

**“Steel all Through”
The Church of England in Central Queensland
Transplantation and Adaptation
1892-1942**

by

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Abstract

‘Steel all through’¹: the Church of England in Central Queensland, Transplantation and Adaptation 1892-1942

The thesis is concerned with the establishment of the Anglican presence in Central Queensland and the history of the first fifty years of the Diocese of Rockhampton. The historical method employed examined the attitudes and mentalities of the Anglicans during that fifty years and attempted to determine how the process of transplantation and adaptation of the English social institution was, or was not, achieved in the new physical and social environment. Various aspects of Anglican Diocesan administration such as recruitment of clergy, financial shortages, cultural isolation, racial issues, episcopal appointments and ecumenical relationships, are taken as units and analysed in the overall context of transplantation and adaptation. It is argued that ‘Australianisation’ came gradually and without conscious manipulation. Where change from the English model was attempted, it was often initiated by the English clergy rather than the Australian laity.

¹ A. Trollope, *Australia and New Zealand, Volume 1*, London 1873, p.25. Trollope is commenting on the fact that –

The idea that Englishmen – that is, new chums, or Englishmen just come from home – are made of paste, whereas the Australian, native or thoroughly acclimatised, is steel all through ...

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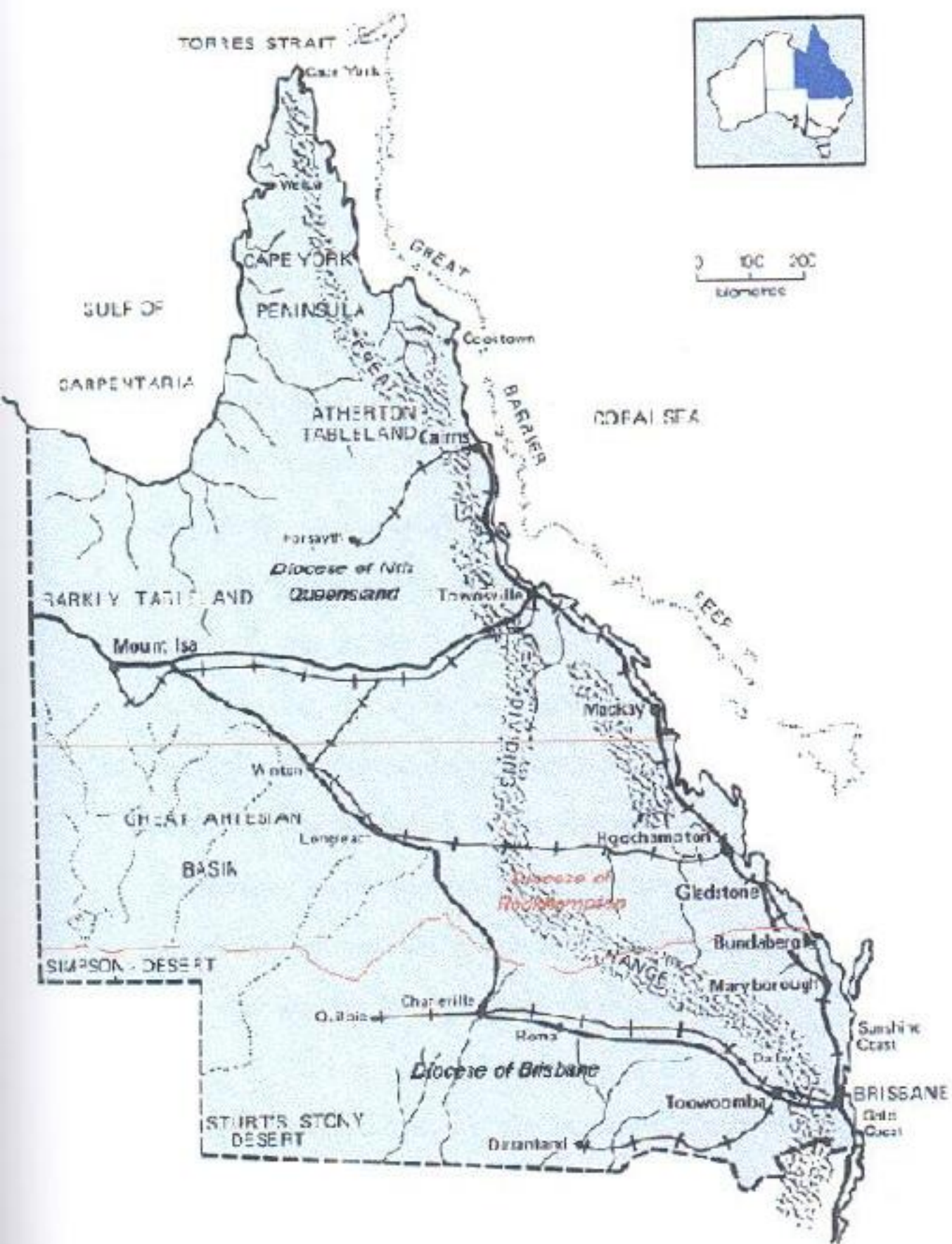
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Modified from www.csu.edu.au/australia/gallery/teqld1gr.gif

Declaration

I, Robert Henry Haldon Philp, hereby state that this thesis has not been submitted in whole or in part to this or any other university for the purposes of a higher degree. The dissertation is an original piece of research. It is based on primary sources and, except where otherwise acknowledged, all conclusions are my own. All primary and secondary sources are acknowledged in the citations, which are correct to the best of my knowledge.

R.H.H. PHILP

Introduction

The nature of social institutions is such that in all societies there are mutual interactions between the form, function and value orientations of one institution and those of other institutions that comprise the social milieu. Such interactions, in turn, both establish and animate the working ethos of a society. This thesis examines the social institution of religion, specifically as practised within the Church of England and the way its form, function and value orientations, as brought to mid-nineteenth century Central Queensland, impacted upon and was, in turn, affected by the prevailing social conditions. In particular, the thesis travels with those early Church immigrants and the institution they knew then, through the early transplantation to the end of the first fifty years of the establishment of the Diocese of Rockhampton in 1892. Of interest in this study is how this institution and its expectations, having been transplanted from one social milieu to another, adapted to the requirements and imperatives of a social, geographical and political environment very different from what was the “norm” in its place of origin.

Tom Frame, in his history of the Diocese of Canberra and Goulburn, points out that the colonial churches were essentially gatherings of specific groups of immigrants in particular geographical locations.² The specific group examined in this study is the English men and women who were either immigrants from England or those born in the colony of parents who had migrated and who were

² T. Frame, *A Church for a Nation, A History of the Anglican Diocese of Canberra and Goulburn*, (Maryborough: Victoria, Hale and Ironmonger, 2000), n.9, p.346.

adherents of the Church of England (or Anglican Church of Australia, as it became later).

The English were the dominant national group within Central Queensland at this time. In the census districts contained within the boundaries of the future Diocese of Rockhampton of those born in the United Kingdom, the English constituted 21.2%, the Irish 13.4% and the Scots 5.7%³ of the population of 25,952 as recorded in the 1891 census. Of the balance, apart from a very small percentage represented by German and other European nationalities and some Chinese and Melanesians, the rest were Australian born. The English also were the group holding most of the managerial and public service positions. The Irish born – the next largest group – were more represented in the ranks of casual workers or miners.⁴

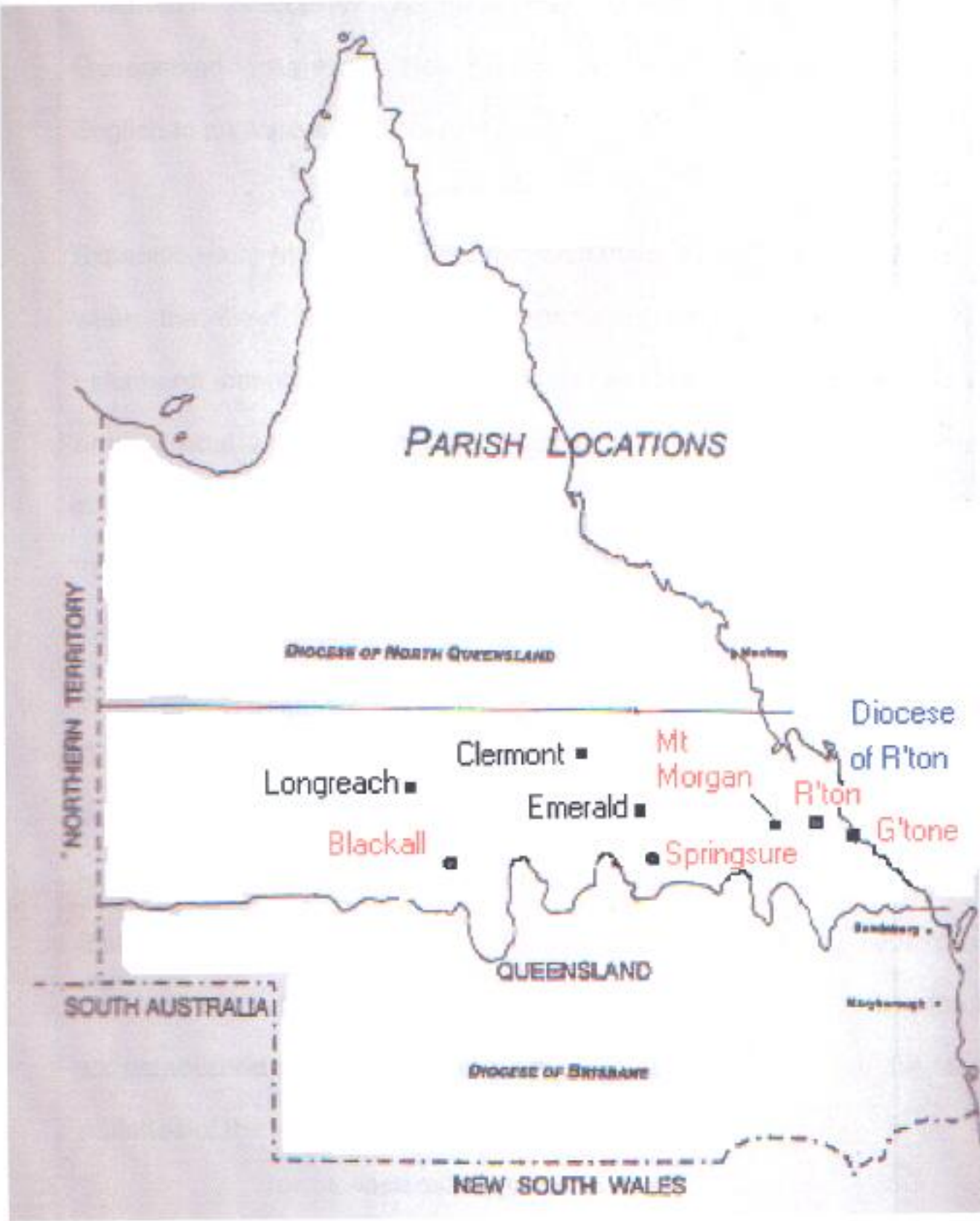
Such large numbers of English men and women required a Church which was familiar to them. With that Church came the need to proselytise as well as colonise and, while a full history of the Church in Central Queensland would be of considerable interest, this study limits itself to the period outlined above, not just because of the fifty year elapse of time from foundation of the Diocese, but also because the effects of wartime enlistment of clergy in chaplaincies had left the Diocese with a severe clergy shortage and the proportion of English born priests had decreased to a point from which it never recovered. 1942⁵ was also just prior to the departure from Brisbane of Archbishop William Wand – that

³ See Table 1, p.xxv.

⁴ M.E.R. McGinley, A Study of Irish migration to and settlement in Queensland, 1885-1912, (University of Queensland, M.A. Thesis, 1974), p.63.

⁵ English born clergy in the Diocese at its inception constituted 100% of the membership and in 1942, 35%, eight of the twenty-two active clergy. *Year Book 1942*, Rockhampton, pp.6-9.

Map of Parishes of the Diocese of Rockhampton as at Foundation, November 1892.



Source: Modified from *Year Book 2000*. Diocese of Rockhampton.

most “English” of English clergy in Queensland – and the election of his more “Australian” successor Reginald Halse, former Bush Brother in North Queensland.⁶ As such, it marks well the transition, under scrutiny, from an English to an Australian institution.

Expansion into the Central areas of Queensland began on 10 January 1854, when the New South Wales government proclaimed the Port Curtis and Leichhardt leasehold pastoral districts. These two districts covered the eastern area of what would become the Diocese of Rockhampton. It also provided a catalyst for a rush for land and subsequent closer settlement. It was, however, the discovery of gold at Canoona, north of the Fitzroy, in 1858 which provided the gold rush with its influx of population and this, in turn, ensured the permanent settlement of Rockhampton.⁷ The area remained part of the Diocese of Brisbane during the influx of settlers into the pastoral districts during the 1850s and 1860s. Brisbane itself had been part of the Diocese of Newcastle until separation in 1859 and the policies of Church expansion under Bishop William Tyrrell laid the foundation for the eventual separation from Brisbane of the northern areas of the Diocese in 1892. At that time there were six established parishes in the Central District. These became the foundation parishes of the new Diocese of Rockhampton.⁸

At this time all the clergy were of English birth and training, and the same applied to most of their parishioners. The clergy were of the party of the Church

⁶ Halse had been Warden of the Brotherhood of St. Barnabas in North Queensland from 1913 to 1924 when he accepted the See of Riverina.

⁷ L. McDonald, *Rockhampton, A History of City and District*, (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1981), p.15.

⁸ These parishes were Rockhampton, North Rockhampton, Gladstone, Clermont, Mt Morgan and Mitchell based on Blackall.

of England which is variously described as High Church, Tractarian or Anglo-Catholic,⁹ which set the direction of the Church's evolution in a particular theological and liturgical mode. This movement and its local influence is further discussed in Chapter 5. Although most of the clergy of this persuasion were in favour of the development of a Church which was truly national in character and separate from the Church of England, the culture of Anglo-Catholicism made for more rather than less Englishness. In turn, it is argued that this tendency delayed the adaptation of the Diocese to Australian cultural norms. Australianisation was gradual and by no means complete by the terminal date of 1942 as is discussed in Chapter 7.¹⁰

This study traces changes which are part of the process of evolution of the ecclesiastical institution from transplantation from England to eventual adaptation to the social and cultural environment of Central Queensland. The investigation covers the process as it affected the key groups within the Diocesan structure, such as the parish, the religious (and quasi-religious) orders, the social outreach areas, educational institutions, the involvement of the Diocese in political debate, the contribution to the Anglican presence by both lay men and women, as well as the particular attitudes and actions in race issues of the time; and relationships with other Christian denominations.

The method of the presentation in the thesis is essentially that of historical narrative with the analysis of the attitudes, actions and mentalities of the chief

⁹ While none of the terms is completely adequate nor accurate for general use in this work, and in the timeframe covered, the term which applies more to the mid-twentieth century – Anglo-Catholic – will be used as a general term in this thesis.

¹⁰ Chapter 5 details the influence of Anglo-Catholicism in the early stages of foundation of the Diocese and Chapter 7 plots the course of "Australianisation" of the Diocese of Rockhampton, the ecclesiastical institution.

components of the institution as organised on its inauguration, and as it evolved over the subsequent fifty years. Chapters 1 and 2 set the scene in England and the Australian colonies for transplantation and change from an institution which was part of the fabric of the political and social milieu of England and expansion within the new colony of New South Wales. Isolation from England and the dramatic changes in physical surroundings as well as the social setting forced change for the Church, albeit gradual change.

While the method employed in this thesis is that of historical narrative, an examination of cultural factors confirms the understanding of Vovelle and the school of “mentalities” in religious historical method, namely the theory that there are more subtle influences involved in studying the history of a society than the Marxist method and its concentration on class struggle allows.¹¹ Vovelle also maintains that change is rarely complete and that there is usually some residual behaviour which persists and relates to a previous state of the society under scrutiny. There was almost no class struggle in the setting up of the Anglican structures in Central Queensland. In society at large, there had been the “class” warfare in the shearing industry just prior to the establishment of the Diocese but Anglicans were not identified as leaders in either camp. An example of how the changes were not total but evolutionary, and of how some behaviours remained in spite of change, is the attitude toward education. It took Anglicans in general, and the clergy in particular, until 1913 to acknowledge that the Grammar School System was secular and not necessarily part of the Church’s responsibility. Also synodical government was a radical departure

¹¹ M. Vovelle, *Ideologies and Mentalities*, trans. E. O’Flaherty (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1990), pp.1-12.

from English norms but English liturgy, hymnody, architecture, titles and clerical dress remained, as they did until the late 1950s. The most significant remnant of the English norm of Church government was the parish system, which remains basically unchanged (in spite of the Bush Brotherhood influence) in 2002. These matters are pivotal in the present examinations of social groups within the overall Diocesan structure.¹²

As with most societies there were sub-cultures within the overall Central Queensland society and these have been examined in this work in relationship to the whole. It is one of the findings that the expansionary culture of the Bush Brotherhood eventually became the predominant attitude toward mission and hierarchial organisation in the Diocese, without discarding the English parochial system. Ruth Frappell, in her examination of the methods of ministering to isolated and remote parishioners in Australia points out that one of the factors which did not allow for a new method to emerge in a new land with new challenges was the translation of the English Diocesan system to the Australian bush. No real allowance was made for the new factors of distance, small population and lack of financial support for such a system.¹³ This was certainly the case in the Diocese of Rockhampton and is examined in Chapter 3.

In Chapter 7, the numbers and national origins of the clergy are examined and the shift in proportion of English born to home-grown is discussed, along with the election of English bishops. This can be seen as an indicator of change

¹² A study using this method is that of M. Aveling, 'Death and the Family in nineteenth century Western Australia', in P. Grimshaw et al. (eds.) *Families in Colonial Australia*, (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1985), pp.32-41.

¹³ R.M. Frappell, *The Anglican Ministry to the unsettled districts of Australia 1890-1940*, (University of Sydney, Ph.D. Thesis, 1992), p.72-104.

from Englishness to Australianisation. However, it is noteworthy, and it should also be mentioned, that there were some Australians who were more English than the English in their attitudes to change, and that some of these could be found in the ranks of the clergy and laity. Which is to say that Australianisation was not automatic with the change to Australian born clergy; and other factors, such as the theological training and the influence of English rectors over Australian curates, need to be taken into account.

Another area of interest and discussion surrounding the change in attitudes is the change in liturgical practice and a progression toward a fuller expression of ceremonial and decoration during the time under investigation. This came about without significant opposition from congregations, a circumstance which differs somewhat from the experience of other Dioceses in the Australian church, and the Church of England itself, in the preceding four decades.¹⁴ By the end of 1942 the Diocese was monochrome in its ritual expression of the faith and in the underlying doctrines. There was no opportunity for serious challenge to the long-standing tradition of Anglo-Catholic practise and teaching which had been established at the foundation of the Diocese.

Anglo-Catholic sympathy also gave rise to a locally formed religious order, the Order of the Servants of the Holy Cross, for women, the first of the Australian Bush Brotherhoods, the Brotherhood of St. Andrew and the importing of members of two religious orders from England for social welfare endeavours.¹⁵

¹⁴ J.S. Reed, *Glorious Battle: The Cultural Politics of Victorian Anglo-Catholicism*, (London: Vanderbilt University Press, 1996).

¹⁵ The Servants of the Holy Cross, established Rockhampton 1907; The Brotherhood of St. Andrew, Longreach 1897; The Order of the Divine Compassion, St. Mary's Home, Rockhampton 1912; The Oratory of the Good Shepherd, St. Peter's School, Barcaldine 1926.

This development in a relatively sparsely populated area was not so much a radical change but the search for a solution, from the English experience, for the lack of resources, of manpower and financial backing.

Anglo-Catholicism was associated in England with Christian Socialism and such was the case in the Australian colonies,¹⁶ while a difference existed in the way this was expressed. In the Diocese of Rockhampton “socialism” manifested itself in two major undertakings on a Diocesan scale. They were the provision of accommodation for unmarried mothers which eventually became St. George’s Homes for orphans and the other was the establishment of schools. St. Mary’s Home opened its doors in 1907 and the first school began in the Cathedral parish in 1900. Again “rescue work” among unmarried mothers was very much in vogue in England at the time and church schools were English institutions from which the majority of the clergy would have come. These were not so much departures from past experiences of the Church in England but attempts to transplant significant outreach efforts of that Church to the new environment.

Studies of lay attitudes to the establishment of a religious order and religious vows being taken by clergy to work in the parochial areas of the West were found in researching this thesis to be generally supported. It is not surprising given the nature of the work undertaken by those involved, for it is difficult to oppose “good works”. In researching lay reaction it was obvious that some

¹⁶ D. Hilliard, ‘Anglicanism’ in *St. Mark’s Review*, No.158, Winter 1994, and ‘The Anglo-Catholic Tradition in Australian Anglicanism’ in M. Hutchinson and E. Campion (eds.), *Re-Visioning Australian Colonial Christianity: New Essays in the Australian Christian experience, 1788-1900*, (Sydney: Centre for the Study of Australian Christianity, 1994).

English attitudes to authority and class had survived the transplantation process and were still present, if somewhat modified. The respect for authority, especially for that of the Bishop, was one attitude which was manifest. Changes had been made in the polity and governance of the Diocese from those in force in England and the Bishop in the colony had no political status whatever, but the Bishop in his synod and Diocese was an almost absolute monarch. He was seen to be on a social level with the State Governor and was treated by the general community as at least the equal of the resident Supreme Court Justice, the Supreme Court Justice being a direct representative of the Crown.¹⁷ In Rockhampton this particular relationship was publicly difficult as the first Justice of the Supreme Court was a devout Roman Catholic and there was not much mixing socially between Roman Catholics and others in the early stages of settlement.

Similar attitudes to sectarian issues, such as those catalogued by McGuire¹⁸ in his history of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Townsville, were in evidence in Rockhampton during the timeframe covered in this study. For the whole of the fifty years under review the Roman Catholic Diocese of Rockhampton incorporated the Diocese of Townsville, which did not become separate until 1930. This meant that the Roman Catholic Bishop of Rockhampton had two Anglican bishops to contend with in his territory. The ecumenical relationships existing in the first fifty years of diocesan life are examined in detail in Chapter 12, especially the relationship with the Catholic Diocese of Rockhampton.

¹⁷ D. Hilliard, 'Anglicanism' in S. Goldberg and F.G. Smith (eds.), *Australian Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p.68. Hilliard gives an example from J.W.C. Wand's *Changeful Page, The Autobiography of William Wand, formerly Bishop of London*, (London: 1965), p.141.

¹⁸ J. McGuire, *Prologue: A History of the Catholic Church as seen from Townsville, 1863-1983*, (Toowoomba: Church Archivists' Society, 1990).

Primary material available in the Diocesan Archives informs the research process for this thesis. This material consists of Year Books (titled as Proceedings of the Diocesan Synod until 1936), Synod Reports, Minutes of the Diocesan Council and other committees of the Diocese such as St. George's Homes Committee, Registers of Services, Baptisms, Marriages and Burials for the constituent parishes of the Diocese and Episcopal Correspondence over the time examined. Secondary material has been extensively used, especially for comparative studies of attitudes in other Anglican dioceses and in other parts of the Church in Queensland, Australia and England in the fifty-year period. The Central Queensland experience of transplantation is not atypical of country Anglican Dioceses in the Australian colonies but its population base, the absence of a significant agricultural industry, the absence of large pastoral conglomerations and endowment made the early stages of transplantation somewhat more difficult than in other places. It was not a difference of substance but of degree.

This study differs in its disposition of the material in that it does not follow a strictly chronological mode but, as has been mentioned, provides examination of and comment on selected institutions and groups within the Diocese through time. Attitudes change with time but some residue of previous attitudes can be discerned in action or lack of action within these groups and institutions and this is reflected in this study. The content of the first two chapters is well known to Australian Church historians but it has been used here to provide background information influencing the decision to expand the Church northwards. This decision meant the eventual establishment of fully-fledged dioceses on the frontiers of settlement. Rockhampton was one such diocese. The prevailing

attitude at that time was that the diocese was the preferred unit of missionary expansion, and the institutions and groups studied herein were part of the infrastructure deemed necessary for the functioning of a diocese.¹⁹ The foundation approach as to what was acceptable as “Anglican” influenced the future direction of the Diocese of Rockhampton.

The evidence offered herein confirms that the preferred model of the Church for the new Diocese was that of the Church of England, as it was experienced by those in charge of the original missionary expansion north. It was not until the pressures of distance and shortages of men and money became all pervading for the Bishops that the adequacy of the English parochial system was questioned for remote sparsely settled areas. Bishop Dawes, in the Diocese of Rockhampton, was the person to apply the new thinking to a practical model of parochial ministry. It is noted that, while pastoral ministry was reorganised along quasi-religious orders lines, the same radical thinking was not applied to diocesan organisation and infrastructure.

Chapter 3 provides discussion of the northern movement of the Church out of Moreton Bay and the physical establishment of the new missionary entity. This discussion involves the ecclesiastical politics of the Diocese of Brisbane which gave the move north impetus as well the desire of the Anglicans of Central Queensland to be separate from the Diocese of Brisbane. This desire bears some relationship to the secular moves for political separation and the formation of a Central Queensland colony. The secular movement had been fermenting

¹⁹ R.M. Frappell, *op. cit.*, p.108.

for the previous thirty-years,²⁰ and many of those involved in the secular movement were also members of the Anglican flock.²¹ There was a strong desire for separation from “the south”.

