predecessor, Marsden was interested in farming. To augment their salaries, the chaplains were given grants of land. On his grant Johnson had planted the first orange-trees in the colony. He had brought the seeds from Rio de Janeiro. Marsden's farming operations went much further. He received the usual officer's grant when he arrived. Hunter later made two other grants, and further land was bought. By 1801 he was holder of 326 acres, one-third of which was sown with wheat. A year later he owned the third largest flock in the colony. A letter written in 1803 tells Mr Stokes that he has many hundreds of different fruit-trees and had made more than sixty gallons of cider brewed from peaches.²² He was keenly interested in the breeding of sheep, and was in touch with Sir Joseph Banks on the matter. On his visit to Eng-

21. *Australian Milestones*, by George Sutton, pp. 177-9.

22. *Some Private Correspondence of the Rev. Samuel Marsden and Family*, edited by G. Mackaness, p. 31.

land in 1807, he took with him samples of Australian wool, and, as John Macarthur before him had done, he urged the possibility of a profitable wool trade with New South Wales. Some of the wool he had taken home was woven into cloth, from which he had a suit made in which to visit the King. George III was so impressed that he asked if he might have a suit of similar material, and in return he gave Marsden some merino sheep from his Windsor farm. By 1811 he was able to send between four and five thousand pounds of wool to England. To him it was the beginning of an era of valuable commerce which few people at that time could appreciate. Two years later his shipment of wool had increased to eight thousand pounds, yielding an average price of 3s. 9d. a pound.

Having such large pastoral interests, the chaplain did not escape the censure of other inhabitants of the colony. He was accused of neglecting his spiritual duties to attend to these temporal affairs. Some blamed the system of granting land to augment the salaries of chaplains as the cause of this clerical farming. Others blamed the men themselves. Pascoe Crook, one of the Tahitian missionary band, alleged that Marsden and Rowland Hassall were so occupied with things temporal that they had little time for spiritual matters.²³ As he was at the time at loggerheads with Marsden, his remarks were probably prejudiced. Macquarie made the same accusation in a letter to Viscount Sidmouth in 1820. Marsden defended himself against these accusations in a publication he had printed in London in 1826 entitled *Answer to Macquarie's Pamphlet*. In it he said:

23. *H.R. of N.S.W.*, vol. v, p. 314.

I did not consider myself in the same situation, in a temporal point of view, in this Colony as a clergyman in England. My situation, at that period, would bear no comparison. A clergyman in England lives in the very bosom of his friends; his comforts and conveniences are all within his reach, and he has nothing to do but feed his flock. On the contrary, I entered a country which was in a state of nature, and was obliged to plant and sow or starve. It was not from inclination that my colleague and I took the axe, the spade and the hoe; we could not, from our situation, help ourselves by any other means, and we thought it no disgrace to labour.

After referring to the attitude of the various governors, and their augmentation of the grants to clergy, Marsden said that it was hardly to be credited that all the governors for more than thirty-five years would have given grants to the clergy if they had believed that this indulgence would militate against religion and morality, and the general interest of the colony.

He concluded his defence on this particular point by remarking that whatever farming concerns he may have had, whether great or small, no governor ever accused him of neglecting his clerical duties, with the exception of the observation which General Macquarie had made in his published letter to Viscount Sidmouth in January, 1820, when Marsden had served ten years under his government. Had he been guilty of any neglect of duty, surely Governor Macquarie ought to have noticed it in the preceding period of ten years.

However, a more serious condemnation was made by Governor Sir Thomas Brisbane in a dispatch to Lord Bathurst in 1822. He spoke of Marsden's "daily neglect of the spiritual concerns of his parish for the sake of attending to his own multitudinous affairs".²⁴

24. *H.R. of A.*, vol. v., p. 324.

Whatever criticisms may be levelled against Marsden in those directions, there is no doubt about the missionary enthusiasm that has earned for him the title of the "Apostle to New Zealand". He paid seven visits to that country, the last in 1837, just before his death. He saw, too, the foundation of a Church Missionary Society Auxiliary in Sydney, and was the representative of the London Missionary Society for a long while.

Being of the same opinion as his predecessor, Johnson, that the chief hope for the colony lay in the proper religious upbringing of the children, it is not surprising that he was attracted by the Sunday School Movement, inaugurated at the end of the eighteenth century by Robert Raikes, of Gloucester. In 1815, upon his return from the first trip to New Zealand, he opened a Sunday-school at Parramatta, the first in Australia.²⁵ He was assisted by the Rev. T. Hassall and a young man called Henry Byrnes. Their efforts were rapidly crowned with success.

He was probably the first person to begin a lending library in New South Wales. The *Eclectic Review* recorded that, when he returned from England in 1810, he brought out a library worth between £300 and £400. It was to be a lending library for soldiers, free settlers, convicts and others who had time to read. The books dealt with religion, morals, mechanics, agriculture and general history.²⁶

It must have been a source of great satisfaction to him to receive in 1825 official recognition of his many years' service to the Church and colony. The

25. *Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden*, by J. R. Elder, p. 38.

26. *Eclectic Review*, vol. v, p. 995.

British Government expressed its appreciation in a practical way. Through the office of the Governor's private secretary, Marsden received this message dated 9 April, 1825:

Reverend Sir,

I have the honour to acquaint you, by command of his Excellency the Governor, that Earl Bathurst, having taken into consideration your long and useful services in the Colony of New South Wales, has determined upon increasing your stipend to the sum of four hundred pounds sterling per annum.

I have further the pleasing satisfaction of complying with his lordship's instructions to the Governor, to acquaint you that it has been done in consideration of your long, laborious and praiseworthy exertions on behalf of religion and morality.

I have the honour to be, reverend Sir,
Your obedient servant,
JOHN OVENS,
Private Secretary.

He died in 1838 as the result of a chill and was buried in the churchyard of S. John's, Parramatta, in the district where he had first laboured. Those who testified their great regard for him by their presence at his funeral represented all walks of life. At the ceremony a great tribute to his pioneer work was paid by Archdeacon Cowper, and Bishop Broughton spoke of him as his "aged and faithful companion, whose genius and piety and natural force of understanding I held in the highest esteem while he lived and still retain them in sincerely affectionate remembrance".²⁷

27. *William Grant Broughton*, by T. F. Whittington, p. 14.

CHAPTER IV

AN ATTEMPT AT ESTABLISHMENT

ONE result of the frequent ill-feeling between Governor Macquarie and the free settlers of the colony was the appointment of John Thomas Bigge, a London lawyer, as Commissioner of Enquiry into the state and methods of administration of New South Wales. His report, tabled in the House of Commons in 1823, affected the life of the English Church in two ways. In the first, the colony was raised to the dignity of an archdeaconry attached to the diocese of Calcutta. Secondly, the Church and Schools Corporation was created by royal charter to forward the progress of religion and education in the various settlements, the control of the corporation being vested in the Church of England.

The person selected as the first Archdeacon of New South Wales was the Rev. Thomas Hobbes Scott, Rector of Whitfield, Northumberland. Scott had had a varied career prior to his appointment and was not unacquainted with the colony. He was born at Kelmscott, near Oxford, in 1773, his father being the curate of the chapelry there. He was first heard of as a wine merchant, matriculating at Oxford University at the unusual age of forty. Entering St Alban's Hall in 1813, he graduated Master of Arts in 1818,¹ and was appointed a year

1. *William Grant Broughton*, by T. F. Whittington, p. 15.

later as secretary to Commissioner Bigge, with the right to take over the enquiry if Bigge fell ill or died. In such a position he gained an intimate knowledge of the colony. Bigge and Macquarie were opposed almost from the beginning, but Scott was able to affect a nominal reconciliation between them a short while before Bigge returned to England.² Scott was brother-in-law to both Bigge and the Earl of Oxford, his eldest sister having married the Earl and his second sister the Commissioner.

On his return to England in 1821 Scott proceeded to Holy Orders, and was appointed Rector of Whitfield, Northumberland. From this northern parish he still continued to influence the affairs of the colony. The final section of the report which he and Commissioner Bigge had compiled was finished in January, 1823, and tabled in the House of Commons soon after. Not long after, Lord Bathurst wrote to Scott, in the absence of Bigge, seeking advice as to the best type of person to be appointed to the proposed Legislative Council of New South Wales. In his reply, dated 22 August, 1823,³ Scott deprecates the suggestion of appointments in order of seniority from the Bench of Magistrates. Perhaps he was afraid that some of Macquarie's emancipist magistrates might be eligible. He also advises against the appointment of the clergy as "the duties of the chaplains would perhaps be an objection to any selection from that body". He further advises against the inclusion of the sheriff, master or registrar of the proposed new Court of Justice, if the

2. *Australian Encyclopædia*, vol. i.

3. Letters in the London Records Office quoted by Canon Burton in his article "Archdeacon Scott" in the *Sydney Morning Herald* of 28 March, 1936.

Chief Justice is to have a seat. Neither do the merchants seem to him a suitable type from the point of view either of talents or experience. His choice is for the appointment of land-owners, whom he considered to be "valuable and judicious and sensible men".

Bathurst again wrote to Scott asking for suggestions as to a plan for the organization of schools in the colony. The latter replied on 4 September,⁴ advising a system of parochial schools under the supervision of the resident chaplains, thereby making education an adjunct of religion. Orphan and native schools and a superior institution on the lines of Charterhouse were included in Scott's plan. He further advised that a visitor should direct the educational work, and, if it is to be a clergyman, the chief chaplain is the person best suited to the office. The use of the term "chief chaplain" was new, and suggested the appointment of a higher dignitary of the Church than senior chaplain in the near future. Scott's plans were accepted with little modification by the Government. The official warrants of appointment of the Legislative Council were issued on 1 December, 1823. The Government also announced its decision to raise New South Wales to the status and dignity of an archdeaconry, and appointed Scott to the office with a salary of £2000 a year plus expenses. Unkind tongues in the colony remarked upon the speed with which the reverend gentleman had proceeded to orders after planning the manuscript of Bigge's report, the document which suggested the creation of the archdeaconry. Scott received his appointment on 2 October, 1824, and arrived in Sydney by the convict

4. *ibid.*

transport *Hercules* on 7 May, 1825. The Royal Commission he received set forth his duties under several headings.⁵ He was to perform the duties of an archdeacon in accordance with the ancient Canon Law and was to give due canonical obedience to those over him. He was to act as official visitor to all schools paid for out of Government revenue and report annually to the Governor on their condition. He was to conduct an annual visitation of all churches in the colony, and in the case of Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania) to appoint a rural dean to act for him, owing to its distance from Sydney. He was to hold an Archdeacon's Consistory Court, under the guidance of the Attorney-General, should the conduct of any clergyman warrant it. He was to station chaplains where they were needed and to supervise the times and modes of services in all churches and chapels. He was to approve the appointment of minor and lay officials in the Church and suspend, if necessary, any chaplain who created "a notorious and public scandal", except if that scandal should be of a political nature. He was to submit to the Governor for his approval all financial matters. In addition to these duties, the Archdeacon was *ex officio* member of the Governor's Executive Council and a nominee of the Legislative Council. In this he replaced the Surveyor-General, who had been a member since its inception in 1824.⁶ In order of social precedence, the archdeacon came third, preceded only by the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor.

Scott assumed office on 10 May and a month later held his first visitation in S. James's Church, King

5. *H.R. of A.*, vol. xi, p. 419.

6. *ibid.*, p. 424.

Street, which had come to be looked upon as the chief, although not the oldest, church in Sydney. The *Sydney Gazette* of 9 June gave a résumé of his address to the clergy on that occasion. He spoke of the interesting nature of the occasion, the higher ecclesiastical status to which the colony had been raised. He stressed the paramount importance of the duties devolving upon the clergy, the peculiar excellence of the doctrine, ritual and discipline of their Church. He notified them of the intention of the Government to divide the colony into compact parishes and to prosecute the work of education on a more liberal and comprehensive basis than in the past. The writer in the *Gazette* commented on the able manner and temperate spirit in which the archdeacon discussed the various topics, and remarked that he "evinced an entire freedom from the shackles of bigotry. He unreservedly conceded to others the rights which he claimed for himself and his colleagues". The editor of the *Australian*, however, was much less complimentary, particularly about his tolerance. Scott was to receive criticism from this latter newspaper throughout his term of office.

Scott's reference to educational extensions may be taken as an anticipation of the introduction of the Church and School Corporation, made by the British Government a year later. The royal charter of that body stated that because of "the necessity of making provision for the maintenance of religion and the education of Our Youth in the colony of New South Wales", the trustee body of the corporation was "authorised and empowered to purchase, take, acquire, hold and alienate lands and hereditaments in the colony: to provide for the cultivation

of them, employ farmers, bailiffs etc." They were allowed to sell under the common seal, any part of the lands to the amount of one-third of the land in each county and to lease for not more than thirty-two years: to borrow upon mortgage up to the value of two-thirds of the lands. The funds resulting from these transactions were to be divided between two accounts, "The Improvement and Building Account" and "The Clergy and Schools Account". The former was to be used to pay for the construction of roads, drains, fences, repairs and erection of churches, parsonages, farm houses or buildings on cleared land and on the clearing and improving of the land itself. The latter account covered expenses connected with the support and maintenance of the clergy of the Church of England and of schools and schoolmasters in the proportion five-sevenths to the clergy and two-sevenths to the schoolmasters.⁷ One-seventh of the lands in each county of the colony was to be set aside for the corporation, the quality and the value of the land to be of average standard with a fair share of the available water supply. All previously held Church lands and glebes were to be surrendered and grants hitherto made were to be cancelled. The governing body of the corporation was to consist of the Governor as President, the Archdeacon as Vice-President, the Chief Justice, the Colonial Secretary, the Attorney-General, the Solicitor-General, certain members of the Legislative Council, and nine senior or assistant chaplains of the Church of England. No other denomin-

7. The Charter of the Corporation is given in full in Appendix I of Mr. Justice W. W. Burton's *The State of Religion and Education in N.S.W.* (1840).

ations were represented or provided for in the scheme, so that it meant the virtual establishment of the Church of England as the State Church of the colony.

The corporation met and drew up its statutes and by-laws, and set out its plan of action.⁸ The appointment and dismissal of all school-teachers was left in the hands of the archdeacon. The extent of the educational facilities planned may be seen from the list of intended types of schools drawn up—infant and parochial schools, grammar schools, collegiate schools, male and female orphan schools, native schools, evening schools for young men, mechanics' institutes, if necessary, and a school at Blacktown for native children under five years of age. It was an ambitious and praiseworthy plan, but from the very beginning the corporation was beset by difficulties. There was considerable delay in taking possession of the land because of the magnitude of the task of surveying and selection. Particularly was this so in the more settled counties where it was not easy to select the quantity of land required. No instructions had been given as to how the corporation was to carry on in the meanwhile. The Government was not expected to bear the burden. In fact, the principal idea behind the establishment of the corporation was to relieve the Colonial Treasury of the heavy burden of ecclesiastical and educational upkeep. When one notes that the date of the establishment of the corporation was 9 March, 1826, and the first land grant was not made available until 3 February, 1829, one realizes the difficulties of the trustees.⁹ Some money was

8. *ibid.*

9. Details are set forth in the Records of the Corporation in the Mitchell Library, Sydney.

raised by loans, transferable debentures of £50 and £100, payable eighteen months after date of purchase and bearing interest at the rate of eight per cent. per annum. The Government, too, notified their willingness to advance sums of money which might be required until the Governor received instructions from England as to what was to be done. For these the corporation was frequently compelled to ask. The sale of glebe lands provided further amounts, as for example a sale of portion of S. Phillip's glebe brought £3764 16s. 4d.¹⁰ Even after the lands were made available nothing like the proposed quantity was set aside in each county, except in the far distant counties such as Gloucester, where the land was not of much immediate value. On 4 December, 1829, eleven months after the first land grant had been made, word was received from the Home Government that it was the intention of His Majesty to revoke the charter of the corporation. The granting of further land was therefore suspended. The revocation did not come into force until 4 February, 1833, so until then the trustees had to carry on as best they could. After that date all unsold lands and the control of the schools reverted to the Government. A total of 435,765 acres had been granted, 304,272 situated in the outback counties of Gloucester and Bathurst; 15,993 acres had been sold. In spite of their handicaps, the trustees succeeded in putting the conduct of schools on a more economical basis without impairing their efficiency, as the following table will indicate:

10. W. W. Burton's *State of Religion and Education in N.S.W.*, p. 29, footnote.

Year	Number of Schools	Number of Children	Cost
1826	16	1037	£9,406
1829	36	1855	£8,007
1830	36	2012	£7,235
1831	40	2426	£6,000

The improvement of the condition of the orphan schools was very favourably commented on by the archdeacon in 1829 in a report to the Governor. He contrasted the former "loathsome and horrid state of disease and filth in which he found the children", owing to the "neglect of the masters of both institutions", with their present excellent condition due to the exertions of the Rev. Robert Cartwright and Mr Richard Sadleir in the case of the boys' school, and the work of Mr Ellis in the case of the girls' school.

One of the chief factors in the dissolution of the corporation was the opposition of many officials and settlers to a scheme which placed the Anglican Church in a highly favoured position. There was a fairly large percentage of Irish Roman Catholics and Scottish Presbyterians amongst the people of the colony and it grieved them to see this attempt to make the Church of England the State Church, while their own denominations were ignored. Governor Bourke, in a letter to the Home Government, expressed his opinion that, "In a new country, to which persons of all religious persuasions are invited to resort, it would be impossible to establish a dominant and endowed church without much hostility." He mentions that the attitude of the colonists, which keeps pace with the spirit of the age, is decidedly hostile to such an institution. He advocates impartial support to the "three grand divisions of Christianity", i.e., Roman Catholics, Anglicans and Presbyterians.

The editor of the *Australian* wrote in a stronger vein in his editorial columns. Referring in unkindly terms to the departure of Archdeacon Scott, the writer goes on to say:

For the chimera of his fruitful genius—"the Church and School Corporation" is dissolved . . . a seventh of all the lands in the Colony are at stake. Such is the most lavish of all lavish grants made by my Lord Bathurst in favour of an Established Church, to the exclusion of all other forms of religion. For this boon were we beholden to Mr (late Archdeacon) Scott—and had that personage possessed much influence with the Colonial Minister who succeeded to his Lordship's seat, no doubt the same lavish grant would have continued to this day. But now, thanks to a "Free Press"—to the spread of liberal principles—to the example of other Colonies, (such as Canada for instance, where an ill-timed effort, pretty similar in its character, has miserably failed), to the fallen influence of Mr Scott . . . not only is the Church Schools Corporation virtually dissolved, but the seventh of all the lands in the Colony, and they the fat of the land, will have to revert to the Crown for the benefit of the colonists at large . . . to talk of saddling the Colony with an enormous Church Establishment . . . was as absurd as it was unjust.¹¹

Dr J. D. Lang, the Presbyterian minister in Sydney, was very bitter. "The wasteful extravagance," he wrote, "that characterised this monstrous incubus upon the energies of the colony was only equalled by the intolerance of its agents."¹²

Some maintained, however, that the principle of the establishment of the Church of England was in keeping with the laws of Great Britain at that time. Mr Justice Burton expressed the opinion that, before the statute which created the corporation came into force, the Church of England existed as the national Church, and without the aid of statutory declaration of the imperial parliament to the contrary, the laws of that parliament applied to

11. The *Australian*, 12 December, 1829. Written after word had reached N.S.W. that the King was going to revoke the Corporation Charter.

12. *History of N.S.W.*, by J. D. Lang (1853 ed.), vol. ii, p. 465.

the colony.¹³ Many of these laws, extending from Magna Carta, the first chapter of which recognizes the national Church, down to the Acts of Uniformity of Elizabeth and Charles II, maintained the establishment of the Church of England in all parts of the King's dominions, except Scotland, where the Church of Scotland was officially established. This, Burton said, should therefore apply to New South Wales, particularly as an Act of Parliament of George IV (9 Geo. 4 c.83) expressly stated "that all laws and statutes in force within the realm of England at the time of the passing of that Act, shall be applied in New South Wales, so far as it can be applied within the said colony".¹⁴

Other authorities, however, disagreed with Burton. The Roman Catholic Archbishop, Dr Ullathorne, commenting on a decision of the judge (later reversed) which would have invalidated Roman Catholic marriages, said, "This he has done on the mere plea of the applicability of English laws, which were in no wise applicable to the colony."

Lord Halsbury, in his *Laws of England*, gives his opinion on how far the laws of England would apply to a newly settled country. He said:

Where a new and uninhabited country is discovered by subjects of the King, they carry with them their laws, including such, if any, of the ecclesiastical laws as are binding on them, and in the absence of any express provision, any church then and there constituted by them, is *prima facie* presumed to be organised on the basis of those laws, so far as they are applicable in the particular case.

Judge Hodges of Victoria, giving a judgment in a case involving a legacy left to the Roman Catholic

13. W. W. Burton's *State of Religion and Education in N.S.W.*, pp. 420-47.

14. *ibid.*, p. 46.

Church, said that the statutes of Edward VI which had been quoted in the case were not in force in Victoria or any other part of Australia. The Act quoted by Burton (9 Act Geo. 4) was passed in a colony *where no particular denomination predominated*, and therefore Acts of the English Parliament passed for specific purposes arising out of English ecclesiastical conditions could not be applied elsewhere.

Chief Justice Barton of New South Wales, in giving judgment in a similar case, said English ecclesiastical laws and statutes did not apply to this country, for it was a country without an established Church. He went on:

Statutes relating to matters and exigencies particular to the local conditions of England and which were not adapted to the circumstances of a particular colony, do not become part of its law, although the general law of England may be introduced into it.

The matter does not seem to be at all clear. If, as Judge Hodges suggests, the matter depends upon the settlement being a place where no particular religious denomination predominated, then it can hardly be said to apply to New South Wales. When the Act mentioned by Burton was passed in 1828, the charter of the Church and Schools Corporation had received the royal assent. It gave very definite predominance to the Church of England. The entire education of the colony, supported at the public expense, was left in her hands. Her clergy were automatically paid chaplains of the colony. Her senior officer, the Archdeacon of New South Wales was *ex officio* a member of the Legislative Council and King's visitor to schools and educational establishments. When the matter of the erection of the See of Australia and the appoint-

ment of the first bishop was mooted in 1835, the procedure for its creation and for the selection of the bishop was that used in the Established Church in England, whereas the appointment of the heads of the Presbyterian and Roman Catholic Churches had been made without referring in the same way to the Imperial Government. Halsbury's comment would rather support this view of an establishment as the circumstances in vogue at the time gave a pre-eminent position to the Church of England. It can hardly be said that talk of "exigencies peculiar to the local condition of England" could apply in view of the similar positions of the Church of England in the colony and in England.

After Governor Bourke's Church Act of 1836,¹⁵ when the local legislature acted in the matter, the position was changed and all the Churches were put on an equal footing, all able to secure government support on a basis of numerical strength and financial ability. It would seem that by the Church Act any previous establishment would be annulled. When the States became self-governing in the middle of the century, the position would become even more definite. But up to 1836, there seems little doubt that the Church of England was the established Church of Australia.

However, the Church and Schools Corporation was not the only thing that was to bring the Church into disfavour at this time. The actions of the archdeacon involved him in one public quarrel after another. His former association with Commissioner Bigge made him unpopular, and his own temperament brought him into conflict with several important people. Before he had been long in the

¹⁵ See Appendix B.

colony he was adversely criticised by Governor Brisbane over the transactions concerning the Church lands at Cawdor. John Macarthur was keen to have a rearrangement of grants made so that the land held by him would not be broken by the Church glebe. The archdeacon was asked by the Governor to inspect and to accept or reject the six hundred acres set aside for glebe at Cawdor. He, however, made another suggestion to Macarthur of an exchange of the six hundred acres or part thereof for other land in the ranges. Brisbane was furious and said that Scott had quite overstepped his duty and power.¹⁶ A short while later, the archdeacon was involved in further unpleasantness with Brisbane over Dr Douglass, a friend of the Governor's, and a magistrate at Parramatta. The latter had been accused by Marsden of flogging convicts to extort confessions. An inquiry was held, the Governor, the Chief Justice and the archdeacon being the justices before whom the evidence was given. At the conclusion, a report was written which cleared Douglass. This Scott signed. However, when the next Legislative Council was to meet, Scott refused to sit on it as long as Douglass was there. He claimed that Douglass had not been fully acquitted of the charge of cruelty. There was much unpleasantness as the result, and Brisbane accused Scott of working hand in glove with the rich class in order to gain "a very improper influence".¹⁷ Brisbane wished that Scott had kept out of party quarrels. The archdeacon's own friends, Marsden and Hannibal Macarthur, had done the very thing that Douglass was charged with, but he felt no repugnance to them.¹⁸

16. *H.R. of A.*, vol. xi, p. 700.

17. *ibid.*, pp. 781 and 850.

18. *ibid.*, pp. 850-1.

Shortly after General Ralph Darling assumed office as Governor, Scott became involved in another unfortunate incident. The archdeacon paid a visit to the Parramatta female orphan school, and found the master-in-charge away from the premises. Scott thereupon wrote to the master, the Rev. William Walker, a Methodist missionary, and asked him to explain his absence and appear before him on a certain date. Walker questioned Scott's authority to act as official visitor to the school, and the matter was referred to the Governor. Darling expressed satisfaction with Walker's explanation and refused to accept his resignation. The Supreme Court would not accept Scott's application to proceed in the matter until more definite authority came from England. When later the case came before the court, it appears that the majority of those present took a delight in saying everything unpleasant they could think about Scott.¹⁹

Writing to the Home Government in a dispatch dated 2 September, 1826, Darling expressed regret at the actions of the archdeacon in associating himself with party quarrels led by the Macarthurs.²⁰ "By embarking at once, as he did, he lost himself in the public opinion and never will be respected here." Scott had been living, rent free, in a house of Macarthur's in the same grounds, thus emphasizing their close unity. Darling thought this unfortunate: "Considering the violent politics of the one and the professional character of the other it has served to indispose the people and he is extremely unpopular. He has no judgment and never will be

19. *ibid.*, vol. xii, p. 278 *et seq.*; vol. xiii, p. 320 *et seq.*

20. *H.R. of A.*, vol. xii, pp. 256 and 522.

respected." When Scott decided that the time had come for him to retire, Darling wrote:

The Archdeacon . . . speaks positively of retiring home next year. In appointing a successor, I would suggest his not having a seat in Council, though Mr Scott has most cheerfully assisted on all occasions. The clergy in this place had much better be left to their own immediate duties, as their mixing with politics must have a bad effect. The Archdeacon's connexion with Mr Bigge was ruinous to his popularity here, and his constant associations with the Macarthurs has left him without a chance of possessing the situation as Head of the Church, which he ought to hold in the estimation of the public.²¹

Scott's resignation was accepted by the Secretary of State for the Colonies on 14 November, 1828, but before the archdeacon left the colony, he was involved in three more unpleasant quarrels. E. S. Hall, editor of the *Monitor*, one of the free press newspapers in Sydney, criticized adversely the management of ecclesiastical concerns in the colony. Scott charged him with libel and the editor was fined £1 and asked for a bond of £500 to assure his good behaviour for twelve months. Shortly after, trouble occurred over Hall's pew in S. James's Church. On arriving at church for service one Sunday, Hall found his pew locked. He was informed that he was not to be allowed to use it. Without further ado, he jumped over the door and lifted his daughters over into the seats. Next Sunday the pew was guarded by two constables. Later, owing to Hall's attempts to get into the pew, it was boarded over. Hall sat in a damp corner of the church, while his daughters sat on the steps before the Communion table. A suit for trespass was lodged against Hall on 25 September, and judgment awarding 1s. damages against him given on 12 March, 1829. The rector of S. James said that the

21. *ibid.*, p. 645.

pews had been re-allocated and Hall had not been given one. Public opinion, however, laid the blame on Archdeacon Scott, knowing his dislike for Hall. In a further suit against Scott, after the archdeacon had left New South Wales, Hall was awarded £25 damages for trespass in connexion with the previous suit.²²

A second unpleasant incident involved Scott and the city coroner, Dr O'Halloran.²³ He, too, suffered ejection from a pew at S. James on the pretext that it was required for a public officer. Dr O'Halloran alleged to the Governor that Scott had objected to his employment by the Australian Agricultural Company, of which the archdeacon was a shareholder with the result that he had lost his job. He also alleged that Scott had been responsible for the courthouse being closed to him for his series of popular Sunday evening lectures, the subjects of which he claimed that Darling had approved. He prefaced each lecture with short prayers and the archdeacon had objected. O'Halloran dryly remarked that perhaps prayers from the Koran might have escaped Scott's pious anathemas.

His own clergy were involved in a third of the quarrels in which Scott took part, and the letters to and from the archdeacon in the matter make very unpleasant reading. The Rev. F. Wilkinson and the Rev. C. P. N. Wilton received the censure of Scott for their conduct in neglecting their spiritual duties to associate in matters prejudicial to their calling.²⁴ Mr. Wilkinson was accused of taking leave of absence from Newcastle to visit Sydney, and while there associating with places and

22. *ibid.*, vol. xiv, pp. 585 *et seq.*

23. *ibid.*, pp. 392-3.

24. *ibid.*, pp. 562 and 746; vol. xv, pp. 162-3 and 215.

people of a depraved nature. Mr Wilton was accused of taking part in financial transactions of a fraudulent nature involving a sum of £1100. Wilton accused Scott of being involved in similar transactions as a shareholder in the Bank of Australasia and the Australian Agricultural Company. In both matters Scott acted in a very high-handed manner, and it must have brought a sigh of relief to keen churchmen and churchwomen when Scott left the colony on 18 October, 1829, in H.M.S. *Success*.

While Scott's period of office was not altogether a happy one, we must not judge him too harshly. He was undoubtedly doomed from the beginning because of his former associations in the colony. These associations he tended to maintain on his return, which was not very helpful to him. But prejudice, both against the man and the system he represented, played a large part in the opposition to the archdeacon. Here he was rather a victim of circumstances, and he would have had to show outstanding qualities and abilities to overcome it. These he had not. But whatever that opposition could say, it could not accuse him of insincerity. Personal letters to his friend, the Governor of Tasmania, Colonel Arthur, show unmistakably his sincerity of purpose and motive. He firmly believed in his mission. In this, he contrasted very favourably with leaders in the Church at home.

The depression in trade and commerce following the end of the Napoleonic wars made a very discontented England. The Church, with some obviously needed reforms unattended to, did not attract the people to her as she should have done. On the contrary, she received much unwelcome attention

and became so unpopular that her bishops openly spoke of her approaching destruction. While Archdeacon Scott was establishing, amidst criticism, the Church and Schools Corporation in New South Wales, the Church at home was being strongly rebuked because of worldly pastors, men who held several livings at once, drawing stipends from each and leaving the work to underpaid and overworked curates. The *Australian*, the bitter critic of Scott and the corporation, quoted in 1829 two amazing examples of this:

The following protestant pluralities are stated to be held by Dr James Webber, who married Miss Clinton, a natural daughter of the fiery protestant Duke of Newcastle—Dean of Ripon, Sub-Dean of Westminster, Prebendary of Westminster, Prebendary of York, Prebendary of Chichester, Vicar of St Margaret's, Westminster, Rector of Hartingly, Rector of Mellerton. The Reverend Gentleman is no doubt a staunch advocate of Mother Church and Natural Daughters". (2 October, 1829.)

One amongst the numerous instances of tithe abuses is remarkable in the late Rev. Sir William Reid, Rector of Tomgramy in the County of Clare, who at the same time enjoyed the tithes of no fewer than 11 parishes, the united income of which brought the Reverend Knight upwards of £2,500 per annum. (13 November, 1829.)

The first Bishop of New Zealand, George Augustus Selwyn, while at Windsor, had been one of those curates who served under an absentee rector.

"Set your house in order," said Lord Grey to the bishops in the House of Lords. Joseph Hume, in the Commons, spoke of the Church as "a body condemned by the country". He also expressed the hope that young gentlemen would not invest in such a "condemned building" and that "these foolish ordinations would terminate".

Contrasted with this, the Church in New South Wales was alive and its leaders keen to advance its work. While it might be said that it was a body

opposed by part of the country, it could not be classed as a "condemned building". The credit for this is due in no small part to the work of its first archdeacon, tactless and high-handed though he may have been. As Ransome T. Wyatt says in his biography of Scott, it is a strange coincidence that the archdeacon arrived by the H.M.S. *Hercules* and left in the H.M.S. *Success*.