The constraint of the twin spectres of shortage of manpower and finance was of particular importance during this period and Chapter 4 investigates the way in which the peculiar Central Queensland “solution” to the problem was devised. This solution was the Brotherhood of St. Andrew, established in Longreach in September 1897. This Brotherhood was the first of what may be described as the beginning of an Australian wide movement over the next fifty years to establish brotherhoods in almost all country dioceses. Chapter 4 canvasses the details of the Brotherhood and its influence on the Australian church in general and on the Diocese of Rockhampton in particular, arguing that from the beginning the clergy of the new Diocese were those who had been influenced by, and those who followed, the tradition and teaching of the Oxford Movement. Chapter 5 examines the way in which this essentially clerical concept of the place of Anglicanism within the universal Catholic church was transplanted and adapted to Central Queensland’s geographical and social conditions.

The movement in England had its origins in the intellectual climate of the University of Oxford and later in the parishes of the larger cities with dense populations. Its transplantation to sparsely populated remote Queensland, not noted for intellectual rigour, is intriguing insofar as it was not opposed in any

²⁰ There was an active separation movement in existence in Rockhampton from 1861. In 1862 a petition seeking separation was presented to Government Bowen on behalf of a public meeting. McDonald, *op. cit.*, pp.540-544.

²¹ William Callaghan, Biddulph Henning, Thomas Nobbs and A.C. Robertson were among those who were prominent in the movement.

strong measure by the laity. This was not the case in its home country nor in the larger centres of population in Australia, namely Sydney and Melbourne,²² where ceremonial and other liturgical changes were resisted by both clerical and lay opponents. The extent to which Anglo-Catholicism was accepted by the laity, it is argued, was dependent on the visible outward works of mercy and pastoral care engaged in by the clergy and the members of the religious order involved in “rescue” work. These works are further examined in Chapter 9.

The position of the laity in the overall scheme of transplantation and adaptation is examined in Chapter 6. The first Conference held in 1887 was one in which the laity were well represented and where their voice was heard. Local financial backing for the proposed new diocese at that Conference was conspicuous by its paucity and this situation did not improve in the fifty years under study. Outside finance made the launch of the Diocese of Rockhampton possible.

The laity, both men and women, did play an important role in the nurture and growth of the new Diocese, and in the furthering of its works of charity and education. The work of evangelisation was left, in the main, to the clergy. Working for overseas mission was an important part of the lay endeavour. There was great effort, encouraged by the clergy, for the Melanesian Mission particularly in Norfolk Island, its headquarters until 1911, and regular articles concerning the mission and its personnel were features of the *Church Gazette* at this time.

²² J.R. Reed, *Glorious Battle: The Cultural Politics of Victorian Anglo-Catholicism*, (London: Vanderbilt University Press, 1996); D. Hilliard, ‘Anglicanism’ in S. Goldberg and F.B. Smith (eds.), *Australian Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); C. Holden, *From Tories at Prayer to Socialists at Mass: St. Peter’s Eastern Hill, Melbourne 1846-1990*, (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1996).

By contrast, there was no move to encourage mission among Aboriginal people until much later and, until the involvement of the Australian Board of Mission at Woorabinda subsequent to 1926, nor was there lay involvement or apparent interest in Aboriginal mission. The dispossession was complete. This situation is dealt with more explicitly in Chapter 10.

By the turn of the nineteenth century, the Diocese was a mere eight years old and still feeling its way toward eventual adaptation but still very English in character. Bishop Dawes still had a further eight years to preside as Bishop of the Diocese. It was during Dawes' time that the foundations for the distinctive methods for approaching mission were set. The Brotherhood of St. Andrew, the rescue work for unmarried mothers at St. Mary's Home and the transfer of the Cathedral from private Trustee control to Diocesan control, as well as the establishment of the first school under Diocesan supervision, were all undertaken around this time. The subsequent thrust of Diocesan works were to follow these lines and a movement toward an Australian attitude to the mission of the Church and the best method of effecting this mission in Central Queensland had made a beginning.

These matters and the way in which ecclesiastical polity developed along Australian lines is discussed in Chapter 7. The Diocese began with synodical government and while this method of government was, by 1892, usual for all Australasian dioceses, it was not the English method. It enabled the laity to have a voice and a vote, twice that of the clergy, and, while giving the Bishop the power of veto, it also bound him to the decisions of the synod.

Anglo-Catholic reverence for the position of the Bishop meant that, in almost all cases, the Bishop's option, if known, was agreed to without too much debate. While the laity were represented, the policy and direction of diocesan effort remained very much that of the hierarchy. A particularly Australian aspect of this government by Synod is that it was, for reasons of distance, mostly Rockhampton dominated until transportation became less difficult. This did not occur during the time covered in this study. It meant that there developed a less than helpful Rockhampton versus the West mentality in later years.

Aspects of Australianisation or adaptation which fit the general experience of the Church in its quest for cultural identity in other parts of the country inform discussion in relation to the Central Queensland experience at this time. David Hilliard's comment that historians of Anglicanism in Australia need to look hard for fragments of the texture of Anglican church life, relations with other churches, theological controversies, changing patterns of worship, and the social composition of the Anglican community, is noted and used in this context.²³ Australianisation is difficult to trace in any significant way until the latter part of the period of time covered by this study.

The involvement of the Diocese and the Bishops in secular political activity is the subject matter of Chapter 8. This Chapter also charts the growth of unionism in the grazing industry, the federation of the Australian colonies, the iniquities of the importation of the Melanesian indentured workers, the first

²³ D. Hilliard and R. Frappell, in 'Anglicanism' in Hilary M. Carey, Ian Breward, Nicholas Dumanis, Ruth Frappell, David Hilliard, Katharine Massam, Anne O'Brien, Roger Thompson, 'Australian Religion Review, 1980-2000, Part 2: Christian Denominations' in *Journal of Religious History*, Vol.25, No.1, February 2002, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2000), pp.56-59.

attempts at protection for Aboriginal people (the *Protection of Aboriginals and Sale of Opium Act of 1897*), conscription in the First World War era, and the separation issue, which all appear to have transpired without great attention being paid to them by the Diocese in any official way. The attempt to gain entry into State Schools for the purpose of giving religious instruction or giving Bible readings was vigorously taken on in political combat between the Church and the government at the same time. It would seem that English attitudes as to the method of the inculcation of religion were not being modified to any great extent; it was still expected that clergy of the Anglican Church had the same right of access to State Schools as they had enjoyed as clergy of the Church of England in England.

When it was realised that the Rockhampton Grammar Schools, founded in 1883 and in 1892, in the case of the Rockhampton Girls' Grammar, were independent schools without formal attachment to the Anglican Church, the Diocese set up a hostel to house out of town girls attending the latter to counter the secular influence and to provide a Christian home environment for the girls. This attempt to provide an alternative to the secular environment did not last long. It was begun in 1913 and shut in 1922 due to a lack of support from the Anglican population outside Rockhampton. This lack of support was demonstrated again in the failure of two other schools set up during the period covered by this study. St. Peter's School at Barcaldine was a boarding school for Anglican boys and girls from the surrounding remote areas. It opened its doors in 1919 and closed in 1932. St. Faith's School for girls was situated at Yeppoon. It took in its first boarders in 1923 and closed for lack of support in 1966.

Educational facilities providing schooling for children of families living in isolation from the main centres and providing a Christian and Anglican ethos for that education were one of the major thrusts of the Diocese in its outreach to the community. All three of the schools set up by the Diocese were managed by religious orders and the hostel managed by a committee headed by the Bishop's sister, Miss Crick. Lay support for these efforts was not sufficient to sustain them.

The Schools constituted the major effort in supplying social support for the general Anglican community and alongside them was the care of unmarried mothers and their offspring which developed into the major charitable and social outreach effort known as St. George's Homes for Children. These two thrusts of social outreach constituted the Diocese's care of the disadvantaged for the first fifty years of its existence. These official acts of mercy were accompanied by the private efforts of individuals such as Archdeacon Pritt in his concern for Melanesian people in North Rockhampton. No comparable work among Aboriginal people is in evidence during the period. More detail of the mission to South Sea Island labour is given in Chapter 9.

As with all frontier communities in Australia there was, in the time immediately before the foundation of the Diocese, a period of conflict with the original occupiers of the land. Central Queensland was the location of two of the major massacres in the history of frontier violence in Australian settlement. On 27 October 1857 at Hornet Bank on the Dawson River near present day Taroom, eleven Europeans of the Frazer family were murdered by Aboriginals and

dreadful revenge was exacted by the local squatters.²⁴ The pattern of violence continued with another such incident at Wills' Station, Cullin-la-Ringo, when nineteen settlers were killed in a surprise attack on their newly occupied camp. This occurred on 17 October 1861. At least sixty aboriginal people were slaughtered in punitive raids along the Nogoia River as a result.²⁵

While these were notable incidents of violence because of the number of white settlers killed in each episode, many other atrocities were perpetrated in the Central Queensland district especially by the Native Police. By the time the Diocese was founded the Aboriginal population was depleted. By 1876 it was reported that blacks were rarely seen in the surrounding countryside but the few left "attend town as regularly as our men of business"²⁶ and by 1909 the *Morning Bulletin* could opine in its leading article that "there are so few aborigines remaining in the immediate neighbourhood of Rockhampton that for all practical purposes the race may be said to be extinct".²⁷ The Aboriginal population had become unremarkable and no more noticed than any other physical feature in the landscape, especially after the setting up of the government settlement at Mimosa Creek (Woorabinda) in 1926. Church records pay no attention to racial origins and identification from surnames recorded in Parish Registers is, at best, guesswork.

In spite of the fact that the Aboriginal population, with the exception of those employed on the larger cattle stations in the western part of the Diocese, was

²⁴ H. Reynolds, *Indelible Stain*, (Ringwood: Viking Press, 2001), p.121.

²⁵ L. McDonald, op. cit., p.191.

²⁶ *ibid*, p.197.

²⁷ *Morning Bulletin*, 20 April 1909.

little regarded, the plight of the Melanesian labourers was of considerable concern to the Anglican clergy. This was due, at least in part, to the emphasis placed at the time on the Anglican Melanesian mission and appeals for its support from the Australian Board of Missions from 1850.²⁸ As mentioned, Archdeacon Francis Pritt had begun a particular mission to these people in North Rockhampton and, after his move to Gairloch near Ingham in North Queensland Diocese in 1893, the work was carried on by successive Rectors of North Rockhampton as is detailed in Chapter 10. Anglican clergy support for Melanesians in their attempts to avoid compulsory deportation after the passing of the *Pacific Island Labourers Act* in 1901 by the newly constituted Commonwealth Parliament is also detailed in that Chapter.

The presence of women was noted in reports of the Church of England Conference held in Rockhampton in 1887.²⁹ This Conference was the first effective public move to set up the separate Diocese and from this beginning the “ladies” were influential in the growth processes of the fledgling Diocese even if, as was expected at the time, they took a somewhat subsidiary role to that of the men. Chapter 11 details some of the ways in which the women of the Diocese were able to use their influence on policy and the exercise of charitable functions. This chapter also notes the change in attitude toward women in positions of decision making, and the early debates about their right to assume positions of authority within the parishes. Selected lives of individual women of the Diocese are used to demonstrate this influence.

²⁸ D. Hilliard, *God's Gentlemen, A History of the Melanesian Mission 1849-1942*, (St. Lucia: Queensland University Press, 1978), p.13.

²⁹ Minutes of the Proceedings of the Church of England Conference, Rockhampton, 1887 (Rockhampton A.A.).

In the Diocese of Rockhampton, women's roles conformed to the roles of matron, maid and missionary for women in the organisation of the Church, as indicated in works by Ruth Sturmeay and Ruth Teale (Frappell), which were consulted for comparison with what was happening in other parts of the Church in Australia. Such comparison, particularly in the development of the influence of women on the attitudes and actions of synods and diocesan policy, is outlined.³⁰ In addition, J. Maguire's work on the Roman Catholic Diocese of Townsville provides a further comparison in attitude.³¹

In Chapter 12, the local and social issues between Christian denominations is encountered. The relationship between Anglicans and the other Christian bodies in Central Queensland reflected the wider issues of the political realities of the British Isles and Europe, especially in the early part of the time under review. This was true particularly of the relationship with the Roman Catholic Church. Roman Catholics were almost as numerous in the area as were Anglicans³² and the Roman Catholic Diocese of Rockhampton had been founded a decade earlier. There was an undercurrent of rivalry between the two churches, especially as the Anglican hierarchy was loath to give way to an abandonment of the privileges enjoyed by their counterparts in the Church of England in England. They were, because of their Anglo-Catholic doctrinal stance, also making claim to be true Catholics, a claim seen to be in the realm of fantasy by their Roman Catholic counterparts.

³⁰ R. Sturmeay, *Women and the Anglican Church in Australia: Theology and Social Change*, (University of Sydney, Ph.D. Thesis, 1989).

R. Teale (Frappell), 'Matron Maid and Missionary' in S. Willis (ed.) *Women, Faith and Fetes, Essays in the History of Women and the Church*, (Melbourne: Dove, 1977).

³¹ J. Maguire, *Prologue: A History of the Catholic Church as seen from Townsville 1863-1983* (Toowoomba: Church Archivists Society, 1990), p.15 and pp.196-7.

³² M. MacGinley, op. cit., p.58 gives a Roman Catholic percentage of the census district of Rockhampton in 1891 as 27.5%, while the Queensland percentage was 23.35%.

Sectarian rivalry marked the early years of the history of both Dioceses but by the end of the Second World War, a date outside the scope of the study, the relationship had begun to thaw and, as the clerics of both denominations lost their British and Irish national identities, some co-operation was evident. This eventually gave way to the mutual limited acceptance after Vatican II in the 1960s. Relationships with Protestant denominations were also somewhat limited due to the claims of Catholicity made by the Anglicans. Anglicans were reluctant to join Ministers' Fraternal and the conditional baptism of converts from protestant denominations was routine. Bishop Tuffnell's ousting of the Presbyterians and any other non-Anglicans from the original St. Paul's Church in November 1860 was a precedent for future cool relationships,³³ in spite of some sympathy for non-Roman Catholics from the lay members of the congregations.

In areas outside Rockhampton, relationships between the various denominations were, on the lay level, somewhat more cordial but on the clerical level a reflection of the Rockhampton situation was evident.

Chapter 12 deals with this state of affairs and also examines the relationship with the non-English speaking Orthodox groups in the Central Queensland area.

³³ R.M. Hunter, "Diary", 24 November 1860 – Extracts in M.B. 3 April 1909. Captain Hunter, an Anglican, describes how Bishop Tuffnell dismissed the combined protestant trustees and immediately appointed churchwardens to administer the building and take public services until a priest was sent from Brisbane.

As outlined earlier, local sources of information provided initial impetus for this thesis; other valuable sources used are those covering the areas of Australian church history in general³⁴, Queensland church history³⁵ and the histories of various dioceses within the Australian Church.³⁶ Works on Australian church history, such as those by Frappell³⁷, Galbraith³⁸, Hilliard³⁹, Holden⁴⁰, J. Moses and A.D. Moses⁴¹, and Engel⁴², all provided vital background for the prevailing attitudes observed in those who first set up the Diocese. The theological platform of Anglo-Catholicism, the transplantation of the institution and its attendant values, its very Englishness can be replicated in other nineteenth century situations and the gradual decline in Englishness and its replacement by what can be called Australianisation is well documented and attested to in these publications. This study applies those observations to the regional entity in Central Queensland.

³⁴ Examples are I. Breward, *A History of the Australian Churches*, (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1993); D. Hilliard, 'Anglicanism' in S. Goldberg and F.B. Smith (eds.), *Australian Cultural History*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); *Journal of Religious History*, Vol.25, No.3, October 2001, Special Issue on Religion and National Identity.

³⁵ Such as H. Le Couteur, "The Moreton Bay Ministry of the Reverend Johann Handt: A Reappraisal", *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol.84, Part 2, December 1998; K. Rayner, *A History of the Church of England in Queensland*, (University of Queensland, Ph.D. Thesis, 1963); M. Brightman, *Benjamin Glennie: Apostle of the Downs*, (Toowoomba: the author, 1893); A.P. Elkin, *The Diocese of Newcastle*, (Sydney: The Australian Medical Publishing Co., 1955).

³⁶ Examples are T. Frame, *A Church for a Nation, A History of the Anglican Diocese of Canberra and Goulburn*, (Alexandra, New South Wales: Hale and Ironmonger, 2000); J. Maguire, *Prologue: A History of the Catholic Church as seen from Townsville, 1863-1983*, (Toowoomba: Church Archivists' Society, 1990).

³⁷ R. Frappell, *The Anglican Ministry to the unsettled districts of Australia, 1890-1940*, (University of Sydney, Ph.D. Thesis, 1992).

³⁸ D. Galbraith, *Just Enough Religion to make us Hate*, (University of Sydney, Ph.D. Thesis, 1999).

³⁹ D. Hilliard, 'The Anglo-Catholic tradition in Australian Anglicanism' in *St. Mark's Review*, no.158, Winter 1994.

⁴⁰ C. Holden, *From Tories at Prayer to Socialists at Mass: St. Peter's Eastern Hill Melbourne, 1846-1990*, (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1996).

⁴¹ J. Moses, 'Introduction' in *Australian journal of Politics and History*, Vol.41, Special Issue, 1995 and A.D. Moses, 'An Antipodean Genocide? The origins of the genocidal movement in the colonization of Australia', *Journal of Genocide Research*, Vol.2, No.1, 2000.

⁴² F. Engel, *Christians in Australia: Times of Change, 1918-1978*, (Melbourne: joint Board of Christian Education, 1993).

Diocesan histories such as those by Frame⁴³, Maguire⁴⁴ and Holden⁴⁵ give particular reference to local dioceses and provided for a comparison with the Rockhampton experience. As mentioned earlier, this study differs from others in that the scheme of examination is one where social institutions and groups are analysed for their inherent attitudes and values. Evidence has been sought within the institutions and groups for change in an Australian direction during the time covered.

The Diocese of Rockhampton is, of course, not set alone in a southern continent and the works of Moses⁴⁶, Le Couteur⁴⁷ and Rayner⁴⁸ give a Queensland perspective and setting for what transpired in Central Queensland. The peculiarities of the Queensland situation such as the unrest in the pastoral industry, the introduction of Melanesian labour, the late exposure to Aboriginal resistance to settlement, the presence of non-Christian Chinese, the different nature of pastoral settlement and the absence, outside of Moreton Bay, of any past history of convict presence, all make for a somewhat different outcome in social values and attitudes than was experienced in some other areas. This study is set in that historical milieu and histories set in that same locus were of particular relevance.

As mentioned above, the intention of this study is to investigate the reasons for and methods used in the foundation and establishment of a new Diocese of Anglicanism in the geographical location of Central Queensland, and, in doing

⁴³ Frame, *op. cit.*

⁴⁴ Maguire, *op. cit.*

⁴⁵ Holden, *op. cit.*

⁴⁶ J. Moses, *op. cit.*

⁴⁷ H. Le Couteur, *op. cit.*

⁴⁸ K. Rayner, *op. cit.*

so, to uncover the process by which the institution of the Church of England was transplanted to that geographic area. In the examination of that phenomena, the study also aimed to look at the guiding attitudes and how those attitudes gradually modified and became adapted to Australian conditions. Or to discover if they did not. The theory behind Vovelle's mentalities that not all of a particular mind set changes and that quite unintentionally parts of a previous behaviour continue on and may even surface without any apparent obvious rational explanation at a later date is evident in this study of the Church of England in Central Queensland. This thesis maintains that even while a measure of Australianisation took place within the institution, it did not become a recognisable Australian entity in its own right during the period under scrutiny.

Central Queensland, as part of the most decentralised State in Australia, has its own identity. It is, and has been since the separation movements of the 1860s, strong in its claim that it is different from the metropolitan south-east corner and different from the tropical north. In the founding of the Diocese, identity was given to the Diocese of Rockhampton apart from Brisbane and the northern mission. In that climate of independence new ways of evangelism and pastoral care had to be found. Ministry methods peculiar to remote and isolated areas were pioneered and proved useful in that environment and elsewhere in Australia. This is the rationale for the thesis and its methodology.

Table 1

Population figures for census districts in the Diocese of Rockhampton in 1891 (the year before establishment of Diocese) giving place of birth if born outside the colony and in British Isles.

District	Total Population	English Born	Irish born	Scots born
Blackall	4,529	882	590	267
Clermont	5,288	1,335	688	279
Gladstone	3,306	559	442	214
Peak Downs	314	59	36	10
Rockhampton	11,629	1,527	1,633	681
Tambo	886	151	99	43
Total	25,952	5,513	3,488	1,494

Expressed as percentages of total population:

English born21.2%

Irish born 13.4%

Scots born5.7%

The remainder of the population was, with the exception of a very small percentage of those born in other European countries, some Chinese and South Sea Islanders, born in other Australian colonies and Queensland.

Chapter 1

The Church of England at Home and in the Colony of New South Wales

“This prosaic and calculating world”¹

The overall theme of this thesis is that gradual change took place in the attitudes and objectives of the Anglican Church in Central Queensland in its first fifty years and that these changes may be seen in the shift from a purely English model of Church teaching, governance and ethos to one which, while not losing all the English attributes of its origins, reflected an Australian ethos by the end of the period studied in 1942. In this Chapter attention will be drawn to the purely English administrative norms of chaplaincy to a penal settlement and an examination made of how that static model was expanded northward to the frontiers of settlement, in what were to become Queensland and the Diocese of Rockhampton. This northern expansion was not without false starts and difficulties but eventually it was successful as will be demonstrated in Chapter 2. This expansion involved a change of attitude on the part of Church leaders from that of the settled chaplain to that of the missionary in search of new territory. Following Vovelle's² theory, this change in attitude did not produce a wholesale shift from the English model but a more subtle shift which retained much of the administrative model of the chaplaincy.

Large shifts in social attitudes were taking place in the society of England at the time. It was the prelude to such major shifts in social norms being brought about by the Industrial Revolution and attitudes which would be regarded as

¹ J.R.H. Mooreman, *The Anglican Spiritual Tradition*, (London: Longman and Todd, 1983), p.183. Quoting N. Sykes, *Church and State in England in XVIII Century*, p.419. The Church of England before the Evangelical revival.

² M. Vovelle, *Ideologies and Mentalities*, trans. E. O'Flaherty, (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1990), pp.1-12.

unchallenged one hundred years later were not, at this time, making inroads into the thinking and practice of the Church of England. Marx's prescription for revolution based on class struggle, Darwin's theory of organic evolution and Freud's delvings into human psychology were eventually to change the face of English society but during the period 1892-1942 they had not, as yet, made great inroads into the thinking and pastoral practice of the Church of England. They were regarded as scientific irrelevancies until the next generation.

In order to paint a picture of the social norms of that fifty year period it is necessary to examine briefly the prevailing attitudes in place just prior to the settlement of New South Wales, as well as the settling of Central Queensland and, in particular, the relationship to the Church of England in that geographical location to inform the present study. The attitudes prevailing in England and in the Church of England were the cultural baggage brought to Central Queensland by Anglican settlers from the 1860s onward. Many of these attitudes examined from an early twenty-first century vantage point appear either hopelessly dated or quaint or both; others have a more enduring quality. This chapter draws attention to the largely administrative mind set of those in authority in regard to the place of the Church in society and to the reactions of those who represented the Church in the Colony of New South Wales up to and including the founding of the Diocese of Newcastle and then the Diocese of Brisbane.

Those who were leaders of the Church in the penal settlement had, in its earliest days, settled into a routine which indicated that they accepted secular authority and were obedient, though not always subservient especially in

matters of morals and religion. In short they were chaplains rather than religious leaders after the English model. By 1828 when Broughton became Archdeacon of New South Wales the familiar relationship between government and Church had been well settled in the new colony and church dignitaries were well involved in matters such as education and the political life of New South Wales. As Shaw³ points out in his biography of Broughton, he had discarded none of the dignity or the civil appurtenances of his office, but he was beginning, by 1832, to understand what an apostolic ministry meant in the far off colony. Such matters as physical isolation, apathy for the mission from secular authority and lack of opportunity for study and preferment as well as isolation from a “cultivated society” were evident.

The Church of England, at the end of the eighteenth century and at the beginning of the nineteenth century, had, within its structures, some lingering enthusiasm and millennial hopes for expansion and overseas mission. This optimism was engendered by the overthrow of the French monarchy and the French Catholic church and the apparent decline of the papacy.⁴ This overseas missionary zeal was directed mainly toward Africa and there is little evidence of the same attitude toward the new colony of New South Wales, in its founding years.

By 1836 with the passing of the Church Act⁵ radical change from the norms of the relationship between Church and State (as had been the case in England) had come about in New South Wales and the first signs of the need for

³ G.P. Shaw, *Patriarch and Patriot*, (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1978), p.53.

⁴ H. McLeod, *Religion and Society in England, 1850-1914*, (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), p.147.

⁵ The Bourke Church Act, *William IV No.3*, 1836.

adaptation to a new social milieu were extant. The carrying of the mission further north to Newcastle, Brisbane and Rockhampton required such adaptation albeit in small increments.

The Anglican settlers of Central Queensland were almost entirely English born and nurtured and, in the case of the clergy, there was total English background until 1912 when the first Australian born priest in the Diocese was ordained.⁶ The clerical caste within the Church of England was a sub-culture of English society in general and the attitudes brought to Central Queensland by the clergy were those of upper middle class educated to tertiary level, gentlemen. The almost universal pattern, was, at this time, at the end of the nineteenth century, for clergy to be drawn from the educated classes where public school was followed by either Oxford or Cambridge education and only those with the financial means to afford this background could aspire to ordination. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the clergy of the Established Church were 'gentlemen' in the class structure of England. By the end of that century the clergy had emerged, after the upheavals of the time, as a 'professional' group with a lifestyle distinctive from any other group within society. This applied particularly to those with urban livings. They were not necessarily of the 'gentlemen' class.⁷

Most of the English clergy working in Central Queensland at the end of the nineteenth century and into the early twentieth century were not from country backgrounds and their urban upbringing and experience was not particularly

⁶ The Revd Percy Demuth, a native of Augathella and protégé of George Halford, the second bishop.

⁷ A. Russell, *The Clerical Profession*, (London: S.P.C.K., 1980), p.41.

useful in the bush ministries to which they came. There is a letter in the author's possession from Mrs Margaret Little, grand-daughter of the Stock Inspector stationed in Longreach in 1897, to D. Roach dated May 1997, which tells of George Halford, the first Bush Brother, being taught to ride and drive a horse in harness by her grand-father and of how Halford had a gelding passed off to him as a mare. From such stories came the persistent assessment of Bush Brothers as likeable, but useless new-chums.

As members of the clerical caste in their native England they, with few exceptions, were unable to live a lifestyle which identified closely with their flock. The cultural gap was, like the gulf between the person in Hades and Abraham, wide and deep.⁸ These attitudes were to have a lasting effect on Anglicanism in the Diocese of Rockhampton and on the speed at which the transition of the social institution was to move from entirely English in attitude and structure to one in which Australian and Central Queensland overtones were expressed.

At the time of the settlement of Central Queensland in the 1860s the Church of England itself was immersed in a major reorientation of thinking concerning its own identity. It had come through the eighteenth century evangelical revival, which linked it closely with protestant ideas of mission and personal conversion. While this revival of enthusiasm was to have eventual outcomes in missionary activity in the overseas colonies, by the end of the eighteenth century the great majority of the hierarchy and adherents of the Church of England were not so moved. The next movement within the Church began in 1833 and was dubbed

⁸ *Luke 1: 16-6.*

the Oxford Movement. This, at first academic clerical movement, as its name implies, was a call to reclaim the ancient catholic heritage of the Church of England which, it was asserted, had never entirely disappeared. This Movement was also characterised by a zeal for conversion but from a different motive and a different outcome in mind. The emphasis of the followers of the Oxford Movement was to reclaim the place of the Church of England as part of western catholic Christendom rather than emphasise simple individual conversion.⁹

On the socio-political front at the middle of the nineteenth century, the calm which had resulted from the Glorious Revolution of 1688 no longer existed, and, while individual liberty had been successfully integrated with the rule of law, the fact that this depended on the survival of the social order of the agricultural system, was subject to all the pressures of a social order finding its way in an urban and manufacturing social milieu. The Church was a reflection of the older agricultural social order and in its transfer to the overseas colonies where agriculture and pioneering endeavour were the major pursuits, it remained somewhat fixed in the attitudes of the last half of the eighteenth century. It was during this period that the concept of a Church of England outside the British Isles, unthinkable before, was forced upon the English.

The loss of the American Colonies following the War of Independence was not only a political disaster but it also posed serious questions for the Church in its

⁹ These movements and their respective theologies are the subject of numerous publications. Although somewhat dated D.K. Edwards, *Christian England Vol.3*, William Collins, London, 1984, gives a very adequate overview of the social and theological climates which were environment of the two major upheavals in the Church of England dated just prior to the settlement in New South Wales and just before the settlement of Central Queensland respectively.

relationship with the British government and overseas colonies. This, in turn, was to have long lasting effects on the Church of England. The transfer of the English social institution of religion to the bush of New South Wales and later to Queensland needs to be studied with this particular background in mind. Both attitudes and actions in respect to this transfer may be seen to have their antecedents in the last half of the eighteenth century.

The eighteenth century has been described as “the age of balance” or “reason” and the nineteenth as the “age of improvement” or “expansion”.¹⁰ These descriptive terms may be seen to be reflected in the ecclesiastical environment as well during those two centuries. The eighteenth century lawyer was being replaced at the centre of government as the nineteenth century approached; by political economists and political parties. Leaders of the parliamentary chambers were no longer chosen by the monarch on grounds other than their having majority support in the House.

While all this political and social improvement was being acted out, the Church was seen as the last refuge of the conservative and a remaining institution of society where the Crown could exercise choice in leadership. The winds of change were, however, blowing chill if not particularly strongly. Catholic emancipation of a limited nature was granted in Ireland in 1793 and Dissent was to be a potent force in the environment of the Church of England.¹¹

These changes were not without their opposition. The complacent, or perhaps more kindly put, conservative leadership saw in them a threat to the orthodoxy

¹⁰ A. Briggs, *The Age of Improvement*, (London: Longmans, 1975), p.1.

¹¹ Edwards, *op. cit.*, p.121.

and order of the Church. George III the most popular monarch since Elizabeth I was one such opponent. He attributed his relapse into mental ill health in 1801 to William Pitt's proposal to allow Roman Catholics the vote.¹²

One of the most influential clerics of this time, in terms of defending the status quo was William Paley. Paley was the champion of "complacent belief." The basis of Paley's teaching was that Christianity and the Church existed in God's plan to increase human happiness. Paley's influence may be gauged by the fact that his *A View of the Evidences of Christianity* (1794) was the book on which all Cambridge undergraduates were examined from 1822 to 1920. In the twentieth century undergraduates were allowed to chose elementary logic or chemistry in place of Paley's work.¹³ Paley's *Natural Theology* was still part of the theological curriculum until the early 1960s in Queensland. The author can remember being taught his exposition of Aquinas' five arguments for the existence of God at St. Francis' College Brisbane in 1957. The clergy coming to Central Queensland in the last part of the nineteenth century were all products of this system of clerical education.

People with influence such as Archdeacon Paley, Samuel Johnson, another defender of the status quo, and George III were cast in the role of upholders of the Established Church. There were also powerful forces working for change from within the Church. These forces were supported by influential figures in the Parliament as well. The most notable of these was William Wilberforce.

¹² *ibid.*, p.24.

¹³ *ibid.*, p.25.

From 1717 to 1852 the Convocations of the Provinces of Canterbury and York had been silenced and therefore the Church had no public voice and could make no decisions on its future outside of those made on its behalf by Parliament. As an institution the English Church was simply unprepared for the changes in society by the end of the eighteenth century. Faced with the great shifts in population, mechanisation and the beginnings of the Industrial Revolution it was simply not in a position to respond. It was similarly placed in an awkward situation with the loss of the American colonies and the resulting dilemma regarding the organisation of the Church overseas.

It was not without some theological strengths however and it was able to respond with an appeal to orthodoxy in its dealing with the Deist challenge during the eighteenth century. Deism had its roots in the seventeenth century and in spite of the strongly rationalist tone of intellectual life in late eighteenth century England the takeover was avoided.¹⁴ Such was the social and doctrinal background out of which the Church of England was to begin its great expansion in the next century. The spiritual and dogmatic wasteland of Hanoverian England, the infamous record of six communicants at St. Paul's Cathedral London on Easter Day 1800,¹⁵ alongside folk tales of bishops confirming from horseback on their way to the hunt, meant that the church had little respect in social circles high and low.

In spite of, or perhaps because of, these latitudinarian and complacent attitudes the Evangelical revival was able to gain ground. The Church may not have

¹⁴ Deism taught that belief in God was accepted but all possibility of special revelation was rejected. The Trinity, miracles and the incarnation were ridiculed and the corpus of Christian faith reduced to a moral code, a set of precepts.

¹⁵ Edwards, op. cit., p.101.

been guilty of viciousness of life so much as of too close an accommodation to the spirit of the age. It gained a reputation of being lax and indifferent.¹⁶ There was a subservience to the dominant Whig government and an unpreparedness and inability to respond to the rapidly changing social milieu. The evangelical revival was the counterpoint to this state of affairs.

Many of those in control of both State and Church were suspicious of the new enthusiasm in religion. They were also apprehensive of the political possibility of a revolution after the French model. There were, however, many others who, because of their enthusiasm, were anxious to spread Scriptural Holiness throughout the land after Wesley's admonition. This extended to the supply of chaplains in overseas establishments of the expanding Empire.

It was at the instigation of evangelicals in positions of influence that The Reverend Richard Johnson, a Cambridge graduate with evangelical leanings, was appointed as a chaplain to the first fleet. They persuaded Pitt to send a chaplain to alleviate the conditions of prisoners on the convict ships leaving for Botany Bay. William Wilberforce, one of this group, was later to persuade The Reverend Samuel Marsden to go to the colony as Johnson's assistant.¹⁷

The situation of the Chaplain to the First Fleet was that of a chaplain to a military establishment and Johnson's commission read as follows:-

We do by these presents constitute and appoint you Chaplain to the settlement within our territory called New South Wales. You are, therefore, carefully and

¹⁶ S. Sykes and J. Booty (eds.), *The Study of Anglicanism*, (London: S.P.C.K., 1962), p.15.

¹⁷ R. Border, *Church and State in Australia 1788-1872*, (London: S.P.C.K., 1962), p.15.

diligently to discharge the duty of chaplain, by doing and performing all manner of things thereunto belonging; and you are to observe and follow such orders and directions from time to time as you shall receive from our Governor of our said territory for the time being or any other your superior officer, according to the rules and discipline of war.

Given at our Court at St. James, the twenty-fourth day of October 1786, in the twenty-sixth year of our reign.¹⁸

There is an ambiguity. Johnson is at once chaplain to the settlement and a military chaplain answerable to his commanding officers. The attitude of the State was not so equivocal, Phillip's commission was added to on 25 April 1788 by an additional set of instructions from the Home Office which gave the following direction:

And it is further our Royal Will and Pleasure that you do by all proper methods enforce a due observance of religion and good order among the inhabitants of the new settlement, and that you do take such steps for the due celebration of public worship as circumstances will permit.¹⁹

and the Home Office also envisaged that the Chaplain would take some of the duties of the members of the administrative staff of the colony, hence, they were appointed magistrates.

The phrase "... as circumstances will permit," obviously meant that the progress of the Church in the colony would depend fundamentally on the religious zeal – or lack of it – of the Governors. Subsequent Governors were issued with the

¹⁸ *Historical Records of New South Wales*, Vol.1, Part 2, p.27.

¹⁹ *ibid.*, *HRNSW*, Vol.1, Part 1, pp.2-16.

same set of instructions. While there may have been a complacency in the attitude of those in authority toward religion in the new colony, the same could not be said for the representatives of Vital Religion as evangelicalism was termed. The Church gave Johnson a chalice and paten and other communion vessels, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (S.P.C.K.) gave him one hundred Bibles, one hundred Prayer Books, two hundred Catechisms, four hundred New Testaments, five hundred Psalters and some “books of moral uplift.” The Society also offered to give £10 per annum to any school teacher who might work with him.²⁰

The need to take the Christian evangel to prisoners even in the most outlandish parts of Empire was a priority in the minds of those imbued with the new enthusiasm. The Jane Austen model of “sensibility” sometimes meaning sensitiveness and sometimes meaning a crude selfishness, which had been kept well under control was now giving way in Church circles to a search for a new Christian identity, individualism and a faith in intuition, emotion and heroism.

Dissent had raised the question of identity, the French and American revolutions coupled with the now accepted doctrines of the English utilitarian philosophers and the French *philosophes* had given individualism a respectability unknown in earlier struggles for nationalism. The evangelical revival gave an acceptance of intuition and emotion attributes which had previously been suspect. Part of the new self consciousness in religion was the desire to convert those outside the pale of Englishness to the Faith. The new

²⁰ *ibid.*

boundaries of English influence in the Indian subcontinent along with those in the West Indies, Africa and Asia were making demands for missionary endeavour on the old societies such as the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (S.P.G.) and S.P.C.K. The heroism of overseas missionary service was admired and fostered.

The Church of England at the end of the eighteenth century faced a significant problem. The problem was systemic in Anglicanism and in the nature of the relationship between the Church of England and the secular arm of the Establishment in the Kingdom. The nature of Anglicanism demands episcopal government and the relationship of the Church of England within the overall polity of England requires that an Act of Parliament and consecration under Royal mandate is needed for the creation of a new bishopric. This had caused a delay in the creation of overseas bishoprics before the War of Independence in America, but, after the victory of the former colonies any need to obtain the required parliamentary permission to establish a bishopric in the United States had dissolved.

Following the consecration of Samuel Seabury by the Scottish Episcopalians, the British Parliament in 1786 passed legislation which enabled the Archbishop of Canterbury to consecrate those not subject to the Crown.²¹ In 1787 two more bishops were consecrated for the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States of America (P.E.C.U.S.A.) and a bishop consecrated for Nova Scotia. In 1793 a bishop was consecrated for Quebec and in 1814 one for Calcutta. These consecrations were seen as the necessary step to plant Anglicanism in

²¹ Sykes and Booty, *op. cit.*, p.38.

overseas parts of the emerging Empire. The bishop was a *sine qua non* in Anglican ecclesiology. This was so much so that when the Universities Mission to Central Africa answered David Livingstone's call to evangelise the Zambezi in 1858, the first part of the strategy was to have a bishop consecrated to organise and lead the mission. The bishop was to be the missionary pioneer rather than a later addition to the pioneer band of priests and laity who had established the mission.

The early rash of consecrations for overseas Anglican communities was followed in England by the setting up of the Colonial Bishops Fund in 1841²² which accelerated the rate of overseas consecrations from that time. The Colonial Bishopric Fund was set up by Bishop Blomfield of London as a way of financing and supporting overseas bishoprics which, since 1786, no longer qualified necessarily as part of the Church of England. There was no question at first about the position of the Church of England in the colony of New South Wales. The settlement was an extension of the English penal and military institutions. The Chaplain was appointed by the Established Church and held a commission of the Crown which gave him undisputed spiritual oversight of the settlement, subject to the Governor's direction.

From 1788 to 1814 the Church in New South Wales was, as an overseas part of the Church of England, under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London. In 1813 the British Government passed the *Act 53 Geo. III. C. 155*. which made the East India Company responsible for the salaries of any bishop or archdeacons in the Company's three Presidencies, which included New South Wales and Van

²² *ibid.*

Diemen's Land, if the Home Government were to create bishoprics and make such appointments. Any bishop's jurisdiction and administrative function was to be delineated by the terms set out in the Letters Patent from the Crown.²³

In 1814 the bishopric of Calcutta was created by the issue of Letters Patent under the above Act. The area of jurisdiction set out in the Letters Patent was the geographical area of the territories governed by the East India Company. The area so governed did not include Australia and Van Diemen's Land although these tracts of land were part of the original Charter of the Company issued in 1600. This meant that in 1814 the newly created Diocese of Calcutta did not include the colony of New South Wales, nor Van Diemen's Land.

However, in 1824 these Letters Patent were altered to give jurisdiction and episcopal oversight to the Bishop of Calcutta over all the territories under the Charter of the East India Company and thus New South Wales and Tasmania were included in the See. The result of this was not only the enormous expansion of the Diocese of Calcutta but devolution of power to the Bishop of Calcutta to create further Archdeacons in the Diocese. In turn, this enabled Letters Patent to be issued on 2 October 1824 erecting the Archdeaconry of New South Wales and a Letter of Instruction from Lord Bathurst to Governor Brisbane of 21 December 1824. Bathurst's instructions to Brisbane defined the Archdeacon's relationship with the Bishop, the Governor, the clergy and church property, and his authority in educational matters in the colony.²⁴

²³ Border, *op. cit.*, p.43 and D. Galbraith, *Just enough Religion to make us Hate*, (University of New South Wales, Ph.D. Thesis, 1999), p.336.

²⁴ *ibid.*

This sequence of events, which Border regards as the beginning of the constitutional history of the Anglican Church in Australia, was a direct result of the investigation into the affairs of New South Wales by John Thomas Bigge and his secretary Thomas Hobbes Scott. Bigge was appointed Commissioner and received his instructions in 1819. Part of Bigge's instructions from Lord Bathurst read –

I have already had occasion to point out to you those objects of inquiry, on your arrival in New South Wales, which are connected with the administration of the settlements there as fit receptacles for convicts; but although the Prince Regent considers these to be most important, and therefore the main object of your investigations, yet His Royal Highness is also desirous, that availing himself of your presence in that quarter, in order to obtain a report upon a variety of topics which have more or less reference to the advancement of those settlements as colonies of the British Empire.

The instructions then went on to order Bigge to

turn your attention to the possibility of diffusing throughout the colony adequate means of education and religious instruction; always bearing in mind that these two branches ought in all cases to be inseparably connected.²⁵

While this was an opinion of Lord Bathurst it was also a reflection of official attitude of the Home Government both to the Colonial Church and to the relationship between the Church and State in the Colony. Bigge had been instructed in his commission to inquire inter alia into “the State of the Judicial,

²⁵ *ibid.*, p.41.

Civil and Ecclesiastical Establishments".²⁶ This demonstrated that at least as late as 1819 the Home Government regarded the status of the Colonial Church as similar, if not exactly the same, as that of the Established Church of England and Ireland at the time.

Bigge's Report was published in 1822 under the title *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Colony of New South Wales*. In the section relating to the ecclesiastical establishment, a recommendation was made that, while the work of the chaplains was commended, there was need for something other than a chaplaincy system. Scott gave further details to Lord Bathurst in England and the result was that *New South Wales Judicature Act of 1823* was passed. This Act sought to provide good order and government for both Church and State in the Colony. Also an Archdeaconry was set up for New South Wales. The Home Office was assisted in this by the events which had been taking place in India. The Letters Patent issued in 1824 which enabled the Bishop of Calcutta to set up further Archdeaconries in his diocese, recently extended, have been referred to earlier in this Chapter.

It is suggested by Border²⁷ that Scott was responsible for the drafting of that portion of Bigge's Report which dealt with the ecclesiastical affairs inquired into and while doing so was drawn towards the notion of taking Holy Orders himself. While little is known of his past it is known that he was possibly a wine merchant who also served in the public service. One of his sisters was married to the Earl

²⁶ M. Clark, *Select Documents in Australian History 1788-1850*, (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1977), p.317.

²⁷ Border, *op. cit.*, p.43.

of Oxford. Scott was conferred with his Master of Arts degree at Oxford in 1818 at the age of thirty-five.

Shortly after the return of Bigge and Scott to England in 1823, Scott was ordained priest and was presented to the living of Whitfield in Northumberland. No doubt because of his intimate connection with the Colony and his relationship with Lord Bathurst when the Archdeaconry was set up by Letters Patent in 1824 he was appointed as the first Archdeacon of New South Wales. The appointment of the Archdeacon was the definitive point at which the transition from a chaplaincy situation to one where the clergy were regarded as having a status equal to that of their English counterparts took place. It was also a time when the convict settlement was changing in status to that of a Colony of Empire.²⁸

Scott's ecclesiastical rank and his important position in the Colony were emphasised by the requirement that he was to report to the Governor on his arrival who would proclaim the erection of the new Archdeaconry. It was proclaimed and it was required that "all clergy of the Established Church other of his Majesty's subjects to yield all due canonical obedience to the Archdeacon".²⁹ The Governor was required to refer all questions concerning clergy stipends and allowance to the Archdeacon. The Archdeacon was to receive a salary paid by His Majesty's Government of £2,000.³⁰ As there was no practical episcopal oversight, the Letters Patent setting up the Archdeaconry subject to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Bishop of Calcutta and at the

²⁸ Galbraith, *op. cit.*, p.338

²⁹ *ibid.*, p.44.

³⁰ *ibid.*

pleasure of the Crown, contained exceptionally wide provisions for the exercise of the Archdeacon's office. His powers were at least as autocratic in his area of jurisdiction as were those of the Governor in his sphere.³¹ The Archdeacon was to take rank and precedence in the colony next to the Lieutenant Governor and the Governor was "to show such marks of attention as may most effectually recommend his person and his sacred office to the respect of the lower and less educated classes of society".³²

From all of this it cannot be assumed that the Church in the colony was to be treated in any way differently from the way in which the Established Church was treated in England and it can be demonstrated that the transition had been effected between the status of a penal settlement chaplaincy to the style and status of a Diocese in the same way, and in some ways more pronounced, as an Archdeaconry of the Church of England in the Provinces of Canterbury and York. This state of affairs was to continue until Scott set up the Corporation of the Trustees of Church and School Lands, commonly known as The Church and School Lands Corporation. In his Primary visitation at S. James' Church on 9 June 1825 Scott declared that His Majesty intended "to prosecute the work of education on a more liberal and comprehensive system than that which had hitherto been pursued."³³ The Corporation was intended to provide a firm foundation for both education in the colony and financial independence from State grants for the Church.

³¹ *ibid.*, p.45.

³² Letter from Bathurst to Brisbane, 21 December 1824, in *Border*, *ibid.*, p.45.

³³ *Sydney Gazette* June 1825, as cited in *Border op. cit.*, p.48.

Instructions under the Royal Sign Manual to His Excellency the Governor relative to the land to be set apart for the Clergy and School Estates dated 17 July 1825, contained provision for “one-seventh part in extent of the value of lands in the colony”. These were to be known as the Clergy and School Estates. When this Instruction was issued the Letters Patent setting up the Corporation had been promulgated.³⁴ These Letters Patent were intended to provide a framework for the endowment of the Church in the Colony as it had been endowed by private individuals in England. The authorities were providing for the Church of England only.

The Church had moved from a position of bare tolerance in 1786 as evidenced in the additional set of instructions from the Home Office to Phillip in 1788 which made support for the Church or at least “public worship”, “as circumstances will permit” to high privilege in 1824. This forty years had made a huge difference. Forty years had also seen the rise of Dissent, both Roman Catholic and Protestant, which looked askance at English privilege transported along with the penal system to New South Wales. This notion of Anglican privilege was to continue well into the twentieth century and an attitude among Anglicans of taking for granted quasi Establishment was persistent. Establishment itself was a vexed question. The question was eventually settled in 1836 but the lead up to this point was full of turbulence and debate. Was the Church of England just one among others or was it the official Established Church in New South Wales?

³⁴ Letters Patent for erecting a Corporation for the Management of the Church and School Lands in the colony of New South Wales, as cited in Border, *op. cit.*, p.49.

While the early clergy were chaplains to the military and the settlement there was an assumption that they were an extension of the United Church of England and Ireland and there was little dispute about that point. When, after Bigge's Report had been made and its recommendations regarding the state of the Church and concomitant education had begun to be implemented, then pertinent questions regarding the exact status of the Church in the new colony began to surface. Catholic emancipation may have been in vogue in political circles in England in the early nineteenth century but in New South Wales the followers of the "Italian Mission" to Ireland were regarded with suspicion and some justifiable caution. Not all the Irish convicts were of the Roman persuasion but of those who were, the vast majority were "criminals proper" and only five percent were prisoners because of political agitation.³⁵ This situation was to alter after the 1798 rebellion in Ireland. There was a much larger proportion of political prisoners among those transported after that date.

This state of suspicion and distrust of the Irish form of Catholicism had been inherited from Elizabethan times and it was to influence attitudes and social harmony well into the twentieth century. Central Queensland's community mix was not devoid of these same suspicions and tensions in the time under examination and more detailed attention will be given to them in Chapter 12.

In the years of the settlement up to 1820 the only other denominational group of convicts and emigrants apart from the Irish were Scots Presbyterians. The Reverend John Dunmore Lang, the first Presbyterian minister in the colony was to receive, on Lord Bathurst's orders, £300 in salary and a third of the cost of a

³⁵ P. O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church in Australia*, (Melbourne: Nelson, 1968), p.3.

Presbyterian Chapel.³⁶ The Church of Scotland (Presbyterian) was of course, Established in the Kingdom of Scotland, a fact not lost on Lang. By 1824 the Anglican Church was receiving £2032/10/- for its clergy and catechists from the State Treasury while the Presbyterians received £300 and the Roman Catholics £200.³⁷ This was not pragmatic nor haphazard policy, it was a reflection of the state of affairs in England between 1813 and 1829. There was no deviation from the concept of the Church of England being established in law but there was recognition that there was need to assist those who were outside the pale of Anglicanism. The Christian religion was seen to be a bulwark, not so much of faith but as for good civil order and harmony. Religious tolerance was in the air in England, the Unitarians had gained emancipation as had the Roman Catholics. The Corporation Act of 1661³⁸, which forced dissenters who held offices in corporate town to swear the oaths of allegiance and to receive the Sacrament according to Anglican rites within a year of coming to office, had been repealed. While religious tolerance was being espoused there was absolutely no suggestion that the status of the Church of England was any less established and that it was the State Church of England. The use of the word "Chapel" for the Presbyterian adherents in the colony is significant. Chapels were regarded as "peculiar" privately owned and operated and their services not part of the public worship of the Church.

The debate about whether or not the Church in New South Wales was established was initiated by Lang. He claimed that Presbyterianism as evidenced in the Church of Scotland was equally established under the terms of

³⁶ Border, op. cit., p.56.

³⁷ *ibid.*, as cited in *H.R.A. Series I, Vol.xi, Civil Estimates for 1824*, p.250.