However, Scott's work in Australia was not yet finished, for the vessel on which he was travelling struck a reef off Pulo Carnac as it was running into Cockburn Sound, Fremantle. This made it necessary for Scott to spend some time in the six-months-old colony established on the Swan River. The chaplain to the settlement, the Rev. J. B. Wittenoon, had not yet arrived, but was daily expected. The commandant, Captain Irwin, had been in the habit of conducting divine service each Sunday for his regiment, the 63rd, and for the settlers. When a somewhat primitive Government House was completed, service was held there. The arrival of the former archdeacon was hailed with joy by Irwin, and Scott conducted divine service on 6 December, the first Sunday after his arrival. Ten days after, a temporary church was begun, and on Christmas Day the sacrament of Holy Communion was first celebrated in Western Australia. With the arrival of the first chaplain, Scott appears to have helped by ministering at Fremantle. The association of the two priests seem to have been of a harmonious nature.²⁵ The fact that the Lieutenant-Governor, Stirling, looked to the archdeacon for advice in all ecclesiastical matters does not seem to have caused

25. Dispatch dated 30 June, 1830, from the Colonial Secretary to the Surveyor-General at Perth.

any friction, although Wittenoon was the official chaplain. Scott was always given the courtesy title of "Archdeacon" by the Governor, and in gratitude for his help, Stirling expressed a wish that the town about to be laid on the Canning River should be named Kelmscott, the name of the archdeacon's birthplace. On his return to England in 1830, Scott resumed his work as rector of Whitfield. He was appointed honorary canon of Durham in 1854 and died on New Year's Day, 1860, at the age of eighty-seven. A window in S. Andrew's Cathedral, Sydney, commemorates his work in Australia, the most valuable part of which was his efforts for religious education. Of this his successor, Archdeacon Broughton, spoke in his address on the occasion of his first visitation at S. James. He said:

I would wish principally to connect his name with the praise of having designed, and through many difficulties, brought near to perfection, that system of religious instruction in which I am persuaded the best hopes of this Colony repose. Let not those who are enjoying the benefits of his labours grudge him a distinction which he has fairly and thoroughly earned.²⁶

26. William Grant Broughton, by T. F. Whittington, p. 37.

CHAPTER V

THE LORD BISHOP OF AUSTRALIA

THE second archdeacon of New South Wales, William Grant Broughton, was a nominee of the Duke of Wellington. He was unlike Scott in the profundity of his theological scholarship, in which the former archdeacon was noticeably deficient, but they were alike in their keenness for religious education.

Broughton was born at Westminster in 1788, the year of the foundation of New South Wales. He was the son of Mr and Mrs Grant Broughton, a middle-class family well known in Hertfordshire. He was baptized in S. Margaret's, Westminster, his godmother being the Countess of Strathmore,¹ an ancestor of the present Queen of England. Throughout his life, Broughton showed the deepest devotion to his mother, of whom he always spoke with great affection. His family moved to Barnet while he was still young, and he was sent to the local grammar school at the age of six to begin his education. Three years later, he was sent to the King's School, Canterbury, where he remained until he was sixteen. He acquitted himself well, becoming King's Scholar in his first year, and later gaining an exhibition to Cambridge. Owing to lack of funds, he was unable to proceed to the university

1. *Sermons on the Church of England*, by W. G. Broughton (1857), Memoir, p.x.



THE RT REV. W. G. BROUGHTON, D.D.
Bishop of Australia

to read for Holy Orders as he wished and was compelled to enter the commercial world. Through the influence of the Salisbury family, he was appointed to a clerkship in the Treasury Department of East India House, and remained with this famous company for many years.² Through a legacy of £1000 from a relative, he was later able to proceed to Cambridge, entering Pembroke Hall in 1814 and graduating Master of Arts four years later. During his time at the university, he acquired the limp which affected his walking for the rest of his life, and perhaps accounted for his love of riding. Through a practical joke on the part of a fellow-student, he fell heavily down a flight of steps. The result was a permanent physical affliction for the future Bishop of Australia and a lengthy period of rustication for the culprit.³

In the same year that he left Cambridge, he was ordained deacon by the Bishop of Salisbury with letters dimissory from the Bishop of Winchester, by whom he was priested later in the year. He was appointed to the curacy of Hartley Westphall in Hampshire, quite close to Strathfieldsaye, the country home of the Duke of Wellington. Through a friendship with the Duke's domestic chaplain, Briscall, Broughton was introduced to the great soldier, through whom he was to gain promotion in later years. Shortly after his appointment to Hartley Westphall, he married Miss Sarah Francis, the daughter of his former housemaster at the King's School. His wife was to be a true partner to him in his great work, and his devotion to her was one of the truly beautiful parts of his life. His letters

2. *William Grant Broughton*, by T. F. Whittington (1936), p. 19.

3. *ibid.*, p. 20.

to her when they were separated during his many journeys show his great affection. Eleven years after their marriage he could write:

Indeed, my dearest Sally, the pain I feel at being separated from you is so great that I cannot endure it any longer. I have you know often (I) come down for no longer time than this only to enjoy the happiness of being near you, and why should I not now when I know myself to be as ardent a lover as ever I was in my life. And that, *you* know is saying a great deal. . . . God bless you dearest most entirely and only beloved wife.⁴

He gained for himself distinction at this time by several scholarly essays dealing with textual criticism of the Bible, and was marked for promotion by his bishop. In 1827 he was offered and accepted the living of Farnham in Surrey, and a year later was appointed chaplain to the Tower, upon the nomination of the Duke of Wellington.⁵ In this latter office he was required to minister to the garrison on duty, and to live in the precincts, performing his duties under the direction of the Constable of the Tower. Further promotion was soon to come, for the archdeaconry of New South Wales had just become vacant. The Duke of Wellington wrote to Broughton offering him the position. As it meant severing ties with all he loved in England and going to a land of which few had a true conception, Broughton considered the matter very seriously. After due consultation with his wife, his mother and the Bishop of Winchester, he wrote to the Duke to say that he was willing to accept. He received official confirmation of his appointment and began to make preparations for leaving England. He preached his

4. From the original, headed "London March 5th, 1829", in the possession of the Rev. Frank Cash, Rector of Christ Church, North Sydney.

5. *Sermons on the Church of England*, by W. G. Broughton, Memoir, p. xii.

farewell sermon to the people of Farnham on 28 December, 1828. He spoke of the pleasant Christian fellowship he had enjoyed with them, and assured them of his prayers on their behalf at all times. He was presented with a piece of plate by the parishioners as a sign of their gratitude for his ministry among them. He was also given a private set of altar vessels by his diocesan, Bishop Sumner of Winchester. A delightfully domestic letter has come down to us in which he speaks of the final preparations for the long voyage.⁶ Writing to his wife, who is staying with her parents in Canterbury, he tells her of his efforts to buy furniture, linen and crockery. He adds the delightful comment, "I sincerely wish my kind friends at Farnham had decided to give us something *useful*. However they have behaved so handsomely it is impossible to be dissatisfied with anything they fix up." To add to his worries, he had to listen to some who wanted him to use his influence to get them remunerative jobs in the Colony of New South Wales. One such visitor, Dr Dermer, is mentioned in his letter. But although he is sympathetic, Broughton could only say that he had no influence to exert for the good doctor.

He sailed from England with his wife and daughters in the convict transport *John* on 27 May, 1829, and after a passage of 108 days, entered Port Jackson on Sunday, 13 September. He landed with his family and took up residence in the town in a house that had been prepared for him. He returned to the ship on the following Wednesday and made his official entry into the colony, to the salute of guns. He was driven in state to Government House, where

6. The original is in the possession of the Rev. Frank Cash, Rector of Christ Church, North Sydney.

he was received and officially invested by the Governor, Lieutenant-Colonel Ralph Darling. In the evening, His Excellency gave a dinner to leading citizens of the colony to give them an opportunity to meet the new archdeacon.⁷

His reception by the free press showed signs of more pleasant relations than had been the case with his predecessor. The *Australian*, always a bitter opponent of Archdeacon Scott, wrote announcing Broughton's arrival, and commented: "Ministers [of the Crown] doubtless by this time see the necessity of sending out to the colony clergymen of the Established Church regularly bred to the sacred career." Scott's earlier association with the civil service and commerce had long been a source of unkind comment by the editor of this paper. "The sooner Mr Scott is gone the better," he wrote in September, 1829. "His sudden transformation from clerk to the Commissioner of Enquiry to clerk with a £2000 archdeaconry is not quite in keeping with the practices of Mother Church." In a later issue the editor praised Broughton's expressed desire not to be mixed up in State intrigue, through membership with the Legislative and Executive Councils, but expressed the hope that, while the councils were constituted as they were, the archdeacon would continue to stay on them.

The archdeacon preached his first sermon on Sunday, 27 September, at S. Phillip's Church. He spoke for about half an hour on the text, John xv, 1-2, "I am the True Vine, etc." His predecessor, who had not yet left the colony, read the prayers. There was a large congregation, which included the Governor. One newspaper commented: "A highly

7. *Sydney Gazette*, 27 Sept., 1829.

apposite text, but a concomitant presage, we trust, of better times when the black sheep and the *faithless* shepherds shall be ousted."⁸

Broughton selected as his residence a cottage on Bunker's Hill, previously the residence of Mr Howe, the former Government Printer. As an indication of the change that has taken place in Sydney in little more than a hundred years, the comment of the *Gazette* is worth giving. "If health is to be enjoyed anywhere in New South Wales, it is on Bunker's Hill, where gentle Zephyrus is forever fluttering her graceful pinions."

Two months after Broughton's arrival, an "unusual and long continued" drought broke and brought much needed relief to farmers and pastoralists in the colony. By a Government and General Order, Governor Darling decreed that Thursday, 12 November, should be observed as a day of thanksgiving for the rain, and services should be held in all chapels and churches. The archdeacon was instructed to draw up an order of service suitable for the occasion, which could be printed and distributed to the chaplains. Broughton preached at the service at S. James's, Sydney, on the "Counsel and Pleasure of God in the vicissitudes of States and Communities" (based on the text Isaiah xlv, 10). The Governor was so impressed with the address that he requested Broughton to have it printed for public sale. To this the archdeacon agreed, and it was published by the *Gazette* office at ninepence a copy.

Broughton held his first visitation in S. James's Church on 3 December, 1829, in the presence of all the chaplains of the colony and a large congrega-

8. *Australian*, 30 Sept., 1829.

tion. The Rev. Richard Hill, chaplain at S. James, read the prayers and the Rev. Joseph Docker preached the sermon. After the service the clergy assembled round the Communion rails to listen to the archdeacon's charge, delivered as he sat at the right of the altar. Broughton's address may be considered as a policy speech, for it gave the ideals which he felt should dominate the lives of ministers of the Church and the directions in which he considered they should work together. His words have as their keynote sincerity and humility, keynotes of his whole ministry in Australia. It began with a call to the clergy to realize the seriousness of their vocation.

The ministers of Christ and stewards of the mysteries of God are pledged by engagements so awful, that every one of us by whom they are regarded with becoming seriousness must tremble, in his attempts to fulfil them, under a sense of his own insufficiency. Were we charged with only a personal responsibility, such a dread of falling short of the glory of God must be the natural consequence of due reflection of the disproportion subsisting between our feeble powers and the duty of a Christian teacher. No elaborate argument is needed to demonstrate with how much greater force this observation applies to the occupier of a station which imposes upon him, in addition to his own proper ministerial charge, the superintendence of others in the fulfilment of their sacred duties. I speak not, believe me, my brethren, the language of insincerity or affectation in affirming that my own mind is even painfully sensible of the weight of this two-fold obligation; and that two considerations alone enable one with any degree of confidence to undertake the duties with which I am here entrusted. The consciousness, I mean, of not having myself desired or sought the arduous post which has been assigned to me; and my assured belief that God, whose providence has conducted my steps, will give me grace and power, as I must earnestly and humbly beseech him he will, faithfully to take the oversight of his Church and rightly to divide the word of Truth unto all followers of Christ Jesus our Lord.

The charge passes on to deal with the need for personal contact with, and personal religious experi-

ence for, each member of their flocks. Here he draws their attention to settlers in the outback regions who are in danger of a general "relapse into atheism and infidelity". He urges his brethren to make every effort to contact them.

It will be productive of some advantage even to make these lonely ones familiar with the presence of a clergyman; to show them that there is one at least who takes an interest in their welfare; who comes among them, not from any inducement of worldly advantage, but solely through the love of Christ constraining him.

Here he recommends the clergy to use the literature provided by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge. From this subject the charge easily passes to the topic of education of the young.

In enunciating the means of promoting Christian Knowledge, a distinguished rank must be assigned to the truly Christian scheme of affording general education founded upon the basis of revealed religion. Upon any other system, the population of a country may acquire knowledge but not wisdom. The only reasonable hope which we can entertain of diffusing religious impressions and virtuous habits rests on the continuance of these parochial schools wherein, while the elements of instruction are liberally afforded, the youthful mind is trained in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.

These schools, he feels, are like "fountains which will gradually purify the waters of bitterness of which this land has been made the receptacle". He paid a warm tribute to the work of his predecessor in the field of education, work which would remain a monument to his zeal in the service of God.

Of the ministry to the convict element of the population, which at the time numbered 17,000 in a total of 36,500 people in the Colony, he said:

To our natural feelings it may be repulsive employment to be brought into contact with profligacy and vice, and for its correction, to strike against inattention, ridicule or contempt with which our remonstrances are often received.

But this must not dismay the clergy or lead them to neglect their duty in this important work.

All day must our hands be stretched forth to a disobedient and gainsaying people, under the conviction that as any human being is more involved in the snares of vice, the more earnest and unremitting must be our endeavour to make him sensible of his slavery, and to point out to him that only path by which he may return into the glorious liberty of the sons of God. We must seek them out, since they will hardly make the first advance, and endeavour to convince them that we take an interest in their restoration to honesty and happiness; that we are solicitous for their eternal preservation; that far from entertaining towards them any sentiment of neglect or contempt, we are disposed for their sakes to labour if peradventure through our teachings, God shall give them a knowledge of the Truth.

The final point in the charge deals with the needs of the aborigines, and was a vigorous challenge to the people of the colony.

It is an awful, it is even an appalling consideration, that after an intercourse of nearly half a century with Christian people, these hapless human beings continue to this day in an original benighted and degraded state.

Broughton pointed out that in contact with the white people, the natives had often deteriorated into a worse state than before. "They gradually lose the best properties of their own character and appear in exchange to acquire none but the most objectionable and degrading of ours." Are we to be satisfied with this?

Shall we look on and see them perish without so much as an effort for their preservation? Natural, and much more Christian, equity points out that in the occupation of their soil we are partakers of their worldly things, so in justice should they be of our "spiritual things".

I am aware of attempts having been undertaken with this view; and their abandonment from a sense of existing difficulties and despair of final success. But from the very nature of the undertaking obstacles were to be anticipated. Every advancement of the Christian religion, from its first origin to the present day, has been effected in opposition to difficulties, which, in a natural sense, might be termed insuperable. Its excellency and its derivation from a

heavenly source, have best been demonstrated by surmounting such opposition. . . . Shall we desist? Unhesitatingly I answer, no. Persevere as you regard the honour of God, as you value the souls of these your helpless and unhappy fellow creatures. The very ground we tread upon teaches us this lesson. What does it exhibit but the sublime spectacle of the triumph of civilised man over the ruggedness of the physical world?

Broughton concluded that, "because of her advantageous position in the colony, the Church of England should strive to be the Mother of Missionaries to the native population".

This call to the spiritual needs of the blacks inspired an editorial in a subsequent issue of the *Sydney Gazette*. The writer praised the challenge of the archdeacon, and, pointing to what was being accomplished at the time at Lake Macquarie by the Rev. L. E. Threkeld of the London Missionary Society, expressed the hope that something more would now be done for the natives. "We cannot conclude," he said, "without expressing the gratification we experience in seeing, in so high a functionary [as Broughton], a warm and active friend to the poor despised and deeply-injured Black."

At the request of the clergy, the archdeacon consented to the publication of his charge for public sale. This little tribute must have been very gratifying to Broughton.

Early in 1830, the archdeacon was involved in an accident which might have had disastrous results for the growing Church in the colony. On Sunday, 17 January, Broughton and his family were returning home in their carriage from morning service. As they passed the gates of the military barracks, the horse took fright and attempted to bolt into the parade ground. The carriage was overturned and was dashed to pieces against the gate post. The

occupants were thrown from the vehicle, but miraculously no one was hurt.⁹

On 25 January, Broughton wrote to the Governor asking him to lay before the Secretary of State for the Colonies a proposal for church secondary schools in New South Wales. The archdeacon had circularized the clergy previously in order to get an idea of how many people would be likely to take advantage of such schools. Having received satisfactory replies, he made his request. The schools, two of which were proposed, were to be known as the King's Schools. They were to provide education in classical, mathematical and general studies under the supervision of the Church of England. They were to be of Royal foundation, the one in Sydney catering for day boys at a fee of £8 per annum, and the other at Parramatta to serve for boarders at £28 per annum. Both headmasters were to be ordained clergymen of the Church of England. Broughton drew up a suggested syllabus of work upon which they could be based, and he planned a division of classes and forms for boys from nine to sixteen years of age. The syllabus is noteworthy because of the complete absence of English teaching throughout. The study of Latin began at nine years of age and that of Greek at twelve years. Nineteen months later, Governor Darling announced that the Government had approved of the establishment of the schools, and they were opened at the beginning of 1832.

On 19 February, 1830, Broughton sailed for Van Diemen's Land to pay his first visit to this section of his archdeaconry. His activities there are mentioned in a later chapter. He was away

9. *Sydney Gazette*, 18 Jan., 1830, and the *Australian*, 20 Jan., 1830.

some months making a thorough study of the island and its opportunities. He had completed a tour of the surrounding districts of Sydney just previous to leaving, visiting Parramatta, the Nepean River, and the counties of Camden and Argyle. He was quickly gaining an idea of the vast territory under his care and its spiritual needs.

In 1831 he again set off on a tour, this time of the Hunter Valley. This district had first been discovered by Lieutenant Shortland in 1797, when coal was found in the locality. It was more fully explored by Colonel Paterson in 1801, and, as a result of a recommendation by that officer, a penal settlement was formed near the mouth of the river in order to mine the coal. The settlement was known at first as Coal River and later as Newcastle. Near where Maitland stands today a camp called Cedar's Plains was also established, from which large quantities of cedar were sent to Sydney and even Hobart. A definite settlement was made at this place in 1818 with Macquarie's approval and the land around thrown open to free settlers. From 1821 onwards settlement increased as many grants were made. Two settlers of this period deserve mention in connexion with the Church. The first is Lieutenant Edward Charles Close, who settled on a grant in the Morpeth district in 1821. He later became an active supporter of the church both in the Morpeth district and in the new diocese of Newcastle created in 1847. The other settler is Captain T. V. Blomfield, a friend of Lieutenant Close. He settled at Dagworth in 1822. His son was one of the first Australian born clergy in the Church of England.¹⁰

10. *Jnl. and Proc.*, R.A.H.S., vol. xxiii, part 2, pp. 124-5.

A church built of slabs had been erected at Newcastle about 1812, before a chaplain had been appointed. It was pulled down in 1816 to make room for a larger building being erected by Captain Wallis, Commandant at Newcastle. At the opening ceremony on Sunday, 2 August, 1818, this church was named Christ Church by Governor Macquarie. A brick parsonage was also built and a burial ground set aside. But still there was no chaplain. The commandants or their officers had been in the habit of conducting services up to this time. On the occasion of the opening of Christ Church, the Rev. William Cowper, who had accompanied Macquarie, solemnized ten marriages and baptized thirty children in the church.¹¹ It was not until 1821 that the first chaplain, the Rev. G. A. Middleton, was appointed. He ministered for six years to the town and made several journeys to settlements up the river. He resigned on 5 May, 1827, following a disagreement with Archdeacon Scott. He was later appointed by Broughton to the Seaham district. He had received some additional help in his work in 1826, when Richard Sadleir was appointed catechist to the Upper Hunter River, and in January, 1827, when William Brooks was appointed to a similar position at Newcastle. The Rev. Joseph Docker carried out the chaplain's work until a new appointment could be made, a period of about three months. The second chaplain was the Rev. F. M. Wilkinson. He, too, unfortunately quarrelled with Scott, and was suspended by Broughton in 1830. His period of office is noteworthy for the visits he made to settlements up the Hunter Valley and for the fact that he preached the first Assize Sermon

11. *ibid.*, p. 134.

at Maitland in August, 1829. The third chaplain was the Rev. C. P. N. Wilton, another enemy of Scott. He was appointed, however, after Scott's departure, so his ministry was not marred by unpleasant incidents. He was ministering to his large parish when Broughton made his first visit in 1831 in company with the Governor. The archdeacon was able to provide for a subdivision of the district in 1834, by appointing the Rev. G. K. Rusden as first chaplain to Maitland.

Having thus made extensive tours throughout the archdeaconry, Broughton realized under what difficulties the Church was labouring and the need for immediate help from Home. As the ordinary channels of communication had proved ineffective, he decided that it was essential for him to return to England and state his case there. He called the clergy together for his second visitation on 13 February, 1834, in S. James's and explained his decision in his charge. He said:

Having attentively examined and considered all the circumstances connected with the advancement of religion throughout the Colony, I am satisfied that we are attempting to provide for its general extension and establishment with utterly inadequate means.¹² I cannot look on with tranquillity while I see such extended and populous districts devoid of churches, devoid of clergymen, devoid of schools; the flock of Christ scattered without a shepherd; destitute, in a word, of all the means of Christian instruction and devotion; and I should be ashamed of my own activity in the service of a Master who has done such great things for me, if believing the possibility that my interposition in making known these wants might lead to their removal, I could hesitate at any personal exertion, or shrink from any personal hazard which must be incurred in carrying that purpose into effect.¹³

Broughton sailed for England shortly after the

12. See Appendix A.

13. Address quoted in *Sermons on the Church of England*, Memoir, p. xv.

visitation, leaving the Rev. Samuel Marsden, the senior chaplain, in charge of the Church in the colony. Immediately on arrival in London, he made an urgent appeal to the S.P.G. and the S.P.C.K. for help to relieve the position in New South Wales. After disclosing the state of affairs very vividly, he concluded:

The question, in truth, which the people of this nation will have to consider is whether they are prepared to lay the foundation of a vast community of infidels, and whether collectively or individually they can answer Almighty God for conniving at such an execution of the transportation laws as will infallibly lead on to this result.¹⁴

Broughton asked the societies to urge upon the British Government the need for instant action. The S.P.C.K. addressed a memorial direct to the Government, in which they spoke of the large numbers of colonists who were without any spiritual ministrations, leaving unbaptized children, dead interred without Christian burial, and couples living together without being duly married because there were no chaplains to perform the ceremonies. This state of affairs, the memorial stated, was leading to a "visible decline of religious principle and the progress of vice and irreligion in the colony at large". It went on to say that, although the society had granted the archdeacon a large sum of money, it was neither possible, nor should it be their responsibility to bear the necessary expense. It therefore appealed earnestly to the Government to take the matter into serious consideration and make provision for the appointment of further chaplains and the erection of more schools and churches.

The appeal, however, received little sympathy from the Government and was passed on to the

14. The letter is quoted in the *Report of the Soc. for the Propagation of the Gospel* (1834-5), pp. 190-99.

Governor of New South Wales for his consideration. Broughton felt this lack of encouragement in official circles very much and longed for an opportunity to be relieved of his work. However, he would not desert of his own accord. In a letter to one of his friends, the Rev. H. H. Norris, he said, "If they would indeed set me free from the responsibility, I might be under a weighty obligation; but I hope my resolution is taken not to abandon the post of duty by a voluntary act as long as there remains the most distant prospect of doing good."¹⁵

The grant of S.P.C.K. mentioned in the memorial was of £3000. To this S.P.G. added £1000, and through his great friend and supporter the Rev. Edward Coleridge, a master at Eton College, he received other large sums. Of obtaining the services of further chaplains there seemed no hope. His mission to England seemed thus to have failed, when he received a letter from Lord Glenelg informing him that after due consultation with the Archbishop of Canterbury and Governor Bourke, the Government had decided to establish a Bishopric of New South Wales and offered him the appointment. In the early days of the colony, the chaplains had been under the nominal supervision of the Bishop of London, who was responsible for oversea chaplains. Later, on the creation of the archdeaconry, New South Wales was placed in the Diocese of Calcutta. In 1835 Calcutta was subdivided and the new see of Madras was established. New South Wales was transferred to the new bishopric.¹⁶ It was felt that the time had now come for another change. Broughton's presence in

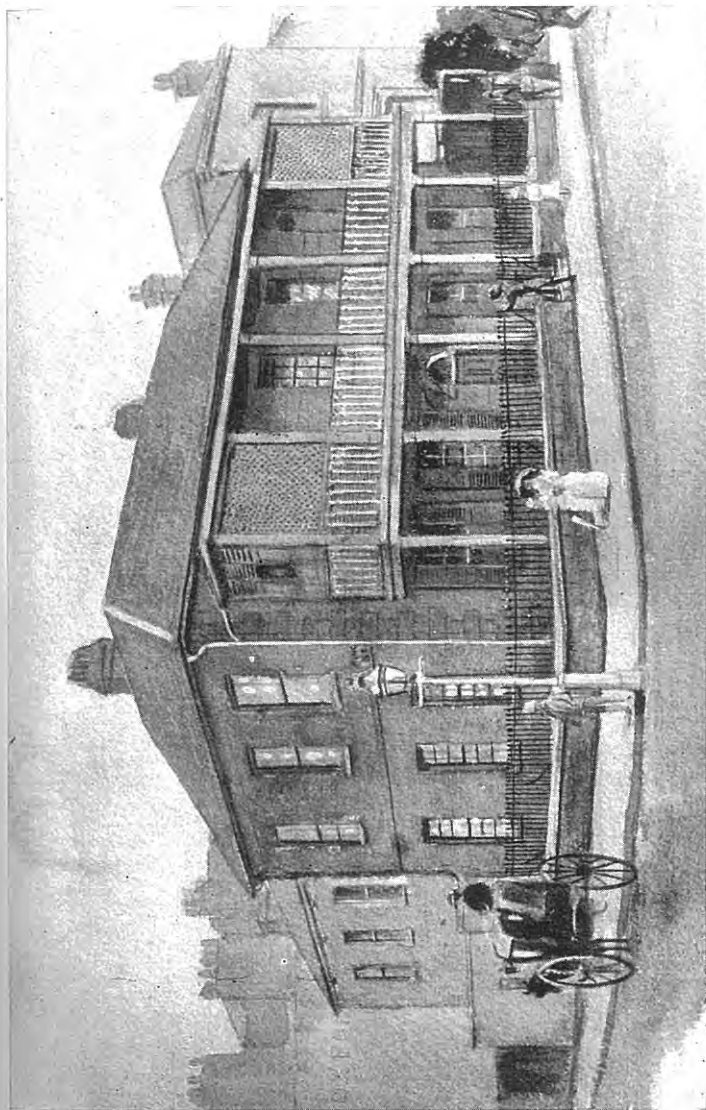
15. *Memoir of Joshua Watson*, by E. Churton (1861), vol. ii, p. 125.

16. *H.R. of A.*, series I, vol. xvii, p. 78.

London and his active interest in the welfare of the colony "had pointed him out as the fittest person to be invested with the episcopal office". Before he could give his answer however, Broughton wished to know whether the acceptance of the office implied acquiescence with the Colonial Government's plans to abolish the Church's control of its schools. When assured on this point, Broughton accepted nomination and was consecrated on 14 February, 1836, in Lambeth Palace Chapel by the Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by the Bishops of London, Winchester and Gloucester. Dr J. E. N. Molesworth, rector of a Canterbury church and a friend of the new bishop, preached the sermon, which was "a learned disquisition of the foundation of Episcopacy".¹⁷

Broughton arrived back in Sydney on 2 June by the brig *Camden* after a very quick passage. On 5 June he was enthroned in S. James's Church into "the true and full possession of the episcopal see of Australia" by the senior chaplain, Samuel Marsden. He landed into the midst of an educational controversy, for the Governor had laid before the Legislative Council on 2 June a plan to replace the Church and Schools Corporation, whose charter had finally been revoked, by undenominational State education based on the Irish system. If this plan were accepted the Government would not support schools of any denomination. To this Broughton was strongly opposed. Unfortunately, through a careless slip on the part of officials of the Home Government, Broughton's warrant to sit on the Legislative Council as archdeacon had not been altered to fit his new rank, and the Governor and

17. *William Grant Broughton*, by T. F. Whittington, p. 64.



S. JAMES'S PARSONAGE, CORNER OF MACQUARIE AND KING STREETS, SYDNEY

the judges decided he could not take his seat. However, a well attended public meeting was held in which the Presbyterians, Methodist and other Nonconformist bodies participated and resolutions were passed opposing the system suggested by the Governor. The resolutions were received by the Legislative Council, but the Irish system was approved. However, nothing further was done about its introduction.

Three years later, the educational controversy was revived under the new Governor, Sir George Gipps, a fellow pupil of Broughton at the King's School, Canterbury. Gipps aimed at a system of education which would be as comprehensive as possible to suit the needs of the scattered settlements of the colony. He felt this could not be done if each denomination was allowed to continue with its own schools. He therefore planned to divide the grants for education between Protestants and Roman Catholics, thereby doing away with the various divisions of the non-Roman Catholic churches. The Government would support one Protestant and one Roman Catholic school in each settlement only. Broughton saw that this would mean the complete disappearance of the distinctive teaching of the Church of England, and he strongly opposed the measure. By now, since the technical difficulties in the way of taking his seat on the Council had been overcome, Broughton joined in the debate. He opposed the proposed plan in a speech which took over two hours to deliver. At its conclusion, no member rose to carry on the debate and the whole matter was dropped. One can realize the difficult position in which the bishop was placed. The Governor who sponsored the new

proposal was a personal friend. His action might break that friendship. But he knew what his duty was and he did it fearlessly. "I neither dread censure nor covet applause for what I may do in the discharge of my duty," he said. He appealed to the Governor to withdraw a measure which would completely change the religious aspect of the community and lead to the gradual disappearance of the Protestant churches until the population would be equally Unitarian or Roman Catholic. The Church of England had its definite place in the life of the English people and her schools were "the artery through which the life-blood is conveyed from the heart to the extremities of the body". He called attention to a petition lying on the table from 3000 people. They were in favour of the Church of England. They wanted for themselves and their children the services and teaching of that Church. He urged that in justice to them, the support of the Government to Anglican schools should be continued.¹⁸

This maintenance of a religious basis for our schools continued to be one of the main "planks" of Broughton's episcopacy. In his first and second visitation charges as a bishop, the matter is brought forward again and emphasized. But supporters of the undenominational method were increasing in numbers, and in less than ten years a crisis had to be faced again. In 1844 the Legislative Council appointed a committee with Robert Lowe, later the brilliant English Chancellor of the Exchequer, as chairman and W. C. Wentworth as a member, to consider the whole educational position. The com-

18. *Proc. of the Legislative Council of N.S.W. for 1839* (in the Mitchell Library, Sydney).

mittee advocated a system similar to that of Governor Bourke. The recommendation was accepted and the Council proceeded to make plans for the change. Again, however, owing to the opposition of religious bodies the plan was shelved and a compromise effected. In 1848 two Boards of Education were established, one to control new undenominational or national schools and the other to supervise the denominational schools. This system continued during the remainder of Broughton's episcopate and reference is made to it in a later chapter.

As mentioned before Broughton's mission to England had not resulted in anyone offering himself for the work of a chaplain in the colony. The number of clergy had been static since 1832. This led the bishop soon after his enthronement to make another desperate appeal to the S.P.G. for more priests. "Our obtaining or not obtaining them is a matter as it were of life or death," he wrote. "I cannot but hope that among the numbers of highly qualified men who are every year coming from the universities, not knowing how or where to obtain a title for orders . . . there must be some to whom even the modicum here presented would not be despicable; some to whom even the enterprise itself may not be unacceptable." He ended on a personal note. "I am oppressed almost beyond endurance by the varieties of duties and extent of difficulties with which I have, almost single-handed, to contend. But I do not despair; knowing that we have the best of causes and trusting that God will not forsake it."¹⁹ This appeal stirred the society to greater efforts, and, having received a promise from

19. *Report of the Proceedings of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 1837*, pp. 26-7.

the Government of passage money, an annual sum of £50 and a gratuity of £150 in addition to the usual salary for each chaplain who went out, they began to look widely for men. In answer to their proposals, numerous offers of service were received, and from these seven men were selected and sent out to the colony as quickly as possible. Others followed soon after. By 1839 the number of chaplains had risen from fifteen in 1833 to thirty-three. The Church Act of 1836 had replaced the system of payment of salaries by the Church and Schools Corporation. By it, whenever a sum of £300 or over was raised by private subscription among a congregation for the provision of a church, the local Government subscribed an equivalent amount up to a maximum of £1000. The Government was also willing to pay towards the salary of ministers, their grant varying according to the number of adult members of the congregation—£100 per annum for a congregation of 100 persons, £150 for 200 persons and £200 where it numbers 500. This new system was open to members of all denominations.²⁰ Although Broughton did not care for the Act, which he considered "was likely to have very ill effects upon the religious welfare of the community",²¹ he accepted it and made full use of it in placing the new chaplains and erecting new churches.

Reports of his extensive journeys in succeeding years tell of the laying of the foundation-stones or consecration of many chapels and churches. First in order of importance comes S. Andrew's Cathedral in Sydney. Governor Macquarie in 1819 had

20. *The State of Religion and Education in N.S.W.*, by W. W. Burton (1840), pp. 56-8.

21. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 June, 1839.

laid the foundation stone of the future cathedral which was to form the centre of a square where the main roads of the colony would meet, but Commissioner Bigge vetoed the plan as unnecessary for the size of the colony at that time. The stone remained until 1837, when Governor Bourke notified his intention of having it moved, since he wished to take over part of the land which had been set aside for the building. As no title deeds for the land had been issued, the Church had no claim to the full area. George Street was being extended and the new alignment reduced the size of the portion of land considerably. The place where Macquarie laid the stone would be on the tram lines of present day George Street. Broughton took the opportunity to urge a new design in Gothic architecture for the cathedral. The foundation stone was re-laid by Governor Bourke on 16 May, 1837, with due ceremony. Divine service was held first in S. James's Church, after which the Governor, the bishop and many officials of the colony proceeded in carriages to the site of S. Andrew's, where the ceremony of the laying of the foundation stone took place. On 17 October, Broughton called a meeting in S. James's vestry of those interested in the building of the cathedral. Those who attended were enthusiastic, promising subscriptions of large amounts. Two days later, the bishop reported in the press that £3000 had been subscribed. Included in the list were donations of £300 from the S.P.G., £300 from the S.P.C.K., £500 collected in England by the bishop's great friend the Rev. E. Coleridge, and £200 from the bishop himself. Sermons preached at S. Phillip's and S. James's in aid of the building fund had resulted in collections of £65

and £106 respectively being raised. Lack of finance, however, caused the work of building to be postponed in 1839. Further additions were made in 1842, but again work stopped. In 1846 the services of the architect E. T. Blacket were secured and the design for the building was again modified. The gold rush caused a further set-back, as labourers left their work for the goldfields, with the result that it was not until another bishop reigned in Sydney that the cathedral was finally opened and consecrated. That was on S. Andrew's Day, 1868. To serve the spiritual needs of the quite large number of people who had settled in the neighbourhood by 1840, a "large and commodious room in Albion's Mills at the bottom of Market Street", offered by Mr Hughes, was fitted up for divine service and opened in November, 1840. Unfortunately the mills were destroyed by fire in March, 1841, leaving the congregation stranded. A large weatherboard building was then erected on a site between the present cathedral and Town Hall to serve as a pro cathedral and church until the proper cathedral should be finished. It was opened by Bishop Broughton on 15 May, 1842, and served its purpose for twenty-five years.

In 1838 the bishop was in Tasmania on his first episcopal visit. During his stay he records the consecration of two churches, S. George's, Battery Point, and Holy Trinity, Newtown. Two years later, he laid the foundation stone of the church for the new parish of Holy Trinity, Sydney, carved out of that of S. Phillip's. In 1842, during his second visit to Port Phillip, he opened S. James's Church, Melbourne, laid the foundation stone of Christ Church, Geelong, and attended a meeting at which

it was proposed to erect a new church on Eastern Hill, the future S. Peter's. S. Thomas's, North Sydney, was also consecrated in that year. In 1843, during a visit to the west, he called a meeting to make plans for the erection of a church at Bathurst, a building he consecrated in 1848. The year 1845 saw the consecration of several churches, both in the city and the country. During a visit to the Goulburn district, he consecrated Christ Church, Queanbeyan, S. John's, Canberra, and S. John's, Camden. This last building he described as "a large, substantial, and really handsome church, built in a correct style of Decorated architecture".

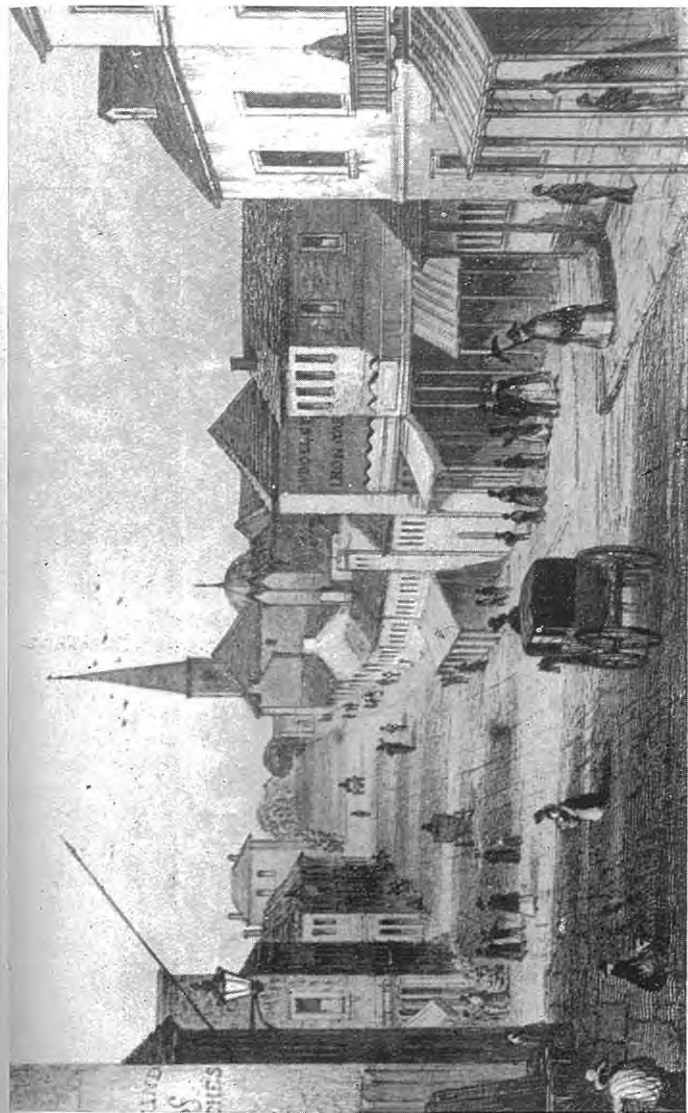
On his return to Sydney, the bishop consecrated the churches of S. John the Baptist at Ashfield and S. Stephen's at Camperdown (now Newtown). His diary also gives full details of the consecration of Christ Church in the parish of St Laurence. The gradual spread of the population south of King Street towards Redfern had created the need for another city church in that neighbourhood. Early in his episcopate, the bishop had written to the minister of S. James's, the Rev. G. N. Woodd, advising him to look for a possible site for a new church. "The church, I think, should be named after 'John', the brother of James: but as to a site, I am disposed to think that if any could be met with in Pitt Street it might be locally preferable. . . . I send you a draft of £100 on my own account which you can deposit in a safe place until required."²² A store-room in a brewery situated at the corner of Elizabeth and Albion Streets was acquired from the owner, Mr Terry Hughes. In this room services and a Sunday-

²² Quoted from a letter undated but probably 1837 or 1838, now in the possession of the Churchwardens of Christ Church, St. Laurence, Sydney.

school were conducted until the church was built. The foundation stone was laid on New Year's Day, 1840, and the consecration performed on 10 September, 1845. The minister, the Rev. W. H. Walsh, was a personal friend of the bishop's, and Broughton showed great interest in the building and completion of the church. One further church foundation must be recorded. On 27 June, 1847, Broughton presided at a meeting of church people at Watson's Bay, called together for the purpose of making plans for the erection of a church in the district. George Macarthur, a catechist, had been holding services for the pilots and fishermen in the schoolroom at "Clovelly". The bishop expressed the wish that the new church should be dedicated to S. Peter for three reasons. First, it was the eve of the Feast of S. Peter. Secondly, the apostle was the pilot of the Galilean Lake, and finally he was a fisherman. Canon Allwood, who spoke in support of the bishop, prophesied: "Might not the foundation of this small church thus become the commencement of a line of suburban churches which might fence the City of Sydney?" The Church of S. Peter, however, was not consecrated until 27 Dec., 1864.²³

From its earliest times, the Church in the colony had had to rely on the authorities of Church and State in England for the supply of men and money to carry out her work. Broughton could see that the day was not far distant when the Church would have to depend largely on her own resources to supply these necessities. The provision of suitable higher education for possible future candidates for

23. From a pamphlet entitled "St. Peter's, Watson's Bay" in the possession of the Royal Australian Historical Society.



KING STREET, SYDNEY, AND S. JAMES'S, 1843

the ministry had been one of the ideas in his mind in bringing about the foundation of the King's Schools in 1832. This led to the need for a theological college to complete the course of studies. Without it, the expense involved in sending young men home to England, as the Rev. Rowland Hassall and the Rev. William Macquarie Cowper had done, would debar promising but not wealthy young men from proceeding to orders. Eventually a divinity school was opened in the S. James's parsonage, at the corner of King and Macquarie Streets in Sydney. Canon Allwood, a fine scholarly man and incumbent of S. James's, was appointed principal. Eight students were enrolled, amongst whom was James Hassall, son of the Rev. Thomas Hassall. The syllabus to be covered was drawn up by the bishop, examinations of four hours on each of five days concluding the course. The items of the curriculum are worth quoting for comparison with modern requirements for the Th.L. degree. They are eight in number:

1. To compose a sermon upon a given text, without assistance except from a Bible and concordance in the case of deacons, and of a Bible only in the case of priests.
2. An examination, exegetical and critical, of portions of the Gospel and Acts of the Apostles in the original in the case of deacons, with the Epistles in the case of priests.
3. A paper of miscellaneous questions, to which answers in writing will be required concerning the evidence of the Christian Religion and its advantages and necessity.
4. A similar paper concerning the grounds of the Protestant Faith.
5. A similar paper of questions relating to the doctrines contained in the Articles, Homilies and Liturgy of the Church of England, with proofs of their scriptural foundation.
6. A similar paper concerning ministerial duty and authority.
7. Miscellaneous questions on church history, especially

during the first three centuries of the christian era; and upon biblical criticism.

8. Miscellaneous questions concerning the nature of objections most commonly urged by unbelievers against the Divine authority of the scriptures and the sufficiency of Revelation; with satisfactory solutions.²⁴

Once a week the students would take sermons of their own composition to the bishop, then resident at Darlinghurst. A week later, he would discuss them with the students and follow that up with two hours' instruction on various subjects. The students were then entertained at dinner by the bishop and his family and returned to the college by carriage.²⁵ After two years the college was moved to a bigger house, Lyndhurst, in the Glebe. Its scope was enlarged by the admission of students other than those reading for orders, resembling rather the present day affiliated colleges attached to one of our universities. After the death of the great churchman, Thomas Moore, a grant of a house and land near Liverpool led to the foundation in 1856 of Moore College with its Broughton Chapel, and the work of training candidates for orders was continued there.

One other event connected with higher education must be mentioned. A University of Sydney was established in 1852 through the efforts of a group of men led by W. C. Wentworth and Dr Bland. To Broughton's dismay, however, it was planned as a purely secular university, awarding no degrees at all in divinity. It was an example of education divorced from religion, against which the bishop had so often spoken. Four representative ministers were, nevertheless, invited to become

24. A copy of this syllabus is kept in the records of the Sydney Diocesan Registry.

25. In *Old Australia*, by J. C. Hassall (1902), pp. 63-4.

members of the Senate—the Bishop of Sydney, the Roman Catholic Archbishop, the Presbyterian Moderator and the Wesleyan Methodist Conference Chairman. Because he believed education should have a religious foundation and without it it was in vain, Broughton felt he could not accept the seat on the Senate. However, just after his death, the system of affiliated colleges attached to the University (really a compromise) was introduced through the efforts of Bishop Tyrrell of Newcastle, S. Paul's being the one erected by the Church of England. The colleges were controlled by the various denominations and supervised the life of the students except when they were required to attend the university for lectures.

With the increase in the number of settled areas, of churches and clergy in the diocese, and the growth of educational work, it became obvious that it was quite impossible for one bishop to minister satisfactorily in a diocese stretching from Moreton Bay to Van Diemen's Land. The question of the subdivision of the diocese, therefore, was one to which Broughton often referred. In 1841, as the result of the missionary enthusiasm of a few English churchmen, the Colonial Bishops Fund was established to collect money to endow new dioceses in the mission field where necessary. The prime mover in this was Bishop C. J. Blomfield of London, ably supported by the Rev. E. Hawkins, secretary of the S.P.G. The fund seemed the answer to Broughton's prayer. In a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London had drawn His Grace's attention to the forlorn condition of many of the oversea chaplains who, with their congregations, were devoid of episcopal super-

vision and ministrations. The letter moved the archbishop to call a public meeting to begin the appeal for funds. The meeting was a great success. The S.P.C.K. opened the contributions with a gift of £10,000. The S.P.G. gave £7000. The Archbishop and the Bishop of London each gave £1000 and the C.M.S. offered £600 per annum to be used in the endowment of a bishopric in New Zealand. The fund continued to grow until, by 1853, £140,000 had been donated. With this help, the number of overseas bishops rose from ten in 1840 to twenty-five in 1848.

The first new diocese connected with the Australian Church was that of New Zealand, created in 1841. Broughton had visited our sister dominion on one occasion and had always kept in touch with the missions working there. Actually it did not come within his diocese as decreed by his letters patent, but he had always considered it to be his care. The first bishop appointed to that new see was George Augustus Selwyn, D.D. A graduate of Cambridge and fellow of S. John's, he had been a tutor at Eton until his ordination. He was then appointed assistant-curate at Windsor. He was ministering there when he received his appointment to New Zealand. He was a close friend of both Broughton and Tyrrell, the first Bishop of Newcastle.

In 1842 a further subdivision of the diocese of Australia took place, when the see of Tasmania was created. Broughton had established an arch-deaconry there on his elevation to the episcopacy and had appointed a fellow-graduate of Pembroke College, W. Hutchins, to the office. It was obvious to him, however, that there was need for the cre-

ation of a separate diocese within the island and he urgently recommended its establishment. Through the Colonial Bishops Fund, this was now made possible, the first bishop being Francis Russell Nixon.

In 1848 the Colonial Government announced that future aid to religion in the colony would take the form of a block grant of £30,000 per annum which would be divided amongst the various denominations for their work. It marked the limit of financial aid to which the Government was prepared to go. Of this sum, the Church of England was to receive £17,000. Bishop Broughton took the opportunity to urge upon the British Government the need for the foundation of two new bishoprics, one for the northern portion of the colony with its headquarters at Newcastle, and one for the southern areas with its centre at Melbourne. He offered to surrender £1000 or half of his salary to aid in the endowment of the new sees. On 7 August, 1845, Governor Gipps forwarded Broughton's letter on this matter to Lord Stanley, the Secretary for the Colonies, signifying that, while he approved of Broughton's plan, he disliked the idea of the bishop sacrificing as much as £1000 of his income and suggested that £500 should be adequate.²⁶

On 30 March, 1846, W. E. Gladstone, then Secretary for the Colonies, wrote to the Governor stating that Broughton's plan had been considered and approved. Three new bishoprics were to be created, one each at Newcastle, Melbourne and Adelaide. The dispatch also gave instructions concerning the salaries and episcopal residences to be provided in each case. Only £500 per annum of Broughton's

²⁶ *H.R. of A.*, series I, vol. xxiv, p. 444.

suggested surrender was to be allowed. The Governor was advised to consult with the bishop as to the details of organization necessary for the establishment of the new dioceses.²⁷

Interest then centred on those who were being considered for the appointments. Broughton proposed the Rev. R. Allwood, minister of S. James's, Sydney, and Principal of S. James's College, for the position at Newcastle. Allwood pleaded to have his name withdrawn on the ground of his poor health, which would hinder him in travelling over the extensive area which was to form Newcastle diocese. Broughton also suggested that the translation of Bishop Nixon to Melbourne might be advantageous, as relations with the Governor, Sir John Franklin, were strained through the latter's attempts to discipline the clergy.²⁸ Learning that his friend, E. Coleridge, had been considered for Adelaide, he wrote strongly urging him not to think of it, as it was an appointment quite unworthy of him. Had it been to Sydney as metropolitan it would have been more fitting as a reward for his great service to the Church.

The appointment at Newcastle was given to the Rev. William Tyrrell, the rector of Beaulieu in Hampshire. He had been educated at Charterhouse and St John's, Cambridge, graduating at the same time as the first Bishop of New Zealand. He served a curacy at Aylestone in Leicestershire previous to his appointment to Beaulieu. The bishop elect for Melbourne was the Rev. Charles Perry, D.D., vicar of a Cambridge parish. The choice for Adelaide was the Rev. Augustus Short, rector of Ravensthorpe

27. *ibid.*, pp. 838 *et seq.*

28. *William Grant Broughton*, by T. F. Whittington, p. 165.

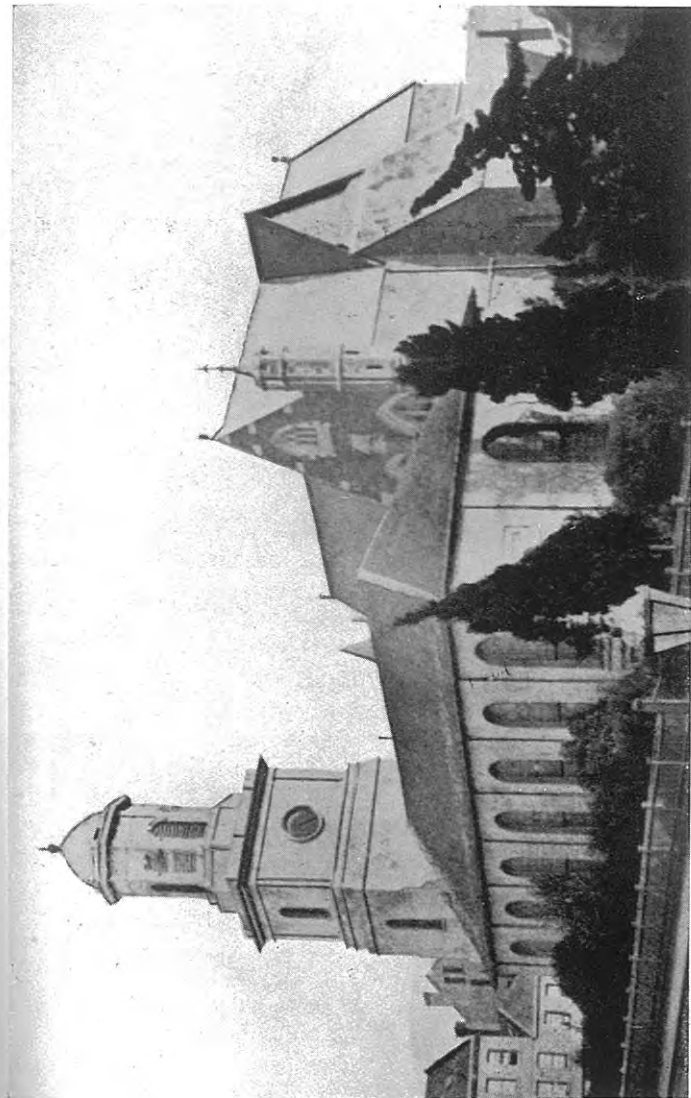
in Northamptonshire. He had gained a first-class honours degree in classics at Oxford and was appointed a tutor at his own college, Christ Church, where he came into contact with many outstanding men of his time, amongst whom were Gladstone, Canning, Lord Shaftesbury and Dr Pusey.

The three new bishops were consecrated in Westminster Abbey on 29 June, S. Peter's Day, 1847, in the presence of a very large congregation. Fourteen bishops took part in the service, 760 acts of Communion were made and a collection of £550 in aid of the Colonial Bishops' Fund taken up on this memorable day in the history of the Australian Church. The Bishop of London preached the occasional sermon from the text S. John, chapter xxi, verse 17, being Our Lord's commission to S. Peter. The letters patent creating the new dioceses and defining their limits were received by Governor Sir Charles Fitz Roy, Gipps's successor, in a dispatch from Earl Grey dated 27 August, 1847.²⁹ Broughton's title was then changed to Bishop of Sydney and Metropolitan of Australasia. The clergy of Sydney had thus been under the jurisdiction of five bishops—London, Calcutta, Madras, Australia and now Sydney. The changed conditions under which Broughton was now working led him to create an archdeaconry within New South Wales, the Archdeaconry of Cumberland, and to appoint to that position a man whose services would be of immense value to him in relieving him of many routine duties during the difficult months of organization work ahead of him. He nominated to the office the Rev. William Cowper, D.D., minister of S. Phillip's,

29. *H.R. of A.*, vol. xxv, pp. 717 *et seq.*

Sydney, who had faithfully served the church since his arrival as assistant chaplain in 1809.

The bishop's pleasure at the achievement of the long desired subdivision of the diocese was clouded soon after by a protracted illness, which at one time was thought would prove fatal, and by the death of his beloved wife. These afflictions he bore with the courage and fortitude of a true Christian. By the strength of his faith in God, he was enabled to pass through them to the crowning achievement of his episcopate, the Conference of the Bishops of the Province of Australasia in 1850. This deserves a chapter to itself.



OLD S. DAVID'S, HOBART (WITH THE NEW CHURCH BEHIND)

CHAPTER VI

EARLY DAYS IN VAN DIEMEN'S LAND

AFTER the unsuccessful attempt to form a settlement at Sorrento, on the shores of Port Phillip, in 1803, David Collins sailed for Van Diemen's Land with his company. On 16 February, 1804, he landed at Risdon Cove on the Derwent River to inspect the small settlement made there by Lieutenant Bowen. In spite of the beauty of the surroundings, Collins was not impressed with the site, and began to look farther afield. On 20 February, on a site near the lower end of the present Macquarie Street, Hobart, the settlement was established. The stream of water which supplied the company, the Hobart Rivulet, now flows beneath the city's streets.¹ The Reverend Robert Knopwood was the chaplain to the settlement. A four-months' drought showed signs of breaking, and every effort was made to get the tents and marquees erected, and a jetty built. On Sunday, 26 February, 1804, at the order of the Lieutenant-Governor, Collins, the whole company assembled at 10.30 a.m. for a service of prayer and thanksgiving for their safe arrival in the "delightful place where the Almighty has been pleased to establish us". The sermon, at Collins's request, was upon the prosperity of the settlement, and God's blessing was asked upon it. The site upon which the service was held would be some-

1. *Bobby Knopwood and His Times*, by Mabel Hookey, p. 13.

where in front of the steps of the present Town Hall in Macquarie Street.^{2, 3} In the afternoon, the chaplain, attended by some of the gentlemen of the settlement, went to Risdon Cove to take service for the convicts who had remained there.

Service was held in the open air each Sunday that weather and other circumstances permitted, and special days such as Christmas Day and Good Friday, were duly observed by the whole settlement. Frequently the service was at Risdon Cove by request of the Lieutenant-Governor, and on 14 and 28 November it was held in the hospital for the benefit of the sick.⁴ On Sunday, 18 March, Knopwood refers in his diary to the first wedding celebrated in the settlement, when he married Mrs Ann Skilhorn and Corporal Gangell of the Royal Marines. The ceremony took place in Government House, which had been completed during the first or second week in March. Knopwood's first reference to a baptism is under the date of 4 May, when he went to Risdon to christen a native boy who was living with Surgeon J. Mountgarrett. This event created great interest in the settlement. A few days later the child was brought to Hobart and shown to the Lieutenant-Governor.⁵

In November, 1804, another settlement was made by Lieutenant-Colonel Paterson in the Tamar River district in the north of the island. It was called Port Dalrymple. No chaplain was appointed, but Edward Main was relieved from duty on H.M.S. *Buffalo* to perform divine service.⁶ On 25 Novem-

2. *ibid.*, p. 16.

3. *History of the Church of England in Tasmania*, by W. R. Barrett, p. 1.

4. Knopwood's Diary (in the Mitchell Library, Sydney).

5. *ibid.*

6. *H.R. of A.*, series III, vol. i, p. 608.

ber, Paterson ordered the company to assemble in front of his house for the first service, conducted presumably, by Main. The settlement comprised two townships, Launceston and Georgetown.

Although the building of huts and cottages in Hobart was well under way in 1805, and the chaplain was suitably housed by then, no church was erected until 1810.⁷ On Sunday, 11 January, 1807, Knopwood recorded that he held divine service in the carpenter's shop. As he had not been well for some days, it is possible that the Lieutenant-Governor made this arrangement to safeguard the chaplain's health, although Knopwood was left to furnish it at his own expense. However, the shop continued to be used for some time after. Later the services were held at Government House, a veranda and one room being utilized, and afterwards they were conducted at the new barracks. The wooden church erected in 1810 was built in the corner of the burial-ground over the grave of the first Lieutenant-Governor, Collins, who had died suddenly in the early part of the year while talking to his servant. The building had been hurriedly erected in anticipation of a visit of Governor Macquarie, and it was blown down in a storm about two years later.⁸

Knopwood was prominent amongst those who first received and later opposed Captain Bligh when he visited Hobart after being deposed from the governorship of New South Wales in 1808. Bligh arrived in the *Derwent* in 1809, and was received with every respect by Collins and the officers of the settlement. But the Lieutenant-Governor was

7. *ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 367.

8. *Bobby Knopwood and His Times*, by Mabel Hookey, p. 83.

very firm when Bligh wished to print and issue a proclamation in defence of his actions and condemning his opponents. Bligh's remarks about Hobart were very disparaging. He criticized the Governor's residence, calling it a miserable three-roomed place; he criticized Knopwood for reading in church, at Collins's express wish, the proclamation of the Acting-Governor in Sydney; he criticized the appointment of William Collins, cousin to the Lieutenant-Governor, as Superintendent of Works, on the ground that there were few works to superintend; and he criticized jointly Knopwood and Lieutenant Lord because the latter had married a convict woman and the former had performed the ceremony.⁹

Shortly after taking control in Van Diemen's Land, the new Lieutenant-Governor, Colonel Thomas Davey, was warned by Macquarie to watch certain officers of the settlement. The chaplain was included. Macquarie's letter said:

The Lieutenant-Governor ought to be very much on his guard on his arrival at the Derwent against some designing characters there, who will endeavour to impose upon and mislead his judgments. Messrs. Knopwood, Fosbrook, . . . all come more or less under this description. . . . The Chaplain, is a man of very loose morals, by report, and ought to be severely admonished when guilty of an impropriety of conduct.¹⁰

It is not difficult to understand why the serious-minded Governor did not appreciate the pleasure-loving parson at Hobart.

The move for a permanent church began in 1816 at the urging of Macquarie. On 13 April of that year, Davey reported that the building had begun, but it was not likely to be a quick affair owing to

9. *H.R. of N.S.W.*, vol. vii, pp. 178 and 181.

10. *H.R. of A.*, series III, vol. ii., pp. 23-4.

other works on hand. There was some difference of opinion between Macquarie and Davey as to the exact position of the church. Davey arranged that it should be in the traditional east-west position, but as this would interfere with the appearance of other buildings around it, Macquarie could not agree.¹¹ This delayed plans for some while. The foundation stone was laid by Davey in February, 1817, when he stated that the church to be erected was to perpetuate the memory of the first Lieutenant-Governor. Knopwood preached a sermon from the text: "For other foundation can no man lay than that which is laid, which is Jesus Christ" (I Cor. xi, 3). The sermon is still extant in the archives of the Church in Hobart. In May of the same year, Davey reported to Macquarie that the walls were going up. By March of 1820, the engineer in charge, Major Bell, reported that the steeple had been carried to the proper height, 110 feet, and completed, that the roofing had been finished, the greater part of the plastering and carpenters' work was done, and the flagstones for the sanctuary and middle of the church were cut. Commissioner Bigge had commented, however, on the bad brick-work, and said that the north wall had swerved fifteen inches.¹² No doubt, this had been rectified by the engineer. The building was 92 feet long and 48 feet broad, and, according to Knopwood, was capable of holding 1000 people.

The first service was held on Christmas Day, 1819, although the building was still unfinished. With Macquarie's approval, the new Lieutenant-Governor, Sorell, ordered that the church should

11. *ibid.*

12. *ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 334.

be known as S. David's, in honour of Collins,¹³ thus following the example set in Sydney of naming the churches at that settlement and Parramatta after the first two Governors of New South Wales. The building was eventually consecrated by the senior chaplain in New South Wales, the Rev. Samuel Marsden, on 9 February, 1823. In response to an official inquiry from Sydney, Sorrell wrote that the pews were to be allocated according to the relative rank and property of the congregation.

The settlement in the north was without the services of a regular chaplain until the arrival of the Rev. James Youl in November, 1819. He transferred from New South Wales after serving for four years in the district of Liverpool. Knopwood had paid two visits to the north, one in 1811 and again in 1814. On the latter occasion he records that he made the journey in company with nine other people, for travelling was safer in groups in those days of bushrangers. He was in the settlement about three weeks, and in addition to conducting the usual Sunday services, he baptized several children.

On his arrival, Youl took up residence in an old house that had been repaired for him until a new parsonage could be built. He was assigned two men, one woman and five children as servants, and was granted glebe land near Gibson's Farm on the South Esk River. He received every consideration from the commandant, Major Cimitiere, and the Lieutenant-Governor was very helpful. A blacksmith's shop had been set aside for church services, and Youl made early application for repairs and alterations to make the building more suitable for

13. *ibid.*, p. 39.

divine worship. He asked for the construction of a proper place for persons who attended Holy Communion to kneel when they received the Sacrament. He suggested the insertion of four glass windows and the lining of the inside of the weatherboard walls. He also asked for the additional construction of a small vestry, which could be used as a sleeping room for the caretaker. He described the building as unsuitable as it was, too cold in the winter, and without a sanctuary. The estimated cost of the repairs was £124.¹⁴ Sorrell inspected the building and reported to Macquarie that he thought a new structure altogether would be cheaper in the long run. He had received a tender for a new building of £200 plus a small land grant, and he urged Macquarie to approve. This the latter did, except for the land grant. He preferred the payment to be made entirely in cash. This new building was known as the School House, and served as a school and temporary place of worship until the permanent church of S. John was opened on 16 December, 1825. This permanent structure was to have been a replica of S. David's, Hobart, but it was reduced one-third in size by the Governor as adequate to a smaller settlement such as Launceston was. It was consecrated by Archdeacon Scott on 6 March, 1828.¹⁵

Youl had two schools to supervise in the settlement, one run by a master named Macqueen, whom he described as a dissipated man, and the other by his own clerk, Brown. The Lieutenant-Governor offered him every help in his plan to open new schools at Paterson's and Norfolk Plains. The year 1821 brought about a change in the chaplain's

14. *ibid.*, pp. 51 and 81.

15. *ibid.*, vol. iv., p. 141.

routine, for Macquarie had decided that Georgetown rather than Launceston should be the chief station of the settlement. He instructed Youl to make the transfer before 1 September of that year. A new parsonage was being erected for him and would be ready then. He was to carry out his full ministerial duties at Georgetown, but was to visit Launceston every two months during the spring, summer and autumn seasons.¹⁶ Youl continued to minister to the two settlements until his death on 26 March, 1827. He was succeeded by the Rev. James Norman, a minister in Sydney attached to the Church Missionary Society. Mr Norman remained in charge until the arrival of the Rev. Dr Browne from London. He then proceeded to Hobart, where he and his wife took charge of the female orphan school. He later succeeded Mr Garrard at Pittwater.

On 18 July, 1821, Knopwood applied to Macquarie for permission to resign owing to his age (60), his increasing infirmity and a weakness of sight. He asked for retirement on full pay, which was £260 at that time. However, after some delay, he was allowed to resign in 1825 on a pension of £100, and he withdrew to Clarence Plains. There he ministered to the needs of the small population settled in the district until his death in September, 1838. He was buried in Rokeby Churchyard. He was replaced in Hobart by the Rev. William Bedford, D.D., who must have been the exact opposite of Knopwood. Canon W. R. Barrett writes of him: "In his stern denunciation of the social and moral evils of his day, Bedford has been likened to one of the old Hebrew prophets."

16. *ibid.*, pp. 22-3.

The next few years saw the opening of new centres and the erection of new churches. The Rev. William Garrard and the Rev. H. R. Robinson arrived in the settlement in February, 1825, and were stationed at Pittwater (Sorell) and New Norfolk respectively. The people of the latter settlement had asked Knopwood to minister to them after leaving Hobart, but Mr Robinson's arrival gave them a younger man. In the same year, the church of S. Matthew was opened at New Norfolk (14 August) and that of S. John at Launceston (16 December). Garrard used the school building for services, but he was not long in having the church building started. It was finished in May, 1828, and was dedicated to S. George.

In January, 1826, the archdeacon of New South Wales, the Venerable T. H. Scott, titular head of the Church in Australia, paid his first visit to the southernmost part of his archdeaconry. He spent many weeks in the island making a comprehensive tour of all the schools and churches, upon which, as King's visitor, he would have to report to the Church and Schools Corporation in Sydney. He held his visitation in S. David's in March, when his charge was delivered to all the chaplains in the settlement—Bedford, Youl, Knopwood, Garrard and Robinson. He wrote a detailed report of the state of religion and education as he saw it and made several excellent recommendations.¹⁷

He commented on the low moral standards of the colony and how the children of the free were soon defiled by the wickedness around them. He laid the blame for this on several things. Primarily, it was due to the former lack of clergy and schoolmasters.

17. *ibid.*, vol. v, p. 154.