³⁸ G. Adams, R. Schuyler (rev.), *The Constitutional History of England*, (London: Jonathan Cape, 1956), p.339.

the union of Scotland and England in 1707. In the eyes of the Anglican administration, the grants made to the other denominations were not implying any sort of multiple establishment but were simply a recognition that the Churches jointly had a responsibility, in colonial conditions, to supply some sort of education and to work toward the maintenance of a moral code in the community. The whole question of Establishment was regarded by all those in authority, the Governors, the bureaucrats who held significant positions in the Colonial Office, and the legislature of New South Wales, as settled and that the Church in the colony was legitimately established as part of the Church of England. In 1837 Archdeacon Hutchins was to write that “it was in those terms that the Churchmen in New South Wales up until 1836, and probably later, thought of their Church.”³⁹ As late as 1840 Mr Justice Westbrooke Burton a judge of the Supreme Court of New South Wales had no doubt that the Church of England was Established in the Colony.

It would follow indeed without a declaratory statute of the Imperial Parliament but as a necessary consequence in the absence of any statute to the contrary that on the settlement of a country under the circumstances under which New South Wales was settled, the fundamental laws of England would become the laws of the new colony; and by force of one of those fundamental laws the Established Church of England became as such the Established Church of the Colony.⁴⁰

In spite of views such as those of Mr Justice Burton, there were voices raised in protest against such a view. The Roman Catholic Vicar General Ullathorne, who wrote a reply to Burton maintained that “the English Church has never

³⁹ William Hutchins, *An Appeal to the Members of the Legislative Council in Van Dieman's Land against the Church Act*, 12 August 1837, as cited in Border, op. cit., p.57.

⁴⁰ W.W. Burton, *The State of Religion and Education in New South Wales*, 1840, p.43, as cited in Border, op. cit., p.57.

been in New South Wales by Act of Parliament Established.”⁴¹ His view was shared by the Presbyterians, especially and most effectively by James Thompson who wrote in 1835 in remarks directed to the Scottish Presbyterians of Van Diemen’s Land that the commonly held view that the Church of England was Established in the Colony was unfounded. These views of Non-conformists Roman and Presbyterian were not supported by the overwhelming majority (Anglican) opinion of competent legal and church authorities prior to 1835.

While these questions of Establishment may appear from the vantage point of the early twenty-first century, to be somewhat academic, they were still being argued in the Courts of New South Wales and before the High Court of Australia in 1948.⁴² In the original hearing of this case (The Bathurst Red Book Case) the Chief Judge in Equity of New South Wales gave an opinion in his judgement that he agreed that the Church of England was Established in New South Wales “originally” and that it gradually became disestablished and this opinion was supported by the Chief Justice of the High Court (Latham) in the subsequent High Court challenge. In the minds and hearts of many Anglicans, more particularly the hierarchy, this opinion that the Church of England held a privileged position in society was carried on for many decades and this applied in Central Queensland as much as it did in New South Wales or any other part of Australia. Legally, of course, the final word on Establishment came during the gubernatorial term of an Irish Anglican trained for the Bar and then as a

⁴¹ W. Ullathorne, *A Reply to Judge Burton*, 1840, p.57, as cited in Border, op. cit., p.58.

⁴² *Attorney General for New South Wales v Wylde*, 1944, as cited in J. Davis, *Australian Anglicans and their Constitution*, Acorn Press, Canberra, 1993, Chapter 5. Two other references are those of R.M. Frappell in *Journal of Religious History*, Vol.12, No.1, 1982 and D. Galbraith, *Just Enough Religion to make us Hate*, (University of New South Wales, Ph.D. Thesis, 1999) are relevant to the Red Book Case.

professional soldier, Lieutenant-General Sir Richard Bourke. Bourke was in sympathy with the opinion expressed by the Van Diemen's Land Presbyterian Johnstone. He was a strong advocate for the separation of Church and State and in 1836 the Bourke Church Act (*7 William IV No 3, 1836*) which gave status to other denominations in the colony other than the "three grand divisions."

It is generally accepted that this Act was the point from which the Church of England in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land was disestablished in law if not in the minds of many Anglicans. The overwhelming majority of Anglican clergy in Queensland until the 1940s were English born. The Diocese of Rockhampton did not have an Australian born Bishop until 1928 with election of Fortesque Leo Ash, so the English attitudes and expectations of the clergy regarding the status of the Church vis a vis the State, particularly in education, remained much as they were in the early part of the nineteenth century.

Archdeacon Broughton was consecrated the first (and only) Lord Bishop of Australia in Lambeth Palace London on 14 February 1836, and this coincided with the process which brought the disestablishment of the Church of England in New South Wales to a head. It had been decided that Anglicanism in overseas parts could exist without a direct connection to the State. This decision had not been reached without significant struggle, as has been discussed. With the zeal of the newfound, or rediscovered, enthusiasm for mission the newly planted Diocese of Australia set about dividing itself into further discrete units after the pattern of the English Church.

After the Diocese of Tasmania had been formed in 1842 the English promoters of the development of more dioceses in the colony including the Colonial Bishops' Fund, the S.P.G. and Broughton's friends, produced plans for further erection of Australian dioceses.⁴³ In 1842 the Diocese of Tasmania was divided from the parent Diocese and in 1847 the dioceses of Sydney, Adelaide, Melbourne and Newcastle came into being. The Diocese of Newcastle was one of the newly created group of four, which is of particular interest in this study. The present Diocese of Rockhampton has its origin in the split of 1847. Newcastle was formed while New South Wales was, in effect, the only colony in existence on the east coast of the mainland.

The boundaries of this new diocese were set rather vaguely by the Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, in January 1847, as "to the north of Sydney".⁴⁴ This was to be understood as commencing at the lower Hawkesbury and stretching as far north and north-west as settlement and squatting reached. On 10 March 1847 the Archbishop of Canterbury invited The Reverend William Tyrrell, Rector of Beaulieu in the Diocese of Winchester, to accept the nomination of the Crown as the first Bishop of Newcastle (the name of the new diocese had been the subject of some debate, Morpeth being the other contender). This nomination of Newcastle had been made and accepted by 24 March 1847. Letters of Patent were issued on 25 June 1847 for the erection, foundation, ordaining and constitution of the Bishop's See and Diocese to be called Newcastle. The boundary to the north in these Letters Patent was the "21st Parallel of Latitude" and to the West "the 141st Degree of

⁴³ A.P. Elkin, *The Diocese of Newcastle*, (Sydney: Australian Medical Publishing Co., 1955), p.127.

⁴⁴ S. Judd and K. Cable, *Sydney Anglicans*, (Sydney: Anglican Information Office, 1987), p.44.

East Longitude.”⁴⁵ The remainder of the geographical entity, which was later to be the colony of Queensland, to the north of the 21st parallel south, was to remain in the Diocese of Sydney. This portion of the Diocese of Sydney was to be the Diocese of North Queensland founded in 1878.

Central Queensland, to just north of Mackay, was to be part of the Diocese of Newcastle until the colony of Queensland was created from New South Wales in 1859 and, simultaneously, the Diocese of Brisbane was separated from Newcastle. There had been some argument as to where the northern boundary of the Diocese of Newcastle should be. This was occasioned by the argument as to where the southern boundary of the proposed new colony of “Cookland” would be situated. The alternatives were 30 degrees of south latitude or the present boundary which runs along 29 degrees south then up the Macintyre and Dumaresq Rivers and along the crest of the McPherson Ranges to Point Danger in the east. The latter alternative was settled as first choice by Governor Sir William Denison who proposed it to the Imperial Authorities.

This was agreed to by the Imperial Authorities, and so the residents of Glen Innes, Tenterfield and the Upper Clarence who did not “feel tropical” were saved from being included; while the residents of Grafton and the lower Clarence districts were disappointed. It may be that the wrangling over the location of the southern boundary diverted the attention of the authorities from the position of the northern boundary but the northern boundary of the new Diocese of Brisbane was set in 1859 as the 22nd parallel south instead of the 1847 boundary of 21st parallel south. Thus the Diocese of North Queensland

⁴⁵ *ibid.*, p.130.

had included in its boundaries the Pioneer River area including Mackay, which had been until then included in the Diocese of Brisbane.

Since 1892 when the Diocese of Rockhampton was created out of Brisbane the obvious exclusion of the sugar towns of Bundaberg and Mackay has been a matter of regret for Rockhampton and, in latter times of some embarrassment to the diocesan authorities of Brisbane and North Queensland. The only major settled coastal town in Rockhampton Diocese was Rockhampton itself and while Rockhampton was, for some time, the second city of the State, the economic stability of the other two towns would have been of enormous help in the founding and maintenance of the smaller diocese. The settlers of the Mackay district, at least in the initial stages, were of Anglo-Celtic background and these could have been relied upon for financial and moral encouragement and support. At least that has always been the attitude in the Diocese of Rockhampton.

The northern parts of the pre 1859 Diocese of Newcastle were the Parishes of Brisbane established in 1843; while part of the Diocese of Sydney, the Darling Downs was established in 1850; Burnett Wide Bay and Maryborough in 1854. What is now the Diocese of Rockhampton was part of the Parishes of Darling Downs in the west and Burnett Wide Bay and Maryborough in the east. When the Burnett Wide Bay Parish was founded in 1853 with headquarters at Maryborough, The Reverend E. Tanner, who had come to the Diocese of Newcastle from the Diocese of Melbourne commenced duty in August. He only stayed nine months. His successor was The Reverend T.L. Dodd who paid at least one visit to the Port Curtis (present day Gladstone) District from 21

September to 5 October 1856, during which time he presided over 14 baptisms and a double wedding. This is the first reference to religious services in the geographical boundaries of the Diocese of Rockhampton.⁴⁶

While much of this background material is well known and, at first sight, somewhat removed from the 1890s foundation of the Diocese of Rockhampton, it demonstrates the antecedents for the attitudes brought with them by the pioneer English priests and people to Central Queensland. Some of the particular constitutional arrangements whereby the Diocese could be separated from the Diocese of Brisbane by 1892 are also due to the earlier arrangements entered into between Church and State in the colonies almost a hundred years before. The attitudes, prejudices and expectations of those early Anglican arrivals in Central Queensland were not *sui generis* but were products of their English and colonial Australian experiences. There was, however, much more of the direct English background in evidence than that of colonial Australia. The outcome, as is explored in this thesis, was that of “diocesanism” as revealed in Frappell’s research into the centenary of the Oxford Movement in 1933.⁴⁷

By the time the Diocese of Rockhampton was formed in 1892 several attitudes were taken for granted by the founders, which would not necessarily have been shared by their predecessors in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Among these was the breaking of the nexus with English ecclesiastical authority and the resulting autonomy of the diocese within the overall structure of a national church. Also the concept of a national church

⁴⁶ *ibid.*, p.186.

⁴⁷ R. Frappell, ‘1933 and All That: The Oxford Movement Centenary in Australia’, in J. Moses (ed.), *From Oxford to the Bush*, (Canberra: Broughton Press and S.P.C.K. Australia, 1997), p.136.

within a colonial structure without formal establishment was one to produce some anxiety. The anxiety may have been there, but the freedom inherent in this situation was enticing.⁴⁸

The imperative of expansion was also much more in evidence from the middle of the nineteenth century onward and this missionary zeal was the impetus for the northern growth of the dioceses. Expansion was construed as a means of bringing Christian civilization to those 'without the law' at the beginning of the nineteenth century but by the beginning of the twentieth century it was seen as a manifestation of the essential nature of the Church.⁴⁹ The Church needed to move out to those on the edges of the Spiritual Community.

In its earlier stages of growth in the colony of New South Wales the Church was in pastoral mode, keeping pace with population expansion and this was also true of the need to expand northward from Brisbane when the new colony of Queensland was founded. It was not until much later that the true nature of mission was in evidence, expansion toward those with a different culture than the foundation church.

⁴⁸ Judd and Cable, op. cit., p.26

⁴⁹ E.G. Jay, *The Church, Its Changing Image Through Twenty Centuries, Volume 2, 1700 to the Present Day*, (London: S.P.C.K., 1978), p.165.

Chapter 2

North from Newcastle to Brisbane

“Infusing a better tone into society”¹

Moreton Bay was established as an outpost of the penal settlement of New South Wales, twenty years before the settlement of the debate about whether or not the Church of England in the Colony was established in law in the same way that it was in England. The question of whether or not this outpost of the Church as an integral part of the Church of England as established by law, was settled in 1836 by the passing of the Bourke Church Act (discussed in Chapter One).² The Chaplaincy of the outpost penal settlement of Moreton Bay struggled during the first few years to maintain any sort of Christian presence and an Anglican presence, was not constantly achieved until 1843. The aim of the Low Church Whig Hanoverian establishment at home as well as in the colony was to use the Church as another arm of government to engender order and to use it as a social tool towards reformation of character. It is difficult to find any lofty ideals such as the extension of the Kingdom of God in administration actions and decrees at this stage of settlement.

K. Rayner’s³ thesis concerning the Church in Queensland has been consulted extensively as a source for this period of the Church’s arrival in, what was to become, the separate colony of Queensland. Rayner’s work stands alongside that

¹ A.P. Elkin, *The Diocese of Newcastle*, (Sydney: Australian Medical Publishing Company Ltd., 1955), pp.30-31.

² 7 William IV No.3 “an Act to Promote the Building of Churches and Chapels and to Provide for the maintenance of Ministers of Religion in New South Wales”.

³ K. Rayner, *The History of the Church of England in Queensland*, (University of Queensland, Ph.D. Thesis, 1962).

of Alex Kidd and Howard Le Couteur⁴ in historical research into the early Anglican attempts at planting the Church in Moreton Bay and is pertinent to this study in that he highlights the serious struggle to maintain a foothold in the new territory due to the chronic shortages of both manpower and finance for Church expansion. These twin impediments were to dog the steps of the growth of Anglicanism in the new Diocese of Brisbane and particularly the expansion of that Diocese into Central Queensland and the territory of the future Diocese of Rockhampton. The search for a solution to both was also eventually to give rise to a unique plan for a way of overcoming them, which was pioneered in Rockhampton Diocese in 1897. This was the concept of a “Bush Brotherhood” discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

The attitudes of later Anglican clergy and laity in the Diocese of Rockhampton were influenced in large measure by this strategy to overcome the twin shortages and the influence of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew, which was that strategy personified, prevailed through the entire time frame of this study. There was, however, as a result of adopting the Brotherhood strategy, an outcome which helped reinforce the isolation of the Diocese and other remote country dioceses from the rest of the Church in Australia. As discussed in Chapter 4, the failure of the Brotherhood to attract Australian recruits to its number meant that the loyalties of the clergy were directed toward England and this, in turn, gave rise to the diocesanism referred to by Frappell.⁵

⁴ A.P. Kidd, *The Brisbane Episcopate of St. Clair Donaldson 1904-1921*, (University of Queensland, Ph.D. Thesis, 1996) and H. Le Couteur, ‘The Moreton Bay Ministry of the Reverend Johann Handt: A Reappraisal’, (*Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol.84, Part 2, December 1998).

⁵ R. Frappell, ‘1933 and All That: The Oxford Movement Centenary in Australia’, in J. Moses (ed.), *From Oxford to the Bush*, (Canberra: Broughton Press and S.P.C.K. Australia, 1997), p.136. See Chapter 1 of this thesis.

At the beginning of the period examined in this Chapter, the emphasis on expansion of the Church along with the civil government of the penal colony engendered a particular administrative mode in the way in which the Church approached the perceived need to move out. The Church's presence was seen as one of the essential ingredients for a reforming effect on the population and the presence of a priest was a universally accepted goal if the Church's full potential as a civilising agency was to be realised. The place of the full ministrations of the Church in the scheme of values of the settlers may be gauged from the opinion of a Newcastle correspondent in a letter to the *Sydney Gazette* of 15 August 1818. After expressing his belief that true religion was "the only solace to the comfortless... the only reformer of the vicious and restorer of the profligate", he writes at some length *inter alia*:

The very thought that there should be a most handsome and commodious Church in such a place - most delightfully situated, and about seven hundred souls, without a Minister of the Gospel, or any Spiritual Guide or Instructor. - The Commandant, it is true, as a Father and a Friend to the People, reads the public prayers twice on every Sunday; catechises the children, and does all besides that a Gentleman of his rank and office can do; but he cannot give himself `wholly to these things' - The course and order of this world requires that there should be a Priest `Ordained for Men, in things pertaining to God';⁶

It is a letter which gives an insight into the motivation of the settlers for having the Church and ordained clergy in places removed from the centre of the settlement at Sydney. The missionary zeal of the latter part of the century had not yet flowered in the colony but the need to establish the Church as one of the essential

⁶ Elkin, *op. cit.*, p.31.

institutions transferred to the new land was evident. Also evident was thought that the Church was the agent *par excellence* of reforming "the low state of morality"⁷ and essential to provide a platform for "infusing a better tone into society".⁸ Alongside this was the newly emerging zeal of the Church to supply the comforts of religion and the Christian gospel to those who may forget their English Church heritage in the wilds of the new land. Many of the settlers, as the above quoted letter demonstrates, were equally anxious. They saw the Church as one of the stronger links with home and cultural identity as Englishmen in an antipodean wilderness.

An understanding of these sentiments, as they were translated into the expansion into Moreton Bay and beyond, may be gained by examining the early state of affairs in the Diocese of Newcastle. The establishment of the four new dioceses in Australia to cover the colonies of New South Wales (Sydney), Victoria (Melbourne), South Australia (Adelaide) and the colony of New South Wales from the Hawkesbury north (Newcastle) was motivated by the desire to provide the ministrations of the Church to convicts and settlers. This was the case particularly in the New South Wales area. Early chaplains under Archdeacon Scott's jurisdiction worked and lived around Sydney. The Reverend George Middleton was the first chaplain to Newcastle appointed in 1821. He was also the first colonial chaplain to be appointed north of the Hawkesbury.⁹ Middleton had been especially ordained priest for overseas work in 1819 and his ordination as priest took place only twelve days after his being made deacon instead of the usual twelve months time lapse between the two ordinations. This demonstrates the

⁷ *ibid.*, p.29.

⁸ *ibid.*, pp.30-31.

⁹ *ibid.*, p.31.

perceived urgency of the mission to colonists in New South Wales on the part of the English authorities. There had been a "large and worthy" church building built in Newcastle as part of the public works in time to be used for services led by the Commandant, Captain James Wallis, on Christmas Day 1817. Until Middleton's appointment in mid 1821, however, no priest had been appointed.¹⁰ All services at which laity could preside were conducted by successive Commandants and officers of the 48th regiment.

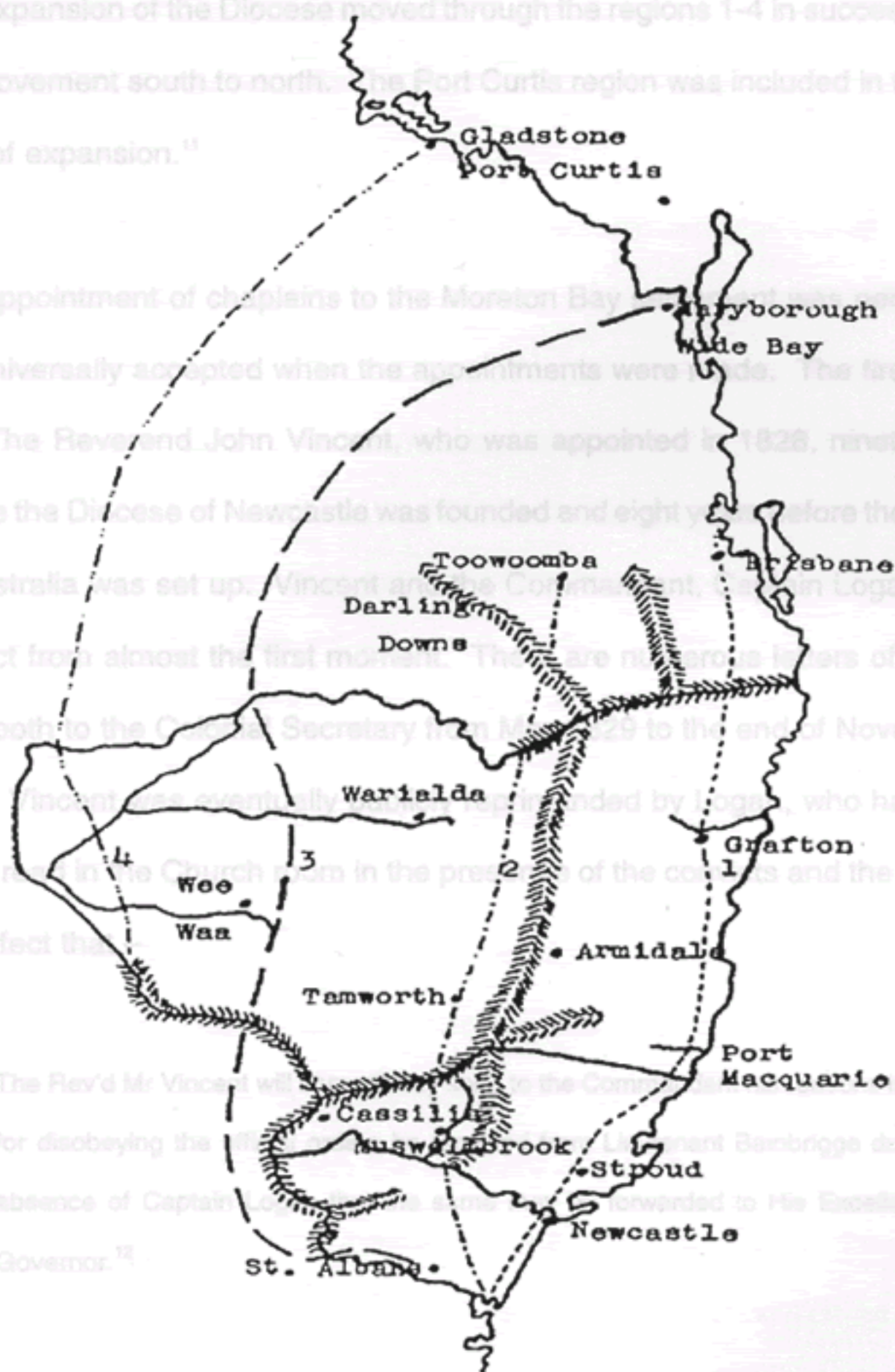
This motivation was to be shared by the first Bishop of Newcastle, William Tyrrell, who brought with him three ordained clergy of like missionary mind and seven candidates for ordination. Tyrrell lost no time in forming a strategic plan for expansion of the parishes in line with the advance of settlement and soon after his ordination of the candidates who accompanied him from England, one of them, Benjamin Glennie, was appointed to Moreton Bay. By 1850, Ipswich was divided from Moreton Bay and Glennie moved from Moreton Bay to the expanding Darling Downs and the emphasis on rural ministry in Queensland was pioneered. Tyrrell's strategic plan was to consolidate the eastern coastal areas of the Diocese and then move to a second chain of inland districts with clergy appointed to them and, as settlement moved further west, a third chain. This third set of districts into which settlement had moved, and within which no other denominational activity was observed, included the Port Curtis area where he saw the need for a resident clergyman.

¹⁰ *ibid.*, p.29.

The expansion of the Diocese moved through the regions 1-4 in succession, after the movement south to north. The Port Curtis region was included in the last (4) area of expansion.¹¹

The appointment of chaplains to the Moreton Bay area was neither easily nor universally accepted when the appointments were made. The first chaplain was The Reverend John Vincent, who was appointed in 1826, nineteen years before the Diocese of Newcastle was founded and eight years before the Bishopric of Australia was set up. Vincent and the Colonial Secretary, Sir John Logan, were in conflict from almost the first moment. There are numerous letters of complaint from both to the Colonial Secretary from March 29 to the end of November that year. Vincent was eventually suspended by Logan, who had a public order read in the Church from in the presence of the convicts and the soldiers to the effect that

The Rev'd Mr Vincent will be suspended from the Command of the Chaplains writing for disobeying the instructions of the Colonial Secretary. Lieutenant Barbrige during the absence of Captain Logan is directed to forward to His Excellency the Governor.¹²



The occasion for this public rebuke was the publishing of the Banns of Marriage for two convicts in Church, without the consent of the Governor as regulations required. There had also been a serious disagreement over Vincent's refusal to bury, with Christian rites, a prisoner who had died. Whatever the causes, the position of the official chaplain in relationship to the Governor was untenable.

Source : A.P.Elkin, *The Diocese of Newcastle*, (Sydney : Australian Medical Publishing Company, 1955)

¹¹ *ibid.*, p.180 and see map facing p.37.

¹² Archdeacon Broughton to the Colonial Secretary, 27 November 1829, in Colonial Secretary Correspondence, quoted in Rayner, *op. cit.*, p.31.

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The Rev'd Mr Vincent will immediately send to the Commandant his reasons in writing for disobeying the official orders he received from Lieutenant Bainbrigge during the absence of Captain Logan that the same may be forwarded to His Excellency the Governor.¹²

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¹¹ *ibid.*, p.180 and see map facing p.37.

¹² Archdeacon Broughton to the Colonial Secretary, 27 November 1829, in Colonial Secretary Correspondence, quoted in Rayner, *op. cit.*, p.31.

and Archdeacon Broughton ordered Vincent to return to Sydney on the first available ship. Logan was also reprimanded by the Governor.¹³

The military officers conducted services of worship and the barest of religious ministrations to the settlement. Attendance at these services of worship were compulsory except for Roman Catholics. Rayner cites an account given by two Quaker visitors in 1836 of a contemporary service.