Again, the previous administrations which had neglected to remedy the conditions, were at fault. The example of many of the free settlers was not an example of good and proper living. Finally, he felt that a lot of trouble could be laid at the door of the free press of the colony, propagating wrong ideas, uncontrolled by Government censorship. To counteract this, he suggested an immediate increase in the number of clergy and schoolmasters. He held up the excellent work of the Rev. Dr Bedford in the jail at Hobart as an example of what could be done. He recommended the opening of more parochial schools, particularly infants' schools for children of from five to nine years, where at an early age right ideas and habits could be inculcated into them. They could then pass on to the parochial primary schools, where they could stay till their sixteenth year if they wished. Eleven schools were needed immediately. He also proposed the formation of male and female orphan schools where the unwanted and uncared for could be protected from the vice around them. To overcome the feelings of class-consciousness he had noted between free, freed and convicts, he suggested the establishment of a general boarding-school where children from seven years of age could be educated. Fees would range from £25 to £100 per annum according to the grade of work pursued by the pupil. He gave a suggested outline of work and organization upon which it could be run. He stressed the necessity of paying suitable salaries to secure competent persons to teach. He also advocated better salaries to the clergy, particularly as the cost of living was higher in Van Diemen's Land than in New South Wales. He proposed £300 per annum as a minimum

figure. He said that ten new chaplains were needed at once, two for the penal settlements at Maria Island and Macquarie Harbour. To serve the districts not provided with a resident, he advocated the appointment of four chaplains to pay quarterly visits to each district. He recommended the appointment of a rural dean for the island to supervise the work in the schools and churches. In conclusion, he recommended a gratuity of £100 per annum for the Rev. W. Bedford for his excellent work in the jails.

In forwarding Scott's report to the Home authorities, Governor Arthur made two suggestions differing from Scott's recommendations. The first savours rather of snobbishness. He advised that it would be better and cheaper to acquire the services of two ministers of the Wesleyan Missionary Society to serve in the penal settlements as the conditions there would be less upsetting to them than to a university educated Anglican priest! He also urged that an archdeacon of Van Diemen's Land should be appointed in preference to a rural dean because of the remoteness of the colony from Sydney.¹⁸

In his reply to Arthur in December, 1826, Lord Bathurst, the Secretary for the Colonies, wrote that the British Government approved of Scott's report, but until it had further detailed information on conditions in the colony, it was not willing to act upon it in full. The services of a Wesleyan minister, the Rev. William Scholfield, had been acquired and he would proceed to the colony as soon as possible. He was to be paid £100 per annum and provided with a house. Bathurst could not approve

¹⁸ *ibid.*, p. 151.

of the appointment of either a rural dean or an archdeacon of Van Diemen's Land, as he felt the distance from Sydney did not warrant it, particularly as Scott intended to make biennial visitations. He approved of the gratuity to Bedford for his work in the jails, and sanctioned the proposed orphan schools. What a difference it might have made if the British Government had had more confidence in its officers in Australia and had adopted the major portion of the archdeacon's report; but His Majesty's ministers frequently would not or could not understand the true state of affairs in the southern colonies.

Scott again visited the island in 1828, shortly after he had written to London asking to be relieved of his duties. His successor, Archdeacon Broughton, made his first visit in 1830, when the local newspapers wrote in praise of his excellent sermons. "The spirit of a Christian and a scholar might be said to breathe throughout. . . . Addressed to the understanding and the heart," they were "in a word, true Christian discourses."¹⁹ He delivered his charge to the clergy in S. David's, Hobart, on 15 April, after visiting as many of the centres and parishes as possible. He expressed his satisfaction with the work done by the clergy as shown by the proper demeanour of the large congregations in their churches. He urges them to continue this work with unremitting zeal. He advocates the plan of providing every country householder with a Bible and prayer book to aid in the instruction of their families, and above all he asked them to use every endeavour to have more schools established.²⁰

19. *ibid.*, pp. 470-1.

20. *The Tasmanian*, 10 April, 1830.

He also preached in S. John's, Launceston, while in the north of the island.

The Rev. R. R. Davies arrived at Hobart in March, 1830. He was later stationed at Longford in the north and became one of the most prominent of the clergy, holding successively the offices of Rural Dean, Archdeacon of Launceston and Archdeacon of Hobart. In the north, he had a very large area in which to minister, but he showed untiring zeal and earnestness. A small church had been begun in anticipation of the arrival of a chaplain, and was completed by April, 1831, and a catechist, W. P. Weston, had been serving the district since 9 May, 1830. A new church was begun in 1839, owing to the unsatisfactory nature of the earlier building, and the foundation stone was laid by Sir John Franklin.

In response to further requests from Lieutenant-Colonel Arthur for an archdeacon or rural dean, the Rev. Phillip Palmer was appointed in February, 1833, as additional chaplain and rural dean. In order to avoid friction with the rather forceful senior chaplain, Dr Bedford, the parish of S. David's, Hobart, was divided and the new parish of Holy Trinity created with Mr Palmer in charge. He was to serve the penitentiary and the district of New Town. The old church of Holy Trinity with its clock tower still stands on the corner of Campbell and Brisbane Streets, and is used as a court house.²¹

Again followed a period of extension and building. Churches at Battery Point, Campbelltown, Oatlands, Hamilton and Richmond were begun, as

21. *History of the Church of England in Tasmania*, by W. R. Barrett, p. 4.

well as a new Trinity Church in Hobart. Plans were also made for a college at Hobart, an institution eventually founded at Bishopsbourne in the north in 1846 and named Christ's College.

In 1835 the diocese of Calcutta, of which Australia had been an archdeaconry, was divided and a new see of Madras created. Australia was transferred to the new diocese, although plans were under way for the creation of a separate Australian diocese. This was brought to fruition in 1836, when Archdeacon Broughton was consecrated with the title of Bishop of Australia. Soon afterwards Van Diemen's Land was made an archdeaconry and the Rev. William Hutchins, a former fellow-undergraduate of Broughton at Pembroke Hall, Oxford, was given the appointment,²² receiving an additional salary of £250 to that of an ordinary chaplain. With his appointment, the Colonial Secretary instructed that the office of rural dean was no longer necessary and should cease. Shortly after the new archdeacon's assumption of office, the Church Act of the New South Wales Legislature became operative and Hutchins took full advantage of the Act to establish churches throughout the colony. Unfortunately, as the Government helped to pay the salaries of the clergy, that body had greater control in church appointments. This led to some unpleasantness later between a later Governor and the first bishop.

In 1838 a branch joint committee of the two great English societies, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, was established. As in other parts of Australia, these societies had

22. *William Grant Broughton*, by T. F. Whittington, p. 20.

given considerable amounts to the Church. During the year of the committee's foundation, five S.P.G. missionaries arrived in Tasmania alone.²³ Others arrived in New South Wales and Port Phillip district. The joint committee was planned to give church people a chance to show their appreciation in a practical way.

Archdeacon Hutchins died suddenly in 1841. Canon Barrett says that local opinion held that either his death was said to have awakened the Home Government to the need for the creation of a separate diocese in Tasmania or he was just about to leave for England to become the first Bishop of Tasmania when he died. Whatever may be the truth, the British Government was very quick in recommending to the Queen the creation of a "new diocese in Van Diemen's Land". The letters patent were issued in August, 1842, using the term "Tasmania" in place of "Van Diemen's Land" officially for the first time. There had been a newspaper and a race club that bore that designation in the twenties, but this seems to be the first official use of the term. The island's nomenclature was not altered for Government purposes until the Orders-in-Council of the Privy Council in 1855.

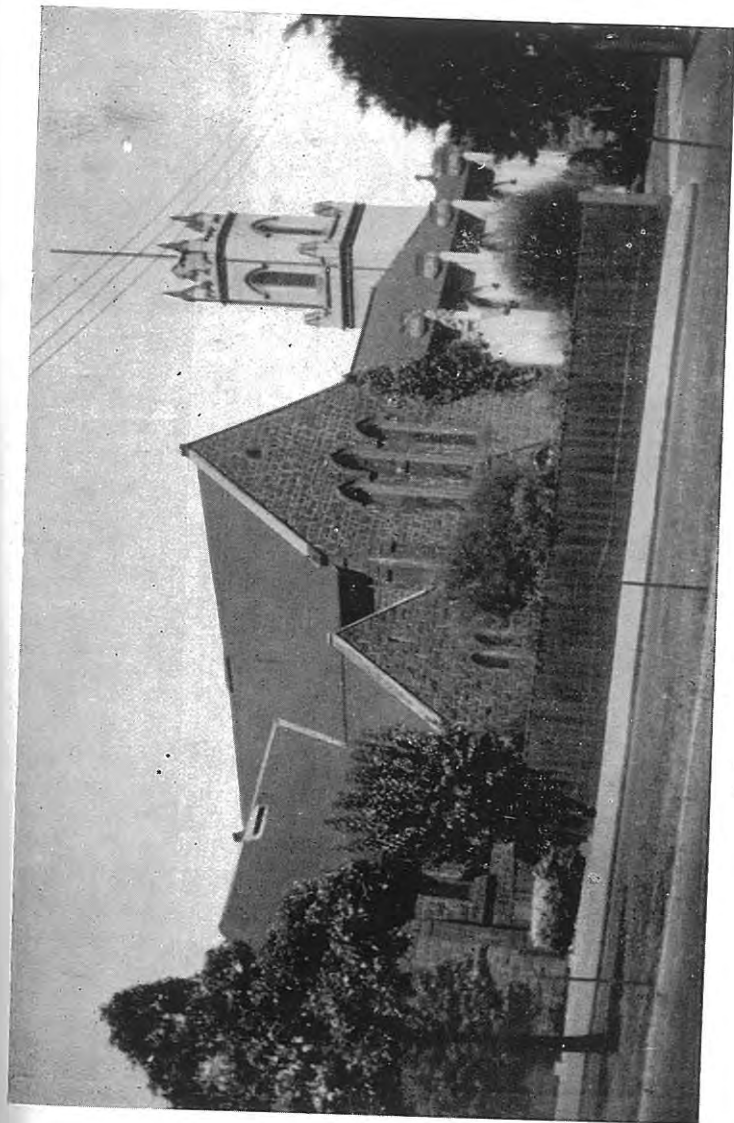
The first bishop of the new see was Francis Russell Nixon. Born at Foots Cray in Kent in 1803, he was educated at Merchant Taylors and Oxford, gaining the degrees of Bachelor of Arts, Master of Arts and Doctor of Divinity successively at the University. After a brief period of parochial work in Kent and a chaplaincy in Italy, he was selected as the first Bishop of Tasmania. He was consecrated

23. *History of the Church of England in Tasmania*, by W. R. Barrett, p. 6.

in Westminster Abbey on S. Bartholomew's Day, 1842, at the same time as four other missionary bishops. He arrived in Tasmania in June, 1843, and was duly installed and enthroned in S. David's by the senior chaplain, Dr Bedford, on 27 July. The bishop's letters patent also made S. David's a cathedral and raised Hobart Town to the dignity of a city. The throne in the new cathedral was the actual chair in which Bishop Nixon had been seated after his consecration in Westminster Abbey. Accompanying the bishop as chaplain was the Rev. F. A. Marriott, a former Leicestershire vicar. Dr Nixon appointed him as his archdeacon soon after their arrival.

The new bishop entered eagerly upon his studies, and was soon fully acquainted with the needs of the diocese. He sent Archdeacon Marriott back to England to seek help in men and money. In this, the archdeacon was very successful. He persuaded six priests and six candidates for the ministry to come to Tasmania and raised a sum of over £5000 towards the completion of Christ's College.²⁴ Things looked promising at the dawn of diocesan days in Tasmania.

²⁴. *ibid.*, p. 8.



S. PETER'S CHURCH, MELBOURNE

CHAPTER VII

EARLY DAYS IN MORETON BAY

IN 1823 John Oxley, Surveyor-General of New South Wales, explored the Brisbane River, and opened the way for the foundation of a penal settlement which was to replace Port Macquarie. The transfer was made a year later and a site chosen, on Oxley's recommendation, at Redcliff. It was soon moved, however, to where Brisbane now stands. For eighteen years, the settlement and a large area around were closed to free settlers. The story of the Church's ministrations during that period makes sad reading.

The Church and Schools Corporation, which had been created to provide educational facilities for the whole colony, decided to open a school for the Moreton Bay district. In 1826 Mrs Esther Roberts was appointed teacher at a salary of £20 per annum. The corporation records show that sixteen children were in attendance at the end of the first term.¹ No provision was made for a church or a permanent chaplain, however. A year later Archdeacon Hobbes Scott, who was the senior priest of the Church at the time, wrote to Governor Darling urging him, among other things, to build a parsonage and a school house. He estimated that the parsonage would cost £500 and the school house,

1. Church and Schools Corporation Papers (in the Mitchell Library, Sydney).

which could be used as a chapel, would cost £100.² He considered it an immediate need, but nothing seems to have been done. In 1828 Archdeacon Scott visited the settlement. In his report he records that he authorized Mr Henry Cowper, "who reads the prayers on Sundays, to take burials if necessary". From this, we would gather that Mr Cowper, who was assistant surgeon, was reading prayers each Sunday to those who wished to attend.³ In January of the year that the archdeacon visited Moreton Bay, two new chaplains arrived in Sydney, one of whom, the Rev. John Vincent, was set aside for work in Moreton Bay. However, his health seems to have been a cause for concern and it was very doubtful whether he would be able to go. Archdeacon Scott reported to the Governor that he had received a certificate of health from the Government assistant-surgeon at Parramatta, acquainting him with the fact that there was great risk in sending Mr Vincent to Moreton Bay, although he would be well enough to do duty in some district which did not involve a sea voyage to get there. Reporting the matter to the British Government, Governor Darling wrote that he was of the opinion that "Mr Vincent is a poor valetudinarian, and can never be of much use anywhere. He has been extremely ill lately and from the state of debility he is in, I should doubt the chance of his surviving for any time".⁴ However, John Vincent did proceed to Moreton Bay. In a letter of Archdeacon Scott's, dated 12 March, 1829, the writer says to Mr Vincent—"as you are proceeding to Moreton Bay". A

2. *H.R. of A.*, vol. xiv, pp. 50-1.

3. Scott Correspondence, vol. i, p. 354 (in the Mitchell Library, Sydney).

4. *H.R. of A.*, vol. xiv, p. 561.

letter written by Vincent to the archdeacon, dated 16 May, 1829, was written from Brisbane, so that between those two dates he had made the hazardous sea voyage.⁵ However, his stay was to be of short duration. A dispatch of Governor Darling, dated 13 November, 1830, tells us that he quarrelled with the commandant of the settlement, Captain Logan, and returned to Sydney after only six or seven months' service. The Return of the Church and Schools Corporation for 1829 gives the following facts about the Moreton Bay Settlement:⁶

Number of Chaplains: 1

Number of Services performed: 2 (presumably 2 per Sunday)

Number of Additional Services: 0

Number of Schools: 1

Number of Chapels: 1 required

Remarks: supplied every Sunday.

Vincent arrived in Sydney on 29 December, 1829, in the *Amity* and during the next few years was stationed successively at Sutton Forest (1833) and Castlereagh (1842). He died in January, 1854.

For many years the settlement was without the services of a priest, and one hopes that, as in the first years of the settlement, there was some keen layman who conducted services week by week. The church school continued to provide a meagre education during this time. After Mrs Roberts's departure, Mr Magennis, Mr Edward Blount and Mr Peter Cleary were successively teachers-in-charge.⁷ As there is no record of the building of the school house, one assumes that classes continued to function in hired premises.

Seven years passed before another appointment

5. Scott Correspondence (in the Mitchell Library, Sydney).

6. Enclosed with Governors' Dispatches, vol. xvi (in the Mitchell Library, Sydney).

7. Data from *Australian Almanac* and *N.S.W. Calendar*, 1830-40.

as chaplain was made, and even then, the state of affairs seems to have been unusual. In 1830 the British Government approached the Church Missionary Society with an offer of £500 per annum if the society would send out two missionaries to attend to the needs of the aborigines. The offer was accepted and the Rev. John Christian S. Handt and the Rev. W. Watson were sent out to establish native missions. The centres chosen were Wellington Valley, north-east of Bathurst, and later, Moreton Bay. In 1836 Handt went up to Moreton Bay for a short while, but he soon returned to Wellington Valley. In 1837 he was appointed chaplain to Moreton Bay and here he officiated until 1842, when, unwillingly, he was superseded by the Rev. John Gregor. *The Missionary Register* of the Church Missionary Society recorded the appointment of Handt in the following paragraph:

The Rev. J. C. S. Handt has been appointed by the Government of New South Wales to the ministerial charge of the Penal Settlement at Moreton Bay with the concurrence of the Corresponding Committee. It was intended that he should give attention to the aboriginal population of the neighbourhood as circumstances might permit. A more unhopeful charge of ministerial duty cannot be imagined than that in which Mr. Handt is here engaged; yet even here are not wanting indications of the influence of Divine Truth on the minds of some of these outcasts of human society.⁸

Mr Handt reported to C.M.S. that prisoners often visited him, particularly on the Lord's day in the afternoon, and in a respectful manner requested the loan of some tracts or the gift of a Testament or Bible.

Mr Handt was a Lutheran, and it is obvious he did not seek episcopal ordination, for when he was superseded at Brisbane, the Governor reported that,

8. *Missionary Register* of Church Missionary Society, 1840, p. 229.

owing to his being out of a job, "the situation of Mr Handt became really distressing. The gratuity which I issued him of £100, has enabled him to remove to the neighbourhood of Sydney, where he has obtained a small congregation on the voluntary system".⁹ The Governor, Sir George Gipps, in a dispatch dated 26 October, 1842, reported to the Home Government that Handt, who had arrived in the colony by the convict ship *Eleanor* in 1831 as a missionary to the aborigines, had for some time past officiated as a minister of the Church of England at Moreton Bay, *under a licence from the Bishop of Australia*. Whether Bishop Broughton accepted his orders as valid or not, or whether he licensed him in some other way, perhaps as a missionary, is not clear. Gipps later reported the opening of Moreton Bay to free settlers, and in his dispatch, dated 8 July, 1843, he wrote:

Since the recent opening of Moreton Bay, a Minister of the Church of England has, under the Church Act of the Colony, been appointed to the town of Brisbane and has, of course, superseded Mr Handt in the exercise of his function. Mr Handt is a Lutheran, as well as a foreigner, and consequently is not recognised by the Bishop of Australia.

This does not quite agree with Gipps's former dispatch, so what exactly Handt was it is difficult to say. He was, without doubt, the official chaplain to Moreton Bay, but whether with the Bishop of Australia's official permission or not, one cannot say. He was also the official appointee of the Church Missionary Society, which was a Church of England society. In the Civil List for 1839 he is classified in the Anglican section as a missionary rather than a clergyman.

The Rev. John Gregor arrived in Brisbane in 1843

9. Governors' Dispatches (in the Mitchell Library, Sydney).

in company with the resident magistrate, Captain Wickham. He had been recently ordained by Bishop Broughton, previously holding orders in the Presbyterian Church. His position differed considerably from that of both the previous chaplains to Moreton Bay. He was an S.P.G. missionary and was to minister to the colony, not to a penal settlement, hence his parish was very extensive. It included the Darling Downs, where settlement had begun in 1840, and as further settlements were made his responsibilities increased.

At first Mr Gregor held services in the court house in which Captain Wickham held court, but it was not long before a more suitable building was provided by the Government. On a site which is today at the back of the Longreach Hotel stood a convict carpenters' shop.¹⁰ This structure was fitted out as a church and dedicated to S. John the Divine, a dedication which has been perpetuated in the several buildings which have served as the chief church in Brisbane.

It was not long before services were being held in other districts. In his first year, we read of Mr Gregor visiting Cressbrook, Mount Brisbane and other centres in the Brisbane and Logan River districts. The Downs were in his early itinerary, and South Brisbane was having regular services in early 1847. Many laymen were willing helpers of the minister, amongst whom were Captain and Mrs Wickham and Mrs Jones, wife of the member for Stanley in the Parliament of New South Wales. After five years' strenuous work in his extensive parish, Mr Gregor was drowned whilst bathing at Nundah. Reading his journals, one sees in him a

10. *The Diocese of Brisbane, 1843-1909*, by F. De Witt-Batty, p. 6.

man who had but one aim, the saving of souls. He travelled miles upon miles, from station to station, braving cheerfully the dangers and discomforts of journeys in those days, to have the opportunity of speaking to a handful of shepherds or farm-hands in the evening. He was not a man of robust physique and often mentions fatigue, due perhaps to his uncertain health. Yet he persevered in his travels, and on one occasion when his horse was not available, he covered the day's section of the route, thirteen to fourteen miles, on foot rather than be delayed. His enthusiasm is seen in one instance he records after his return from a trip to the north in 1843:

There was only one person so hardened in iniquity as to appear beyond the reach of good impressions in this world, and, unless repentance be wrought in his stubborn soul by the glorious power of God's Holy Spirit, the hope of final redemption in the world to come.

With this desperado I conversed for more than an hour; and his conscience being seared as with a hot iron, I could not discover a single avenue in his obdurate heart through which there could be insinuated so much as one iota of the truth as it is in Jesus. I left him in the hands of God.¹¹

Bishop Broughton's tribute to this pioneer missionary was given in a memorandum to the S.P.G. He spoke of Mr Gregor's "intelligence and good sense" and the "laborious zeal with which he devotes himself to convey the glad tidings of redemption to those far separated members of Christ's body".

Probably the outstanding character of these early days was the Rev. Benjamin Glennie, who, while still a deacon, was appointed to Brisbane in 1848 by the first Bishop of Newcastle, Dr Tyrrell, in whose diocese Brisbane was then placed. Mr

11. *Journals of Missionary Tours*, by J. Gregor, p. 44.

Glennie laboured for many years in Queensland, and in the Downs his name is held in high esteem.¹² Very soon after his arrival in Brisbane the bishop paid his first visit and held a confirmation service. With Mr Glennie, he visited other settlements in and around Brisbane. Two other clergymen arrived in Brisbane shortly after, for reasons of health, and they were able to assist in conducting services, allowing Mr Glennie to pay more frequent visits to out-back settlements. The foundation stone of the second S. John's was laid on the occasion of the bishop's second visit in 1850. The areas of work of the three priests then in the district were rearranged more effectively. One of the two men who had been assisting in Brisbane recovered health sufficiently to do regular work. The other returned home. The Rev. J. Wallace, who had arrived just before the bishop's visit and had been stationed at Ipswich, was transferred to Brisbane. This enabled Mr Glennie to go out to the Downs, where, within a year, he had opened the first church at Drayton. The addition of another priest a few months later enabled Mr Wallace to return to Ipswich, leaving the new arrival, the Rev. H. O. Irwin, to minister at Brisbane. The years 1857 to 1860 saw the opening of various new centres and buildings for worship, amongst them being Fortitude Valley, Warwick and Ipswich.

The time had come for a division of the vast diocese of Newcastle, Brisbane being chosen as the centre of the new see. In 1859 Dr E. F. Tufnell was consecrated as the first bishop. He was not able to reach Australia until nearly twelve months had elapsed, however, and his enthronement took

12. A more detailed description of his work is given in the last chapter.

place on Tuesday, 4 September, 1860. He brought with him six clergymen, one of whom, Canon T. Jones, lived to see the jubilee of the diocese. Achievements of the first bishop remain today as monuments to his zeal and energy. Amongst them are the erection of Bishopsbourne, the official residence of the bishop, and the system of synodical government in Brisbane, the constitution for which was drawn up for the bishop by Judge Lutwyche. Perhaps the best summary of his work is given in his address to the first Synod on 6 May, 1868:¹³

It is, I think, desirable that upon the occasion of this first meeting of our Synod, I should briefly review what has, by God's blessing, during the last eight years been accomplished in the Diocese in the way of church extension. I have already said that the number of clergy officiating in the Diocese has been increased nearly six-fold. In the municipality of Brisbane and its immediate vicinity, new congregations have been gathered and churches built at Wickham Terrace, Lutwyche and Toowong. The churches at Fortitude Valley, South Brisbane and Kangaroo Point have been enlarged, and Saint John's is in the course of enlargement; at Grovelly and Doughboy Creek, in the same neighbourhood, churches are being built; at Ipswich, of the debt of £2800 which existed upon the Church, £1800 has, by the exertions of the congregations, been paid off, and the parsonage, which had fallen into considerable decay, thoroughly repaired; at Toowoomba and Drayton, the churches have been enlarged, and steps are being taken at Toowoomba for the erection of a new church. . . .

The review continues, and Dalby, Taroom, Warwick, Allora, Maryborough, Rockhampton and Bowen are mentioned as places of new buildings or activities. It records wonderful progress with only a small staff available, a record of which the bishop could be justly proud.

13. *The Diocese of Brisbane, 1843-1909*, by F. De Witt-Batty, p. 16.

CHAPTER VIII

EARLY DAYS IN PORT PHILLIP

THE first two attempts at settlement in the Port Phillip district were short lived, fortunately, perhaps, as both were convict establishments. In 1803, in response to a request from Governor King, the British Government sent out David Collins, former Judge-Advocate at Sydney, in charge of a party of officers, marines, convicts and a few settlers, to form a settlement on the shores of Port Phillip. The first ships arrived on 7 October and a site was chosen at Sullivan Bay, near where Sorrento is today. Amongst the party were a boy of eleven years of age, his mother and his sisters. They had come out to be near the father, who was a convict. The boy was John Pascoe Fawkner, who in later years was one of the founders of Melbourne. The chaplain to the settlement was the Rev. Robert Knopwood.

On the first Sunday after arrival, everyone seems to have been busily occupied with unloading, with the result that no services were held. On the following Sunday, 23 October, the chaplain held divine service for the first time, in the presence of the Lieutenant-Governor and the whole company. Three weeks later Mr Knopwood preached his first sermon at the settlement. His text was taken from Psalm 139, verses 9 and 10:

If I take the wings of the morning, and dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea;
Even there shall thy hand lead me, and thy right hand shall hold me.

He called them to give thanks to God for their safe passage through the perils of the sea. God, he said, was everywhere; His helping hand was ever ready to aid them wherever they might be. As an example, he pointed to the successful voyage of 3618 miles in an open boat by Lieutenant Bligh of the *Bounty*. He also warned them that God knew their every action and thought. Evil could not be hidden. He prayed that God would give them a more serious spirit which would lead them to meditate often on Him and His goodness.¹

On 17 November, in the presence of the entire population, Mr Knopwood read Collins's official commission. The latter then formally assumed the office of Lieutenant-Governor. Collins was not happy about the future, however, for the locality did not seem a suitable one for a successful settlement. Without bothering to explore further, he wrote to Governor King at Sydney asking for permission to transfer to Van Diemen's Land.

On 28 November the chaplain married Richard Garratt, a prisoner, to Hannah Harvey, a free woman, the first marriage at Port Phillip. On Christmas Day he administered the first baptism, when a son of Sergeant Thorne received the names of William James Hobart. Entries in the diary of the chaplain tell us of other interests than spiritual matters.² On 10 December he writes, "I set my white hen on twenty-one eggs this morn." Six days

1. This sermon is reproduced in full in the *Church of England Messenger*, 14 February, 1878.

2. This diary is in the Mitchell Library, Sydney.

later he records, "Set the spotten hen." On 8 January he writes with pleasure, "My brown hen had seven young chickings." Spelling was not a strong point with Knopwood.³

On 12 December Collins received permission from Governor King to remove the settlement and he did not delay. In order to facilitate loading the ship which was to transfer them, gangs of convicts were set to work erecting a jetty, labour continuing during Saturdays and Sundays. The ill-feeling that resulted made it necessary for Collins to place armed guards around the officers' quarters at night. In a general order dated 31 December the Lieutenant-Governor explained why it was necessary:

It has never been his [Collins's] wish to make that day any other than a day of devotion and rest; but circumstances compel him at present to employ it in labour. In this labour the whole are concerned, since the sooner we are enabled to leave this unpromising and unproductive country, the sooner shall we be able to reap the advantages and enjoy the comforts of a more fertile spot.⁴

The major portion of the company sailed for the Derwent River in Tasmania on 30 January, 1804, the rest following a few months later.

The second effort at settlement was made at Western Port in 1826 at a time when it was thought the French were casting covetous eyes on the large unoccupied areas of Australia. The ships arrived in Western Port bay in November under the command of Captain Wetherall. A site was chosen near where Corinella is today. Although this settlement lasted until 7 April, 1828, there is no mention in official records of divine service being held, nor is there any trace of a church building on the official

3. *First Years at Port Phillip*, by R. D. Boys, p. 23.

4. *H.R. of A.*, series III, vol. i, p. 85.

map of the settlement in the Public Records Office in London.

The permanent settlement of the area now called Victoria began in the years 1834 and 1835, when from Tasmania the Henty Brothers sailed to Port-land Bay, and John Batman, John Pascoe Fawcner and their respective parties arrived on the banks of the Yarra to make new openings for themselves on the land over Bass Strait hitherto forbidden to settlers by the Government in Sydney. The influx following them was so rapid that by June, 1836, it was estimated that the population was more than four hundred. His hand thus forced, Governor Bourke applied to England for permission to form a settlement. This was granted. During a visit of His Excellency in 1837, four townships were established, Williamstown, named in honour of King William IV, Melbourne after the Prime Minister, Geelong, the native name for the locality, and Port-land. This was followed by the first land sale in Melbourne and the beginning of a township, which after a little more than a hundred years has grown into the beautiful capital of the State of Victoria.

The settlement had attained the age of two years, however, before an ordained priest visited it. The first service in the town was conducted by a Wesleyan Methodist minister, the Rev. Joseph Orton, who came over from Van Diemen's Land to tend to the needs of the native peoples. Seats were placed in the shade of the she-oaks on Batman's Hill, on the eastern slope. Here the population gathered for their worship.⁵ The service was according to the liturgy of the Church of England. Mr Orton

5. *Discovery and Settlement of Port Phillip*, by James Bonwick (1859), p. 133.

was assisted by Mr James Simpson, later a prominent churchman, who read the responses. This memorable day was Sunday, 24 April, 1836. The preacher's text was taken from the lips of the rich young man in the Gospel story: "What shall I do to inherit eternal life?" At another service, held in the afternoon, about fifty blacks were amongst the congregation and appeared to be quite interested in the proceedings.⁶ One of them attended in a full military uniform which had been given him by Colonel Arthur, Governor of Tasmania.

For two years the worship of the Church depended on the efforts of laymen. Captain Lonsdale, the first resident police magistrate, frequently held services in the court house, when soldiers, constables, a few convicts and civilians composed the congregation. Other settlers gathered in their homes to read prayers and perhaps a sermon. Records tell us that Fawkner had done this as early as 18 October, 1835.⁷ Laymen who took a leading part were Mr George Langhorne, the missionary of the aboriginal settlement on the Yarra, and Mr James Smith, his successor in that position and later several times Mayor of Melbourne. Mr Smith, formerly a purser on a man-of-war,⁸ also read the burial service at the earliest funerals in the settlement.

In April, 1837, the Rev. T. B. Naylor, of Hobart Town, paid a visit to the settlement. He conducted divine service, during which the first baptism in Melbourne took place. The child, a son to a Mrs Gibbet, received the names of John Melbourne. He

6. *The Church in Victoria*, by G. Goodman, Chapter II.

7. *First Years at Port Phillip*, by R. D. Boys, p. 47.

8. *Discovery and Settlement of Port Phillip*, by James Bonwick (1859), pp. 133-4.

was subsequently married in Christ Church, Geelong.

In the land sales, by order of the Governor, two portions of ground totalling five acres near Little Collins Street were set aside for the Church. This led to some discussion in the press, Melbourne already having a newspaper, the *Melbourne Advertiser*, run by John Fawkner. As previously two acres had been the customary grant for Church purposes, it was urged that the Church of England was being unduly favoured. However, the grant stood, and on the land where Batman had grazed his sheep, a wooden chapel, capable of holding one hundred people, was erected for worship and for a school. It was described as "a small square building with an old ship's bell suspended from a most defamatory gallows-like structure".⁹ The building was used by other denominations as occasion arose, until a permanent Anglican clergyman was appointed. It was moved to a position near the future site of S. James's Pro-Cathedral in 1839 and enlarged. Further additions were made in 1840, doubling the seating capacity. It was furnished with a cedar pulpit and pews, which were moved to the permanent church for the opening services. Batman, though not an Anglican, generously contributed £50 towards the cost.