1st April. During the day called 'Good Friday', no work was exacted from the prisoners; but they, with the military and civil officers, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic, assembled as on First-days, in the chapel; where the prayers and lessons of the Episcopal Church, with a few omissions, in deference to the Roman Catholics, were read in a becoming manner, by the Superintendent of Convicts.¹⁴

These Quaker visitors go on to offer an opinion that the aim of the British authorities in the use of religious observances was for "restraint" rather than "reformation". In the minds of members of the Society of Friends, religion should have no overt connection with the authority of the State and its prime use in a penal settlement should be to create a climate of reform of life for the convicts. In the Settlement of Moreton Bay they observed the use of religion as a restraint. Formal and compulsory church parades twice on Sunday seemed, to them, a primitive use of religion, which they thought should have been the means of reform.

¹³ *ibid.*, p.33.

¹⁴ J. Backhouse, *A narrative of a Visit to the Australian Colonies*, p.361, as quoted in Rayner, *op. cit.*, p.33.

In visiting the various Penal Establishments of the Colony, and observing the limited means made use of for moral and religious instruction, we must conclude, that restraint, rather than reformation, has been the object of the British Government...¹⁵

This opinion of the prevailing state of affairs was accurate and the aim of restraint and good order was shared with the military authorities by the clergy of the time. The compulsory services conducted by the officers took place every Sunday, once after muster, and again in the early afternoon.¹⁶ One wonders, from a modern vantage point, what actual effect this must have had on the acceptance of Anglicanism at the time and in the future. As Michael Hogan¹⁷ suggests, it must have cemented the division between the Church and the “working classes” of later Australian society.

Whatever the effect, the authorities at the time, both civil and church, do not seem to have had much anxiety about religious affairs in the Settlement, the Evangelical revival at home seems not to have penetrated to the new colony. To add more curiosity to the situation, in 1837 a Lutheran minister, The Reverend John Christian Simon Handt, arrived as the next Chaplain to the Settlement. The Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge had used German Lutheran missionaries to supplement English missionaries in the past, and the Church Missionary Society (CMS) had followed this example. Handt was sent to New South Wales to assist an English missionary in the setting up of an Aboriginal mission at Wellington Valley.¹⁸ He was relieved by another German Lutheran missionary and he was sent to Moreton Bay. It seems that the authorities had

¹⁵ *ibid.*

¹⁶ Colonial Secretary to Commandant Moreton Bay, 31 December 1836.

¹⁷ M. Hogan, *The Sectarian Strand*, (Victoria: Penguin, 1987), pp.134-135.

¹⁸ Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society 1830, as quoted in Rayner, *op. cit.*, p.35.

been unable to decide if Moreton Bay was to remain a penal settlement and the general apathy of both branches of authority produced this curious makeshift arrangement. Handt was never listed as a "clergyman" in the civil list but as a "missionary". He was undoubtedly an agent of the Church of England but he was never granted a formal licence from Bishop Broughton to regularise his appointment in the eyes of the Church. He was recognised by the Government in his position as part-time chaplain to the settlement but his salary was substantially met from CMS not government funds. He did, however, receive a supplement of £100 for his chaplaincy work.¹⁹

In 1827 the Church Missionary Society through its New South Wales Auxiliary's Secretary, the Reverend Richard Hill, wrote asking the Colonial Secretary for permission to commence a mission to Aboriginal people in Moreton Bay. The request for ten thousand acres close to the penal settlement which accompanied the petition may have had some bearing on the rather off hand refusal written on the back of Hill's letter.²⁰ The whole episode is, however, noteworthy as the first attempt to evangelise an Aboriginal population in northern Australia in that it predated Handt's efforts by ten years. By 1837, however, with the penal settlement diminishing in size and with the distinct possibility that it would not survive, the government was more accommodating to the missionary experiment.

Handt experienced those difficulties with Aboriginal temperament which many after him were to regard as almost insurmountable. His work among the three hundred or so Aboriginal people on the outskirts of the settlement came to very

¹⁹ E.C. Rowland, *A Century of the English Church in New South Wales*, as cited in Rayner, op. cit., p.35.

²⁰ Rayner, op. cit., p.35.

little and he was recalled by the CMS to Wellington Valley and financial support was withdrawn from the Moreton Bay mission. Handt, however, stayed and after the closure of the convict settlement in 1839 joined the band of German missionaries at Nundah. Eventually this enterprise foundered. With a government grant of £100, Handt returned to set up a small Lutheran congregation in Sydney. His rather one-sided liaison with the Church of England had come to an end.

The success or failure of Handt's mission in meeting the objectives of the evangelical Christians who supported him and the Colonial Office, which provided some resources for this missionary activity, has been evaluated by Le Couteur in his reappraisal and, on balance, found it to be unsuccessful.

Le Couteur gives three reasons for the failure – the mission was under-resourced, there was no ongoing commitment to the missionary programme because of a lack of quick results and a basic naivety underlying the initial proposal.²¹

The somewhat hesitant and inglorious beginnings of the Church in Queensland, with all its makeshift compromises with administration, mark those circumstances identified by Rayner as the kind which plagued the transplantation of the Church from England to Queensland. These were, as Rayner identified them, the difficulties of a vast territory with almost infinite physical boundaries, scarcity of clergy and inadequacy of finance.²² The difficulties of planting the Church in Moreton Bay were to be echoed in Central Queensland fifty years later, with these

²¹ H. Le Couteur, 'The Moreton Bay ministry of the Reverend Johann Handt: a reappraisal' in *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol.84, Part 2, December 1998, pp.140-153.

²² Rayner, op. cit., p.36.

same three impediments in evidence, as will be discussed further in Chapters 3 and 5.

1842 saw the Moreton Bay Settlement opened to free settlers. Before this, squatters were moving into the southern parts of what is now Queensland, although by law free settlement within fifty miles of Moreton Bay was forbidden. The first land sales took place in 1842. The next resident priest of the Church of England arrived on the same ship as the first police magistrate, Captain JC Wickham in January 1843. This priest was The Reverend John Gregor.

There are echoes of Handt in Gregor's circumstances. Even though he was of mature years, he had come to the priesthood of the Church very recently from the presbyterian ministry of the Church of Scotland.²³ Gregor had presented himself to Bishop Broughton as a candidate for ordination in 1842. This was the result of having become a casualty of the factional disputes of nineteenth century Presbyterianism and as a result falling foul of The Reverend John Dunmore Lang and other influential Presbyterians in New South Wales. Broughton was cautious about this candidate and wary of his motives. Stipends were more generous in the Church of England and some of Gregor's contemporaries accused him of moving to a more lucrative position. Lang also opined "Mr Gregor is, without exception, the most worldly-minded person I have even known in a clerical habit".²⁴

Whatever Gregor's motives for ordination in the Church of England his posting to Moreton Bay would have tested his strength of resolve. His "worldliness" may

²³ *ibid.*, p.39.

²⁴ J.D. Lang, *Cooksland*, p.475 as quoted in Rayner, *op. cit.*, p.39.

have been an advantage in the frontier society of Moreton Bay at that time. His *Missionary Return to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel* in 1845 describes the social milieu in terms of a territory which ran for 194 kilometres from north to south and 322 kilometres from east to west, in which there were 217 people in the county of Moreton and 335 on the Darling Downs, of which 71 were convicts. By 1846 the population had risen to 2525 and about half of these classified themselves as Church of England. There were, by the end of the forties, sixty runs on the Darling Downs and thirty-nine in Moreton. There were only half a dozen professional men - lawyers and surgeons - in the town and most of the people made their living as tradesmen, merchants, innkeepers, artisans and domestic servants. There was also a share of drifters and misfits. The ratio of the sexes was also imbalanced; the men in a majority of three to one, and consequently very little stable family life. Gregor's own reaction to the drunkenness and sexual immorality was "such a population presents to the eye of the minister of Christ a field of forbidding character."²⁵

Gregor was energetic in his visiting of the scattered population and the stations in particular were part of his regular pastoral visitation. Some reactions from the people on the runs to these visits were to be repeated again later in the experience of the first Bush Brothers in Central Queensland at the end of the century. Many had no desire to be reminded of the religious culture which they had experienced in Britain and which they thought they had left behind when migrating to New South Wales. Gregor found a shortage of Anglicans on some of his visits and Dr Lang suggested that the preponderance of Roman Catholics was due to many Anglicans taking temporary refuge in that denomination while Gregor

²⁵ Gregor's *Missionary Return to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel*, 1845, cited in Rayner, *op. cit.*, p.45-46.

was present. This may not be entirely fair but it seems, from an early stage, the Established Religion was not always seen as something to be valued in the cultural baggage brought from the Old Country.

There are similar instances mentioned in some of Halford's letters to England where those who may have been thought to be anxious to involve themselves in Anglican worship as part of keeping in touch with their previous life in England preferred to forego the opportunity. Gregor's time was not entirely successful and he eventually left Brisbane town to live with the German missionaries at Nundah in 1845. He was beset by financial difficulties also. It seems that he may not have received any financial assistance from the government under the provisions of the New South Wales Act of 1836. Generosity to the Church was not a cardinal virtue of the citizens of Brisbane. His only source of income seems to have been £100 grant from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. A complaint from Gregor concerning this matter of finance is telling, his parishioners he complains,

expect not that the Gospel shall be preached and the sacraments administered *with fidelity* but that the clergyman preaching according to *their taste* shall be *their tool* in all political questions touching their temporal interests, and their *slave* in everything.²⁶

The protection of financial endowment which enabled independence, which was a characteristic of the English Church, was absent in the Colony and it was being noticed. The clergy who had been used to financial security from endowments in England were now faced with the need to be popular if stipends were to be forth

²⁶ Gregor's Missionary Return, cited in Rayner, op. cit., pp.45-46.

coming. This went further, popular topics in sermons were preferred by their parishioners.

The founding of the Diocese of Newcastle in 1847 brought Moreton Bay into that Diocese and under the episcopal oversight of Bishop Tyrrell. Tyrrell was faithful in his visitation of the northern part of his Diocese and his strategic planning for expansion has already been mentioned. He visited Moreton Bay and the Darling Downs at least every second year.

These episcopal visits involved rides on horseback of 2,500 to 3,000 kilometres and they were accomplished with a degree of personal courage which displayed Tyrrell's leadership qualities.²⁷ Whatever he asked of his subordinates he was willing to undertake himself. Under Tyrrell's leadership the Church in the northern extremity of his diocese began to make headway and to build on the rather tenuous foundation laid during the period when the half hearted attempt at chaplaincy was made. Tyrrell was not a ritualist but he had been deeply influenced by the Oxford Movement and by the doctrine of Episcopal Authority as espoused by that movement. He was firm but courteous in his exercise of his own Episcopal role and the Anglican inhabitants of Moreton Bay and the Darling Downs were very aware of the fact that they were part of a new diocese with a new bishop.

Tyrrell was one of the new breed of bishop in the Church of England. He was influenced by the Tractarian movement and its emphasis on the consecrated leadership role of a bishop. He was not content to let matters take their course, but he was concerned to exercise his authority and leadership actively. This style

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p.50.

of the exercise of episcopal authority was to be the pattern, in the main, for the Church in Queensland when it stood as separate from New South Wales, and later when the Diocese of Rockhampton was separated from the Diocese of Brisbane.

There was a recognition that things would be different from the English experience of the Church, among Tyrrell's newly arrived group of clergy. The list of tasks to be accomplished in the newly formed diocese compiled by Boodle, one of the ordained men in the group, is indicative of their hopes and expectations. The list also indicates a transition phase in the move away from English norms. It was a list of priorities and needs but it assumed more political and financial advantages, which were enjoyed by the Church at home, than was realistic in the northern areas of the new colony.

The list is as follows –

1. To supply some measure of Christian teaching and worship over an area large enough to make many men sink into hopelessness.
2. To procure clergy.
3. To establish and support Church schools.
4. To provide teachers from unpromising materials.
5. To maintain a constant struggle against Government and Parliament in favour of religious education.
6. To promote the building of Churches, Parsonages and schools in all directions.
7. To educate the laity in the duty of supporting their clergy and erecting the buildings required.
8. To establish and maintain a Book depot in some degree worthy of the name.

9. To lay the foundation of some endowment for various church purposes.
10. To organise as time went on a Diocesan Synod.²⁸

As previously mentioned, Tyrrell had brought with him some clergy to staff the new diocese. One of these, The Reverend Benjamin Glennie, was sent to Moreton Bay as a deacon in 1848 to replace Gregor who had died. Glennie was eventually to be known as the Apostle of the Downs. He died at the age of 88 in 1900 and he had a unique place in the formation of Anglicanism in Queensland. Glennie's lifestyle was in some ways the type of the later Bush Brothers. He endured the loneliness which was the lot of many priests in country Australia and a degree of apathy and hostility of some of his people in the necessary transition from endowment to self support for the Church. He battled their parsimonious reactions to financial need for the Church often having to forgo that part of his stipend which came from the congregation. During the drought of 1851, when he was having to buy feed for his horse, the Warwick people withheld their contributions to the stipend fund.²⁹ He did not marry until he was fifty-six and so his loneliness was with him on the domestic level for many years, but there was also a spiritual loneliness in the knowledge that he was the only priest in the entire area over which he ministered in the far northern areas of the Diocese of Newcastle. The attitude of the settlers to regular church going was patchy and somewhat apathetic. His diary entry for Christmas Day 1854 records

most melancholy Xmas Day. Four women at Holy Communion while there was great feasting in all directions³⁰

²⁸ T. Watson, 'The Reverend Benjamin Glennie: a lone survivor?' in *Royal Historical Society of Queensland Journal*, Volume XIV, No.11, May 1992, p.439.

²⁹ D.B. Waterson, *A History of the Darling Downs, 1858-93*, (Sydney: 1968), p.68.

³⁰ Rayner, op. cit., p.53.

Glennie, as a forerunner of later Queensland Bush Brothers, achieved an identification with his parishioners, an ideal not always achieved by those later English clergy operating in remote sparsely settled areas.

Watson gives an account of his eventual acceptance on the Darling Downs, 'He gained marked respect from the Darling Downs community as he identified himself with them.'³¹

Groom's quote from Sir Arthur Morgan gives a first hand account –

He walked much of the distance carrying his knapsack on his back. Though but a raw new chum he evidently possessed in a marked degree the sense of locality and direction which we Australians are rather prone to think belongs exclusively to those of us reared in the bush.³²

This description of Glennie is very reminiscent of later evaluations of the more popular Bush Brothers such as Hulton Sams and John Oliver Feetham and George Halford in his Dawson Valley days. Identification was a matter of acquiring some bush skills. In Sam's case it was an ability to 'mix it' in boxing, in Feetham's case 'roughing' it in spartan living conditions and for Halford it was an assumption of poverty and deliberate isolation in the bush.

Later, Bush Brothers were to subsist on almost no income, to forego marriage while under vow and to find themselves as cultural and spiritual castaways in the vast expanses of outback Australia. The Bush Brotherhood Movement constitutes

³¹ T. Watson, op. cit., p.445.

³² Quoted in L.E. Groom, 'Benjamin Glennie, An Interesting Sketch', *The Church Standard*, L.E. Groom papers, Oxley Library, Brisbane.

a major part of the particularly Central Queensland elements in this thesis and it will be further examined in Chapter 4.

Under Glennie, expansion in the centres of Warwick, Toowoomba, Drayton and Dalby took place. The three pastoral divisions of Moreton Bay, the Darling Downs and Ipswich had come into being by 1850 and there were areas in the north east corner of the Diocese where it was impracticable to expect ministry from the clergy. Maryborough, as the centre of the parochial district of Wide Bay/Burnett, presented this order of challenge. By 1851 there were three hundred people³³ in the town of Maryborough and, while Tyrrell recognised the need to have a clerical presence there, clergy were unavailable. The settlers were somewhat importunate about no Anglican clerical presence and Tyrrell sent one of his ordination candidates, Mr G. Hungerford, to fill the role of Catechist.³⁴ Hungerford ministered as best he could without ordination until the first incumbent of the new area, The Reverend Edward Tanner, arrived from Melbourne in 1853. Tanner was to be the first of three incumbent clergy at Maryborough in the fifties and the parish was vacant from 1859 to 1861, which meant that the outlying areas received little or no priestly ministry. These centres, particularly Gayndah, were vocal in their demands for more attention even to the point of threatening to get ministrations from clergy of another denomination.³⁵

Tyrrell's plan of expansion north and west had been operational and by 1856 the town of Gladstone, at the northern extremity of where pastoral ministration extended, had a population of two hundred and it received even less clerical

³³ *Pugh's Almanac, 1860*, p.89, cited in Rayner, p.60.

³⁴ Rayner, *op. cit.*, p.60.

³⁵ *Moreton Bay Courier*, 28 July 1858, as quoted in Rayner, *op. cit.*, p.60.



Gladstone, 1873, J.Carr, reproduced in *National Bank Calendar*, 1973.

attention than had Gayndah. Other than a visit from The Reverend T.L. Dodd from Maryborough in 1856 there is no record of any ministrations to the Port Curtis district. It was, however, under the guidance of Tyrrell that the foundations of the parochial system were built in the northern part of the Diocese of Newcastle and by 1858 Brisbane itself had had five incumbents, Gregor (1843-48), Glennie (1848-50), J. Wallace (acting) (1850), H. Irwin (1850-55) and E. Yeatman (1855-58), and Maryborough had four, Hungerford (Catechist) (1852-53), Edward Tanner (1853-54), T.L. Dodd (1854-57) and R. Postlethwaite (1857-59). By the time of separation of the northern part into the new Diocese of Brisbane in 1859 there were established parishes in Brisbane, Fortitude Valley, Ipswich, Darling Downs and Maryborough.³⁶ It is the Wide Bay/Burnett area with Maryborough as its centre which attracts the attention of this study as it is from there that the Port Curtis district received the first ministrations.³⁷ From these Newcastle beginnings the Diocese of Brisbane emerged along with separate colonial status for the colony of Queensland in 1859.

By 1856 it became clear that the British government was considering the setting up of a colony in north eastern Australia and the Bishop of Newcastle had come to realise that his diocese was too vast for efficient oversight. He reported to the Newcastle Church Society in 1856 that:

The efficient oversight of a Diocese extending according to my letters patent, from North to South, from the 21st parallel of latitude to the Hawkesbury and Colo Rivers - and from East to West, from the Eastern coast to the 141st degree of East longitude, comprising an area of about four times the size of Great Britain and Ireland, is a

³⁶ Rayner, *op. cit.*, p.62.

³⁷ See illustration facing this page.

physical impossibility. My visitation journeys, though 1,500 and 1,600 miles in length, have not extended to the north, beyond the districts of Morton Bay, leaving Wide Bay and the Burnett district, and Port Curtis, unvisited, though not uncared for, by me. It has been my anxious desire to supply the spiritual wants of these vast districts; but it has been a task of no ordinary difficulty, and for the sake of the members of our Church resident in them, as well as for my own sake, I shall sincerely rejoice when they are forced into a new See, under the oversight of a resident Bishop".³⁸

In this desire to provide episcopal oversight for those separated by great distances, Tyrrell may be thought at first to be voicing the often expressed notion popularised by Blainey and others of the tyranny of distance. It may also be the first glimmerings of something more abstract and fundamental in the human psyche, the tyranny of isolation. The cultural deprivation experienced by English settlers was in many ways more potent than the physical distance between "home" and the colonies. This cultural deprivation may be observed in the writings of Halford and other English clergy who came to Central Queensland later in the century and of which more is explored later in this thesis. The establishment of the Anglican Church with all its accompanying order and ritual, including episcopal government, was, in some measure, a bulwark against creeping deculturation accentuated by distance.

When Tyrrell heard that a new colony was in the offing he lost no time in recommending to the English authorities that a new diocese be created co-terminus with the new colony.³⁹ At this time the erection of a new diocese was not a matter for the Church to act upon unilaterally. The colonial Church was still regarded as an extension of the Established Church and it was the prerogative of

³⁸ *Newcastle Church Society Report*, 1856.

³⁹ Elkin, *op. cit.*, p.244.

the government to set up new dioceses. The Church had now to find its own financial undergirding for new dioceses. Four essential steps had to be taken for the erection of a diocese in the proposed new colony. These were, first, the demonstration that an episcopal endowment had been raised; second, that the English Crown would nominate a suitable person for the post after receiving advice from the Archbishop of Canterbury who was, in turn, advised by the Secretary of the Colonial Bishops Council, who was also Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Third, the Crown would issue Letters Patent and, last, the Archbishop of Canterbury would be given a mandate to consecrate the new bishop. This pattern only survived until the 1860s when responsible government was granted to the colonies and the relationship with the home government was changed.

Once colonial governments were granted autonomy it was no longer possible to seek finance and authority for the protection of the established church as there had been with rule from England through the Colonial office and Home office. Tyrrell set about raising the necessary financial base for the endowment and he achieved the aim remarkably quickly. The other steps followed and the first Bishop of Brisbane, Edward Wyndham Tufnell, was consecrated in Westminster Abbey on 14 June 1859. Fifteen months later, on 4 September 1860, he was enthroned as Bishop of Brisbane in St. John's Church before an overflow congregation. Tufnell was accorded an address of welcome presented to the Bishop in the presence of Governor Bowen, by the already mentioned Captain M.C. O'Connell of Port Curtis and President of the Legislative Council. All felt that the Church had begun a new era in its work in Queensland.

When the Diocese of Brisbane was formed in 1859, the town of Rockhampton was the most northerly settlement in the previous Diocese of Newcastle, and the northern boundary of the old diocese was not considered to be very important, and so it was left at the twenty-first parallel south just north of where Mackay was to be situated later. As early as 1866 Governor Bowen was writing to England in terms of a dream of a northern diocese in Queensland beyond that boundary.⁴⁰ This idea failed at that time because the authorities felt the far north to be too sparsely populated to support a diocese. By 1870, when Bishop Barker of Sydney was visiting England, a report reached Queensland that this idea of a northern diocese had become a reality and that Rockhampton was to be its See city. This prompted the good citizens of Bowen, which had been settled in 1861, to petition the Archbishop of Canterbury for their town, not Rockhampton, to be the centre for the proposed new diocese.⁴¹ This was all somewhat premature as the Synod of the Diocese of Brisbane, at a special session in 1871, absolutely refused to give up any portion of its diocese, as then constituted, to a new diocese to the north. Rayner suggests that it was more probably that the northern representatives in the Synod did not wish to give up their connection with the capital city.⁴² However, for some years the plan that Rockhampton should be the centre for a new northern diocese persisted. In 1874 Canon R.L. King was sent from Sydney to promote the idea and a resolution was carried to the effect that

steps be now taken to commence the effort to provide a suitable endowment for the proposed bishopric of Rockhampton, and that the central and northern districts be asked to join in the effort.⁴³

⁴⁰ Governor Bowen to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 18 December 1866.

⁴¹ Rayner, op. cit., p.178.

⁴² *ibid.*

⁴³ Rockhampton *Morning Bulletin*, 20 June 1874.

A committee was formed in Rockhampton to foster the proposal and Bishop Barker met with Diocesan Council in Brisbane to gain its approval. Enthusiasm was not in evidence and the necessary fund raising lagged. Both Brisbane and the north felt it was not the right time. It was the mining activity in the far north which eventually secured the See city status for Townsville rather than Rockhampton when the northern diocese became a reality in 1878.

Bishop Tufnell brought with him seven clergy and four laity. One of the clergy died on the way out and two of the clergy were in deacon's orders. One of these was Thomas Jones who remained in the Diocese of Brisbane until his death in 1918 and who was the pioneer Rector of St. Paul's Church, Rockhampton, from 1860 until 1864. Bishop Tufnell visited Rockhampton in November 1860, only two months after his arrival in Brisbane. As a result of his visit Jones was sent to Rockhampton.⁴⁴ Tufnell had promised a rather fiery meeting on 23 November 1860 that he would send a priest to Rockhampton immediately upon his return to Brisbane. He kept his promise.⁴⁵ The meeting in Rockhampton had been called to press for the appointment of a priest to the town. There had been some dispute about the ownership of the Church. The building had been jointly used by Presbyterians and Anglicans, and Tufnell had claimed it for the exclusive use of Anglicans as it stood on Anglican-owned land.

By the end of his initial ten years, Tufnell could review a spread of the Church in the Diocese of Brisbane which included parishes in more areas remote from the capital but which taxed his supply of clergy and money sorely. This was to be a

⁴⁴ Rayner, op. cit., p.178.

⁴⁵ R.H.H. Philp, *Cathedral Parish of St. Paul the Apostle*, Rockhampton, 1983, p.6.

constant and long enduring problem of the Church in Queensland. Many of the townships were fairly unstable and unable to support their own clergy. Tufnell tried to overcome this by the appointment of itinerant clergy in some places and Rayner mentions the placing of The Reverend W.H. Dunning in the Dawson Valley in the mid 1860s with some ten thousand square miles of parish to care for.⁴⁶ This area was serviced from Taroom. Looking in retrospect on his first ten years Tufnell would express some satisfaction but his Synod reminded him that the rate of progress was not satisfactory.⁴⁷ The ever present problems of insufficient men and financial strictures was enough to prevent any self congratulation.

In 1875 Tufnell's successor Mathew Blagden Hale was appointed to the See of Brisbane. Hale had been the first bishop of the Diocese of Perth (1856) and he had come to Australia with Augustus Short, the first Bishop of Adelaide, and was Archdeacon in Western Australia where that colony was part of the Diocese of Adelaide. The method of arriving at the final name for the second Bishop of Brisbane was not all sweetness and light, indeed there appears to have been more heat in the election Synod's proceedings than light. Archdeacon Glennie presided over the Synod and there was much inconclusive voting and at least one attempt to dissent from the president's ruling. The Synod eventually gave up the effort to elect and the selection of the bishop was delegated to the Bishops of Australia and Tasmania. Hale's episcopate is usually described as uneventful and his forte was pastoral work at the expense of administration.⁴⁸ He was also sixty-four years of age on his arrival in Brisbane. He was, however, the only Bishop of Brisbane until Sharp in 1921 who had not come directly from England. It was

⁴⁶ F. De Witt Batty, *The Diocese of Brisbane*, Brisbane, 1909, p.20.

⁴⁷ Brisbane Synod Proceedings, 1870, p.14.

⁴⁸ *ibid.*

during his episcopate that the Diocese of North Queensland was set up on the initiative of Bishop Barker of Sydney of which the new Diocese was an outpost. Barker's correspondence with Archbishop Tait of Canterbury concerning this is cited by Frappell *et al.*⁴⁹ Also the first real battle was joined in the long running war with the colonial and state governments concerning education and the provision of government funds to underwrite it, and its eventual secularisation, after the 1875 Act.

Hale's reputation for having an interest in missions to Aboriginal people in Western Australia and his intention was also voiced in Brisbane along with a stated priority of mission work among the Chinese and Melanesian labourers in the cane growing areas. This intention did not flower into reality during this time. He was, however, appointed Chairman of the Aboriginal Commission set up by the Queensland Government to advise on steps for the improvement of the condition of the Aborigines.⁵⁰ In the larger centres of population, imposing churches were built during Hale's tenure as Bishop of Brisbane. These were constructed of brick or stone and are still in use today. Saint Andrew's South Brisbane, Holy Trinity Fortitude Valley in Brisbane itself and Saint Paul's Maryborough and Saint Paul's Rockhampton in the outlying areas were all built in his time. The latter was to become the Cathedral of the Diocese of Rockhampton when it was founded in 1892.

The foundation of the Diocese of Rockhampton had been the subject of planning going back to the 1860s as mentioned earlier in this thesis. From 27 October to 1

⁴⁹ R. Frappell et al., *Anglicans in the Antipodes*, (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1999), pp.46, 61-2. Correspondence of Archbishop Tait Vol.178, ff.17-36 and 243, ff.146-76.

⁵⁰ K. Rayner, *Attitudes and Influences of the Churches in Queensland on Matters of Social and Political Importance*, (University of Queensland, B.A. Honours Thesis, 1958).

November 1887, a “Church of England Conference” was held in Rockhampton with the aim of keeping the scattered members of the Church more in touch with the workings of the Diocesan Synod held in Brisbane and to uphold the tradition of the Church past of which they were inheritors.⁵¹ The Conference was presided over by Bishop Webber and those in attendance were Archdeacon Dawes, the Reverend R.B. Wilson, the Reverend G. Heath from Brisbane and the Reverend G.M.L. Lester, the Reverend A.H. Julius and the Reverend D. Ruddock, acting incumbent of Saint Paul’s from the Central District, as well as

a number of the local adherents to the Church of England ... including many ladies⁵²

At this Conference Dawes read a paper on Church Extension, in which he advocated that the Church should take root in Rockhampton – Saint Paul’s Church had been completed in 1883 – and be

like one of those remarkable Banyan trees, the *Ficus Indica*, which from a single trunk sends out horizontal branches, each as it extends providing its own support in the soil, and yet all bound together in perfect unity⁵³

Bishop Webber’s opening presidential address had made it plain that Church extension meant the eventual establishment of a new Diocese following a motion of the Brisbane Synod to the effect that

⁵¹ Minutes of the Proceedings of the Church of England Conference, Rockhampton, 1887, A.A.

⁵² *ibid.*

⁵³ *ibid.*, p.3.

In view of the necessity for additional supervision of the Diocese, to which the Council have drawn attention, this Synod is of opinion that the division of the see should be effected.⁵⁴

Webber also threw down the gauntlet that local interest in a new diocese in the Central District meant local financial backing for a See Fund. He promised to follow this up, on a visit to England in the following year for the Lambeth Conference, when he would place the need for financial backing before “our older Societies” which he was sure would back the project when they saw for themselves that the people of Central Queensland were “really in earnest”.⁵⁵

Dawes exhorted his listeners that the Conference had been organised to

awaken, to stimulate, or to quicken missionary ardour, to claim for the cause of God, and for the Church of Christ, a generous share of that energy, enterprise and self devotion, which has been so conspicuously displayed in developing the natural resources of this country, and which is even now laying broad and deep foundations for the future greatness of this town, and of Central Queensland; and greatness and importance, which it is impossible to measure, and difficult to exaggerate

He went on to ask that the adherents of the Church of England in Central Queensland

who have inherited among the best traditions, and glories of the British race, a deep rooted affection for the Christianity and Church of your forefathers, we ask you to cherish, to perpetuate and to extend here, those Heaven taught truths, and that

⁵⁴ *ibid.*, p.2.

⁵⁵ *ibid.*

divinely founded kingdom, which has been in the old country the source of national greatness, and the secret of moral supremacy among the nations of the earth.⁵⁶



Nathaniel Dawes, First Bishop of Rockhampton

to Toowoomba, where he remained in his quarters, and was honorary rector of St. Mary's Church, Toowoomba, from 1892 – 1909.

Source. AA, Rockhampton.

⁵⁶ *ibid.*, p.3.

⁵⁷ Alexander Gordon's memorandum, 8 June 1886, Benson Papers, Vol.90, L217.

⁵⁸ W. Walsh, *The Secret History of the Oxford Movement*, (London: Swan, Sonnenschein, 1897), p.53.

⁵⁹ K. Rayner, *op. cit.*, p.232.

divinely founded kingdom, which has been in the old country the source of national greatness, and the secret of moral supremacy among the nations of the earth⁵⁶

It is not hard to discover the motive for expansion or missionary outreach. It is simply that to Anglicans of the late nineteenth century, the Church was a necessary ingredient for successful colonisation and the resulting spread of civilisation. The result of the Conference was that Dawes was consecrated as Coadjutor Bishop of Brisbane in St. Andrew's Cathedral Sydney in 1889. Dawes was the first Bishop consecrated in Australia and the first in the Australian colonies without the usual mandate for consecration from the Crown. This is now seen as the first tentative step towards independence for the Australian Church from the mother Church of England. Any pretence that the colonial bishoprics in Australia were somehow legally linked with the Church of England or the Crown was, by this action, extinguished.

The consecration was not without opposition.⁵⁷ Dawes' membership of the Anglo-Catholic societies, the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament⁵⁸ and the Society of the Holy Cross,⁵⁹ while working in London may well have been a major contribution to the opposition from some in the Diocese of Sydney to his consecration. Not just the absence of the usual mandate.

Following his consecration as Coadjutor Bishop of Brisbane Dawes was first sent to Toowoomba, where he made his headquarters, and was honorary rector of St.

⁵⁶ *ibid.*, p.3.

⁵⁷ Alexander Gordon's memorandum, 8 June 1889, Benson Papers, Vol.90, f.217.

⁵⁸ W. Walsh, *The Secret History of the Oxford Movement*, (London: Swan, Sonnenschein, 1897), p.53.

⁵⁹ K. Rayner, *op. cit.*, p.252.

James' parish in that city. He was assisted in this by a Vicar who attended to the usual parish pastoral and administrative work. Webber saw this as a prelude to the eventual sub-division of the Diocese. Rayner reports that Webber, at the consecration of Dawes, where he was the preacher, took the opportunity to appeal for funds for the new diocese of Rockhampton.⁶⁰

Webber's methods of selection and appointment of an Assistant Bishop were the first to be used in the Australian Church and they became the norm. There were no clear precedents. Assistant Bishops as a genus were almost unknown in England where suffragans were the usual appointments. These were nominated by the Crown and held office by virtue of royal mandate. Webber's method was to obtain approval of the Synod for the appointment after selection by himself. This method is still followed substantially in the Australian Church. The appointment of an assistant bishop is deemed to lapse with the resignation of the See by the diocesan bishop under whom the appointment was made. It was up to the incoming bishop to request the assistant to continue in that capacity. This is the usual procedure in Queensland, although the appointment of "cultural" or "ethnic" bishops as assistants in the Diocese of North Queensland in more recent times seems to have taken a different direction with the assistants surviving the change of diocesan.

Dawes' time in Toowoomba was terminated in 1890 when he was required to live in Rockhampton as part of his care of the northern part of the Diocese of Brisbane.

⁶⁰ Rayner, *op. cit.*, p.229.

He and his family lived at "Upperfold" and then at "Lis Escop",⁶¹ the present residence of the Bishop of Rockhampton.

Webber had raised £1,000 from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and a further £1,000 from the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and, by 1892, £10,000 had been raised toward the necessary endowment of the new See for Rockhampton. The diocese of Brisbane agreed in its Synod of 1892 to the division of the Diocese⁶² and the clergy of the new area and the laity met together to elect the first Bishop. It is not in any way surprising that Dawes, already resident in the town and superintending the Church's work in the area, was elected unanimously.⁶³ He was enthroned as first Bishop of Rockhampton on St. Andrew's Day (30 November) 1892 in St. Paul's Cathedral. This ceremony was conducted by Bishop Webber acting under the mandate of the Primate, Dr W. Saumarez Smith, Bishop of Sydney.⁶⁴

In this manner the Diocese of Rockhampton was launched and in the method of the election and consecration of its first bishop significant departures were made from the previous English and colonial procedures. However, to all outside appearances the fledgling Diocese was easily recognised as a part of English Anglicanism. Every clergyman and most of the leading laity were English by birth and cultural formation.

⁶¹ Notes on Nathaniel Dawes D.D., Oxley Memorial Library. Sent by Miss Agnes Dawes, daughter of the Bishop in 1937, p.1.

⁶² Rockhampton *Morning Bulletin*, 1 December 1892.

⁶³ Synod Reports, Diocese of Rockhampton, 1893.

⁶⁴ Copy of Deed of Consecration, Rockhampton, A.A.

The need to expand the Church's ministrations to English settlers who were inexorably moving north and west, as formulated by the first Bishop of Newcastle, had been accomplished. Anglicanism was now formally grounded and established in the geographical area of Central Queensland. The ever present twin spectres of shortages of manpower and finance were present in this establishment however, and the struggle to overcome both, was to preoccupy the fledgling Diocese for a long period of time well beyond the limit of this study.

Added to these twin spectres was the emerging fact in the new colony that church going was not a dominant part of its cultural pattern. This was true of the Central District and as attendance at Sunday services became difficult because of distance, it became a more easily neglected and abandoned part of earlier behaviour in England –

Notions of individual freedom had led many to make their own decisions about belief and behaviour.⁶⁵

As will be seen in later chapters not all migrants from England were enthusiastic about continuing their Church of England allegiance. The norms regarding religious behaviour in the colony were moving away from those of England and patterns of ministry were undergoing change in method of pastoral care as well as methods of recruiting clergy. These changes were forced by the realities of distance, widely scattered settlement and expressions of individual freedom. All of these aspects of the transplantation phase of the Church of England to

⁶⁵ H.R. Jackson, *Churches and People in Australia & New Zealand, 1860-1930*, (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1987), p.168 as quoted in T. Frame, *A Church for a Nation, A History of the Anglican Diocese of Canberra and Goulburn*, (Maryborough, Victoria: Hale and Honmonger, 2000), p.48.

Queensland were to be expressed in organisation and administration of the Church into the division of new dioceses. The imperative to follow settlement and to expand the pastoral presence involved new administrative units as will be examined in the next Chapter.

Chapter 3

A Third Diocese in Queensland

“for the inculcation and maintenance of sound doctrine and true religion”¹

The colonial Church in Australia had moved from being a chaplaincy to a penal settlement to a part of the missionary movement of the nineteenth century, where the Church followed closely on the heels of the territorial expansion of the Empire. The settling of the Australian colonies was also part of this territorial imperative. From the time of the formation of the Diocese of Newcastle there had been pressure to move further north, as mentioned in the previous chapter, and after the settlement of Moreton Bay and the founding of the Diocese of Brisbane this pressure continued. The desire to take the Church to the colonists in their settlements north and west of Moreton Bay resulted in regular religious services being conducted in the Port Curtis district, and in the upper Dawson River area. Both these geographical regions are now included in the Diocese of Rockhampton. They were the first to receive ministrations from Anglican clergy in what was later to become the new diocese.

This Chapter traces the way in which the northern movement of settlement led to the establishment of the new Diocese of Rockhampton in the area north of the Kolan River to the northern end of Broadsound and west beyond the Dividing Range to the Northern Territory border. It also canvasses more than mere geographical expansion in its examination of the colonial realities of the desire for separation of Queensland into three political entities and how this secular movement was reflected in the ecclesiastical moves for separate

¹ Constitution of the Synod of the Diocese of Rockhampton, Clause 2, 29 June 1893, *Synod Proceedings 1893*, p.1, Rockhampton, A.A.

administrations from that of Brisbane. The Church of England Conference held in Rockhampton in 1887 was a major development toward separation and the founding of the new diocese and this significant meeting and its ramifications are examined in this Chapter.

The material provided in the Report of the proceedings of that meeting,² along with material from Rayner's thesis,³ give evidence of the strong move, some of it emanating from Brisbane, toward separation, from the 1860s onward, and show how the laity were particularly partial to the notion of a separate diocese, even if they were not particularly forthcoming in their financial support for it. The movements north from Sydney and Newcastle to Moreton Bay and beyond, as examined in the previous chapter were the result of the missionary ethos of leaders, who could be said to come from the catholic end of the Anglican churchmanship⁴ spectrum. There was also a pastoral imperative involved. The expansion in to the northern and western areas of Queensland was undertaken by clergy who subscribed to the ethos of leaders such as Tyrrell of Newcastle and Tufnell. These clergy are exemplified in the Bush Brotherhood, which is examined more closely in Chapter 4.

By the time the Diocese of Rockhampton had become a reality, the Diocese of Brisbane had had three diocesan bishops, Tufnell 1859-1875, Hale 1875-1885 and Webber from 1885. Hale did not share the missionary expansionist ethos

² *Proceedings of the Church of England Conference, 1887*, Rockhampton, A.A..

³ K. Rayner, *The History of the Church of England in Queensland*, (University of Queensland, Ph.D. Thesis, 1962).

⁴ Churchmanship is a term employed to describe the underlying doctrinal understanding of the Church. A high doctrine of the Church equating with catholic understanding and commonly dubbed high Church was accepted by the Tractarians and Anglo-Catholic, whereas a low doctrine of the Church as accepted by Protestant Christians was adopted by the Evangelical Anglicans. This is a gross oversimplification but it is used to give a basic understanding.

of both Tufnell and Webber and Webber, in particular, was one of the key players in the organisation of the new diocese.

It took thirty years from the foundation of the Diocese of Brisbane in 1859 to the separation of the new central Queensland diocese. There were early hopes of the establishment of a northern diocese in the 1860s favouring Rockhampton as the See city (see discussion in previous Chapter). These eventuated in the founding of the Diocese of North Queensland centred on Townsville in 1878, leaving the Central Queensland division behind, still contained by Brisbane.

The concept of the third diocese in Queensland was not abandoned by the Church hierarchy, however, and especially by Bishop Webber. At this time the hierarchy were somewhat ahead of the realities of local support for such a separation. Separation itself was sought later. The incentive of independence from Brisbane was part of the popular mind of laity just as the separation movement in secular politics was at its height of popularity in the 1870s. Separation at a financial cost was, however, not so popular as adequate financial undergirding of the new diocese was not offered from local sources. Of the required twenty thousand pounds needed to endow the See only two thousand pounds was raised locally. The rhetoric and motivation were in plentiful supply for separation but the lack of finance and the shortage of suitable clergy were present from the beginning and this continued through the first fifty years of the new diocese's history, as outlined earlier in this thesis.

The northern boundary of the Diocese of Brisbane was set at the twenty-first parallel south, the original northern point of separation between the Diocese of

Sydney and the wilderness. As early as 1866 Governor Bowen was writing to England in terms of a dream of a northern diocese in Queensland beyond that boundary.⁵ This idea failed at that time, as discussed earlier in this thesis, because the authorities felt the far north to be too sparsely populated to support a diocese. By 1870, when Bishop Barker of Sydney was visiting England, a report reached Queensland that this idea of a northern diocese had become a reality and that Rockhampton was to be its See city.

When Hale announced his intention to resign the See of Brisbane in his seventieth year, 1880, he managed to convince the Synod of Brisbane to enact legislation allowing for an election Synod to be convened and to elect, before the Bishopric became physically vacant. In this he flew in the face of convention, usually at this time bishoprics became vacant by means of the death of the Bishop. He also convinced the Synod to delegate its power of election of a Bishop to the Archbishop of Canterbury rather than, as had been the case in his own election, to the Bishops of Australia and Tasmania.⁶ Rayner maintains that Hale allowed parishes and clergy to drift into a type of “formalised congregationalism” with government in reality situated in each congregation rather than from the central diocesan administration. Hale’s strength lay in pastoral work with individuals and not in leadership from the centre and administration.⁷ This meant that outlying centres such as those in Central Queensland were left to their own devices and the links with Brisbane, difficult to maintain at the best of times, became more tenuous. The arguments against

⁵ Bowen to Secretary of State for the Colonies, Dispatch No.70, 18 December 1866, as cited in Rayner, *op. cit.*, p.178.

⁶ Rayner, *op. cit.*, p.170.

⁷ *ibid.*, p.171.

separation were more difficult to maintain and the stage was set for formal separation a decade later.

Hale's successor was of quite different temperament and ability. W.W.T. Webber was elevated to the vacant See of Brisbane on the nomination of the Archbishop of Canterbury⁸ and was duly enthroned in 1885. Webber set about organising and taking a lively interest in administration. He was Bishop of Brisbane until his death in August 1903 and during his time the secular Central District became the territory of the Diocese of Rockhampton. The parishes of Clermont (1885) and Mount Morgan (1889) were added to the four already mentioned and the six became the founding parishes of the new diocese when it was set up. Webber imported men of excellent calibre to work as clergy in the Diocese of Brisbane. One of these, Nathaniel Dawes, was to become first Archdeacon of Brisbane, then Bishop Coadjutor with special oversight of the northern part of the Diocese of Brisbane in 1888 and then the first Bishop of Rockhampton.

As already referred to, one of the outcomes of Webber's energetic organisation was the direct oversight of the regional areas. The appointment of Dawes to the northern area was a tangible result as was the Church of England Conference, held in Rockhampton from 27 October to 1 November 1887.

As previously mentioned the election of Nathaniel Dawes was a step which was somewhat novel. Dawes' election was the first departure from the usual method of election of a bishop in the Australian colonies. There was no Royal mandate

⁸ See papers of Archbishop Benson, Vol.31, ff.98-164, in Frappell et al., *Anglicans in the Antipodes*, (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1999).

nor letters patent, simply an election by local synod and ratification by the other Bishops. He was born at Rye, Sussex, on 24 July 1843, one of a family of nine, the third son of Edwin Nathaniel Dawes, Town Clerk of Rye and Winchelsea. Apprenticed in engineering at Ashford he eventually went to Wednesbury and was engineer in charge of the building of Blackfriars Bridge in London. At Wednesbury he came under the influence of The Reverend Richard Twigg and others and "in the prime of his worldly prospects",⁹ he went to St. Alban's Hall, Oxford, to read for holy orders. He graduated with honours in divinity and was made deacon in 1871 and priest in 1872.

Dawes served his title at St. Peter's Vauxhall under The Reverend George Herbert until 1877. He took the appointment of Vicar of St. Mary, Charterhouse in 1877 and married Georgina Frances Codd in 1878. He remained at St. Mary Charterhouse, a slum parish, until 1886 when he was enlisted by Dr Thornhill Webber to work in the Diocese of Brisbane. On 20 May that year he, accompanied by his wife and two small daughters, left England on *S.S. Awara* for Australia via the Cape of Good Hope and Hobart. The fact that Dawes was content to remain in Charterhouse for eight years indicates a strength of resolve, which was to stand him and the new diocese in good stead when he was faced with the difficulties of the early foundation years of the Diocese of Rockhampton.

His first living was that of the parish of St. Andrew's, South Brisbane, and simultaneously, Archdeacon of Brisbane. On 1 May, the feast of S.S. Phillip and James, he was consecrated Bishop in St. Andrew's Cathedral, Sydney, the

⁹ Notes on Nathaniel Dawes D.D., Oxley Memorial Library, Brisbane, 1937, attributed to Miss Agnes M.G. Dawes, daughter of Bishop Dawes and A.D.B., Vol.8, p.243.

first Bishop of the Anglican Communion to be consecrated in Australia. He was Coadjutor to Webber in Brisbane and resided in Toowoomba where he was Rector of St. James's Parish with a Vicar to assist. Dawes was responsible for the country travelling and he had oversight of the northern area which included Rockhampton, Gladstone and the Upper Dawson Valley (Taroom).

Dawes could not be said to have come from the usual public school and Oxbridge background typical of the majority of clergy at the time. His Oxford qualifications were gained at a mature age comparatively and after training in what was considered a trade. His experience of life and working men marked him out as different in style from many of his contemporaries, especially on the bench of Bishops. His colonial consecration was also, at that time, unique. Much of the success of Dawes' organisation of the infant Diocese of Rockhampton can be attributed to his experience of having secular employment and of having to supervise working men from labourers to under engineers. He was not seen by the 'man in the street' of his Diocese as a typical product of the English upper middle class. For the same reason he was not an automatic choice for nomination to the vacant See of Brisbane on Webber's death in 1903.

H.H. Montgomery, formerly Bishop of Tasmania, and in 1904 secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel put Dawes' name to Archbishop Davidson but there is no evidence that the Synod of Brisbane had received a nomination.¹⁰

¹⁰ A.P. Kidd, *The Brisbane episcopate of St. Clair Donaldson 1904-1921*, (University of Queensland, Ph.D. Thesis, 1996), p.26.

On Dawes' return to England from Central Queensland in 1907, to attend the 1908 Lambeth Conference (from which he sent his resignation from the See of Rockhampton), where he addressed the workmen at Swindon. The lecture was attended by those employed at the Great Western Railway Locomotive Works. He wrote this lecture at the request of the Bishop of Chester. Dawes' own background was that of apprenticeship at the South Eastern Railway Works at Ashford and he claimed comradeship with his listeners on that ground.¹¹

Dawes, in this address, refers to the fact that he had never lost interest in engineering but was:

greatly attracted to Church mission work and wished to devote; my life to the ministerial work of Christ.¹²

He goes on to assert that :

The step then taken has never been the cause of a moment's regret while the experience gained in mixing with my fellow working men in manual labour, has been of untold advantage in my subsequent intercourse with all sorts of conditions of men both at Home and in Australia.

No one estimates more than I do the value of a University education or the importance of sound learning as part of a clergyman's outfit, but hardly less useful is a practical acquaintance with rough and tumble of a working man's life more

¹¹ N. Dawes, "Aspects of Australian Life: Political, Social and Religious", in *Recollections of Twenty-one years in Australia*, Lecture 1, A series of lectures given by Dawes in England in 1909, A.A.

¹² *ibid.*

especially as serving to put one in touch and sympathy with men as men, whatever their calling in life may be.¹³

These sentiments expressed by Dawes twenty-two years after his departure to work, against, his inclination,¹⁴ in the Diocese of Brisbane, give some insight into his difference in approach and background which had equipped him to survive as first Bishop of the economically challenged and drought stricken newest diocese in Queensland.

Dawes goes on, in this address, to laud the way in which the Commonwealth of Australia has “cut the painter” in terms of dependence on “the Home Country” for the maintenance of the institutions of society. He must have been quite advanced among churchmen at that time. It is interesting, however, that one of the few evaluations of his time as Bishop of Rockhampton, that of Rayner, is rather off hand and describes his episcopate thus: “with one significant exception, there was little that was novel about the Diocese of Rockhampton under its first Bishop.”¹⁵ The exception mentioned is the founding of the first Australian Bush Brotherhood, which was to prove so influential in the Australian Church, and which is examined in detail in Chapter 4. Dawes is also described, by Rayner, as hard-working, devoted, and an able administrator and, while trained in the practical school of Webber, deeply spiritual.¹⁶ Dawes’ own application of the practical aspects of providing Christian service and ministry was responsible for the eventual resolution of the serious setbacks due to drought, the collapse of some banks, financial shortages and shortages of

¹³ *ibid.*

¹⁴ *ibid.*

¹⁵ Rayner, *op. cit.*, p.252.

¹⁶ *ibid.*

priests which beset the Diocese in its first ten years. This was to further the process of Australianisation, as the element of 'battling through' and was quietly admired by the pioneering society of Central Queensland.

In his first Synod charge Dawes set out four principles of policy. These principles were expressed as adjectives applying to policy. He placed conservative first, followed by, and somewhat modified by, constructive, adaptive and aggressive. Conservative according to the apostolic injunction of holding fast to that which is good. Constructive, otherwise the inheritance conserved will be sterile and unproductive. Adaptive as in *non-nova sed nove* not new commands but after a new manner. Not innovation but adaptation, aggressive as having a spirited foreign policy, not for acquisition of power or territory but for expansion of Christ's kingdom.¹⁷ A sermon containing these principles of policy was preached at the opening of the first Synod. The preaching of such an address was "not without precedent but unusual"¹⁸ at that time. At the first business session immediately following the address there was a clash of opinion between the Bishop and Captain Hunter about the method of representation – Hunter walked out.¹⁹ Dawes' principles of having lay representation at Synod were put to the test, but he persevered.