Easter-tide, 1838, was a memorable occasion in the history of the Church in Melbourne, for the Bishop of Australia, William Grant Broughton, paid his first visit to the settlement. In his report to the S.P.G. he said:

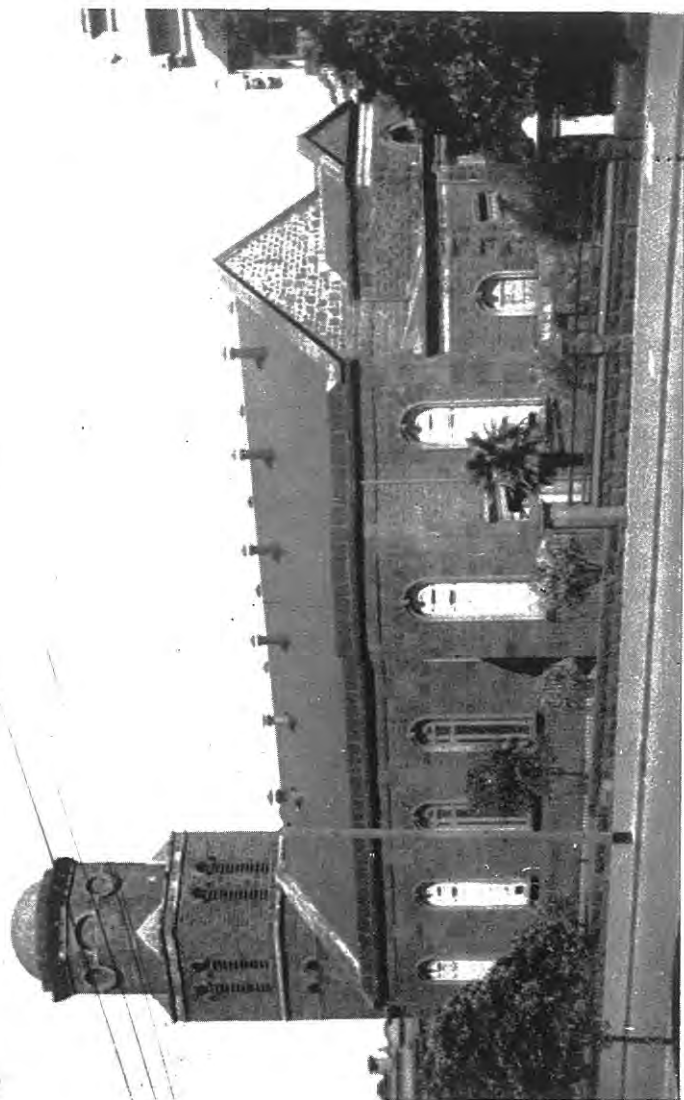
I arrived in Melbourne in time to officiate on Easter Sunday (April 15th) and was gratified to find the good feelings of the inhabitants had induced them to provide a

9. *ibid.*, p. 134.

small wooden building which, however humble in character, served the purpose of a place of assembly for public worship. My satisfaction was still further increased by learning that the service of the Church of England was celebrated twice every Sunday; the prayers of the Liturgy and a sermon being read by Mr James Smith, a most respectable settler there, whose name I have sincere pleasure in recording with all the honour which my testimony can carry with it, in connection with this example of zeal, piety and faithfulness, displayed in the service of God and His Church. . . . On Easter Sunday, I officiated in the small wooden church, the congregation being numerous and attentive, and at the ministration of the Holy Sacrament, the communicants partook of the sacred elements for the first time in that remote region.¹⁰

During his stay the bishop consecrated the Church of England portion of the Melbourne (Old) Cemetery and visited Mr Langhorne's aboriginal settlement. He also attended a meeting in July which enthusiastically proposed the erection of a more permanent church and a clergyman's residence. The committee appointed, Messrs. Welsh, Rucker and Fawkner, hoped to collect £200 and receive the same from the Government. At the conclusion of his visit, the bishop prophesied of the settlement that "although hitherto but little known, it held forth expectations of future importance worthy of most attentive regard". The most urgent need, which he brought to the notice of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, was for the services of an ordained clergyman. As a result, on 12 October of the same year, the Rev. John Couch Grylls arrived in the settlement as chaplain by the ship *Denmark Hill*. He was a small man, of a gentle and amiable disposition. He read his sermons with great solemnity, although frequently troubled by a defect of speech. His first sermon was preached on the text (I Corinthians ii, 2):

10. William Grant Broughton, by T. F. Whittington, Chapter VIII, p. 94.



S. JAMES'S OLD CATHEDRAL, MELBOURNE

"For I determined not to know anything among you, save Jesus Christ, and him crucified."¹¹ Upon Mr Grylls's arrival, Mr James Smith was transferred to Williamstown as catechist.

After a short stay, Mr Grylls decided to make the colony his home, and was granted twelve months' leave of absence to return to England to bring out his wife and family. On his return to Australia, however, he strangely did not resume his duties in Melbourne, but took up work at Holy Trinity Church, Sydney, and was later made Canon of S. Andrew's Cathedral. In his absence, his work had been carried on by the Rev. J. Y. Wilson, an S.P.G. missionary. Subsequent to Mr Wilson's appointment to Portland, a retired missionary chaplain from India, the Rev. Adam Compton Thomson, was inducted into the incumbency of S. James's, an appointment very pleasing to the congregation because of his sincerity and enthusiasm.

The committee chosen to raise the necessary funds for the permanent church was very active, with the result that on 9 November, 1839, the foundation stone of the building was laid. It is noticeable how many of the colony's present and future leaders were prominent in assisting the committee. The newly appointed superintendent, Charles Joseph La Trobe, was a large subscriber to the fund and laid the foundation stone of the church. Captain Lonsdale was president of the committee. The resident judge, Jeffcott, was keenly interested. Dr Palmer, afterwards Chairman of the National Board of Education, Dr McCrae, medical officer of the colony, and Mr D. C. McArthur, manager of the

11. *Discovery and Settlement of Port Phillip*, by James Bonwick (1859), p. 135.

Bank of Australasia, were all members of the committee.

The church, dedicated to S. James, was opened on Sunday, 2 October, 1842, by Mr Thomson. It was in an unfinished state, without spire, with unplastered walls and furnished with temporary seats taken from the wooden chapel. Work on the erection of the building had been suspended from time to time owing to lack of funds. At the time of opening, it was estimated that £1416 was still required to pay for the plastering and the pewing. The collections on the day of opening were used to defray the cost of erecting the temporary seats.¹² It stood on the land bounded by Collins, William and Little Collins Streets. It was removed to its present site in King Street just prior to the first World War. When Port Phillip district was made a separate diocese, it served as the cathedral for the first bishop, and is still popularly known as S. James's Old Cathedral. The building was not one month old when its first national service was held, that of the thanksgiving for the escape of Queen Victoria from an attempted assassination.

On S. Andrew's Day of the same year a stone building at Brighton was opened by Mr Thomson as a school and temporary place of worship. This was the forerunner of the present S. Andrew's, Middle Brighton.¹³

At Portland Bay the members of the Henty family took services regularly in the early days of the settlement. In 1841 the first move towards the erection of a church was made. La Trobe asked the magistrate, James Blair, to appraise him of a suit-

12. *First Years at Port Phillip*, by R. D. Boys, p. 138.

13. *ibid.*, p. 139.

able half acre for the purpose of erecting a Church of England. The land was acquired at what is now the south-west corner of Julia and Percy Streets. In September of the same year the Rev. A. C. Thomson, incumbent of S. James's, Melbourne, paid a visit to Portland. He administered baptisms in the Hentys' woolshed, and celebrated the first marriage. On 15 July, 1842, the Rev. J. Y. Wilson arrived as resident chaplain. In eleven months the church-school building was opened. It remains today as part of the church hall.¹⁴

In the third settlement of the colony, Geelong, the story of the Church was somewhat similar, though progress was slower. The ministrations of the Church were, as far as canonically possible, presented by an enthusiastic layman and promising young solicitor, Charles Sladen, who conducted service in the court house every Sunday. A move was made to have a permanent church built, but as the population numbered only 450 and land speculation had brought about a financial depression, the task was not easy. On the bishop's second visitation to the colony in 1843, a school house had been erected and was in use. A grant of two acres had been set aside for the church by the Government, so without waiting for final plans to come through from the diocesan architect in Sydney, Broughton laid the foundation stone "with the accustomed religious observances in the presence of a large concourse of inhabitants".¹⁵ On the same day, 6 October, he consecrated the burial ground, distant about a mile from the town. On Saturday, 7 October, he held a confirmation service in the school

14. *Portland Bay Settlement*, by N. F. Learmonth, p. 151 *et seq.*

15. *The Bishop of Australia's Visitation Journal*, 1843, (S.P.G.), p. 31.

house, when sixteen young persons were presented to the bishop. On the Sunday following, he celebrated Holy Communion for the newly confirmed and others. He records his feelings when the question of a resident chaplain was discussed at a meeting of trustees. To S.P.G. he wrote:

The Society, however, may receive my assurance, that I have seldom experienced a more painful sensation than in being compelled to make a communication of this nature (i.e., that no clergyman was available) to an assembly of gentlemen representing a very numerous and truly respectable portion of the Anglican Church . . . of whose cordial attachment to that Church, and sincere anxiety for the restoration of its services, I received every day more satisfactory proofs.¹⁶

The bishop gave his approval to Mr Sladen's efforts to maintain public worship and promised to send him a collection of suitable sermons to read at the services. He also requested the district surgeon, Mr Clarke, to read the burial service when necessary.

Broughton proceeded to Melbourne in the steamer *Aphrasia*, and held a confirmation in S. James's. He later took the chair at a crowded meeting held to promote the erection of a second church on Eastern Hill. Both he and Dr Palmer addressed the meeting. Nothing, however, was done until the beginning of 1846, when a Government grant of £1000 and an allocation of £500 from the Sydney Government grant spurred the committee to greater efforts. Three trustees were appointed, Mr James Simpson, Mr R. W. Pohlman and Mr J. D. Pinnock. Mr Pohlman was later Chairman of the Denominational Schools Board in Port Phillip district and a prominent member of the Bench of the colony.

Eleven years after John Batman had rowed up

16. *ibid.*, p. 30.

the River Yarra and marked his "place for a village", a band of pioneers gathered to the east of the "settlement", the occasion being the laying of the foundation stone of S. Peter's Church, and the date was 18 June, 1846. His Honor Charles Joseph La Trobe, Superintendent of Port Phillip, laid the stone, using the following words from the pen of the Bishop of Australia:

This stone is laid as a foundation and cornerstone of a church to be built in this place, to be named Saint Peter's, and to be set apart for the teaching of the right Catholic Faith, which we believe and confess; In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen.

On the first Sunday in August, 1848, the church was formally opened, and on Tuesday in Eastertide, 1853, was consecrated by Bishop Charles Perry. S. Peter's was the first church in Melbourne to be consecrated. A tablet on the south wall of the church to the memory of Mrs La Trobe records the fact that she was a faithful communicant there while she resided in Jolimont.

The time had now come for the subdivision of the vast diocese of Bishop Broughton. The Colonial Bishoprics Fund, begun in London in 1841, was called upon to assist with the endowment. Broughton set aside £500 per annum of his stipend to aid in financing each of two new bishoprics.

On Saint Peter's Day, 1847, the first Bishop of Melbourne, Charles Perry, was consecrated in Westminster Abbey at the same time as the new Bishops of Capetown, Newcastle and Adelaide. Dr Perry had had a very successful career at the University of Cambridge, gaining distinction in both classics and mathematics. He was appointed fellow, tutor and lecturer at his college, and during his sojourn in Cambridge he was brought into contact with

many of the outstanding minds of that university. He was appointed to the incumbency of S. Paul's, Cambridge, in 1842, and through the recommendation of the secretary of C.M.S., the Rev. Henry Venn, was appointed to the new bishopric. Amongst those who came to Melbourne with the bishop were the Rev. H. B. Macartney, later Dean of Melbourne, the Rev. Daniel Newham, who became vicar of S. Peter's, and Mr H. H. P. Handfield, the bishop's ward, who after ordination became first curate and then later vicar of S. Peter's.

The new bishop was installed on Friday, 28 January, 1848, in the presence of a vast assembly. An unfortunate happening marred somewhat the procedure of the service, as the Queen's letters patent could not be found to be duly read, and the service had to proceed without this customary piece of ritual. The opening chapter of the Church's history had now closed and a larger one was beginning under the guiding hand of its first chief pastor.

Turner, in his *History of the Colony of Victoria*, gives a concise description of the bishop and with this it will perhaps be fitting to close the chapter:

The Bishop belonged to the low or evangelical division of his Church, and his influence was very strongly marked on its development. His rule was strict, his piety was undoubted and his zeal for all matters ecclesiastical undeniable. But he was not in touch with modern thought or interested in the problems which were beginning to disturb Episcopal dignity in the land he had left . . . he had so little conception of the trend of scientific investigation as to be satisfied that he had demolished Darwin and all his theories in the course of an hour's lecture. His antipathy to the Roman Catholic Church was manifested by the discourteous refusal of the Rev. Father Geoghegan's friendly overtures, and a stern refusal to put him on his visiting list. But he steadily and faithfully worked for his Church.¹⁷

17. *History of the Colony of Victoria*, by H. G. Turner, vol. i, p. 269.

CHAPTER IX

THE CONFERENCE OF 1850 AND AFTER

THE Conference of the Bishops of the Province of Australia met in Sydney on 1 October, 1850, and, under the chairmanship of the Bishop of Sydney, deliberated for a month upon the problems and difficulties with which the growing Church was faced. Conditions were so different in many ways, the settlement so young and moral standards so elastic, that the clergy often faced situations quite unknown to their English brethren. One such was discussed in a letter from a country priest to Broughton just before the conference opened.¹ He drew the bishop's attention to the frequency with which he had been called upon to read the burial service, with its beautiful words of faith in the resurrection, over persons known to die in sin. "Drunkards who died intoxicated; adulterers who had never forsaken their lives of sin; persons who never belonged to our Communion, and others whose lives were opposed to every precept of our Holy Faith." The words of the service were applicable to the faithful, and their misuse created a wrong impression in the minds of listeners.

They think, and not very erroneously, that the Church speaks in the language of hope . . . of the state of the

1. The original letter, dated 30 September, 1850, from the Rev. Henry Stiles, of Windsor, is in the possession of the Rev. Frank Cash, Rector of Christ Church, North Sydney.

departed soul: they are sure that their own lives are not worse than their friend's was and thence they infer that their own spiritual condition, after death, will be no worse than the Church pronounces.

The clergyman urged the full use of the authority to warn and finally excommunicate given by Christ in the Gospel.² Other problems arose through the vast areas to be served by the Church and the small number of clergymen with whom to minister. To these and similar problems the conference gave its attention, and its resolutions had a far-reaching effect on the life of the Church in the colonies. The Bishop of Newcastle, Dr Tyrrell, was appointed secretary. The others present were Bishops Perry, of Melbourne, Short, of Adelaide, Nixon, of Tasmania, and Selwyn, of New Zealand.

The legal position of the Church in the colonies made it necessary for the bishops to make clear in their resolutions that they did not constitute a provincial synod whose decisions would be binding on the Church. They were only members of a conference at which resolutions could be agreed to. Bishop Perry stated the position in a letter to Broughton written some time before the conference met,³ when he said:

With regard to the right of the Government to interfere with our Church, I perfectly agree with Your Lordship that they have no right, except at our request, or with our free consent, but we are so circumstanced that we can do nothing without the assistance of the Legislature. As a branch of the Church of England, we cannot make laws for ourselves, and, without duly recognised ecclesiastical courts, we cannot maintain any discipline, except by an irresponsible exercise of authority.

As a result of the discussions, the first moves

2. S. Matthew xvii, verse 7.

3. *The Constitutional History of the Church of England*, by R. A. Giles, pp. 83-4. The letter is dated 4 July, 1850.

were made to give the Church in Australia the internal freedom she desired.

The resolutions of the conference covered canonical law, synodical government, ecclesiastical discipline, education, the ordering of divine service, doctrine and missionary endeavour. They were unanimously accepted except in the matter of doctrine, when the Bishop of Melbourne disagreed with his brethren on the definition of baptismal regeneration. In the matter of canonical law, it was agreed that the Canons of 1603-4 were binding upon the bishops and clergy, but the opinion was expressed that revision was very necessary. The resolution dealing with education welcomed the proposed establishment of a university, but expressed the hope that the supervision of the students in the Church colleges would not be disturbed. With regard to the national schools, the bishops said that in their opinion, the religious instruction given there was "erroneous, defective and indefinite". As the differences of opinion concerning baptismal regeneration were commented on widely by some churchmen and nonconformist ministers, it would be well to explain the divergences. They indicated the differences of opinion between those who accepted the increasingly popular Tractarian ideas and those who held the evangelical interpretation of Church doctrine. The famous Gorham Judgment in England had given publicity to the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, a judgment to which Bishop Perry subscribed. The majority resolution expressed as the bishops' belief that regeneration is the work of God in the Sacrament of Baptism, it is the particular grace prayed for, expected and thankfully received in the service, and this grace is

received by all infants, no unfitness in them being recognized, and no unworthiness of ministers, parents or sponsors being allowed to hinder this "effect of the love of Christ". The Bishop of Melbourne's view was expressed in the statement:

The Church in her office for the baptism of infants, and that for the baptism of adults, uses the language of faith and hope, and it is not to be understood as declaring positively a fact which it certainly cannot know, viz., that every baptised infant or every baptised adult is regenerate.⁴

The views of the majority of bishops called forth outspoken comment from the leading Presbyterian minister in Sydney, the Rev. John Dunmore Lang, D.D. He deplored the Puseyite doctrines of the divines as unscriptural and disloyal. He drew attention to the opposition with which some of the resolutions had been received in New South Wales and other colonies, and concluded his criticism with the prophecy, which has certainly been fulfilled in Sydney diocese, that "whenever the axe shall be laid to the root of the tree of all Ecclesiastical establishments in the Australian colonies, as it is sure to be very shortly, the Episcopalians of New South Wales will never tolerate a Puseyite clergy".⁵

The resolutions dealing with synodical government and missionary enterprise deserve fuller treatment, for they had a large bearing on the later history of the Church.

The third and succeeding sections of the resolutions affirmed the necessity of provincial and diocesan synods, consisting of the bishops and clergy, empowered to make ecclesiastical laws, sub-divide dioceses, and elect bishops without interference from secular powers. It was also recom-

4. *History of New South Wales*, by J. D. Lang (1854 ed.), vol. ii, pp. 477-80.
5. *ibid.*, p. 489.

mended that the laity should be attached to synods in the form of conventions. In these they might consult with the clergy in matters that were not the primary responsibility of the clergy. The minimum qualification for such representatives was to be communicant membership of the Church. Discipline over bishops was to be exercised by the other bishops of the province, and over the clergy by their own diocesan synod. The laymen's convention was not to have judicial power. The difficulty before the bishops here, however, was that they had no right to call together any synod or assembly. Although the Church in the colonies was not established, it suffered from the legal chains to freedom which shackled an established Church. Only by permission of the Queen would it be possible to remedy the defect and definitely free the Church.

When the bishops returned to their dioceses after the conference, they proceeded to enlist the support of their clergy and laity in the moves for synodical government. Broughton circularized his clergy in March, 1852, asking them to consider two points:—

1. Whether the general persuasion of the Clergy is in favour of the establishment of a constitution for our Church, such as is contemplated by the Bishops' Minute, and

2. What practical measures ought to be taken, if that accordance of sentiment be found to prevail, for carrying into effect the recommendations of their Lordships; and especially for enabling the laity of our Church throughout the Diocese to express their opinion concerning such measures, and to unite with the clergy in carrying the same into effect, so far as they meet with the laity's approval.

He enclosed two papers with his letter, one which took the form of a general declaration to be laid before a meeting of the clergy in a month's time, and the other a draft of a petition to the Queen

asking for her "gracious interposition and assistance" in the establishment of a diocesan synod and convention. He urged the clergy to hold parochial meetings in their parishes, so that they would know the feeling of the laity in general when they attended the clergy conference.

The meeting was held on 15 April in the school-room of S. Andrew's. Broughton explained at length the legal and scriptural position in regard to synods and lay representation, and what it was that the bishops had in mind.⁶ With regard to the proposed assemblies, he expressed no doubt as to their success if the following principles were borne in mind:

1. That the clergy must not assume to be lords over God's heritage.

2. Nor must the laity aspire or expect to exercise a right of interference in the proper business of the clergy.

Broughton made quite definite his stand on the matter of the bishop's veto. He would not admit of co-operation which destroyed that essential right of a diocesan, as had been allowed in the American Episcopal Church.

Several members of the meeting, led by the Archdeacon of Cumberland and Canon Allwood, raised the question of the extent of the proposed lay co-operation in synod, and whether the two assemblies should sit together or separately as the wording of the resolution suggested. The majority favoured fuller co-operation than was suggested by the bishops' minute. However, the general declaration in favour of synodical government was adopted by 30 votes to 19, and the draft of the petition to the Queen by 35 votes to 8.

6. The bishop's speech was reported in full in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 November, 1850.

Broughton felt the need for personal contact with the English Episcopal Bench and the British Government to press his petition, and he decided to sail for England as soon as possible. He took leave of his clergy on 14 August, 1852, after a celebration of Holy Communion in the cathedral, at which the bishop was the celebrant. An address was presented by the Archdeacon of Cumberland, the Ven. W. Cowper, on behalf of the clergy, wishing the bishop a safe journey and assuring him of their prayers on his behalf. In his reply, Broughton thanked them for their kind wishes and their loyal help in the past, and expressed the hope that he would soon return with his mission successfully completed. His voyage to England, however, terminated with his death in his sixty-fourth year at the London house of Lady Gipps on Sunday, 20 February, 1853. His strenuous ministrations to the sick and dying, when yellow fever broke out on board the ship on which he had travelled, had left him in a weakened condition from which he never recovered. He had been able to make only the first moves towards his desired goal when he died, and a solution was no nearer than before. He was buried in Canterbury Cathedral, near to his former schoolmate and friend, Sir George Gipps.

With Broughton's death, and the subsequent failure of both Gladstone and Archbishop Sumner to have Bills granting colonial Church freedom passed through the Imperial Parliament, the matter of self-government was allowed to lapse for the time being. With the arrival of the second Bishop of Sydney, Frederic Barker, in 1855, the matter was again taken up. Bishop Barker paid a visit to Melbourne to see how the Victorian system was

working, and, being duly impressed, requested Mr Justice Burton in 1858 to draw up a draft Bill for presentation to the local Parliament which had been created when self-government was granted to New South Wales. A conference of clergy and laity met from 24 November to 1 December, and discussed the proposed measure, after which it was submitted to Parliament. It was, however withdrawn because the Legislative Council amended the Bill to limit the bishop's veto. This was strongly opposed by the Bishop of Newcastle, whose diocese, being in the colony, would be affected by the measure. Another eight years were to pass before the matter was successfully concluded, by which time Newcastle had decided to follow its own course. In April, 1866, a general conference of the bishop, clergy and laity was called, and another constitution drawn up. It was presented to Parliament and, in due course, became law. Its synods differed from Broughton's conception of them in that the laity were admitted on an equal status with the clergy in all discussions, whether spiritual or temporal. The wisdom of this is doubted by many.

In the Melbourne diocese the matter was more speedily arranged. Bishop Perry called conferences of his clergy and laity in 1851 and 1854, when synodical government was discussed and a constitution drawn up and approved. It was presented to Parliament and received its assent on 30 November, 1854. It enabled the bishops, clergy and laity to provide for the regulation of the affairs of the Church of England in the colony. It was amended in 1873, and is still binding on the dioceses which today form the Province of Melbourne. Tasmania

followed Victoria's example and their enabling Bill was passed in 1858.

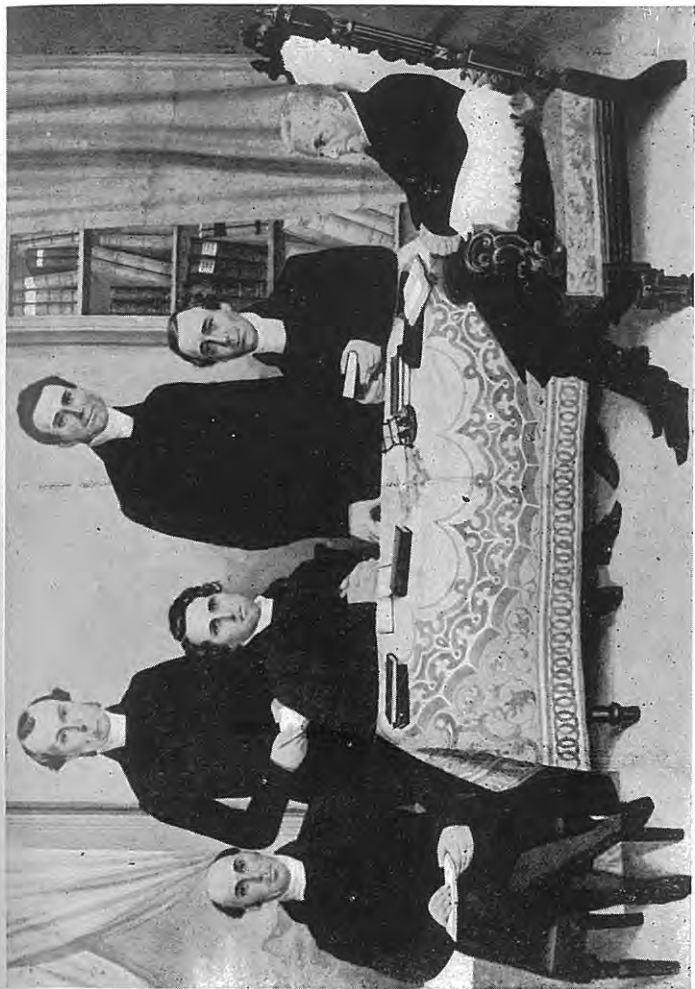
In Adelaide, Newcastle and, later, in Queensland, a different method of procedure was adopted, the system of the consensual pact. This was a voluntary agreement entered into by the bishops, clergy and laity for the regulation of Church affairs. No act of the legislature was asked. Bishop Short, of Adelaide, had gone to England to endeavour to receive the approval of the British Government to a Bill granting self-government to the Church in his diocese, but he had been unsuccessful, and had adopted voluntary agreement instead.

In 1872 a general conference of the diocesan bishops, clergy and laity of the whole province was held in Sydney at which a constitution for a general synod for the whole Australian Church was drawn up and agreed to. This constitution has received much attention in recent years, and vigorous attempts have been made to have it altered or replaced. The difficulty of finding a basis acceptable to all the dioceses of Australia has so far not been surmounted. Whether a change will be made remains to be seen, but the discussions so far have not been too hopeful.

The second of the important resolutions of the conference of 1850 dealt with the future of missionary work. The creation of the Australian Board of Missions to preach the Gospel to the peoples of the Pacific and to the aborigines of Australia was the practical outcome of the resolution. A public meeting to establish the board was called on Tuesday, 29 October, 1850, in the Infant School Room in Castlereagh Street. Those who attended were very enthusiastic and hundreds were not able to gain

admission. Each of the bishops spoke, drawing attention to some aspect of the work of the proposed missionary board. Broughton stressed the aboriginal problem, quoting his remarks on the subject in his first charge to the clergy delivered in 1829.⁷ He said he felt that time had justified his remarks. The Bishop of Tasmania was the second speaker. He moved the first resolution of the meeting which expressed deep thankfulness to God for His past blessings on the Australian colonies, and also recognized the duty of passing on those blessings to the heathen peoples in the neighbourhood of Australia. He illustrated the first part by contrasting the struggle of the first settlers, overshadowed generally by the danger of famine, with the comparative luxury of New South Wales then. He contrasted, too, the uphill fight of the first chaplain with the regular and frequent ministrations of the Church of their day. He showed how the Church provided for its flock through all stages from the cradle to the grave. For all this they must be more than thankful. It was their duty to share those blessings and those privileges with others less fortunate. Contact between black and white people had frequently had disastrous results. Christian contact was the only safe way. Mr Charles Kemp seconded the bishop's resolution. The Bishop of Adelaide then moved the second resolution, that it was the duty of the Australian Church to bring the Australian aborigines under the teaching of God by direct missionary agency. He emphasized and enlarged upon what Bishop Broughton had said, and recounted some of the work that was being done in his own diocese

7. Sections of his Charge of 1829 are quoted in Chapter V.



THE SIX BISHOPS AT THE 1850 CONFERENCE

Bishop Short (Adelaide), Bishop Selwyn (New Zealand), Bishop Nixon (Tasmania), Bishop Tyrrell (Newcastle), Bishop Perry (Melbourne), Bishop Broughton (Sydney)

through the efforts of his clergy. It was a difficult task, but it was not insuperable. Mr Charles Cowper seconded the resolution. The Bishop of New Zealand then moved that the oversea work of the Board of Missions should be directed first to the peoples of New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands. He spoke of the wonderful work of the New Zealand Mission to the Maoris, founded by Samuel Marsden, and of his own efforts to train native teachers drawn from the Pacific Islands to his missionary college at Auckland. Mr Charles Lowe seconded the motion. The Bishop of Melbourne summed up the discussions and proposed the establishment of an Australian Board of Missions under the presidency of the Bishop of Sydney, with the other bishops of the Australian dioceses as Vice-Presidents. The board was to receive the voluntary subscriptions of the dioceses as its financial support, and diocesan boards were to be established to aid the provincial board in its work. He also proposed the Bishops of Newcastle and New Zealand as missionary bishops, whose duty it would be to travel and survey the work to be done. All the resolutions were passed unanimously, and the Australian Board of Missions began its career in an atmosphere of sympathy and enthusiasm.⁸

The *Border Maid*, a vessel of ninety-two tons, was purchased and the missionary bishops set off in 1851 on a voyage that was to lay the foundations of the Melanesian Mission.

It must not, however, be thought that the Australian Church had been devoid of missionary effort prior to the 1850 conference. As far back as 1814 the first attempt to help the aborigines had been

8. The speeches are fully reported in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 November, 1850.

made when Governor Macquarie established a native children's home at Parramatta. By 1817 there were eighteen children in residence, and it was decided to move the home to a farm of 500 acres at what is called Blacktown today. In March, 1822, the Church Missionary Society in England was asked to provide a missionary and his wife to take charge, and in October of the same year Mr and Mrs George Clark arrived. Unfortunately the Blacktown settlement gradually dwindled away through the lack of support on the part of succeeding Governors. In 1825 the Church Missionary Society Auxiliary was formed in Sydney with two chief responsibilities, the Maoris of New Zealand and the aborigines of Australia. In 1832 two C.M.S. missionaries, the Rev. J. S. C. Handt and the Rev. W. Watson, were appointed to a new aboriginal settlement established in Wellington Valley, near Bathurst. The settlement was opened on 2 October, after the missionaries had endured forty-six days of weary bullock-waggon travel. Mrs Watson, who accompanied her husband, proved to be a tower of strength to the settlement in those early days. Three years later, a similar settlement was established on the banks of the Yarra by Mr George Langhorne. In 1837 the Rev. James Gunther arrived at Wellington Valley and the Rev. J. S. C. Handt transferred his activities to Moreton Bay. The hostile attitude of white people to the work of these missions and a lack of understanding of the aborigines often proved the greatest hindrance to those who were trying to bring the Gospel to the natives.

Mention has been made earlier of the establishment of the New Zealand Mission by the Rev.

Samuel Marsden in 1814.⁹ In spite of many difficulties and set-backs, the work progressed steadily. By 1830 there were four priests and ten laymen on the staff. The early efforts to provide the Maoris with Christian writings in their own tongue resulted in the production of a book of 117 pages, containing three chapters from Genesis, nine from the Gospel according to S. Matthew, four from S. John, and six from the Epistle to the Corinthians. In addition, Matins and Evensong, the Ten Commandments, the Catechism and eleven hymns were translated and added to the book. This was published in 1830. Settlers began to arrive in 1839 and New Zealand was raised to the status of a diocese in 1842. The first bishop, George Augustus Selwyn, was not long in visiting the neighbouring islands of the Pacific, which had been included in his diocese through a clerical error in the preparation of his letters patent. Between 1848 and 1852 he visited more than fifty islands in Melanesia. Forty scholars, speaking ten different languages, were entrusted to him during the summer season for instruction at S. John's College, Auckland. He laid down the wise principles upon which the Melanesian Mission has since been conducted. He made it an unalterable rule that in making the natives Christians English methods and ways of living were not to be forced upon them. He held that the Faith of Christ is for the world, and is suitable to the innocent ways and habits of every part, in spite of differences of climate and temperament. He realized the need for native workers who had been properly trained by missionaries for the pioneer work of presenting Christ to the Pacific. He spoke of his

9. See Chapter III.

desire for the creation of "a black fishing net upheld and supported by white corks".¹⁰

After the formation of the board, missionary work went slowly ahead. The board itself did not begin any new ventures for nearly twenty years, but contented itself with supporting the work of others. The establishment of two aboriginal mission stations in Victoria, one near Warrnambool under the Rev. H. Stahle, and the other at Lake Tyers, under Mr Bulmer, occurred in 1862. An attempt was made in 1867 by two S.P.G. missionaries, the Rev. F. C. Stagg and Mr Kennett, to open an industrial school for natives at Somerset in Queensland. The former missionary did not stay long, but Mr Kennett gained a wonderful influence over the blacks and was admitted as a member of their tribe. Probably the outstanding missionary to the natives in the latter half of the century was the Rev. Ernest Gribble. He had been resident priest at Jerilderie when he decided to give up his cure and devote his energies to the work of helping the blacks. First at Warangesda Mission, then on the Gascoyne River, and finally at Yarrabah, he showed himself to have a remarkable understanding of the native mind. Yarrabah Station is, in itself, a wonderful tribute to his work.