Dawes was one who recognised the need for a practical approach, therefore, firm financial and administrative procedures along with a social policy for the

¹⁷ *Synod Reports 1893*, Presidential Address, Rockhampton, A.A.

¹⁸ *ibid.*

¹⁹ *Synod Reports 1893*, Diocese of Rockhampton, Rockhampton. Captain R.M. Hunter was a prominent citizen of Rockhampton; he had been mayor for four terms from 1866. He objected to the composition of Synod, giving equal representation to each parish rather than Rockhampton having a larger (proportional to population) representation.

Church, but he was also convinced of the absolute necessity for the growth of a genuine personal faith as at the heart of the Church's work.

We are not here to overlay the surface of society with a thin veneer of morality; to create a "stream of tendency, not ourselves, which makes for righteousness"; to daub with untempered mortar the walls of God's temple and call it religion. It is not our mission to register such religious opinions as may for the time being be approved by people generally, and by an ingenious sinuosity of teaching adapt and trim God's truth to popular sentiment, and thus submit a revised addition of Christ's Gospel to the fastidious requirements of the nineteenth century.... Our circle of good must have a centre, and that centre ourselves. We must prepare by personal religion and holiness for whatever we hope to effect for our age and generation.²⁰

Bishop Dawes guided the infant through its early years according to his principles laid down in the first Synod Charge. The difficulties were essentially those of other colonial dioceses at this time, especially Brisbane and North Queensland, namely distance, small population and especially lack of adequate financial undergirding and a shortage of experienced, adequately trained clergy.

After Dawes' return to England for the Lambeth Conference of Bishops in 1908 and his subsequent resignation of the See of Rockhampton, he lived in retirement at No. 1 St. Barnabas Hostel, Newland Malvern. He died there on 12 September 1910, and was buried in Newland Churchyard three days later.

²⁰ *Synod Reports 1893*, Diocese of Rockhampton, Rockhampton, A.A.

Dawes was suffering from neuritis, which developed into meningitis. This severe illness necessitated his immediate retirement.²¹ During this short time of retirement he was to leave some comments about his time in Australia, from which we may gain some notion of his reaction to colonial and early commonwealth times. The surviving text of his first lecture, already mentioned as being given to workers in the railway yards at Swindon, canvasses such matters as Australia as a whole, the Paradise of the Working Man the Ethics of Colonisation and Aboriginal occupancy, Climate, Drought, Artesian water, Social Welfare, Attitudes toward England (The Old Country) and Defence.

Each of these may be taken in turn to give a reasonably comprehensive view of Dawes' estimation of the colony/state and in evaluation of the institution of the Church.

Dawes makes the remark that Australia, which having a population "not greater than that of London" "is governed by one Governor General, six Governors of States, seven different Parliaments and six hundred and sixty seven legislators," "to say nothing of innumerable forms of local government". He goes on to make the observation that:

you may think that the people need a lot of keeping in order, but it is not so. It is emphatically a free country and yet law abiding. The vast and complicated machinery of self government is much prized by men of democratic tastes and has the advantage of giving them something to do and think about, so keeping them out of mischief.

²¹ Davidson Papers, Vol.141, ff.394-412, cited in Frappell et al., op. cit. pp.194-5.

Verily the people of Australia have come into a magnificent heritage; not only is their land vast in extent, but it is possessed of boundless natural wealth. From the Tropical North with its lavish gifts and wonders of nature in its most luxuriant mood, and thence two thousand miles to the South, there is every variety of soil, climate, and physical characteristic. Probably in pastoral, agricultural and mineral resource it is the richest nation in the world.²²

At this point he inserts a sober thought which twenty-first century readers do not find unusual but which his contemporaries, especially in Queensland, where armed conflict with Aboriginal people was only one decade past,²³ may have found disturbing.

I say there is a magnificent heritage, and possibly some acute critic may say from whom do we inherit these vast possessions or what right had we to dispossess the aboriginal natives of their birthright? It must be admitted that our early dealings with the natives was attended by much unnecessary violence and cruelty, and the commercial policy of grab involved much injustice and bloodshed.²⁴

He then reveals himself to be a thorough social-Darwinian man of his times –

But to my mind the ethical principle of colonisation in such a case as Australia may be found in one of the laws of nature which makes for survival of the fittest.

Dawes' comments in England about the Aboriginal birthright is in sharp contrast with his comparative silence on the subject when Bishop of Rockhampton. There is virtually no comment on the matter in any of his Synod addresses or recorded sermons. This serves to illustrate the gradual and somewhat erratic

²² N. Dawes, *Aspects of Australian Life*, op. cit.

²³ C.D. Rowley, *The Destruction of Aboriginal Society*, (Melbourne: Pelican, 1978), p.176.

²⁴ Dawes, op. cit.

progress of the assimilation of new mentalities and attitudes mentioned in the Introduction to this thesis, in so far as Dawes in England feels able to give voice to opinions which he was not able to give voice to in Queensland and this opinion on Aboriginal rights would have been socially unacceptable in his time in Central Queensland.

Another comment, which strikes a contemporary chord, concerns his observations of the attitude of Australians toward the “Old Country” –

The attitude of the people of Australia towards the “old Country” as they call it, is almost entirely friendly, and in spite of unworthy sneering at the Royal Family by a portion of the Press such as the *Sydney Bulletin*, the vast majority are conspicuously loyal, and not the less so that there is unquestionably the growth of an Australian National Spirit, self reliant and self respectful.

I have frequently when living in London, noticed some malcontents who declined to stand or raise their hats when “God save the King” was sung, but during the 21 years in which I have attended a great many public meetings in Australia such an act of disloyalty never occurred.

Among the few impossible and erratic people you may sometimes come across the threat of “cutting the painter,” but as a rule, Australians regard the “old Country” with pride and affection and unless provoked by lack of consideration and tact on the part of the British Authorities, which is now hardly likely, a desire for separation is quite remote. It must be borne in mind that Australia as a Commonwealth is no longer a Colony or group of Colonies, but has reached the dignity of Nationhood, able and determined to manage her own affairs. True she remains “a daughter in her mother’s house” but is a “mistress in her own.” Alliance not dependence is her

relation to the land of her fathers, and her loyalty to the Empire will be fast and true as long as her own rights and liberties are duly recognised.²⁵

Dawes reveals an admiration for the independent (but loyal) spirit he experienced in Australia. The assimilation process, in his case, had progressed beyond mere transplantation.

Before his return to England, Dawes had to deal, throughout his episcopate, with those perennial plagues of colonial bishops, shortage of finance and men. These do not make any appearance in his English lecture to working men and they appear to have faded into the distance. In the seventeen years he presided over the fortunes of the diocese they were constant subjects of discussion at the annual sessions of the Synod. An ever present source of worry was the inability to meet the agreed stipend for the Bishop.

In 1893, at the first Synod, it was reported:

The financial difficulties naturally incidental to a Diocese so recently constituted as our own, have been aggravated by the partial paralysis of the commercial activities of the Colony generally, by the recent disasters caused by drought, flood and Bank failures. The A.J.S. Bank, in which the Diocesan Account was kept, having shared the fate of many others, the Council were compelled to make other arrangements.

Pending the formation of the Diocesan Synod the See Endowment capital has been under the control of the Trustees in Brisbane, from whom the Council through the Bishop have from time to time received interest in aid of the Bishopric Sustentation Fund. The amount realised from this source has, however, not been

²⁵ *ibid.*

sufficient to meet the amount guaranteed by the Bishopric Committee, and appeals for assistance have been made by the Council which have resulted in a sum of £96 being received for this purpose.²⁶

This theme recurs every year until in 1907, his last Synod, he reports:

Next in importance to this object towards which contributions are urgently invited is the completion of the See Endowment. For this we still need £638 before we can claim a final instalment of £100 from SPCK and £1721 before completing the Endowment of £15000. For the Mission work of the Diocese we all want further help.²⁷

Obviously the high optimism and hopes of the 1887 Conference in regard to finance being forthcoming were not realised. The Diocese and its Bishop were to live in subsistence mode for at least the next thirty years after Dawes' departure. The same sorry tale is to be told in respect to the supply of clergy. Never a Synod goes past without the recounting of more stories of shattered health which seems to have a universal cause – climate – and a universal remedy – return to England or at least New Zealand. At the 1893 Synod Dawes was of the opinion that more suitable clergy were needed as well as church buildings –

My recent visitation through the Western District has only served to deepen the conviction in my mind of the urgent need of at once planting more clergy and churches in those parts of the Diocese; but they must be clergy of the right sort, and churches of not too costly a type. So soon as we have somewhat recovered

²⁶ *Synod Reports 1893*, Diocese of Rockhampton, Rockhampton, A.A.

²⁷ *Synod Reports 1907*, Diocese of Rockhampton, Rockhampton, A.A.

from existing financial calamities, I am sanguine of being able to cope with this crying want.²⁸

In the same breath he records the fact that The Revd R.T. Gardner, a short-term mission priest, is leaving the colony because “the heat of summer has taxed his powers to the utmost.”

In 1895, The Revd R.A Morgan had left “chiefly on the score of health.” In 1897, Archdeacon Lester left for England “he was compelled to hurry away under medical order.” In 1899, “The Revd H. Edwards is no longer upon our staff.” and in 1901, “The Revd A. Perry was obliged by reason of a breakdown in health to apply for extended leave of absence...”²⁹

In 1908, Dawes’ own resignation was announced to the Synod. Apparently the medical practitioners of the time took refuge in one diagnosis or the Bishop had only one explanation for these departures. Nowadays the diagnosis of stress may well have been made and it is not difficult to make a case for stress on at least two levels, the shortage of money and the cultural isolation of the expatriate English clergy.

Dawes’ comment to the Synod of 1906, in regard to the clergy, is worthy of note.

In this Diocese we have hitherto led a precarious existence by importing clergy from home, and while those who have come out here have, with very few exceptions, been men of sterling capacity to whom we owe much gratitude, yet

²⁸ *Synod Reports 1893*, Diocese of Rockhampton, Rockhampton, A.A.

²⁹ Others who left for the same “medical” reasons over the next few years were J.J. Abe and Canon Parker from the Cathedral, C. Curtis, P.G. Howes, G.A. Munt, J. Grindrod, R.S. Lovell, J.B. Brocklehurst and H.E. West.

unquestionably the system is defective, and justifiable only in the early days of missionary work.³⁰

Dawes' general disappointment with the establishment of the Diocese as a thriving part of the Vineyard is expressed in his remarks in his Synod Address of 1905.

I am conscious that we are labouring under many disadvantages and limitations. The history of the last twelve and a half years since the diocese was founded contains "The short and simple annals of the poor." Poverty of financial resources and scarcity of clergy, the claims so urgent and the means so small, this has been our portion from our youth up.³¹

The Diocese was still struggling to provide adequate financial backing and it was not until the 1980s that some measure of financial stability was gained for the Diocese from internal rather than external sources, while the parishes continue to make rough weather of the financial foundations with similar drought conditions as experienced in the 1890s. The search for the way to provide suitable clergy for the area continues with a solution no nearer, apparently, than it was in Dawes' time. The chief difference at the present time is that the supply of clergy tends to come from southern Australia rather than England. The supply of "home grown" or "local Queensland" clergy is very sparse.

At the time of Dawes' departure from the Diocese in 1908 there were no clergy serving in the Diocese who were native Queenslanders. In 2002 the number of

³⁰ *Synod Reports 1906*, Diocese of Rockhampton, Rockhampton, A.A.

³¹ *ibid.*

Queenslanders on the active list is five out of the fifteen stipended clergy.³² Australian born clergy number thirteen of the fifteen.

The boundaries of the Diocese, as defined when the Diocese of Brisbane was divided, were intended to conform with the administrative division of Central Queensland as set out in the *Real Property Act of 1887*. This boundary was followed between Brisbane and the new Rockhampton diocese. This boundary is not a straight line but follows natural geographical features, especially mountain ranges. The northern boundary did not quite conform to the administrative division. A small strip of land south of Mackay belonging to the central administrative division fell within the Diocese of North Queensland. The North Queensland Synod in 1894 declined to accede to a Rockhampton request to cede this strip to Rockhampton. At the time of the foundation of the Diocese of Rockhampton there were about 50,000 people living within its boundaries, an area of 57,000,000 hectares according to the census of 1891. It comprised, geographically, the Central Division as set out under the *Real Property Act 1887* of Queensland.

The proposal to divide the Diocese of Brisbane, so that it would become a manageable pastoral entity, was first mooted in the Opening Address of the Bishop of Brisbane to Synod in July 1887, before the Church of England Conference held in Rockhampton in late October and early November in that same year.³³ The Report of the Diocesan Council of the Diocese of Brisbane, presented at the same Synod, also called for division of the Central District into a separate diocese. On the motion of Mr L.A. Bernays, the Synod unanimously

³² Diocese of Rockhampton, *Year Book 2001-2002*, Rockhampton, 2002, pp.15-21.

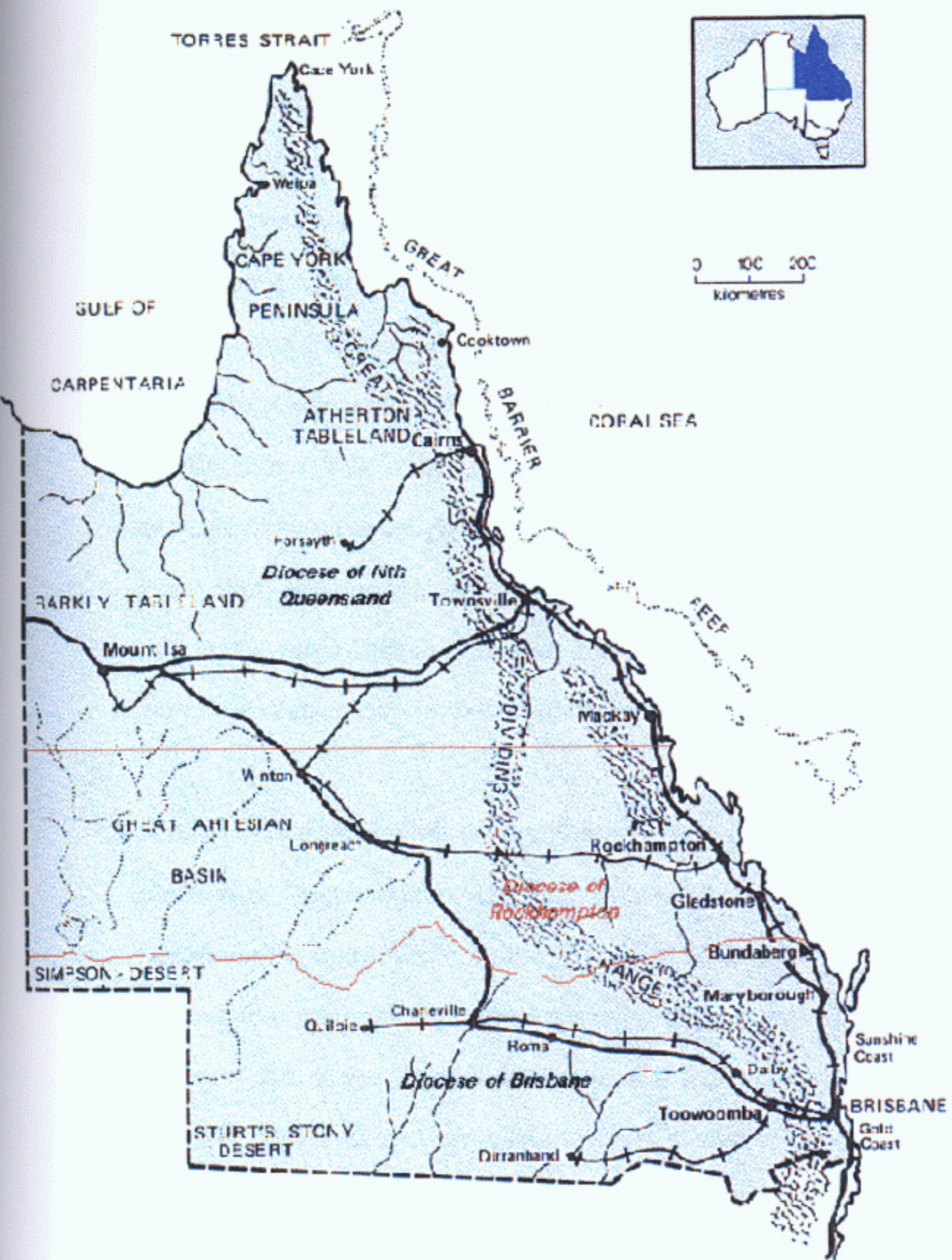
³³ *Synod Proceedings 1887*, Diocese of Brisbane, p.10, Diocesan Archives, Brisbane.

came to the conclusion that the Diocese of Brisbane should be divided. This was supported, particularly by the laymen of the Central District, at the previously mentioned Conference later in that year.

The Diocese of Brisbane, formed in 1859, from which the diocese was taken, comprised practically all the area of the Central and Southern Divisions of the Colony and thus contained about 107,000,000 hectares, an area seven times the area of England and Wales and greater by many thousands of hectares than the eight adjacent Dioceses of New South Wales and Victoria combined. Division was urgently needed not only because of the vast area involved but also because of a growing population. There was also, at this time, considerable pressure in the secular sphere for the division of the Colony of Queensland into three separate entities of North Queensland, Central Queensland and the south based on Brisbane. A Separation League had been formed in Townsville in 1882³⁴ and separationist sympathies were rife in Rockhampton from at least 1861.³⁵ The division of the Colony into three dioceses was, in some way, seen as the ecclesiastical equivalent of the political separation and therefore influenced by local pressure. The political separation never occurred. The creation of the third diocese also fulfilled the minimum requirement for an ecclesiastical province, presided over by a Metropolitan bishop with the title of Archbishop. It was Webber's successor Donaldson who was so styled in 1905.

³⁴ G.C. Bolton, *A Thousand Miles Away, A History of North Queensland to 1920*, Jacaranda Press, Brisbane, 1962, p.143.

³⁵ L. McDonald, *Rockhampton, A History of City and District*, (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1981), p.539.



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Rayner, in a set of historical notes regarding the structure of the dioceses and province of Queensland,³⁶ has given the following reasons for the setting up of the Diocese of Rockhampton. He maintained that Bishop Webber felt the need for more effective spiritual oversight for this part of his diocese, which could not readily be covered from Brisbane. As the first Bishop of Rockhampton had already been Coadjutor Bishop of Brisbane, and was not immediately replaced, the total episcopal oversight in the area of the two dioceses was not increased, but Webber felt it to be an advantage for a bishop with full jurisdiction to exercise pastoral oversight in the north. A personal factor was that Webber was a city man, and was not keen on the country work. Another factor for Webber was that it was necessary to have another Diocese in Queensland in order to form an ecclesiastical Province over which he would preside as Archbishop.

These notes from Rayner were gathered in turn from the Synod Reports of the Diocese of Rockhampton, and the minutes of the Conference, which met in Rockhampton in 1887. From the speech of Dr Webber to the Conference it is obvious that the need for more Anglican presence in the Central Division – the northern part of the Diocese of Brisbane – was his concern and, when faced with the choice of two remedies for that dilemma, he chose division of the diocese rather than the appointment of a suffragan bishop for the Central District. It may be that the division of the diocese presented a more attractive option in view of the judgement that Webber was not at heart a country person.

The decision to divide had to be supported at the local level and was by speeches at the Conference by laymen from the Central District, but these

³⁶ K. Rayner, Historical Notes on the Structure of the Dioceses and Province of Queensland, Diocesan Archives, Rockhampton.

locals also sounded the warning that sufficient funds to endow the proposed diocese were unlikely to be forthcoming from local sources and that the Church of England would be the most likely for funds. Two such protagonists for the division of the Diocese were Mr A.F. Wood and Mr G.B. Shaw, both of whom read papers dealing with the argument for division. Mr Shaw's idea was to have an endowment of fifteen thousand pounds, which he said would give an assured income of one thousand pounds per annum. Shaw's proposal concerning the amount needed as endowment was adopted but, after consultation with Dr Alfred Barry, the Bishop of Sydney and Primate, the figure was lowered to ten thousand pounds, which was deemed sufficient to found the new Bishopric.³⁷ Webber was also promised help towards raising the remaining five thousand pounds.

The minimum endowment capital for the formation of a new diocese was thus by dint of reality fixed at ten thousand pounds and the Bishop of Brisbane (Webber), on a visit to England in 1888, was able to successfully urge the Bible Societies to contribute the first three thousand pounds toward that amount. This was an encouragement toward realising the needed amount.³⁸ The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge and the Colonial Bishoprics Council each gave one thousand pounds.³⁹ The remaining seven thousand pounds was collected by Webber in England and Australia.

³⁷ *Synod Reports 1893*, Diocese of Rockhampton, Rockhampton.

³⁸ Report of the new Bishopric of Rockhampton 1893, author unknown, Rockhampton, A.A.

³⁹ *ibid.*

At the time of the creation of the new Bishopric, the financial arrangements in place were not entirely satisfactory but they were judged to be adequate – only just! A report given early in 1892 gives the position. At least six thousand pounds more was needed.⁴⁰ This meant that effectively the Diocese was beginning with insufficient capital to be able to mount an effective mission in such a vast sparsely populated geographical area. There would not be sufficient capital to generate an income to endow the Bishopric and thus the episcopal infrastructure would always be a drain on the monies donated by parishioners. This was, of course, the complete opposite of the English situation where Bishoprics and many clerical positions were heavily endowed.

The securing of adequate financial backing for the new Bishopric was not easy, especially in the economic climate of bank closure and drought conditions setting in. The 1890s saw the worst drought in memory. This resulted in the difficulty of setting up new parochial units. An example of this is a report of Dawes on the newly initiated mission district of North Rockhampton, to the effect that:

The Revd W.A. Diggins has been temporarily assisting to carry on the work in the mission district of North Rockhampton, but I grieve to add that arriving at a time when financial matters were at their very worst, he has not met with such prospects of support as would warrant his giving up an important position in New Zealand, and accepting permanent charge of the mission.⁴¹

The Reverend Mr Diggins, like many who came after, was off to New Zealand.

⁴⁰ See Appendix I

⁴¹ *Synod Reports 1893*, Presidential Address, Diocese of Rockhampton, Rockhampton, A.A.

The twin spectres of shortage of clergy and finance, which were not experienced in the English situation, made complete transplantation of the English social institution impossible and adaptation to Australian conditions, both geographical and social, became imperative if the institution was to survive and flourish. The next Chapter canvasses how that was achieved, at least so far as the shortages of clergy and money issues were concerned.

The transplantation of the institution from England to Australia has been examined, on a wider scale, by Ruth Frappell, particularly as it related to country areas.⁴² She details how four new dioceses came into existence in the twenty years between 1870 and 1890, all of them in remote country areas. In the next fourteen years another ten dioceses were inaugurated, Rockhampton being one of them. Frappell maintains that this haste to raise complete new diocesan structures rather than to invest in assistant or suffragan bishoprics and archdeaconries was due, in some measure, to the reluctance of the sponsoring bodies in England to endow anything less than a 'new territorial see'.⁴³

Thus the new See of Rockhampton was planted and all the ancillary workings of the English institution were set up within it. There were only six parishes but there was an Archdeacon (G.M.L. Lester of Mitchell), a Chancellor (Mr J.C. Tyler) and there was actually a Registry (albeit somewhat premature in 1889) with a full-time Registrar (D.D. Dawson) at the time of the first Synod in 1893.⁴⁴

⁴² R. Frappell, *The Anglican Ministry to the unsettled districts of Australia 1880-1940*, (University of Sydney, Ph.D. Thesis, 1992), pp.123-126.

⁴³ G.W. Kennion, Bishop of Adelaide, reporting to his Synod of having asked S.P.C.K. for \$2000 in 1893 and receiving this answer, cited in Frappell op. cit., p.125.

⁴⁴ Rockhampton, *Diocesan Year Book 1893*.

Another spur to the setting up of complete Dioceses was the growth and expansion of the Roman Catholic Church in the country areas. In Queensland a Diocese of Rockhampton was erected in 1882 while a Vicariate, centred on Cooktown, had been decreed by Papal authority for North Queensland in 1877. One exception to the importation into the new Diocese of English diocesan administration was that no Cathedral Chapter was enacted and this remained the case until 2000. Wholesale transplantation of the institution was undertaken but the nourishment necessary for the transplant to grow was very inadequate.

Dawes could, without being accused of hyperbole, describe how no Australian diocese had been founded under more 'indigent' circumstances than had that of Rockhampton.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ *Synod Proceedings*, (Rockhampton, 1896), p.8.