In the Melanesian sphere, Bishop G. A. Selwyn had secured the services of one who was to become the first Bishop of Melanesia and a martyr to the Faith. This was John Coleridge Patteson. He had heard Bishop Selwyn preach in the school chapel at Eton in 1841, and the memory of the bishop's appeal for self-sacrifice and increased devotion had remained with him. When the invitation came to

10. *The Story of the Melanesian Mission*, by Stuart W. Artless, pp. 5-6.

join Selwyn, he was ready to go. Together they travelled through the many groups of islands, contacting the natives and persuading suitable men to come to New Zealand for training. The difficulties of travelling had been made easier by the gift from England of a seventy-ton vessel, the *Southern Cross*. When the decision was made to create a diocese of Melanesia, the choice of a bishop was not difficult, and Patteson was consecrated on 24 February, 1861. His great achievement at this period was reducing to writing several of the Melanesian languages and translating parts of the New Testament into them. He laid the foundation of a work upon which others, like Dr Codrington, were able to build. He met his death at Nukapu in the Santa Cruz Group in 1871, when he was clubbed to death by the natives as he lay resting in one of their huts. It was an act of revenge for the "blackbirding" of five men of Nukapu who had been taken by a white man's labour vessel. His death stirred Church people everywhere to their responsibilities to the peoples of the Pacific, and the mission grew slowly and steadily.

In 1872 the first meeting of the General Synod of the Church in Australia gave to the Board of Missions a definite constitution. The creation of an Executive Council four years later was a move that opened the way to greater activities and new ventures, particularly among the aborigines and the Chinese in Australia. At the meeting of the General Synod in 1888, attention was drawn to the need for missionary work in Papua, which had just been annexed by Britain. A resolution was passed declaring that this annexation imposed a direct obligation on the Church to provide for the spirit-

ual welfare of both the natives and the settlers. Three years were to elapse, however, before the pioneer missionaries, Albert Maclaren and Copland King, were to land at Bartle Bay on the north-eastern coast and establish the New Guinea Mission. But from that simple beginning, with its early set-backs and quasi-collapse, has grown the diocese of New Guinea, whose work has been so much admired in the recent fighting.

"They reaped not where they laboured; we reap what they have sown"—run the words of the Loughborough School Hymn. How true they are of Broughton in some respects! He was able to see the results of his extensive visitations, when the new bishoprics of New Zealand, Tasmania, Newcastle and Melbourne were created. His plea for a training college for ordinands was answered in S. James's College under Canon Allwood. But the great advances planned by the bishops at their conference in 1850, while begun by him, were left through his death to others to complete and bring to fruition. Yet later results were due to his careful preparation in the beginning. His was the mind from which sprung the ideas of colonial synods, missionary boards, training colleges and new bishoprics. To him the Church in Australia owes a great debt. His zeal and sincerity, his untiring energy and his outstanding scholarship raised the Church from the region of party and political squabbles to a respected and influential position in the colony. His death brought to an end the period of greatest growth and extension in the history of the Church of New South Wales.

CHAPTER X

MORE BISHOPS ARRIVE

As mentioned in an earlier chapter, the vacancy at Sydney caused by Broughton's death was filled by the appointment of Rev. Frederick Barker, incumbent of Bastow in the Chester diocese. The new bishop was in many ways a contrast to his predecessor. He was a strict evangelical churchman and looked with alarm at the growth of the Tractarian Movement, of which Broughton had been a supporter. Nevertheless, he associated himself with the great work Broughton had done and was able to bring to fruition some of the plans, such as the completion of the cathedral and the granting of synodical government, which the latter's death had interrupted. Barker had had valuable experience as a parish priest in the Edgehill parish in Liverpool and with the Home Mission Society's work in Ireland. His sincerity and earnestness enabled him to appeal to those who listened to him. Even at school he had been known for his deeply spiritual life, whilst at the same time gaining fame for his athletic prowess. He was admired and respected by his fellow clergy wherever he was, and amongst the people of S. Mary's, Edgehill, he was beloved "as one who had been a father to them".¹

Bishop Barker arrived in Sydney on 28 May, 1855, accompanied by the Rev. Edward Synge, the

1. *Frederick Barker, D.D., Bishop of Sydney*, by W. M. Cowper, p. 17.

Rev. P. G. Smith and Mr G. W. Richardson, an ordinand. He was installed in the temporary Cathedral of S. Andrew on 31 May, and at once turned his attention to the great task ahead of him. In spite of the remarkable progress achieved under Bishop Broughton, there were still many areas without the ministrations of the Church and other problems awaited solution. The delay in finding a second bishop and the upheaval to the life of the colony caused by the gold-rush had created situations calling for immediate attention. The new mining settlements urgently required chaplains, twelve at once and probably others in a short time. In addition, the position of the King's School had deteriorated and was causing concern. It even looked as though it would have to close down. Realizing the value of the institution, the bishop did not spare himself in supporting the efforts of the new headmaster, the Rev. F. Armitage, to raise the school to its former position. The success of those efforts, though they were unfortunately to be short-lived, must have been very gratifying. Then, too, the establishment of the new training college for ordinands, Moore College, took a good deal of his time. Above all, there was the question of synodical government, requiring a good deal of preparatory work before Parliament could be approached. This matter occupied Barker for the first ten years of his episcopate.

Bishop Broughton had travelled extensively throughout his wide diocese. Bishop Barker followed and even surpassed his example. In 1855 he made his first tour over the Blue Mountains to Bathurst and the goldfields. In 1858 he visited the Monaro district in the south-east. In 1860 he made

his Metropolitan visitations to the Tasmanian, Adelaide, Melbourne and Newcastle dioceses, and, four years later, to Brisbane. The extent of this travelling in the days before fast interstate trains is difficult for us to appreciate. It meant considerable hardship as well as long absences from the administrative centre, and it is a tribute to the zeal of our early bishops.

One of the outstanding features of Barker's episcopate, however, was the regular arrival of other bishops as new dioceses were created. In 1860 Dr Tufnell, the first Bishop of Brisbane, passed through Sydney. In 1864 Bishop Mesac Thomas, of Goulburn, reached Australia, and, three years later, Bishop Sawyer of Armidale and Grafton arrived. In 1870 and 1877 Barker welcomed the first Bishops of Bathurst and North Queensland. For each new arrival a service of thanksgiving was held in S. Andrew's Cathedral, followed by a public welcome at which the good wishes of Sydney church people were extended to the new bishop. These acts of kindness must have been a great encouragement to those who were on their way to establish new dioceses in the out-back areas of the colony. The period was undoubtedly one of considerable expansion and development, in which the ministrations of the Church were brought within the reach of the majority of those who had pressed on to pastures new and opened up vast tracts of land to the north, west and south. The story of the growth of Church life in some of these districts is worth recording, for it is often a story of great faith overcoming difficult situations in a remarkable way.

The first religious service in the Goulburn district was held on 29 October, 1820, upon the occasion of

the visit of Governor Macquarie to Lake Bathurst. The Rev. Robert Cartwright officiated. His Excellency and party were on a tour of inspection and survey, following upon the reports of explorations made by Thomas Meehan and Charles Throsby. Regular services were not held, however, until some time after the district had been opened to settlers. In 1827 the Rev. Thomas Hassall was appointed to the enormous parish of "Australia beyond Liverpool!" This included the townships at Cobbity, Berrima, Bong Bong and Goulburn. Increasing settlement led to the appointment in 1830 of the Rev. John Vincent to Sutton Forest, from whence he made quarterly visits to Goulburn. The next step forward was made by a group of keen churchmen led by Captain F. N. Rossi in 1835. They opened a subscription list towards the erection of a permanent church in Goulburn, towards which S.P.G. and S.P.C.K. jointly promised a grant of £150. By 1837 £700 had been raised, and a provisional site was selected. Bishop Broughton paid his first visit to the district in the latter year. He felt unable, however, to approve of the site selected and chose that on which the present Cathedral of S. Saviour is built. Education being an important matter to Broughton, it is not surprising that he took steps during his visit to establish the first school in the township. On his return to Sydney, he followed up his work by appointing the Rev. William Sowerby as the first resident chaplain, and applied to the Government for the customary grants toward the clergyman's salary and the erection of a church as set forth in the Church Act of 1836. The new chaplain commenced duty in November, 1837.²

2. *Jnl. and Proc.*, R.A.H.S., vol. xxvii, p. 371.

In 1839 the building of the church, known today as Old S. Saviour's, was begun and it was consecrated by Broughton six years later. Outlying districts had, in the meanwhile, been supplied with clergymen, amongst whom was the Rev. P. G. Smith, first minister at Canberra and Queanbeyan. The outstanding pioneer of these early chaplains was, however, the Rev. Robert Cartwright, who had accompanied Governor Macquarie in 1820. He was a man of sterling qualities, keenly interested in the welfare of the young, and with apparently untiring energy in the performance of his duties. He had been a curate at Bradford Parish Church in England when the Rev. Samuel Marsden found him and persuaded him to come to New South Wales. He arrived in 1810 and was chaplain in the Hawkesbury River district until 1817. He was then stationed at Liverpool, where he ministered until 1836. After a brief incumbency at S. James's, Sydney, he was appointed to the Collector and Yass district in 1838. Here, in addition to building a small church at his own expense, he laid sound foundations for later Church work. He died at Goulburn in 1856 at the ripe old age of eighty-six. It was estimated that, in the course of his ministerial duties, he travelled 25,000 miles, a greater distance than round the world.³

Bishop Barker paid visits to Goulburn district in 1855 and 1861. On the latter occasion, he attended a public meeting called to consider a matter to which he had given considerable thought—the possibility of the establishment of a separate see at Goulburn. He explained to his audience the impos-

3. *The History of the Goulburn Diocese*, by Ransome T. Wyatt, pp. 139-40.

sibility of ministering satisfactorily to the south-eastern districts from Sydney. His recent three-months' tour as far as Deniliquin had shown this. The only solution seemed to be the creation of a new see, but for this an endowment fund of at least £12,000 and the provision of a suitable house would be necessary. He suggested that steps should be taken to attain this end. The meeting warmly supported the bishop's proposal and liberal subscriptions were promised towards the endowment. By 1862 the fund had reached £15,000. As the bishop was then in England, he felt justified in taking steps to find a suitable person for consecration.⁴ The Archbishop of Canterbury selected for the position the Rev. Mesac Thomas, Secretary of the Colonial and Continental Society. His choice received royal approval, the last occasion upon which it was to be necessary for the appointment of colonial bishops, and Mr Thomas was consecrated in Canterbury Cathedral on 25 March, 1863. An interesting feature of the service was the presence of the Bishops of Sydney and Melbourne, who assisted at the laying-on of hands. Bishop Thomas duly arrived in Goulburn and was enthroned on 8 April by the senior chaplain, the Rev. W. Sowerby, who later became Dean of Goulburn.

The story of the Armidale district begins with the discovery of the Liverpool Plains in 1818 by Surveyor-General John Oxley and the successful attempts of Henry Dangar and J. Richard in 1824 and William Nowland in 1827 to find routes over the Liverpool Range. The Government of the day, however, frowned upon any further extension of

4. *ibid.*, pp. 139-40.

the settled areas and vainly endeavoured to fix the limits to the northern counties of Bligh and Brisbane. But the news of the fertile land in the north was a magnet that from 1837 onwards drew squatters, their flocks and herds over the range in spite of rules and regulations. By 1839 it was obvious to Governor Gipps that the restrictions were useless and he sent Commissioner Macdonald and a body of troopers to the New England District to maintain law and order amongst the settlers. They established a camp near the site of East End Park, Armidale. Some years earlier the Australian Agricultural Company had been given a large grant of land near Tamworth on the Liverpool Plains. It was through that body that the first clergyman, the Rev. W. M. Cowper, paid visits to the district to conduct services.

William Macquarie Cowper, son of the incumbent of S. Phillip's Church, Sydney, and later Archdeacon of Cumberland, was the first chaplain appointed by the Agricultural Company to minister to the spiritual needs of its employees. He had journeyed to England in 1827 to read for Holy Orders, as facilities were not then available in New South Wales. He was ordained deacon in 1833 and priest a year later. He served in the Exeter diocese until 1835, when he was offered and accepted the chaplaincy of the Agricultural Company. He arrived at the headquarters of the company at Port Stephens in March, 1836, and entered eagerly into his work in which he had the whole-hearted support of the Commissioner of the company, Sir Edward Parry.⁵ When Cowper learnt that half of the company's estate was situated on the Liverpool Plains,

5. *Autobiography and Reminiscences*, by W. M. Cowper, p. 113.

he determined to make the 200-mile journey on horseback to visit the settlers. It was no easy task, for "the ordeal of travelling was so intense with its loneliness and dangers. He slept at times with a convict shepherd in some far-off outpost, or crossed mountains and flooded streams with an enthusiasm begotten of his love for souls."⁶ This brought him to Tamworth to hold the first Christian service in the district. The centre was visited regularly from then on until the appointment of a resident incumbent in 1849. Cowper records one interesting experience he had at Tamworth. He was about to begin morning service in the house of the company's manager, when he received a message that a man outside had ridden through the night carrying his child forty miles to bring the infant to the chaplain for baptism. Cowper was so struck with the man's earnestness that he baptized the child in the presence of the congregation already assembled for morning worship.

Bishop Broughton visited the districts of New England and the Liverpool Plains in 1845 and spent ten days at Armidale, which was then "a collection of fourteen scattered cottages with bark roofs". The population numbered seventy-six. What a contrast this makes with the cathedral city of today! As there was no church, the bishop held services in the court house. On his second Sunday he baptized several infants, confirmed five candidates and performed one wedding. He recorded in his journal that the service was therefore long, but none present appeared to relax in their attention. "To any seriously thinking person, the occasion must

6. "A Retrospect of the Armidale Diocese", by E. H. Stammer, p. 4 (M.S. copy).

have been gratifying. I acknowledge it was supremely so to me." He made preparations for the erection of a church, dedicated to S. Peter, and in the following Lent supplemented his work by appointing the Rev. Henry Tingcombe to be the first clergyman at Armidale.

In 1847, when the bishopric of Newcastle was created, the whole of the New England district was transferred to it. Through personal contacts, Bishop Tyrrell soon became aware of the needs of the northern part of his diocese, and was able to send the Rev. Edward Williams, who had accompanied him from England, to be resident clergyman at Tamworth. Other appointments followed as men were available—the Rev. G. C. Bode to Glen Innes, and the Rev. F. D. Bode to Wialda. Later, the parishes of Bundarra and Gunnedah were formed under the Rev. C. G. Greenaway and the Rev. C. Gough. Altogether there were seven parishes established when it was decided in 1866 to create out of the diocese of Newcastle a new bishopric of Armidale and Grafton. At the end of 1867 the first bishop, William C. Sawyer, D.D., arrived for what was to be a very short episcopate. He had entered enthusiastically into his work and won the confidence of his people when an unfortunate accident closed his career. As he was returning home from Grafton on 15 March, 1868, after taking a service, the boat in which he was travelling was upset, and the bishop, his son and a woman servant were all drowned. It shocked church people throughout New South Wales, and left the newly formed and only partly organized diocese in a difficult position. It was not until 13 August, 1869, that the second bishop, James F. Turner, was able to arrive in

Sydney. He proceeded to Armidale a few days later to begin an episcopate of twenty-three years, a period of considerable extension and consolidation.

The Bathurst district owes its early settlement to the remarkable exploration of Gregory Blaxland and his two friends, William Lawson and William Wentworth. In 1813 they crossed the apparently insuperable barrier of the Blue Mountains and made it possible for William Cox of Clarendon to construct a road from Penrith to the banks of the Macquarie River. Governor Macquarie, his wife, and a party of officials of the colony first travelled along the road in 1815. At the western end, Macquarie selected the site for a township and named it Bathurst. Settlers then began to spread to the west over the extensive plains watered by the Macquarie River and its tributaries. To serve these people, a barn with a thatched roof was opened as a church in 1825 near the Bathurst settlement.⁷ The modern site of the township is not quite the same as that chosen by Macquarie, and Old Bathurst is today known as Kelso. The present brick church of the Holy Trinity, standing on the site of the barn, was dedicated by the Rev. Samuel Marsden in 1835.

The pioneer chaplain to the district was the Rev. Thomas Hassall, son of Rowland Hassall, one of the band of Tahitian missionaries. As a young lad, he had been employed as a clerk in the offices of Robert Campbell, both in Sydney and Parramatta. At the latter township he had helped the Rev. Samuel Marsden to establish the first Sunday-school in Australia. Upon deciding to proceed to Holy Orders, he went to Wales to study at Lam-

7. *Australian Milestones*, by G. Suttor, p. 267.

peter College. Here, for four years, he was a fellow-student of the son of Sir Walter Scott.⁸ He was ordained in 1821 by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and commissioned by George IV as a colonial chaplain to New South Wales. He was first stationed in the Goulburn district, residing at O'Connell. In 1827 he was appointed to "Australia beyond Liverpool", another opportunity of pioneer work. His headquarters were at Cobbitty, where he remained for forty-one years. Two pioneer clerical families were linked when he married the eldest daughter of the Rev. Samuel Marsden, his spiritual adviser of earlier days. His horsemanship gained for him the title of "the Galloping Parson", and his keenness for riding eventually led to his death. One Sunday, when his medical advisor had urged him to avoid long journeys because of his age—he was then seventy-three—he travelled twenty-four miles to take three services which his curate had been unable to take. He returned home very fatigued and unwell. As he felt no better two days later, he decided to visit his cousin, Charles Marsden, who lived eighteen miles away, in the hope that a change would prove beneficial. A few hours after his arrival, he inadvisedly set off to visit his old friend, Charles Cox of Wimborne. Unfortunately, owing to the development of the district, he lost his way and did not reach his destination until late in the evening. Next day he was so ill that his host decided to drive him home in his carriage. He did not recover and died a fortnight later.⁹ His son, James, followed his profession and was ordained in

8. *ibid.*, p. 268.

9. In *Old Australia*, by J. C. Hassall (1902), p. 95.

Sydney after a course of study at S. James's College under Canon Allwood.

In 1828 the Rev. E. J. Keene succeeded at Kelso, where he was successful in having built the brick church mentioned earlier. In 1840, when he was succeeded by the Rev. Joseph Walpole, an additional chaplain was stationed at New Bathurst. Here, plans for a permanent church were being advanced. Services had, in the meanwhile, been held in the commandant's house. The new church was completed and consecrated by Broughton in 1848.¹⁰ The bishop's journey to the west on this occasion was not without adventure. After braving the tedious journey over the Blue Mountains, he arrived within eleven miles of Bathurst, where he was held up by heavy rain and bad roads. He had to stay, unwillingly, in an inn for the night, knowing that a party of church people were awaiting him in Bathurst. Next morning, however, the weather had improved, and by making an early start, he was able to reach the township in time for the service.

The whole appearance of the Bathurst district was changed when gold was discovered at Summerhill Creek in 1851. Mushroom townships sprang up here and there, with no spiritual ministrations available, and often no one to maintain law and order. Bishop Broughton was keenly aware of the position, and took steps in a striking manner to give the miners some spiritual care. He visited the Sofala goldfields towards the end of 1851 and told the miners at a big open-air meeting that materials for the erection of a church would soon arrive from Bathurst. He asked them to offer to help him in the task on a day he selected. The response was

10. *The Coming of the British to Australia*, by Ida Lee, p. 274.

very gratifying. His biographer tells the story well.¹¹

In answer to his appeal, such a body of men assembled that enough picks and shovels could not be provided for all of them. The Bishop started the work by tackling one of the post-holes with such vigour that he inspired others to a like alacrity. The woodwork was rapidly finished, and the building fitted with its simple holy table and other immediately necessary adjuncts well before service time. At the appointed time, nine o'clock, after the introductory worship, the Bishop went up the ladder to the roof for the special prayers, and then, nailing a wooden cross on to the entrance gable, dedicated the building in the name of Christ Church. A celebration of Holy Communion followed.

In 1856 Bishop Barker paid his first visit to the western district. He administered confirmation in All Saints', Bathurst, and extended his tour to the Turon goldfields and Sofala. Here the Rev. H. A. Palmer was chaplain. He also visited Mudgee, Wellington and Dubbo. The description he gives of a goldfield settlement is well worth quoting:

Two streets without drainage of any kind, huts of every shape, stores where anything could be bought, and an immense number of public-houses. The Turon flows past the town, and along the banks the gold is found. Four years ago, two solitary sheep farmers possessed the whole district. Now, in one short bend of the river and its curvature, and the flat formed by the curvature, five thousand cradles might be heard rocking like the roar of a distant water fall.¹²

Bishop Barker visited the west in 1860 and again in 1865. On the latter occasion he drew the attention of church people to the need for the creation of a new diocese centred in Bathurst. As in Goulburn, the increased settlement had made it impossible for Church life to be administered properly from Sydney. After diocesan synod later in the same year, he again talked over the matter with the

11. *William Grant Broughton*, by T. F. Whittington, p. 264-5.

12. *Frederick Barker, D.D., Bishop of Sydney*, by W. M. Cowper, p. 55.

representatives from Bathurst. In 1867 the bishop made a further visit to the west to discuss the matter in all its aspects. A public meeting was called, at which W. H. Suttor, Esq., of Brucedale, took the chair. The bishop was supported by thirteen of his clergy. He explained fully the position which had led him to suggest the creation of a new diocese and urged his listeners to take the matter in hand. His proposals were unanimously agreed to by all present. Before the meeting closed, £1700 had been subscribed. This later grew to £5000. Barker felt that matters had advanced far enough to justify him communicating with the Archbishop of Canterbury with a view to a suitable person being selected. When he knew that an appointment was imminent, the bishop paid another visit to Bathurst to urge the congregation of All Saints' to enlarge and improve their building to make it suitable and worthy of a pro-cathedral. This was willingly done and a further £300 was added to the endowment. The announcement was then made that the Rev. Samuel E. Marsden of Trinity College, Cambridge, had been appointed to the new see. The news was received with great joy, for, not only was the new bishop an Australian and a native of the district, but he was a grandson of the pioneer chaplain, Samuel Marsden. He had been born at O'Connell, twelve miles from Bathurst, and had left Australia when he was only eight years of age. Like his grandfather, he had studied for orders at Cambridge. The new bishop was consecrated at Canterbury on 29 June, 1869, and arrived in Sydney on 3 March, 1870. He was enthroned in the pro-cathedral of All Saints' on

5 May, and entered into the care of the largest diocese in the colony.

The Colony of New South Wales was thus divided into five dioceses as the first century of Church life closed.¹³ The Metropolitan, in the smaller diocese of Sydney, felt able to cope with the work that faced him. The other dioceses were still extensive and rather unmanageable, and it was evident that as the ever-increasing settled area of the colony spread out to the west, further sub-division would be needed. But it was a long cry from the time of the first chaplain holding services under a big tree on the shores of Port Jackson to the Church of 1888. That progress had been achieved by the faithful and unselfish exertions of a long line of pioneer priests and laymen who had striven in the face of tremendous odds to give to the people of the colony the Church of their motherland with its bishops, its cathedrals, its services and its societies. The result was their monument.

13. Riverina Diocese was formed very early in the second century of church history.

CHAPTER XI

THE CHURCH AND THE EARLY SCHOOLS

As in England, where the first efforts to provide education for the ordinary child were fostered by the Church, so here the beginnings of public education were inseparably linked for many years with the leaders of the Faith. The first report of a regular school being held in the colony appears in an account of the destruction of the first church, that building of wattle and daub erected at the expense and by the efforts of the Rev. Richard Johnson, the first chaplain. From the dispatch of Governor Hunter to the Home Government, we learn that between 150 and 200 children attended the church for instruction on week-days under the direct supervision of the chaplain.¹ In 1794 the first grants to teachers, a modest £10 per annum each, were voted to William Webster and William Richardson by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. This worthy society continued and augmented its grants for educational purposes as the opportunities arose. Neither of these two first schoolmasters seems to have been eminently suited for the job. Richardson, who had been office attendant to Lieutenant-Governor Grose and parson's clerk to Mr Johnson, is said to have been a dull fellow. In 1810, when in England, he could not recollect the year the colony had been founded, and

1. H.R. of A., vol. ii, p. 56.

admitted that he never visited Parramatta or North Shore.² Because of Webster's intemperate habits and severity to the children, Johnson recommended S.P.G. to discontinue his grant.

It seems strange that, although provision had been made in Phillip's instructions for a school and schoolmaster, not one step was taken for their fulfilment by the early authorities, but it is pleasing to note that the Church, in its first minister, realized its responsibilities and acted when the opportunity presented itself, even though lack of properly qualified teachers seriously affected the work for many years. Similarly at Parramatta, the "Wooden Temple" built by Marsden as a temporary place of worship, was used as a school under a master named Toll. The church at Ryde, opened in 1800, was also used as a school on week-days, with Matthew Hughes, later to build up a school at Windsor, as its headmaster. If we realize that Ryde, or Kissing Point as it was then known, was one of the places where rum was illicitly distilled in those evil times, we can understand how valuable the training of the young would be. Nor was vice-regal interest in education lacking after Grose's departure. We read that in 1798, prior to the beginning of the Christmas holidays, the children from the schools attended Government House with their masters so that the Governor might personally examine them. Hunter complimented them on their proficiency and appearance, and kept samples of their written work, so that he might be able to compare it with the work they brought in another year.³ This proves that some of the children had

2. *Jnl. and Proc.*, R.A.H.S., vol. ii, p. 70.

3. Another account of a similar event appears in the *Sydney Gazette* for 8 January, 1804.

pens, ink, and paper; it is doubtful, however, whether any but a few had the usual school aids to learning; even the Governor had but £20 per annum to provide stationery for the whole establishment.

The alphabet was taught on square frames of moistened sand, with a pointed peg; later, with pipe-clay or chalk; then red tiles, followed by blackboards. Quills of the magpie and larger birds were used for pens when paper was available and home-made ink procurable. Old hands state that even in the twenties of last century pens and pencils were not used in some schools, and writing books were practically unknown; when such were used, a little dust was spread on the ink to hasten drying.

Much of the teaching was *viva voce*, and chastisement was as severe as the teachers were ignorant. At the end of the eighteenth century Sydney had but three infant schools, privately conducted, one for the children of soldiers, two for those of prisoners.⁴

As the first chaplain was leaving New South Wales to return to England because of ill-health, he saw being completed one of the projects he had long hoped for—an orphan school in Sydney, where the many parentless or unwanted children of the colony might be protected from the gross immorality around them. The need for such an institution was only too evident as early reports of conditions in the colony show. The school was opened with divine service in August, 1801, in the house in High Street, bought from Lieutenant Kent. There were thirty-one inmates, who after the ceremony were entertained by a meal of pork and plum

4. *Jnl. and Proc., R.A.H.S.*, vol. ii, pp. 71-3.

pudding. The Rev. Samuel Marsden, the second chaplain, was requested to make plans for a similar institution in Parramatta, a task in which he was successful.

Schoolmasters were officially appointed in 1801, Isaac Nelson and Thomas Taber being the first. From the S.P.G. they received £10 per annum, which, with a free house and rations, was considered an adequate pay.

Some of the Tahitian missionaries had been sent to country districts to help Marsden in the work of his extensive parish, where he was for some long time without the help of another priest. Pascoe Crook had been appointed in 1804 to Parramatta as catechist and schoolmaster, and Harris, an itinerant preacher, was sent at the same time to the Hawkesbury district, Governor King providing a brick building for use as a school and church. Earlier, the people of Green Hills, or Windsor as it was called later, had agreed to a subscription of twopence per acre for fourteen years to maintain a school, thus anticipating by many years the "education rate" of later local government days.

The Rev. Henry Fulton also conducted a small school at Windsor, where Charles Thompson, the first native born poet, was a pupil; but owing to the poverty of the children's parents, he derived an income of only ten shillings a week from it.⁵ One of the quaintest schools of the period was held in the tower of S. Phillip's Church. Here it remained till a suitable building could be found. On festive occasions the bellringer, Wade, with the permission of the master, Walter Smith, called upon the boys

5. *ibid.*, p. 70.

to help in ringing a merry peal on the seven small bells in the tower.⁶

Following upon a prosperous season in 1804, academies for the young began to appear in Sydney. One was run by a Mr D. Parnell and another by two Irish patriots, John Mitchell and James McConnell. Several other private schools are advertised in the local paper at the time.

The year 1806 saw the beginnings of higher education in the colony, for in that year two rival institutions were opened by H. Perfact and George Howe. The latter had a varied career. He had been transported to the colony, but had been able to gain for himself the position of Government Printer. To him goes the credit of producing the first book printed in Australia—*New South Wales Standing Orders*. He was granted a full pardon by King, but found that without Government food rations he had to rely on himself to earn a living. He started an evening school with a more advanced curriculum than the Church schools were giving. He expressed his willingness to teach several branches of mathematics, "Writing (if necessary) and the Grammar of the English Tongue".⁷ He also printed for the schools of the colony a few small spelling-books with the quaint lettering of that time. The first young ladies' school was opened by Mrs Williams in June, 1806. The various other denominations also had their own schools, the Wesleyans being particularly active. The first Roman Catholic school was opened by Thomas Byrne in 1822.

It was not until the arrival of Governor Mac-

6. *ibid.*, p. 73. Two of the peal of bells are now preserved at History House in Sydney.

7. *Australian Encyclopædia*, vol. i, "Education".

quarie that the finances of education were arranged more securely. From 1810 onwards grants of 200 acres were made available to schoolmasters, and monetary grants also given to aid the building of school houses. This practice continued until the introduction of the Church and Schools Corporation in 1826. Macquarie established Australia's first charity school or free school for boys at Sydney under John Davis, who was appointed master in February, 1810. A similar school at Parramatta under John Eyre was opened in March of the same year. Eyre was a keen painter and has left us many water colours of early Sydney.

Macquarie planned to open many such free schools. By 22 November, 1810, he could say in his dispatch to the Home Government: "With a view to decent education and improvement of the rising generation, I have already established several schools at headquarters and the subordinate settlements, which I trust will not fail being attended with very desirable effects." The Governor offered to grant £25 towards the erection of a school house in each township where the people showed sufficient enthusiasm.

When the Orphan Fund was separated from the Police Fund of the colony and allocated one-quarter of the total income from the revenue of the Naval Office previously set aside for their combined work, Macquarie felt he had a freer hand and schools began to appear in the outlying settlements. The National System of Schools, originated in England by Dr Bell, seems to have been quite popular and, upon the appointment of the Rev. T. Reddall as Director-General of Schools in 1822, it became the official system.

Towards the close of Macquarie's régime, the English Government sent out Commissioner Thomas Bigge to inquire into the Governor's methods of administration and expenditure, both of which had been adversely criticised by many inhabitants. On his return Bigge laid before the British Government a lengthy report, amongst his recommendations being one that education should be extended in the colony. He had found only seventeen parochial schools at work in various parts. In addition there were some private schools being successfully run.

Not long after, plans were drafted for the establishment of the Church and Schools Corporation, into whose hands was entrusted the maintenance and provision of schools and schoolmasters for the entire colony, the supervision being under the control of the Church of England. The charter of the corporation was fully described in Chapter IV. In each district there were to be one or more primary schools supervised by the local resident chaplain and financed by the corporation. The Rev. Samuel Marsden, senior chaplain, had under his care the public school at Parramatta. The Rev. William Cowper had two schools in his district, the Sydney public and an infant school at S. Phillip's. In the parish of S. James's, Sydney (the Rev. Richard Hill), there were also two schools, S. James's Infants and Clarence Street Infants.⁸ In the country districts, at each centre where chaplains officiated there were schools. There were in all twenty-four schools run by the corporation in 1826, extending from Moreton Bay, Port Macquarie and Newcastle in the north to Campbelltown and Kirk-

8. From the Church and Schools Corporation Papers, in the Mitchell Library, Sydney.

ham in the south, with Kelso and Bathurst as the farthest outposts west. Salaries ranged from £15 per annum paid to Mr James Fitzsimmons, the master of the Kelso and Bathurst School, and £17 16s. 8d. per annum paid to Mr Samuel Dell, the master of Newcastle, to £108 6s. 8d. per annum paid to the master of the Sydney Public School, Mr William Cape.⁹ In certain cases, houses were provided, and in others, living allowances were made. Fees of threepence or sixpence per week, according to age, were charged, but the local clergyman would recommend free tuition to the children of those unable to pay, claims for these being made upon the corporation. From the official returns made from time to time to the clerk of the corporation, one gathers that the local schoolmaster did not always find it easy to collect fees from his pupils, one return in 1827 from S. James's Infants School, from Robert Young, the master, showing that only one-quarter had paid.¹⁰

The William Cape mentioned was one of a family which took a leading part in educational matters in the colony. He arrived in Sydney in 1822, shortly afterwards taking over the Sydney Academy from the executors of its late founder, Isaac Woods. In 1824 he accepted the invitation of Governor Brisbane to become headmaster of the new Sydney Public School, which had been erected in Castle-reagh Street. Here he introduced some of the modern methods of education advocated by the great reformer, Pestalozzi, and his work was very successfully carried out. In his school he had the assistance of three members of his family, William Timothy, his son and successor, Henry and Mary

9. *ibid.*

10. *ibid.*

Ann. But he was not happy under the working of the Church and Schools Corporation. Feeling that his school had been reduced to the level of a mere parochial institution of S. James's, he passed on the control to his son. He spent the rest of his days on his farm at Wyong Creek providing the colony with weather tables from week to week, long before official records were kept. His son carried on for three years, until he resigned and began a private and very popular school at the corner of King and Phillip Streets. Later he was appointed headmaster of the Sydney College, forerunner of the Sydney Grammar School, when it was opened in 1833. Here he reigned till his resignation in 1841, following a quarrel with the School Council. He returned to private school work, until elected a member of the Legislative Assembly.

The Sydney (Free) Grammar School was begun in November, 1824, by the Rev. L. H. Halloran, D.D., a man of high academic achievements. Owing, however, to the doctor's political prejudices, the chances of success for the school were few, and it closed down after a year or so. Dr Bland revived the idea of such a school in 1828, and plans were made for its resuscitation. The foundation stone of a new school building in College Street was laid in 1830, and the school re-opened under Mr Cape's direction in 1833, since when it has continued to flourish.¹¹

It was natural that the new system of the Anglican control of education would receive much opposition from the leaders of the other Christian denominations, who left no stone unturned in their endeavours to have it removed. One of the chief

11. *Jnl. and Proc., R.A.H.S.*, vol. ii, pp. 80-3.

opponents was the Rev. John Dunmore Lang, the newly-arrived Presbyterian minister. He was particularly vindictive. In a letter to Lord Goderich, he complains of the expenses of the corporation, owing to the failure to develop fully the land given them, and the unfortunate result, as he sees it, of the clergy becoming occupied with secular pursuits. He goes on in a stronger vein:

It has excited a spirit of disaffection towards His Majesty's Government amongst the native youth of the Colony; and I will even add, my Lord, has sown the seeds of future rebellion.¹²

Governor Bourke strongly recommended its abolition, with the result that the corporation was dissolved in 1833, the control of all properties and lands returning to the Crown. The Governor then recommended the introduction of the Irish system of education, by which no denominational teaching would be given, but only matters of common Christian belief explained. This seems to have met with considerable opposition from all sections of the community except the Roman Catholics, and, although it had been agreed to by the Legislative Council and £3000 allocated for its inauguration, the measure was dropped. In its place, the system of denominational aid to schools was begun, by which financial help was given to schools of any of the denominations approved by the Governor.

A little before this, the Church had made its first move towards the establishment of secondary schools. In 1832 two institutions were opened, one in Sydney for day boys and another in Parramatta chiefly for boarders. This latter school we know today as the King's School. It had as its first headmaster the Rev. Robert Forrest. It was given

12. *History of New South Wales*, by J. D. Lang, vol. ii, p. 523.

its name by its founder, Bishop Broughton, who had been educated at the King's School, Canterbury. The Sydney School in Pitt Street had a short life, for its first headmaster, the Rev. R. George Innes, died in September of the first year. As the school had attracted only a few pupils, it was closed down.

The Presbyterian Church, under the fiery Dr Lang, had also opened a secondary school, the Australian College, in January, 1832, but it had a somewhat chequered career and was closed down some years later. So with the revival of the Sydney College (or Sydney Grammar School) in 1833, the colony had three outstanding secondary schools, two of which have survived to this day. There was also an Academy at Rankin Street, Bathurst, under a Mr Balmain.

Not long after taking up the reins of office, Governor Gipps planned to simplify the types of schools by having them grouped as either Protestant or Catholic, and one of each only would be supported in each district. To this the Church of England naturally objected, and after a lengthy speech by Bishop Broughton in the Legislative Council the matter was dropped. The bishop pointed out the distinctive contribution which the English Church had to make as the Church of the motherland, and appealed to the Governor to set aside his proposed measure. It was a courageous move to oppose the Governor, for the bishop and he were friends and former school-fellows.

In 1844 Robert Lowe, a member of the Legislative Council and later Earl of Sherbrooke, moved for an inquiry into the whole educational position in New South Wales, a select committee being appointed as a result. W. C. Wentworth was a

member. It recommended a national system in preference to the denominational method. The thoroughness of the investigation may be seen from the range and variety of questions appearing in the official report of the proceedings.¹³ Fees and their collection, head-money as it was called, the amount of religious instruction, salaries, the value of monitors, and how to reach the out-back child, were some of the topics discussed. Owing chiefly to the opposition of Bishop Broughton, the report was not entirely accepted by the Governor, and the denominational schools continued, under the supervision of the Denominational Schools Board. At the same time, however, a National Schools Board was established to promote secular schools for those who wished for them. Grants were made to both boards to forward their work. It is interesting to note that in the first report of the Denominational Schools Board, one-tenth of the whole grant was set aside for equipment and materials to improve methods of teaching and learning. Major Sir Thomas Mitchell, at that time Surveyor-General, produced an atlas map of Australia for schools and set to work to write a small text-book, *Elements of Australian Geography*, to be used with the map. Salaries at this time ranged from £80 to £20 per annum, with houses and allowances in certain cases. Fees were charged as before, but the grant made to the school now depended on the number of poor children attending the school, so that no payment was made twice for a child's education, as had been done before, once in fees by the parents and once by the Government. Four denominations were recognized by this system as

13. A copy is on view at Vacluse House, Sydney.

having the right to build schools, the Church of England, the Roman Catholic, the Presbyterian and the Wesleyan communions. Each school had its local board, with the local clergyman as the official visitor. He often attended with the board on the occasion of the half-yearly examinations. Each denomination drew up the rules, time-table and curriculum for its schools, but all were subject to the approval of the board. The daily routine submitted by the Roman Catholic and Anglican bishops shows interesting variations. In that submitted from Archbishop Polding on 23 June, 1848,¹⁴ the programme is set out thus:

- 9.00 a.m. Bell rings, children assemble, come into school. Slates are given out and the arrangements made for the day.
- 9.30 a.m. Prayers—Lord's Prayer, Hail Mary, Apostles Creed, Acts of Faith, Hope and Charity, and Contrition, Prayers for the Archbishop, Queen and Faithful departed.
- 9.45 a.m. Spelling Classes.
- 10.30 a.m. Catechism Classes.
- 11.00 a.m. Arithmetic.
- 12.00 a.m. Angelus, then Reading Classes.
- 1.00 p.m. Recreation.
- 2.00 p.m. Grammar and Geography.
- 3.15 p.m. Prayers—Lord's Prayer, Litany of the Virgin, etc.
- Dismissal.

The daily routine submitted by the Bishop of Australia, Dr Broughton, on 5 July,¹⁵ is much more solid, perhaps too solid for children:

- 9.00 a.m. Morning Prayers.
- 9.04 a.m. Lessons chosen from Reading, Writing, Spelling, Catechism, Old Testament, Tables, Arithmetic, Repetition, Faith and Duty of the Christian and frequent examination periods.
- 12.30 a.m. Recreation.
- 2.00 p.m. Further lessons, Geography and History added to previous list.
- 4.45 p.m. Evening Prayers.
- 5.00 p.m. Dismiss.

14. From the original in the Mitchell Library, Sydney.

15. *ibid.*

On Saturday, school was held from 9 a.m. till noon.

Certainly the Church of England schoolmasters earned their £80 to £20 per annum. The long day from 9 a.m. till 5 p.m. was not broken with periods of drill and games. It was all pretty solid teaching. In view of recent discussions, it is interesting to note that the Roman Catholic authorities allowed corporal punishment, but the Presbyterian schoolmasters were not permitted to use it.

Uniformity in secular subjects was encouraged, and model schools were set up, chiefly under the National Board, to achieve this and to improve the standard of teaching by the provision of training for pupil teachers. One letter received by the board gives some idea how even an effort for uniformity in this way could create difficulties. Writing to the Chairman, the Hon. C. D. Riddell, on 5 May, 1848, the General-Superintendent of the Wesleyan Church in Australia, the Rev. W. B. Boyce, says:¹⁶

We fully agree with you in reference to the desired attempt of uniformity in school books, etc.; so far as Arithmetic, Geography and Elementary Reading and Spelling Books, we think there can be no danger of annoying the religious views of any of the denominations, whatever books may be used. But in the case of History the case is different. The Roman Catholic Histories of England could not be used in Protestant Schools and Protestant Histories would be equally annoying to Roman Catholics; so also, the History of England put forward by the High Church Party, for instance that by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, containing remarks upon the Puritan Party offensive to Dissenters and Evangelical Churchmen, and which term the period 1643-1660 as the "Great Rebellion" would be . . . objected to.

It is easy to understand that the system of control by dual boards would lead to trouble, both between the two boards and also between the vari-

16. *ibid.*

ous denominations. It was in order to clear up the position and to overcome the endless rivalry and overlapping between the boards with the resultant waste of money, that Henry Parkes, Colonial Secretary in Sir James Martin's Ministry, introduced the Public Schools Bill in 1866. By it national schools were further extended, with definite provision for religious teaching during the day included in the syllabus. Grants continued to be paid to denominational schools, but they were restricted in cases where the population did not justify both a national and a denominational school. A certain definite standard of secular education was required in all denominational schools in order to ensure a minimum educational standard. The two boards were abolished, and the control of the schools of the colony was placed in the hands of a Council of Education of six members, under the presidency of the Colonial Secretary. It was originally intended that no two members of the council should be of the same religious convictions, but this was later dropped from the Bill. The Bill became law after passing both Houses with large majorities. Outside Parliament, however, criticism was vigorous, particularly from the Roman Catholic Church, one of whose leaders said that the Act aimed at "removing the Deity out of his place". A Free Church critic remarked that the construction of the council made Parkes "the Pope of Education with his five cardinals".¹⁷

The system set up by the Act continued to receive criticism for many years. On the one side, those who were dissatisfied because State aid was still given to denominational schools, continued to urge

17. *Sir Henry Parkes*, by Sir T. Bavin (Macrossan Lectures, 1940), p. 42.

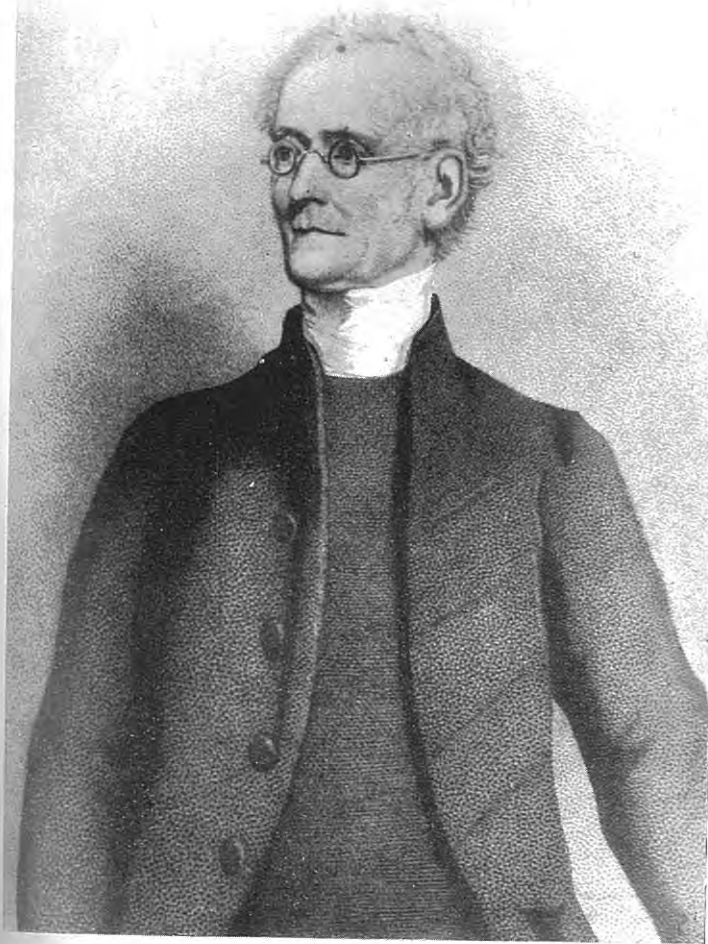
the Government to establish purely secular State education. In 1873 William Forster moved in Parliament an amendment to the 1866 Act to enforce and extend more strictly the principle of secular education and to discontinue aid to denominational schools. Parkes opposed this on the grounds that it would be "impolitic and prejudicial to the best interests of the people", and the amendment was lost. Two years later, another member, George R. Dibbs, moved for the discontinuance of all aid to denominational schools. Parkes again opposed the proposal. In his speech to the House, he stressed the point that the withdrawal of State aid to these schools would lead some denominations, particularly the Roman Catholics, to set up their own systems of schools where a more extreme, and, from the public welfare point of view, a more unsatisfactory form of religious fanaticism would be taught. It would also mean that a large section of the population would be paying twice for their education, once for national schools and again for their Church schools. Mr Dibbs's motion was lost. Again, in 1877, David Buchanan moved a motion for the extension of secular education and the withdrawal of payment to Church schools. Henry Parkes again opposed the motion. He was convinced that "the compromise of 1866 was politic and wise, and was working with satisfactory results". From his experience of them he was sure that "the larger denominational schools were doing good work".

On the other side, the 1866 Act was criticized by Church leaders because it curtailed their opportunities and also established schools where only an indefinite religious teaching was given. Archbishop Vaughan, the brilliant and scholarly head of the

Roman Catholic Communion, was particularly bitter. In a pastoral letter signed by the hierarchy, the national schools were referred to as "seed plots of future immorality, infidelity and lawlessness", and parents of Roman Catholic children were urged to stir up opposition to a system which permitted them to exist. In the Sydney Synod of the Church of England, Sir Alexander Stuart identified himself with the aims and demands of the Roman Catholics.¹⁸

The result of the opposition, however, was not quite as was expected or hoped for by the Church leaders. The general public did not fully understand why there was all this grumbling when the State still continued to support Church schools. This played into the hands of the secular education group, and a Public Schools League was formed under James Greenwood to urge the abolition of further aid to denominational schools. Henry Parkes, then Premier of the State, found himself attacked from two sides, and although he had felt that the 1866 Act was quite satisfactory and had achieved satisfactory results, he found himself more or less compelled to resurvey the position. The result was that he introduced an Educational Bill on 12 November, 1869, which aimed at a secular system of schools throughout the colony. Aid to denominational schools was to cease after 1882. The State schools would have four hours of secular education each day and at least one hour per day was to be set aside for religious instruction. During that time, children whose parents wished it could receive instruction in their own faith by one of their own ministers. When the Bill was before the

18. *ibid.*, p. 44.



THE VEN. WILLIAM COWPER, D.D.
First Archdeacon of Cumberland

House, one member endeavoured to have religious education included as a subject of secular education, while another moved an amendment to gain support for denominational schools where there was an average daily attendance of over forty. Both these amendments were lost, however. Upon the introduction of the Bill, Henry Parkes, having in mind the vigorous opposition of Archbishop Vaughan, said, "Surely the Catholic religion with all its sacraments, does not depend upon some particular form being taught ; and surely it cannot be a thing, the teaching of which renders it necessary to separate Catholic children from the other children of the colony." He went on to say that in later life they would mix and, while the educational influence of the home and the Church remained at other times, it surely would not be harmful for them to mix in schools run by the State. The Bill passed through both Houses after minor amendments, and received royal assent on 21 April, 1880.

While the Bill was still before Parliament, protest meetings were held in various centres in an endeavour to have it withdrawn. Archbishop Vaughan, at a meeting in Balmain, said he saw in the measure "an attempt to squeeze gradually the Catholic Faith out of Catholic people". Dr Barker, the Bishop of Sydney, in his address to Provincial Synod, definitely expressed his opposition to the measure. Some of his remarks are worth quoting for their clear reasoning.

I have always regarded, and still do regard, religious education in Church of England Schools as of the greatest value to the child and to the State. The defects of the public school system may to a certain extent be met and supplied by such voluntary efforts as we are preparing to make in the Sydney diocese. But the absence of prayer, the exclusion of the Scriptures, as a book to be read and

explained by the teacher, and the entire separation of the religious from the secular instruction are very grave omissions. In a well-conducted Church of England School the proceedings commence with a hymn and prayer; the Bible is the first book read; religious instruction is given by the teacher or by the clergyman, whose influence is on the side of order, reverence and submission to authority. The relative duties are enforced upon the basis of the fear of God and the love of Christ. There are many persons in this community who owe all their hopes of heaven as well as their well-being in this life to the principles inculcated by the clergy in Church of England schools. Can it be a matter of wonder that we are unwilling to change these seminaries of sound religious knowledge for the prayerless, scriptureless secular school? . . . I shall never cease to oppose the abandonment of our own Church of England Schools and shall always regard such an act as a misfortune when inevitable, and extremely mischievous at the present juncture.

The Provincial Synod passed resolutions supporting Bishop Barker in his opposition to the measure and expressing their agreement as to the injurious effect the withdrawal of State aid for Church schools would have. These efforts were unavailing, however, and the Bill became law. Speaking at a meeting shortly after its enactment, Bishop Barker said he considered the cessation of Government aid and supervision to Church schools a loss to the community, seeing that it withheld from State education "that moral and spiritual influence which had hitherto been employed in moulding the character of the rising generation". It was, however, some consolation to the bishop that the public schools would not, as in adjoining colonies, wholly exclude religious teaching and that opportunities were to be given to the clergy to instruct their own children during school time.

In Victoria developments followed a similar direction. The first settlement was in 1835, but it was not until nearly two years later that the first

church, a wooden one, was built. The structure was used as a school as well as a church. James Alexander Clarke was the first schoolmaster. In later years, when a new church building dedicated to S. James was erected, the old building continued to be used for many years as a school. The school had closed for a short period in 1839, for an advertisement in the *Port Phillip Gazette* for 27 April of that year informs settlers that it is to be re-opened under the direction of Mr William W. Abbott, a gentleman recently arrived from London. The curriculum and the fees advertised were:

For English Reading and Spelling	10/- per quarter, or 1/- per week
For Reading and Writing	15/- per quarter, or 1/6 per week
For Reading, Writing and Arithmetic	20/- per quarter, or 2/- per week

English Grammar and geography were included in the course. All fees were payable in advance, and the school hours were 9 a.m. to noon, and 2 p.m. to 4 p.m.¹⁹

In Geelong one of the first Church buildings erected was the school house. The Melbourne and Geelong schools in their own buildings and one or two in hired cottages, were the extent of the Church schools when Bishop Perry arrived as the first Bishop of Melbourne in 1847. He felt that they were inadequate and unworthy of the Church of England, and he spent much energy in rectifying the position. The denominational system was in vogue in Port Phillip as well as in Sydney, the local board sitting under the chairmanship of Robert William Pohlman.

From letters passed between the two boards it is

19. *First Years at Port Phillip*, by R. D. Boys, p. 93.

obvious that they wished to work in close collaboration. The bishop was able to benefit by this system, finding opportunities for opening more schools. In 1849 a Diocesan Grammar School was opened at S. Peter's, Eastern Hill, which had not long been built. It was under the headmastership of Richard H. Budd, with H. H. P. Handfield (later Canon Handfield) as senior assistant. This school was the forerunner of the Melbourne Grammar School. A year later the school of S. James was pulled down and a large and airy building, worthy of the Metropolitan Church, erected in its place. The bishop's endeavours were then directed towards the building of two Church secondary schools, one at Melbourne and one at Geelong. Several meetings were held and grants were sought from the Government. In 1853 a sum of £20,000 was voted by the Legislative Council for the establishment of grammar schools, and under the denominational system, £10,392 fell to the Church of England,²⁰ which made the projects of the bishop possible. On 30 July, 1856, he had the satisfaction of laying the foundation stone of Melbourne Grammar School. Very nearly a year later, His Excellency Sir Henry Barkly laid the foundation stone of Geelong Grammar School. The story now resembles that of New South Wales closely, as gradually aid to Church schools was withdrawn. The Education Act of 1872 established primary education on a free, compulsory and secular basis.

In Queensland the process was similar to that in New South Wales in early days. Under the Church and Schools Corporation the first school was established in 1826 at the Moreton Bay settlement, with

20. *The Church in Victoria*, by G. Goodman, Chapter V.

Esther Roberts as the teacher at a salary of £20 per annum.²¹ Following the dissolution of the corporation, grants were made available as schools were erected and approved. After separation, a board of general education was established following rather the Irish national system. Besides the non-sectarian schools, the institutions of the Roman Catholics and Anglicans continued to receive aid by grants. But by the same two steps as in the mother colony, this aid was gradually withdrawn.

The first Anglican priest in Tasmania, Robert Knopwood, was a leading light in the beginning of education there, assisting the Methodist immigrants to start the first schools. These and subsequent schools were aided by the Government grants. Government schools were also established, and by 1836 were twenty-nine in number. In 1846 the grant of a penny per day per head was paid to Church schools. In 1885 the Government took over control of all primary education.

Throughout Australia, the work of pioneering education had been largely the result of efforts of the Church of England and other Christian communions. They had been willing to do the spade work before there was any thought of education being a State duty. However imperfectly they may have done their work, whatever opportunities they missed, there can be no doubt that they laid educational foundations upon which others were able to build.

21. From the Church and Schools Corporation Papers in the Mitchell Library, Sydney.

CHAPTER XII

SOME CLERICAL PERSONALITIES

THE REV. ROBERT KNOPWOOD

THE story of the first chaplain to both Victoria and Tasmania makes different reading to that of Richard Johnson and Samuel Marsden. Although he lived under the same penal code, in a similar type of settlement, there is an absence of complaint and bickering with those in authority and at the same time an absence of that Methodist fervour and hell-fire preaching which was so characteristic of Johnson and his colleague. This "most unclerical of chaplains", to use the words of Mabel Hookey, is the nineteenth century edition of our modern sporting parson to whom duties, responsibilities, pleasures and entertainments are all to be taken as they come.

Robert Knopwood was born on 2 June, 1761, of a well-known Sussex family. Educated at Bury School and Caius College, Cambridge, he graduated and took his M.A. degree in 1784. He entered the Church as a young man, and is said to have been private chaplain to a nobleman's family.¹ At his father's death, he inherited an estate valued at £90,000—a fortune which he soon dissipated, for he belonged to the fast set that surrounded the Prince Regent (afterwards George IV). As a com-

1. *Church of England Messenger*, 14 February, 1878.

pensation for the loss of his fortune to the Prince at the gaming tables, H.R.H. obtained for him a chaplaincy in the Navy. Here he served until he was chosen to come with David Collins to Australia. Whether he saw active service in the Navy is difficult to say, although it is likely, since England was very much at war at that time with the French, Spanish and Dutch fleets.

He arrived at Sorrento with the *Calcutta* and the other ships of Collins's fleet, and with the company was transferred to Hobart. He was on excellent terms with the Lieutenant-Governor, and frequently went shooting or boating with him. His diary also tells us of many occasions when he dined at Government House. He received the usual grant of land given to officers when he arrived at Hobart, and on 25 August, 1816, he was given a further grant of 500 acres. This he seems to have used well. He resigned the chaplaincy in 1823 on account of ill-health, retired to a little cottage about a mile from Kangaroo Point (Bellerive), and was responsible for church services at Clarence Plains. An involved law-suit deprived Knopwood of his favourite cottage and garden, and his last years were not years of plenty. Legacies from his sisters and from his father's estate arrived too late to be of any help to him. He died on 18 September, 1838, at the age of 77 years, and was buried in Rokeby Churchyard.²

Many strange tales are told of this unusual man. He frequently indulged in swearing, and one story about this is worth repeating. I will give it to you in Mabel Hookey's own words:

2. *Bobby Knopwood and His Times*, by Mabel Hookey, p. 6.

Service was being held in the township school-house at Rokeby, and the [chaplain's] white pony, hitched to a tree, switched flies restlessly and meditated escape, the parson meanwhile keeping a watchful eye through the window. All went well until the middle of the sermon, when the congregation was startled by a burst from the pulpit, "D—— that pony of mine; he's loose again."³

A later story is told of him when he appeared at church one wet Sunday to find only three convicts present for service. To these he flatly refused to preach. "I have preached," he said, "to Governors and to —— [enumerating different dignatories], but I have never yet preached to three convict stone-breakers, and I'm d——d if I'm going to begin now."⁴

He appears to have been a good preacher, and the reprint of his first sermon at Sorrento makes interesting reading.⁵ Collins is recorded to have thanked Knopwood before the whole assembly for his excellent sermon. Yet, at the same time, his public ecclesiastical duties did not weigh very heavily upon him. His weekly service at eleven o'clock each Sunday morning was very often, perhaps too often, set aside, and apparently he could not or would not hold it at any other time. Some of the entries in his diary tell us of the reasons for not performing the service.⁶

¹ Oct., 1804—The day was so very windy, Divine Service was not held.

¹⁷ July, 1808—The day being very cold, Divine Service could not be performed.

⁵ June, 1814—On account of the "Windham" transport sailing, Divine Service was not performed.

¹⁴ May, 1816—Divine Service could not be performed on account of the people repairing their houses, etc. (after a gale).

³ *ibid.*, p. 3.

⁴ *ibid.*, p. 4.

⁵ *Church of England Messenger*, 14 February, 1878.

⁶ Knopwood's Diary is in the Mitchell Library, Sydney.

²⁹ June, 1817—Divine Service was not performed, there being no place to perform it in.

At other times, the illness of the Lieutenant-Governor or the arrival of a ship was the cause of there being no service. Although the diary is not complete, some sections having been lost, in the first thirteen years there is only one mention of a celebration of Holy Communion. On 25 May, 1816, he administered the Sacrament to three condemned men on the day of their execution.

However, Knopwood certainly enjoyed life in the colony. He frequently went fishing or shooting, his success varying from time to time. Entries read:

Capt. Mertho and self went a-shooting. Killed a pigeon. 5/3/04.

Moderate and fair. Went out a-shooting and killed some quails. 10/3/04.

At 11, I took my boat and went out a-fishing; had very good luck. 16/6/06.

In 1805 his gun brought him a very satisfactory return and he records that for the two months, up to 5 October, he had sold £107 13s. worth of kangaroo flesh to the Government stores, and what he had used in the house or given away for the same period would amount to another £160.

He partook fully of the social pleasures of his time. His diary records that on Sunday, 3 June, in the evening, "Mr Harris smoaked (*sic*) a pipe with me" at a time when the idea of a clergyman smoking would have shocked most English church-goers. He records many pleasant evenings in convivial company, when a good dinner and wines or spirits were enjoyed. He usually describes these events by aptly saying, "We were very merry." The entry for 9 March, 1807, tells us that "This day a quantity of spirits was landed. I got 228 gallons from the

ship and many things." The clergy-house would be well stocked after that. Two months later he presides at a supper in a public house known as the Sign of the White Fishery to celebrate the opening night of the hostelry. The festivities kept him there until 11.30 p.m. On 6 July, 1814, he rode out to see the New Town Races, when Lieutenant Lansell's grey horse, Cheviot, challenged Mr Ingle's mare, Diana. The prize was 200 guineas. Several other events made up an interesting programme and "A great many ladies and gents were present." On 30 October, 1815, he was present at a boat race between boats of Mr Peters and Mr Gordon for a prize of 50 guineas.

His greatest interest was his garden, and in it he spent many hours. It must have been a great blow to him to have lost it. It was said to have been one of the show places around Hobart. Friends at home sent him seeds and fruit stones, and these he carefully planted and nurtured in their new soil. The first site he chose for the garden proved unsatisfactory after it had been cleared, and a new site was chosen. He was not long in preparing for a crop of potatoes, and he claims for himself the credit of growing the first asparagus in the colony. Later, he writes glowingly of his fruit-trees, and says his cattle and sheep are looking very fine. While at Sorrento, he set several hens on eggs, the white one sitting on twenty-one. Just before Christmas, the brown hen produced seven chickens. At Hobart, Lieutenant Simmons presented him "with a very fine cock-turkey and hen". Altogether he must have been quite busily occupied in his extensive and varied farming and agricultural pursuits.

The chaplain, however, dispensed justice with the

same spirit of casualness that he showed in most duties, although, to us, his sentences seem barbaric. The fact that he had just sentenced a man to a brutal flogging didn't perturb him, and he proceeded straight to social events from the court. Two entries in his diary are worth quoting:

Tuesday 20 (July, 1804). A.m. at 8 the Lt.-Gov. sent for me and both of us attended punishment of John Rodger, who received 50 lashes and Thos. Green 100 lashes. Afterwards, I breakfasted with the Governor. At 10 Groves and self took a walk. In the eve I dined (*sic*) with Lt. Johnston and Capt. Mertho.

Monday 12 (Jan., 1807). A.m. at 11 I went to Court and sat upon some prisoners that had killed a goat, found them guilty and sentenced North, Long, Vasey to receive 500 lashes and Cruse and Briscoe 300 for absenting themselves from the Colony. [The goat was apparently worth 1500 lashes.]

At the same time, Knopwood could be the kindest of men. The interest he took in two young lads of sixteen and seventeen years shows this: They were condemned to death for robbery on 23 May, 1816, and he presented a petition for their reprieve. His constant attendance on them in jail and his joy at their release show a kind heart in this man of contrasts. His adoption of the little orphan girl, Elizabeth May, and the affection they had for one another are further proof of this. It was her daughter who raised the tombstone over Knopwood's grave in Rokeby and who chose the wording of the inscriptions. She speaks of him as "a steady and affectionate friend, a man of strict integrity and active benevolence, ever ready to relieve the distress and to ameliorate the condition of the afflicted".

He was the soul of discretion, and entries in his diaries about the amorous doings of his fellow-officers are models of tact, free from the breath of

gossip or scandal. The pleasure the Lieutenant-Governor, Collins, took in the company of the wife of a convict, Mathew Powers, is noted briefly with the statement (somewhat frequently recurring): "The Lt. Gov. and Mrs Powers" did this, or "The Lt. Gov. and Mrs Powers" visited this. Of the affairs of Lieutenant Bowen, who had formed the settlement at Risden Cove, he remarks briefly in passing, "Gov. Bowen's young friend was confined to her bed." No possible offence could be taken.

This, then, is the man whose figure stands out so vividly in the background of those early years of Victorian and Tasmanian history, the genial, unorthodox chaplain who served his God and King in his quaint way for thirty-five years.

THE VENERABLE WILLIAM COWPER

A striking contrast to Knopwood was the first Archdeacon of Cumberland, William Cowper. Greatly beloved by his people, free from the criticism of severity in magisterial duties and of acquiring wealth in landed pursuits, he ministered in the Church in New South Wales for forty-nine years with untiring zeal and earnestness.

The keynote of his work was probably given in his first sermon to the people of St Phillip's, Sydney. He took as his text:

For do I now persuade men, or God? or do I seek to please men? for if I yet pleased men, I should not be the servant of Christ. (Gal. i, 10.)

His duty was to preach and serve his Master regardless of his own likes and dislikes or those of other people. This duty he faithfully and loyally carried out to the day of his death. He urged his flock to take the Commandments of God as their

guiding principle in life, to maintain a standard of purity and honesty in face of the moral evil around them. His flock were given perhaps the greatest incentive possible to follow this teaching, the example of the personal life of their minister. He kept free from participation in the secular and private matters which had brought criticism on chaplains like Marsden. He steadfastly refused the appeals of Governor Macquarie to become a magistrate, and he took no part in the controversies between free settlers and emancipists that disturbed the regimes of Macquarie and Brisbane. "He felt it his duty, as a minister of Christ, to avoid whatever might hinder the effect of his ministrations."⁷

He was not, however, narrow-minded and intolerant. His friendly actions towards the representatives of the nonconformist missions who visited Sydney from time to time were always appreciated. When the Tractarian Movement began to make its presence felt in New South Wales, although he strongly disagreed with its principles and teaching, yet his was a charitable disagreement. He wrote to his son, the future Dean of Sydney:⁸

Although different persons, according to age, constitution, and education, may take different views of the Gospel, and be led to experience different thoughts and feelings, and perhaps no two persons in all particulars apprehend alike the religion of Jesus, nevertheless in all true believers there will be found something generally and substantially the same, in the knowledge of self and of Christ, in faith, in hope, in fears, in joys.

In this spirit he strove daily to serve his Master and the Church which, to him, was "the safest

7. *Autobiography and Reminiscences*, by W. M. Cowper, p. 65.

8. *ibid.*, p. 79.

bulwark of our Empire and Depository of the Truth".

In his early days he had not intended to enter the ministry, and he had had some years in other walks of life before he turned his mind towards that avenue of service. At seventeen years of age he was selected as tutor to the family of a clergyman at Northallerton in Yorkshire. Later, he obtained an appointment as clerk in the Royal Engineers' Department in Hull. After serving here for some years, he was informed that he would be required to work for part of Sunday. To this he strongly objected. But the authorities were adamant. Either he worked as required, or he resigned. After due consideration, he chose the latter course. It was at this time that some of his friends, having observed his fitness for the ministry, suggested that it was probably his future vocation. After due consideration, he agreed, and began reading for orders. He was ordained deacon by the Bishop of Winchester and licensed as curate in the parish of Rawdon, near Hull. Here he was found by the Rev. Samuel Marsden in 1808, when the senior chaplain was looking for suitable men to minister in New South Wales.⁹ Having inquired fully into the work which would be required of him in the colony, Cowper agreed to allow his name to be submitted for an assistant chaplaincy. The Archbishop of Canterbury having approved, an official commission from the Crown was sent to him, and Cowper began to make preparation to leave England with his wife and four children. His departure, however, was delayed by the unexpected blow of his wife's death. It was not till the end of

9. *ibid.*, p. 8.

1808 that he was able to leave, and by this time he had married a lady "who proved herself a true mother to his children and a valuable helper to himself in his ministry".¹⁰ He arrived in the colony by the brig *Indispensable* on 18 August, 1809, and entered upon his duties as minister of S. Phillip's the next day, Sunday, 19 August.

As soon as he had become familiar with his parish and its needs, Cowper put every effort into his work. Every day was a full one in which not one moment was wasted. His first hour each day was spent in devotion and the reading of the Scriptures. After breakfast, he spent between one and two hours in the education of his children. It speaks highly of his efforts that one of his sons, Sir Charles, held the important positions of Clerk to the Denominational Schools Board and Premier of the colony, while the other, William Macquarie, became Dean of Sydney. The remainder of his day was spent in visits to the gaol, the military and general hospitals, the orphan school, the parochial schools and the sick of his congregation. On certain days, numbers of persons collected at the parsonage in Gresham Street to seek his approval for their applications for tickets-of-leave. Before the Governor would grant this concession to well-behaved convicts, they had to obtain the approval and signature of a chaplain and one or two justices of the peace. Cowper carefully examined each applicant before he gave his consent, and it is certain that those who deserved the concession would not leave the parsonage disappointed. The last half-hour of each day was spent by the chaplain in prayer and further meditation on the Bible.

10. *ibid.*, p. 10.

Apart from this routine work, Cowper was keenly interested in several organizations in Sydney which had the betterment of the population as their aim. The Benevolent Society was one of these. It cared for the destitute and aged poor of the colony, and received invaluable help from Cowper. An asylum was built in 1820 on the site of the present Central Railway Station, where those who needed care and attention could be looked after. The chaplain was regular in his pastoral visits to the institution and his work was publicly recognized in later years by his election to the office of Vice-President.¹¹

In 1817, with the help of Marsden, Cowper was able to establish in Sydney an auxiliary of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Knowing his own love for the Scriptures, one can imagine the zeal with which he undertook this work, which would enable many who had no Bible in their homes to get one easily. The inaugural meeting was attended by the Governor, the judges and many military and civil officers. Liberal donations towards the work of the society were made and great enthusiasm prevailed. Cowper was appointed secretary, and one of the merchants treasurer. In the first seven years of the existence of the society, it circulated 5240 copies of the Scriptures.¹²

An auxiliary to the Religious Tract and Book Society was another institution which owes its foundation to Cowper. Through it, religious literature of a popular character was made available at cheap prices, and tracts were distributed to the clergy for their parishioners to aid them in the work of teaching.¹³ He was also secretary of the local branch of S.P.C.K. when one was formed in

11. *ibid.*, p. 27.12. *ibid.*, p. 27.13. *ibid.*, p. 28.

1836. Any institution that aided education was always warmly supported by him.

Cowper was not a robust man, and was liable to have his work interrupted by periods of illness. In his third year in the colony he was prostrated with a severe attack of rheumatic fever, caught through visiting prisoners in the damp cells of the gaol.¹⁴ For some time, there was doubt about his recovery, but a change in the method of treatment led to the desired result. Again, in 1830, he was at a low ebb. When Archdeacon Broughton landed in Sydney, he learnt from Cowper's medical advisers that a complete rest and relief from church duties was essential if the chaplain was to live. Broughton at once arranged to take over the work at S. Phillip's until Cowper was better. Seven years later he was suffering from a defect in his eyesight, and because of the absence of a qualified ophthalmic surgeon in Sydney, he was strongly advised to go to England for treatment. This he reluctantly agreed to do. A public meeting of parishioners and friends of S. Phillip's was called to express their feelings of esteem and affection towards the minister, during which a cheque for £780 was presented to him to defray the expenses of the voyage. He left in February, 1842, and was away about eighteen months. During his stay in the homeland he received the signal honour of having the Lambeth degree of Doctor of Divinity conferred upon him by the Archbishop of Canterbury on the recommendation of Bishop Broughton.¹⁵ As a further mark of approval of his faithful work for the Church, the bishop appointed him in 1848 to the office of Archdeacon of Cumberland. It implied the bishop's trust and

14. *ibid.*, p. 19.15. *ibid.*, p. 46.

confidence in Dr Cowper, and was welcomed and appreciated by the community generally. The bishop and he had had a very happy association in their work in Sydney, and the appointment was considered a very graceful act on the part of Broughton.

Dr Cowper had long felt that the old Church of S. Phillip was unsuitable and ought to be replaced. To his son he wrote, "The old church in external appearance and internal accommodation is verily no honour to the Government or to the town." By 1847 the building required extensive repairs and the foundations were found to be insecure. He resolved, therefore, to put forward a project for a new building on the crown of Church Hill. The estimated cost was £14,000, but this did not dismay him. The public approved of the proposal and plans were begun. The foundation stone was laid on 1 May, 1848, in the presence of a large crowd. A delightful event occurred during the ceremony when the bishop, instead of laying the stone himself as had been planned, called upon the archdeacon to do so, as one more fitted to perform the task. The archdeacon was taken by surprise, but consented to do so after thanking the bishop for his kindness.¹⁶ The church was consecrated on 27 March, 1856. A memorial tablet has been erected on the site of the old church in Lang Park by the parishioners of S. Phillip's and the Royal Australian Historical Society.

Bishop Broughton announced his intention to return to England in 1852 to consult with the Church authorities at home about the proposed method of synodical government of the diocese.

¹⁶ *ibid.*, p. 55.

Archdeacon Cowper was appointed administrator of the diocese in his absence, a responsibility he held longer than was anticipated owing to the unexpected death of the bishop at the home of Lady Gipps in London. There was some delay in finding a successor, and it was February, 1855, before the new bishop arrived in Sydney, and relieved Dr Cowper, then in his seventieth year, of his heavy responsibilities.

Shortly after, the archdeacon's strength began to fail and he was unable to carry out his duties with his accustomed zeal. His weakness of sight increased and prevented his regular reading of the Bible. On 6 July, 1858, he passed to his rest, after a long period of faithful service. His remains were buried in Devonshire Street cemetery, but were afterwards removed to a family vault in the cemetery at Randwick.

THE REV. WILLIAM WOOLLS

Some of the earlier clergy of New South Wales gained additional fame for themselves by their interest in matters outside their spiritual duties. Thus Johnston is remembered because he grew the first oranges in the colony, and Marsden made a name for himself in the pastoral industry. One other was William Woolls, who, both before and after his ordination, displayed a keen interest in botany and gained considerable distinction for himself in that field of knowledge.

William Woolls was born at Winchester in 1814. He did not attend school, but received his sound knowledge of the classics from private tutors. At the age of sixteen he found himself an orphan and

was attracted by the adventurous life of a colonist in New South Wales.¹⁷ Influential friends at home gained for him a letter of introduction to the Governor of the colony, Sir Richard Bourke, from Viscount Goderich, Secretary of State for the Colonies, and he arrived in the settlement in 1831. Bourke arranged for him to be appointed clerk at the Government factory in Parramatta, where Woolls had taken up residence. In the meantime, however, he had been offered and had accepted the position of assistant master at the newly-established King's School under the Rev. Robert Forrest.¹⁸ He began his duties there in 1832. In 1836 he was appointed classical master at the Sydney College under W. T. Cape.¹⁹ During both these periods and in later years he contributed frequently to the local press. Through an interest in Louisa Atkinson, a lady devoted to the study of plant life in her neighbourhood, he became a keen student of botany, and his literary efforts deal chiefly with botanical topics.²⁰ In the early forties he opened a private school in Parramatta and achieved considerable success with it. The Governor's education reports to the Home Government in 1842, 1844 and 1846 all speak highly of the institution.²¹ His useful work in botany brought him into contact with two of Australia's leading botanists of that time, Baron von Meuller and Bentham, and he was able to render valuable assistance to them in their efforts to make a collection of Australian flora. His

17. *Australian Encyclopædia*, vol. ii.

18. *H.R. of A.*, series I, vol. xvii, p. 32.

19. *The Jubilee History of Parramatta*, edited by J. Cheyne Wharton.

20. *Jnl. and Proc.*, R.A.H.S., vol. v, p. 32.

21. *H.R. of A.*, series I, vol. xxii, p. 436; vol. xxiii, p. 329; vol. xxv, p. 53.

literary contributions based on careful research brought him further distinction. A paper entitled "Introduced Plants", read before the Cumberland Mutual Improvement Society, of which he was president, gained for him a Fellowship of the Linnaean Society. A later thesis, *Species Plantarum Parramattaensium*, moved the University of Gottingen in Prussia to confer upon him the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. He later became Vice-President of the Linnaean Society of New South Wales, and read several papers before its members between the year of its foundation, 1883, and his death ten years later.²²

Another contribution to literature made by Dr Woolls was *The Life and Character of the Reverend Samuel Marsden*. It was written with a view to raising funds for the erection of All Saints' Church, Parramatta, as a memorial to the second chaplain. Woolls had been a close friend of Marsden, and had been urged often by the latter to seek Holy orders. This step, however, he did not take until 1873, when he was ordained deacon by Bishop Barker. After being priested a year later, he was appointed Rector of Richmond, and in 1877, rural dean. Here he ministered until 1883, when he resigned and was granted a general licence in the diocese of Sydney.²³ He died at Richmond on 14 March, 1893, at the age of seventy-eight. A stained-glass window in S. John's, Parramatta, commemorates his ministry in the church, while the nomenclature of certain plants remains as a tribute to his botanical work. *The Jubilee History of Parramatta* speaks thus in praise of him:

22. *Jnl. and Proc.*, Linnaean Society of N.S.W., 1893 (obituary notice).

23. *Sydney Diocesan Directory*, 1881 and 1888.

As a schoolmaster, Dr Woolls was highly valued by his colleagues as well as by his pupils and their parents; as a clergyman, he performed the duties of his sacred office with zeal and distinction; his work as a botanist will be remembered so long as regard is had to the painful and incessant labours of pioneers in science.

It is a delightful picture that we have been given of him, giving to his people on Sunday the great truths of the Creator and His plan for His children, while searching during the week to learn the secrets of God's wonderful creation in the plant life of the neighbourhood. How well he must have known the meaning of the words of the Psalmist who said, "The earth is the Lord's and all the fulness thereof."

THE REV. WILLIAM BRANWHITE CLARKE

(Contributed by James Jervis, A.S.T.C., F.R.A.H.S.)

During his thirty-nine years' residence in New South Wales no clergyman was more widely known, nor more generally respected than the Rev. William Branwhite Clarke. His work as a geologist won him world-wide recognition, and at a period when Australia was almost unknown, he maintained a correspondence with the leaders of science in Europe, Asia and America. His contributions to scientific journals in England did much to attract interest in the distant colony of New South Wales.

The subject of this sketch was born on 2 June, 1798, at East Bergholt, near Colchester, where his father had become the headmaster of the Free Grammar School in the previous year. Educated partly in his father's home by the Rev. G. S. Brown, and later at Dedham Grammar School, he entered Jesus College, Cambridge, in 1817, where he obtained his degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1821.

Two years later the degree of Master of Arts was conferred on him. He was ordained deacon by the Bishop of Norwich, Dr Bathurst, in May, 1821, and was priested by the same prelate in May, 1824. Between May, 1821, and 1824 Mr Clarke acted as curate at Ramsholt, Nedging, Whitfield, Chellesworth and Grantham. He then became curate of his home parish, where he remained until 1831. His father was afflicted with blindness and Mr Clarke assisted him with the work of the school between 1824 and 1829. On the death of his father the son took over the duties of headmaster. Testimonials which Mr Clarke brought with him to New South Wales bear witness to his ability as a teacher. In 1830 and 1831 Mr Clarke spent some time in Belgium and was present at the siege of Antwerp. For some time he was rector of Poole in Surrey, to which living he was appointed by the Bishop of Winchester. The last living Mr Clarke held was S. Mary's, Longfleet, Dorsetshire.

While engaged on geological work in France in 1833 he contracted rheumatic fever, and later suffered a recurrence of the complaint. His medical adviser recommended a removal to a warmer climate and Mr Clarke decided to leave England. He chose to go to New South Wales. His choice was made, he said many years later, partly by what he had heard of the climate and partly from the geological character of the country about which little was then known.

It seems he had some intention of taking up work in education in New South Wales. A friendship with Bishop Broughton, with whom he had been associated in his student days, had influenced his decision to come here. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New South Wales was founded in 1825, and it was one of its objects to send out missionaries to the colonies.

gation of the Gospel was consulted with regard to Mr Clarke's appointment as a chaplain, and that body recommended him to Lord Glenelg. A dispatch from Lord Glenelg to the Governor of the time, dated 8 December, 1838, stated that the Rev. W. B. Clarke was one of the clergymen recommended by the society and that the choice was approved by the Bishop of London.

Embarking on the ship *Roxburgh Castle*, Mr Clarke arrived at Sydney in June, 1839. After landing, he and his family were the guests of Bishop Broughton. An appointment to Campbelltown was suggested by the bishop, but as there was no residence Mr Clarke did not wish to accept. Next morning Bishop Broughton said that the Rev. Robert Forrest, headmaster of the King's School, was anxious to leave for a time, and Mr Clarke was asked to take his place. And so he became headmaster of the historic institution at Parramatta, with Rev. John Troughton as second master. Bishop Broughton also asked Mr Clarke to take the pastoral charge of the Castle Hill district, which up to that time had been without a clergyman. This was an extensive district stretching from Castle Hill to Wiseman's Ferry, and thinly inhabited by timber cutters and small struggling farmers. There were, of course, no churches in the area, but Bishop Broughton was able to have alterations made in an old stone building erected as a convict barrack at Castle Hill in 1803 by Governor King. In later years this became known as S. Simon's, and it served the district until 1862, when a new church was erected. At Dural a school house served as a chapel on Sundays. Mr Clarke rode out from Par-

ramatta every Sunday morning and held service at both places during the day.

In September, 1840, Mr Clarke's resignation from the post of a headmaster of the King's School was accepted and took effect in December. At the same time he was offered the charge of a new parish to be established at North Parramatta, where it was intended to erect a church. This, however, Mr Clarke declined, and he remained in charge of Castle Hill until 1844, when he went for a time to Campbelltown to relieve the Rev. J. Vidal.

In 1843 steps were taken to build a church at North Sydney (then known as S. Leonards), and the foundation stone was laid by Bishop Broughton on 13 June of that year. It was announced that Mr Clarke was to be the minister of the new church, and when the building was completed and opened in August, 1846, he entered upon his duties. Here Mr Clarke laboured until advancing age and ill-health compelled him to retire in 1870. The parish was known as Willoughby, after the land parish of that name in which the church was situated. The district was very extensive and reached to Broken Bay.

It is as a geologist that Mr Clarke is best known to history. He became interested in the science in his student days, and was a pupil of Professor Sedgwick's. Mr Clarke has been aptly named "the Father of Australian Geology". His labours in this field securely laid the foundations of the science in this country. The results of his work were published in English scientific journals and in the *Journal of the Royal Society of New South Wales*. In all he published fifty-three papers of a scientific character. He was a constant correspondent to the

press of the time, and did much to foster a love of science in the community at a time when no scientific knowledge was imparted in the schools.

Mr Clarke was largely responsible for the formation of the Royal Society of New South Wales, and was for many years a Vice-President of the organization. At the first meeting of the Royal Society in 1867 he propounded what might be termed a creed for scientists. It runs thus:

We must strive to discern clearly, understand fully and report faithfully, to love truth in things physical as in things moral; to abjure hasty theories and unsupported conjectures; when we are in doubt, not to be positive; to give our brother observer the same measure of credit we take to ourselves; not striving for mastery, but leaving time for the judgment which will inevitably be given, whether for or against us by those who come after us, contented if we are able to add but one grain to that enduring pyramid which is now in course of erection as the testimony of Nature to the truth of Revelation.

He was honoured by many of the oversea scientific societies. In 1877 he was awarded the Murchison Medal by the Geological Society of London, and in 1876 the Royal Society of England elected him a Fellow, a much coveted honour.

Some remarks made by Mr Clarke when he delivered the anniversary address to the Royal Society in 1876 are worth repeating as showing the humility of his mind:

We do not boast at present of taking a lead in Science or Literature, and if such were the aim of our Association I for one would retire from it at once. Our true position is that of pioneers, sowers, foundation layers, and in that respect we have assuredly an honourable occupation, and as such, and as such only, I have aspired to take a part, somewhat, perchance, too prominent, in occasionally "going ahead", sometimes scattering a seed for thought here and there, sometimes adding a pebble to what hereafter will, I hope, see itself surmounted by a superstructure of enduring reputation, when you and I shall long have passed beyond the heats of controversy, or the coldness of criticism. Let



THE REV. ROBERT KNOPWOOD

us do what we can to serve honestly our day and generation and then we may be assured, that though posterity cannot benefit or hurt us now, in its own time it will do us justice.

Dr Woolls wrote of him:

Mr Clarke had a remarkable versatility of genius. He was a poet of no mean powers, a liberal theologian, an eloquent classic, and an observing naturalist; whilst to the depth of philosophy he added the simplicity of a child and fund of never failing humour . . . kind and courteous to all, ever ready to communicate knowledge to others, pursuing the study of nature as the amusement of his life, and manifesting a great fondness for the lower animals, he seemed to diffuse around him a spirit of kindness and to allure others to a devout contemplation of God's works.

Mr Clarke was the author of a number of volumes of poetry. Even as a boy he composed verses. One of these compositions has survived; it is "The Voice of War", from which a few lines might be quoted:

Slowly it comes; but in that voice is woe
And anguish—and despair; and the dark grave,
Opening still wider, at the mighty sound
Unfolds its massive portals, and enshrines
In its still chambers heroes red with wound
Of civil strife, or fell ambition

In 1819 he competed for the Chancellor's Gold Medal given annually in the University of Cambridge. The subject was "Pompeii". T. B. Macaulay was the successful competitor, so it was no disgrace to be beaten by so famous an opponent. Later (in 1821) Mr Clarke wrote "Carmen Exequiale"; in 1822 the "River Derwent"; in 1828 "Recollections", to commemorate a visit to Mount Blanc; and in 1829 "Lays of Leisure" were published.

Prior to leaving England, Mr Clarke published a number of sermons, and after his arrival in New South Wales several more were published.

Following upon his retirement from the active ministry in 1870 Mr Clarke was engaged in geo-

logical work and published a number of papers. A few days before his death he completed the revision of his book on the *Sedimentary Formations of New South Wales*.

His death occurred on 16 June, 1878. The *Sydney Morning Herald* published a leading article in its issue of 18 June, 1878, in which it dealt with his life and work. Amongst other things it said:

Mr Clarke never sank the clergyman in the geologist, nor in his love of science forgot the author of the great stone book whose records he was so fond of deciphering. He was an exemplary clergyman, and fulfilled the duties of his office to the satisfaction of his charge until failing health compelled him to resign his position in favour of younger and stronger men. . . .

After Mr Clarke's death, steps were taken to commemorate his life and work. The Royal Society at a meeting in August, 1878, decided to inaugurate the "Rev. W. B. Clarke Memorial Fund" to give an opportunity to the general public to express their appreciation of the character and services of the late clergyman "as a learned colonist, a faithful minister of religion, and an eminent scientific man". It was proposed that the memorial should take the form of lectures on geology (to be known as Clarke Memorial Lectures) free to the public, and of a medal given from time to time as a reward for meritorious contributions to geological science. The first medal was awarded to Professor Sir Richard Owen, K.C.B., F.R.S., in 1878, and since then many eminent geologists have been awarded it. The first lecture was delivered in 1906 by Professor Skeats, of Victoria.

The members of S. Thomas's Church, North Sydney, have erected a memorial window in the new church as a tribute to his work as first incumbent of the parish.

THE REV. BENJAMIN GLENNIE²⁴

One of the most outstanding men who served the Church in the Moreton Bay district, both before and after separation, was the Rev. Benjamin Glennie, Canon and Archdeacon of Brisbane. He was the pioneer priest of the Darling Downs, ministering for long years over extensive areas which required almost continuous travel, until his transfer to Brisbane later in the century. He has such a prominent place in Church history in the northern State that the story of the Church of that time is practically the story of Glennie.

Benjamin Glennie was born at Camberwell, London, on 29 January, 1812, and was educated at the school at Dulwich Grove run by his father, Dr Glennie. Later he went up to Cambridge and read for his degree at Christ's College, graduating in 1847. He sailed for Australia soon after, and arrived in Sydney on 16 January, 1848. After spending a few weeks with friends in Singleton, he journeyed to Morpeth for his ordination as a deacon by the Bishop of Newcastle on 19 March. He was appointed at once to Moreton Bay, leaving by the *Tamar* on the 22nd. Captain Wickham, the Resident Magistrate, made him welcome on arrival and took him to his home at Newstead. On the following Sunday, 26 March, he conducted his first service in Brisbane. This was the beginning of a ministry that was to last for fifty-two years, served entirely in Queensland.

²⁴ The matter in this section is based upon information contained in three sources: (i) The Glennie Diaries, 1848-60; (ii) The *Toowoomba Chronicle*, 3 May, 1900, article on Canon Glennie; (iii) *Pugh's Almanac*, 1900. These sources were made available through the kindness of the Secretary of the Oxley Library Committee, J. H. Hornibrook, Esq.

At first, Glennie was stationed at Brisbane, and from there travelled to Ipswich, Beaudesert, Mount Brisbane and other outlying centres. Throughout his ministry he appears to have been a tireless traveller, and here at its commencement he sets the pace. On 16 August he began his first tour west over the Dividing Range. Passing through Ipswich, Gatton and Helidon, he came to Drayton on the 19th. Next day he held the first service on the Darling Downs in the "Bull's Head", an inn owned by William Horton, which later became the post-office. Eighteen people attended the morning service and twelve the evening service. From this simple beginning has sprung the present extensive Church administrations of the Downs, in a way that would have amazed the small group who were present at its inception.

Glennie spent the next five weeks travelling around the Downs, holding services, administering baptisms and making tentative plans for future ministrations. In 1849 he returned to Morpeth to be priested, and, in July of the following year, as further priests had arrived in Brisbane, Bishop Tyrrell was able to appoint him to Drayton. *Pugh's Almanac* (1900) describes his parish as "from Maryland to Condamine and from Drayton to Calendoon", a vast area for one man.

The distances travelled by this pioneer priest in the days before trains and motor-cars, give us some conception of his zeal and perseverance. In his diary he records that he travelled 489 miles in company with Bishop Tyrrell during the latter's visit in 1850. For the years 1851, 1852 and 1853, Glennie's journeys totalled 3765, 3904, and 3601 miles respectively, an average of 316 miles per

month on horseback. Such a record would not shame a modern priest with his motor-car. It is not to be wondered at that he occasionally records some sickness, an irritating cough, influenza, headaches and even hysterics. Apart from the distances travelled, the roads and general conditions made journeying difficult. The heat of the Queensland summer Glennie found very trying at times, and several times he enters in his diary items showing this: "Very hot. Rode from Glengallan to Canning Downs going from tree to tree and waiting for a cloud to cover the sun." In the winter, flooded creeks and swampy country would hinder his efforts. Brief entries in the diary tell of very trying moments.

8th—wet afternoon. Rained most of the afternoon. 9th—Rained nearly all day. 10th—Rained. River flooded. 15th—Rode to Carr's—crossed river on a raft. Called on several persons to make known I had crossed. After Mattins returned the same way.

Again later in the same year (1857) he writes:

At Talgai found the Condamine too high. Left the horse on the Drayton side and crossed on a tree.

Horses in those days apparently showed the same characteristics which we know in modern times. In August, 1858, he records one instance of it:

On Sunday the 29th riding my Arab horse, "Beza", to Toowoomba for Mattins, when about a quarter of a mile on the horse track from a little beyond the cemetery to what is now James Street, "Beza" suddenly looked on the ground on his left and bolted. I remember distinctly passing certain trees, but after that I knew nothing until after about five hours I came to my senses lying in my own bed, and my own servant Hewitt sitting in a chair by me. . . . The left eye was inflamed, and, the other eye sympathising with it, it soon became necessary for me to wear spectacles.

In 1860 his parishioners presented Glennie with a gig and travelling was made somewhat easier for him.

What was probably more trying to Glennie on many occasions was to be asked to spend the night in unpleasant circumstances after a hard day's riding. Such experience as he records at Ipswich and Gatton would not be restful for a traveller. At the former town he wrote, "Heat, mosquitoes and noise in the 'Clarendon' rendered sleeping very difficult," while three days later the entry says, "Gatton—noisy and uncomfortable—slept little." Life, however, was full of surprises and the traveller never quite knew what would happen next. On one occasion he opened his box of pamphlets to distribute to some of his flock and the wavering stinging tail of a scorpion greeted his eyes. On another occasion he writes:

A large lizard from the hollow of a log in the firewood made its appearance in the fender in the dining room.

These were mild, however, compared with other experiences.

Dunmore Weranga. Bed in store. Got to sleep after midnight in spite of swarms of bugs. . . .

At Tukker Tukker rain came on and thunder. Showers continued through the night. Hardly slept for bugs.

and again,

10th—In dressing killed 25 fleas. Very little sleep that night. 11th—Killed 19 fleas in flannel waistcoat.

The heavy Queensland rain made things unpleasant inside the house as well as outside, and Glennie records:

Everything quite saturated with moisture. Even my pen and paper feel damp. All my drawers but two are quite fast.

From time to time Glennie had to face opposition from some of his flock. In March, 1851, he recorded that the Canning Downs congregation, with the exception of the servants, had taken a dislike to

the bishop's scheme for aiding missionary work and had refused to subscribe. In February, 1853, Glennie wrote to his bishop telling him of the unsatisfactory state of the Church finances at Warwick since Mr G. Leslie had gone to England, and advocated a system of annual or half-yearly subscriptions from Church members to meet it. The departure of two churchmen such as Mr Leslie and Mr Rolleston, the Commissioner of Crown Lands, was keenly felt by Glennie. "Warwick," he says, "is very unsatisfactory at present for church work." However, the troublesome times seem to pass and a more optimistic note is evident in the following year, although Canning Downs was still not sympathetic apparently, for Glennie records:

At Canning Downs in the evening, Mr. Macarthur maintained obstinately that a person should not be censured for omitting to go to church and communicate on Christmas Day, and going a greater distance to a dinner party.

Amidst all Glennie's trials, however, one sees the gradual growth of the Church, new centres opening and the area of ministrations extending—first Drayton, then Warwick, and later the Swamp (now Toowoomba), Killarney, Dalby, Eton Vale, Yandilla and many other centres which are now the sites of permanent churches. He patiently persevered without any help until the arrival of the Rev. W. W. Dove in September, 1855. One who knew him well has left us a vivid picture of this pioneer

. . . with his clerical robes, his Bible and Prayer Book packed in a leather pack and fastened by straps to his shoulders, walking from station to station through the lonely bush to the scattered homes therein, and holding Divine Service in these homes, baptising the young, praying by a sick bedside, marrying young couples or performing the last sad rites for the dead.

Looking well ahead, he bought land in Toowoomba

for a church and school, the site of the present S. Luke's, and with his own savings and sundry gifts established a fund to endow the school. The money was later used to buy land in the Top Paddock Estate, on which has been erected a fine school known to Queenslanders as the Glennie School.

He appears to have been favourably impressed by the Tractarian Movement in England, as occasional references in his diary tell either of his caution in introducing some of the practices and teachings which that movement engendered, or of opposition aroused by them. In 1849 he wished to institute the practice of taking up a collection during service, a practice well-known now, but unheard of in those days. Because of the opposition to it, Glennie writes to his bishop for advice and permission. A month later, he writes, "Mrs Towell having a child to be baptised, asked if I was a clergyman of the Church of England. Somebody told her I was *not*, but I was a Puseyite". Even in the outback parish of Drayton the Gorham Judgment on baptismal regeneration had caused an upset, which Glennie records was not quieted by 18 May, 1851, when a Mr Ayerst expressed his regret that Glennie subscribed to the doctrine of regeneration.

But no priest was more careful in carrying out the wishes of his bishop. Whether it was instructions as to the proper celebration of the 300th anniversary of the introduction of the first English prayer book, or directions for regular prayer for the bishop while he was away on a missionary tour of the Pacific with Bishop Selwyn, Glennie's diary records faithful observance of the matter. He had the reward of knowing that he was not forgotten

by his diocesan. From time to time he records advances to his meagre salary, and, when Brisbane diocese was established shortly after separation, he had the honour of being collated first Archdeacon of Brisbane. During the interregnum between Bishops Hale and Webber, Glennie was administrator of the diocese. Towards the end of the century, Archdeacon Glennie was transferred to Toowoong, in Brisbane. He died on 30 April, 1900, after a faithful ministry of half a century which had earned him the affection and respect of all classes of people.

APPENDIX A

THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH IN N.S.W., 1830 CLERGY LIST

Archdeacon—

W. GRANT BROUGHTON. Appointed 6 Feb., 1828. £2000. Member of Executive and Legislative Councils. Absent from Colony from 19 Feb. to 28 April on visitation to Van Diemen's Land.

Senior Chaplain—

SAMUEL MARSDEN. Appointed 1 Jan., 1793. £400; £100 in lieu of glebe, and £50 for performing divine service at Female Factory, Parramatta.

Senior Assistant Chaplain—

WILLIAM COWPER. Appointed 1 Jan., 1808. £360; house; £100 in lieu of glebe; £50 for divine service at Gaol.

Assistant Chaplains—

R. CARTWRIGHT. Appointed 5 Jan., 1809. £300; £100 in lieu of glebe; house.

H. FULTON. Appointed 31 May, 1811. £250; house, and glebe of 400 acres.

RICHARD HILL. Appointed 1 Jan., 1818. £250; £150 in lieu of house, and £100 in lieu of glebe; £50 for performing divine service on hulk.

JOHN CROSS. Appointed 1 Jan., 1818. £250; house, and £100 in lieu of glebe.

THOS. REDDALL. Appointed 20 Dec., 1819. £250; £60 in lieu of house, and 400 acre glebe.

FRANCIS WILKINSON. Appointed 1 Feb., 1824. £250; house, and 21s. a day travelling expenses.

THOMAS HASSALL. Appointed 1 Nov., 1824. £250; house, and 21s. a day travelling expenses.

M. D. MEARES. Appointed 26 Dec., 1824. £250; £60 in lieu of house, and £45 for performing divine service at Sackville Reach.

J. E. KEANE. Appointed 6 July, 1825. £250; house, and 21s. a day travelling expenses.

C. P. N. WILTON. Appointed 19 Oct., 1826. £250, house, and £150 as master of Female Orphan School.

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JOHN VINCENT. Appointed 20 June, 1827. £250; £100 in lieu of house, and £100 in lieu of glebe.

JOSH. DOCKER. Appointed 30 June, 1828. £250; house.

CHARLES DICKINSON. Appointed 5 July, 1830; not arrived.

Catechists—

MR JOHN LAYTON. Appointed 1 July, 1826. £182/10/-.

MR JOHN WOOD. Appointed 6 Feb., 1829. £182/10/- and £50.

REV. THOS. SHARPE. Appointed 1 Oct., 1830. £182/10/-.

APPENDIX B

GOVERNOR BOURKE'S CHURCH ACT, 1836.

A Summary of the Chief Points

This Act was intended by the Governor to place "on an equitable footing the support which the principal Christian churches in the Colony may for the present claim from the public purse". The chief points of the Act were:

1. Where not less than £300 was raised by private subscription towards the building of a church, the Governor was authorized to issue a similar amount up to a maximum of £1000.

2. Payments towards the stipends of clergy of the various churches were authorized where sufficient persons signed a declaration stating their desire to attend church. The rate of payment was to be £100 for a congregation of 100 adult persons, including convicts; £150 for 200 persons; £200 for 500 persons, this being the maximum payment permitted.

3. A payment of £100 where there were less than 100 persons was allowed where the Governor thought it advisable.

4. Increase in the payments of stipend grants was allowed as the numbers rose.

5. Where there was no church, but £50 was raised by public subscription towards the maintenance of a minister, the Governor may grant up to £100.

6. Proof had to be given annually to the Governor and Council that the minister was performing his duties satisfactorily.

7. Trustees, three to five in number, were to be appointed by the subscribers of a church supported by the Treasury. These trustees were responsible for the erection, maintenance and repair of church buildings.

8. Trustees were allowed to accept bequests of land for sites of churches, parsonages and burial grounds.

9. One-sixth of the whole of the sittings of the church was to be free.

10. Churches already built and requiring Treasury aid were to appoint trustees.

11. The Act in no way intended to diminish stipend grants or allowances already given, or to affect the possession of glebe and other lands set apart for the use of ministers.

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