Chapter 4

The Brotherhood Movement

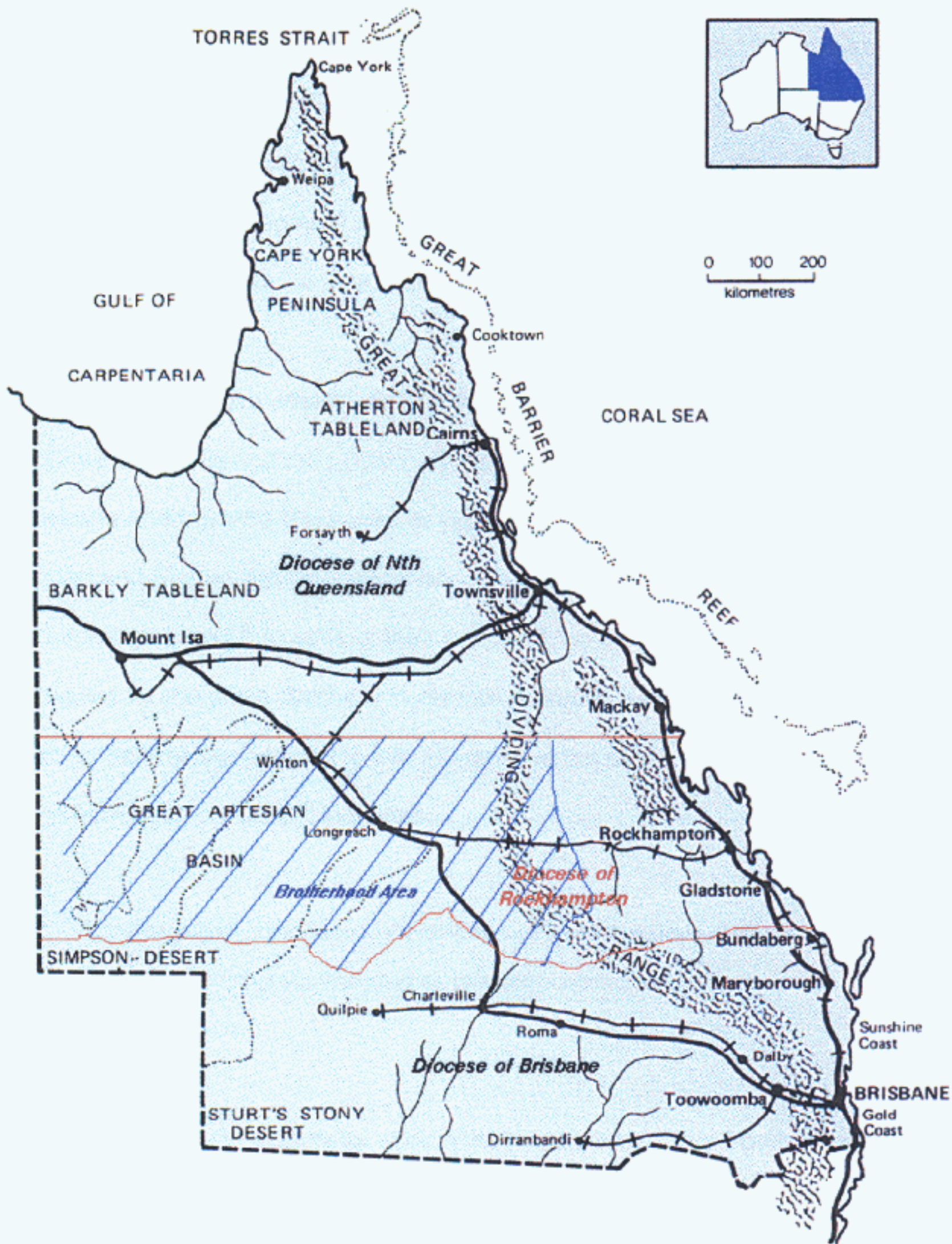
“nothing but the silly scampering sheep and the staring kangaroo”¹

This Chapter traces the way in which a new approach to the problem of finding suitable clergy and supporting them in mission not only solved the immediate difficulty for Bishop Dawes but how it eventually provided a pattern of priestly ministry in remote areas and within the framework of Anglo-Catholicism for country Australia. Bishop Dawes' constant anxiety about the ability of clergy to function effectively in the remote areas of the Diocese and the constant pressure on him to replace those who had left as a result of physical and emotional stress, led to an outcome which was to leave an indelible mark on the nature of Australian Anglicanism for the next ninety years or more. A combination of need to fill vacant parishes and the idealism of the missionary enthusiasm of the nineteenth century English Church produced what is now known as the Bush Brotherhood movement. While the Brotherhoods owed much of their structure and ethos to earlier manifestations of this general mood within the Church of England their specific application to Australian circumstances had its genesis in Central Queensland in the Diocese of Rockhampton at Longreach in 1897.²

An examination of the transplantation of English middle class clergy to the harsh realities of the Central Queensland bush demonstrates the difficulties of adaptation for them and how quasi-monastic vows, living in community and ideals of service

¹ G.D. Halford, letter in *Australian Bush Leaves*, No.4, March 1898, the Bishop of Rockhampton's Auxiliary in England, Church House Westminster, p.73.

² For a list of members of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew, see Appendix 4.



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and sacrifice were to overcome, to some extent, the trials of cultural isolation and the dramatic change in physical environment. This strategy was successful for the five-year term served by most members of the Brotherhood but it was not a strategy embraced by native-born clergy. It was also to gain popularity in other country dioceses in Australia and an enduring myth of the “Brother” sits alongside that of the “jolly swagman” in north Australian bush lore. Both images are somewhat exaggerated and unreal, as befits mythological concepts.

The Brotherhood Movement was to profoundly effect country Anglicanism in each colony in Australia and the pattern set in Longreach was followed from Bunbury to Brisbane and from the Kimberley to Adelaide. Of the metropolitan dioceses only Hobart and Sydney have not experienced a direct influence of the Brotherhoods at the episcopal level.³ In spite of their profound “new chum” status, the role model provided by the Bush Brothers in remote Australia influenced young Australian men in Central Queensland to join the ranks of the clergy but not the ranks of the Brotherhoods. As Carey⁴ indicates:

By the beginning of the Second World War, only a few Protestant clergy, such as the bush brotherhoods and military padres, provided unequivocally masculine role models for religious men.

The vast majority of recruits for work in the remote area of the Central Queensland Brotherhood area came from England.

³ See Appendix 5 for a list of Australian dioceses with former Bush Brother bishops.

⁴ H.M. Carey, *Believing in Australia, A Cultural History of Religions*, (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1996), p.117.

In the original membership of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew. Of the four, George Halford, Alexander Perry, Thoms Chapman and Walter Scott, only Perry was not English by birth and education, and he was a Scot. It was not until 1938 that the Brotherhood of St. Andrew had an Australian born member in Alfred (Cecil) Smith who was a native of Sydney, although Walter Park in 1912, while born in Norwich, had been educated in Cressy Tasmania. Of the six Wardens between 1897 and 1942, only one, Edgar Allan Wight 1938-1942, was Australian born and educated, although ordained in England.⁵ Twenty-four priests were members of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew until its dissolution in 1948. Of these, sixteen were born, educated and ordained in the United Kingdom.⁶

The Church of England in the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth century was concerned with the expansion of the Church alongside its colonial conquests. It began with the need to have the Church present in the North American colonies and the High Church flavour of official Anglicanism, under the rule of the Stuarts, resulted in the establishment of two societies under Royal Charter for missionary work. They were the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and The Society for Propagation of the Gospel, both founded in the early eighteenth century. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (S.P.C.K.) was established by Thomas Bray, a commissary of the Bishop of London, under whose jurisdiction the American colonies came. Bray was serving in Maryland. His aim was to establish a vehicle for the publication of Christian (Anglican) literature and its distribution in the colonies and, with the establishment of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (S.P.G.), to recruit and supply clergy for what was described in the Charter

⁵ Rockhampton Diocesan Year Books 1898-1942 and R.M. Frappell, *The Anglican Ministry to the unsettled districts of Australia 1890-1940*, (University of Sydney, Ph.D. Thesis, 1992), pp.438-446.

⁶ See also Appendix 4 Membership of Brotherhood of St. Andrew.

as "far flung regions".⁷ The two venerable societies, both of which still exist and function as their charters demand, were designed to be vehicles for edification and conversion of the subjects of Empire. At the time this meant the Red Indian inhabitants of North America and the "benighted" millions of the Indian subcontinent.

These societies for missionary expansion were very firmly based in the idea of transplanting and nurturing the Church (of England) in places of British influence. At a later date both were to play a significant part in the planting of the Church in Australia and in Central Queensland. They were in no way agencies of anything more or less than the Established Church of England and their theology of mission was based on the Church not on the individual. Individuals were, of course, to be converted to the Christian way but that way was to be lived via the Church. This also, for Anglicans, involved, as a *sine qua non*, rule by Bishops (episcopacy), the Book of Common Prayer and the order and regulation which that implied. Mission, based more on individual conversion, was to follow later in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The influence of the English Evangelicals became more pressing with the passing of the Stuart dynasty and the advent of the Hanoverians. The political fortunes of the old High Church Tory group gave way to those of the evangelical Whigs and Liberals, and the evangelical emphasis on personal (individual) conversion was now given a prominence which it had not enjoyed before. The outcome of this change in direction was that the two original missionary societies were now joined

⁷ S. Sykes and J. Booty, *The Study of Anglicanism*, (London: S.P.C.K., 1988), p.22, from the Charters of both Societies.

by a rash of societies designed to undergird the new emphasis and to work in co-operation with other groups with similar aims from the previously shunned area of Dissent. These groups took the form of voluntary associations with the aim of evangelistic outreach outside England. The Church Missionary Society, founded in 1795,⁸ The British and Foreign Bible Society in 1809, and The London Missionary Society were all founded as voluntary associations.⁹

These voluntary associations gathered much support from the emerging middle class and, as the influence of the evangelicals grew, so did respectability by association with those in power. It was under the aegis of the London Missionary Society that Livingstone's efforts in Africa took place and it was the London Missionary Society which followed the voyages of Cook into the South Seas. It was on the heels of such enthusiasm for overseas mission that the Church Missionary Society underwrote the mission to New Zealand mounted by Samuel Marsden. Marsden was, as an evangelical, keen to seek help from the Church Missionary Society and to encourage the London Missionary Society to work in the South Seas. The link with the Anglican Church's early efforts in New South Wales with these voluntary associations was through Marsden.¹⁰

The Brotherhoods shared with these voluntary associations the freedom from regulation by the Established Church and the disadvantage of having no funds directly from official sources, but their aims and objects were more in tune with those of the older societies. They were founded to bring the gospel to the colonists and to plant the Church and nurture it in the antipodean wilderness.

⁸ D.L. Edwards, *Christian England Vol.3*, (London: Collins, 1984), p.82.

⁹ *ibid.*

¹⁰ R. Border, *Church and State in Australia*, (London: S.P.C.K., 1962), pp.37-39.

Their sympathies, and their theological background, was in tune with the High Church doctrine of mission as demonstrated by the Societies founded under the official patronage of the Church and the Crown.

Bishop Dawes' attempts to solve the persistent problems of lack of finance and of a supply of clergy for the newly created Diocese followed various earlier efforts to do so when Central Queensland was part of the Diocese of Brisbane; these attempts had not been successful, Bishop Tufnell's attempt to follow the gospel example of sending men out in pairs had foundered on the rock of the dual lack of money and men.¹¹ Itinerant chaplains were then tried and the Port Curtis district received a visit from one such in 1856¹². Other itinerant clergy were F.J. Grosvenor in Tufnell's time and Frederick Richmond in the time of Bishop Hale. Generally the same malady of isolation and exhaustion from constant travel caused the experiment to fail. In order to attempt to overcome the basic problem of cultural isolation, married clergy were sent. This served to increase the pressure on clergy as the need to care for and educate growing families, where the "normal" facilities for this exercise were absent, made for two isolated and stressed people instead of one. The fragile nature of the stipend structure also added to the strain for a married man and his family. It meant that the stay of clergy in their parishes was extremely short.

The exercise of having to raise one's own stipend was a new experience for most clergy who had come from the English background of having secure stipends paid by the Church Commissioners. There were no such guarantees in the colonies.

¹¹ K. Rayner, *The History of the Church of England in Queensland*, (University of Queensland, Ph.D. Thesis, 1962).

¹² *ibid.*, p.62.

The security of income and the tenure for life of parishes was seen in England to be a guarantee of freedom from oppression from the laity with vested interests, and of "free speech" from the pulpit. The necessity for popular appeal was uppermost in the experience of the colonial clergy. Against the background of a clerical culture in England where lifetime tenure of an ecclesiastical living was still the accepted norm and incumbencies of thirty years or more were not remarkable, one can gauge the effects of this stress by referring to one parish in North Queensland, Herberton. Herberton is not excessively isolated nor is the climate as trying as it is in the western areas of Queensland but, nevertheless, in 1902 when The Reverend Aneurin Vaughan Williams was appointed he was the thirteenth incumbent of the parish in fourteen years.¹³ This state of affairs was mirrored in many other remote parishes in Central Queensland during the early years of the Diocese of Rockhampton. The difficulty of getting clergy to come to Central Queensland in the first place was followed by the difficulty of getting them to stay for any significant time after their arrival as evidenced by the epidemic of breakdowns in health mentioned earlier. Transplantation was not always followed by successful adaptation on the part of the clergy.

The average length of stay in the first ten years (1892-1902) of the Diocese was 3.2 years and for the next forty years to 1942, 3.5 years.¹⁴ The figures indicate that the average length of stay by clergy had not improved in the intervening forty years between 1902 and 1942. The difference in the direction of a longer stay is focused around the major centres of population. The exception is that of Aramac, where the Brotherhood Headquarters had been situated from 1915 to 1919.

¹³ *ibid.*, p.353.

¹⁴ See Table 2, p.115.

Lengthy incumbencies have not been a feature of the country dioceses of Queensland and the figures for Rockhampton indicate that that Diocese was no exception to the rule. The evolution toward Australian born clergy in the parishes between 1902, when there was only one Australian born cleric in a parochial position, and 1942, when there were twenty-seven Australian born of the forty-one clergy holding licences, has made no material difference to the length of stay in parishes. This indicates that length of stay and stability of clergy numbers was not improved by having Australian born clergy in the parishes.¹⁵

Bishop Dawes was aware of the missionary endeavours of the Church in India and Africa as well as that in Korea. These missionary movements had their origin in the Anglo-Catholic wing of the Church of England and they were movements which approached missionary work as a community effort. This called for commitment to religious, or at least quasi-religious, life style in the monastic sense. The mission to Central Africa from the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford was based on missionaries being part of a brotherhood. The Cambridge Mission to Delhi (1877) was formally entitled The Cambridge Brotherhood of the Ascension and the Oxford Mission to Calcutta was composed of a brotherhood and sisterhood, the Oxford Mission Brotherhood of the Epiphany (1880) and the Oxford Mission Sisterhood of the Epiphany (1902).

Of more interest perhaps is the Society of the Sacred Mission's Brotherhood in Korea. This mission by the Society of the Sacred Mission known as the Kelham Fathers began as a religious order for men with the aim of providing training for the

¹⁵ See Table 3 showing proportion of English born to Australian born clergy in the Diocese of Rockhampton 1892-1942, p.185.

priesthood for candidates drawn from the non-traditional area of society - the working class. Men from this social grouping would not usually have had opportunity to gain selection for training. The more traditional avenue was via the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge and Durham. The Society had turned its objectives to missionary work, particularly in Korea. The members of the Society worked as missionaries while under monastic vows and were thus following the ancient Benedictine model for evangelisation, which had worked so successfully in Western Europe and in the south east of England centuries before.

The community or monastic model provided some safeguards against the isolation of missionaries, who were, by definition, people from outside intent on converting the local inhabitants to a new way of life and belief. These safeguards were grounded in a group of like-minded people living the lifestyle and practising the beliefs they were seeking to introduce to the people to whom they had come. The support of that group, when there was resistance to the message, was in the cultural security embodied in the group.

Bishop Dawes visited England in 1897 for the purpose of attending the Lambeth Conference of that year. He went armed with the idea of a Mission Brotherhood, which he thought would help solve the problem of staffing the remote western area of his Diocese. As already mentioned he, along with others, had observed the mission brotherhood work in India, Africa and Korea. As early as 1892, the year of his enthronement as Bishop of Rockhampton, Dawes was asking the question ...

Why should there not be an Oxford or Cambridge Mission planted in the Australian bush as well as in East London, Africa and India? A great opportunity now offers for starting such an enterprise. The Central Railway has recently been extended to

Longreach, a township 425 miles west of Rockhampton ... A University Mission started there would command a splendid field for aggressive Christianity.¹⁶

Webber's scheme for sending out clergy from a central mission house has already been mentioned in Chapter 2, as has its failure, and in 1894 Archdeacon Gilbert White of North Queensland had suggested such a scheme for a Brotherhood of mission priests in North Queensland to the Synod of that Diocese. He even had a name for it - The Brotherhood of St. James - and a central rule of life which involved "common life, the maintenance of devotional life, and pecuniary self-denial".¹⁷ This scheme of White's never came to fruition although he did gather a few laymen together near Charters Towers and, after working under his outlined conditions, they were able to hand over the area for more traditional parish work to a Rector within a year.¹⁸

When he arrived in England in 1897, Dawes sought advice from various places but he was given specific encouragement for his idea of a Brotherhood by such nineteenth century luminaries as Bishop B.F. Westcott of Durham, Canon Charles Gore, who was to become Bishop of Oxford, and A.F. Winnington Ingram of Oxford House, who was to become a notable Canon of St. Paul's, London and Bishop of the Diocese of London. Of those who encouraged, Brooke Foss Westcott was to be the most influential.

Westcott was a Cambridge theologian who had the reputation of a mystic. He may have been otherworldly but not vague. He had worked with another Cambridge

¹⁶ Rockhampton *Morning Bulletin*, 1 December 1892.

¹⁷ Diocese of North Queensland *Year Book 1895*, as cited in Rayner, op. cit., p.355.

¹⁸ G.T. Berwick, 'The Birth of the Bush Brotherhood', *Theology*, May 1947, cited in Rayner, op. cit., p.355.

theologian, F.J.A. Hort, on a revised Greek text of the New Testament using manuscript sources superior to those available to previous scholars and the result was published in 1881, and it was used to assist the new Revised Version of the New Testament in English. It is still the authoritative Greek text. He had been Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge since 1870 and in theology he subscribed to the school of thought which sought to combine biblical revelation with modern knowledge; a new and avant garde movement in the Church of England at that time.

Westcott believed that the Resurrection and Ascension were pledges that the long process of evolution, far from being a mere struggle for existence governed by accident, was progressing to the final unity and transfiguration of the universe which God had created. He saw the process of evolution as a means to the consummation of creation. In this he also saw the English nation as a leader in the move toward this consummation "no Nation, no church ... was ever called to fulfil a greater work than that to which the English nation and English Church are now summoned."¹⁹ Social Darwinism from a theological perspective, and an indication of Westcott's theological stance, which may be described as imperial theology, is given substance.

This belief system was given practical expression by Westcott's encouragement to and patronage of the Cambridge Mission to Delhi. He plainly believed that "the Church educates and inspires society, which moulds the State"²⁰ and the Victorian age had brought the consummation of the creation somewhat closer. As a

¹⁹ D.L. Edwards, *Christian England Vol.3*, (Glasgow: Collins, 1985), p.216.

²⁰ *ibid.*

moulder of young men's minds and beliefs it is not to be wondered at that in December of 1895, after he had been Bishop of Durham for five years, a group of his junior clergy wrote to him inviting him to send them on foreign service to the mission field.²¹ The letter demonstrated the missionary zeal of the time and the willingness of the younger clergy to break out of the more acceptable mould, a stereotype of which can be found in the literature of the end of the nineteenth century, especially in Oscar Wilde's plays and Trollope's novels. Westcott's response was to write a letter to his Diocese of Durham in which he pleads for the co-operation and prayers of the clergy and laity for the expansion of the Church both at home and abroad.

When Bishop Dawes sought Westcott's advice about the formation of a Brotherhood in the western areas of the Diocese of Rockhampton in 1897, Bishop Westcott must have recognised this as an opportunity to satisfy the request of his younger clergy and to further the cause of English influence for good in the wider world. One more step along the road to consummation of God's plan for the universe. A link which he could forge in the claim of cultural evolution in the parts of Empire far away from Auckland Castle and the Diocese of Durham.

Whatever Westcott's motive, he supplied one of his best young priests to the Bishop of Rockhampton for his yet to be formed Mission Brotherhood. That priest was George Douglass Halford, Vicar of the ancient parish of Jarrow, the parish where the Venerable Bede had been educated in the eighth century. Although Halford was not one of those who signed the letter of suggestion to Westcott in 1896 he must have been in sympathy with the ideals of those who did sign, and

²¹ See Appendix 3.

one of the thirty mentioned in that letter. Halford had a theme of sacrifice running through his life and he was prepared to give up any chance of preferment in the English Church and an unofficial engagement to marry to volunteer for the newly created position once Bishop Westcott put the proposition to him.²²

Dawes returned to Rockhampton in 1897 and on Holy Cross Day, 14 September that year, Halford was installed as the first head of the first Bush Brotherhood in the Australian experience. Halford was not the only volunteer for this new experiment in pastoral organisation. Joining him by Christmas were the Reverends T.J. Chapman and A. Perry.²³ The three of them took vows of poverty (a stipend of 50 pounds per annum), chastity, and obedience to the head. These vows were technically "simple", that is, they were for a limited period of time and not for life. The period of time in the case of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew, as it was known, was five years.

Rayner reports that Bishop Dawes had elected to sit on the committee of bishops at the Lambeth Conference that year, which dealt with the question of religious communities.²⁴ Obviously the idea of a religious community working in his Diocese was very much to the fore.

The Brotherhood was able now to assume responsibility for the great area of central western Queensland which had previously been cared for by one priest, Archdeacon Lester. It comprised the area of the Diocese west of the Drummond Range to the South Australian border, now the Northern Territory border, in which

²² R.H.H. Philp, *George Douglass Halford, An English Bishop in the Australian Bush*, (University of New England, Litt.M. Thesis, 1982).

²³ *Synod Reports 1897*, Diocese of Rockhampton, Rockhampton, p.161.

²⁴ Rayner, *op. cit.*, p.355.



First Bush Brothers- Brotherhood of St. Andrew, Longreach 1898.

A. Perry

W. Scott

T. C. Chapman

G. D. Halford

Source. AA, Rockhampton.

²⁵ J.W.S. Tomlin, *Halford's Challenge*, Rockhampton Auxiliary, Ucklesford, Ipswich, 1952, p.14.

the townships of Winton, Boulia, Bedourie, Longreach, Muttaburra, Aramac, Stonehenge, Jundah, Barcaldine, Jericho, Yaraka, Blackall, Tambo, Isisford and Ilfracombe are situated. From their headquarters at Longreach they ministered to these places as well as the stations, railway sidings and camps, and the many isolated small groups attending to mustering, shearing, fencing, bore drain delving and all the other tasks which required the presence of someone away from the main centres.

The Brotherhood of St. Andrew was, with some of its later recruits, to build a reputation for being visible in the more isolated and remote parts of its territory. There was an undeniably romantic aura around the notion of well educated and, in most cases, well connected, young single - it is quite likely that many never intended to marry - Englishmen working the western mission field among the colonists as if they were in darkest Africa or under the palm fronds of the South Seas. The romantic image did not always match the reality, but it persisted until fairly recent times and the myth continued with a great deal of focus on the centenary of the foundation of the Brotherhood in 1997. The full sized painting by Hugh Sawrey of Hulton-Sams, the "Fighting Parson", given to the Parish of Longreach in 1997 by the artist to commemorate the centenary is tangible evidence of the continuing myth.

There was a supply of young clergy who were willing to come to the Antipodes, sight unseen, and bring the gospel to the colonists.²⁵ Bishop Westcott had made mention of the "lesser breeds without the Law", a phrase from Kipling's "Recessional" hymn, but it was to the English expatriates that the mission was

²⁵ J.W.S. Tomlin, *Halford's Challenge*, Rockhampton Auxiliary, Uckfield, Sussex, 1952, p.14.

focused. The ethos of the Brotherhood was very much that of the university college common room or the clergy house with numerous curates and a gathering of like-minded and like experienced peers. This ethos had its beginnings in St. Andrew's Brotherhood House in Longreach in 1897. It was to continue, in the author's experience, until at least 1975. Bush Brothers, when gathered together, became, in the eyes of Australian observers, a group ".living the life of jolly schoolboys".²⁶

As a practical outcome of the method of mission mentioned earlier, Dawes had a purpose built house erected in Longreach to house the community of brothers. It was not quite completed when Bishop Dawes arrived to bless it in December 1897 but it was constructed along the lines of a communal clergy house. The central parlour, which was designed as a lecture hall, measured forty feet by eighteen feet and was surrounded by eight cells or bedrooms for the Brothers. The plan for pastoral work was for two brothers to go out together for two or three weeks at a time and return to the community house for refreshment and recreation. The house was designed for this purpose and to double as a public meeting place for the parishioners.

Halford was joined by Perry and Chapman by Christmas 1897 and their work of mission began. It was launched against the background of conditions which soon exploded the romantic vision. The west was in the grip of one of the most devastating droughts ever experienced - the worst since white settlement; there was social division between worker and squatter as seen in the shearers' strike of that time; there was also the most severe financial recession so far experienced by

²⁶ *ibid.*, p.24.

the colony of Queensland. All of these were to add to the difficulties of the newly arrived English clergy and made their efforts to adapt to the harsh physical environment ever more difficult and eccentric in local eyes.²⁷

These last two matters seem to have escaped the newly arrived Englishmen's notice but the physical surroundings were a major shock and Halford's report to England was not one which displayed great joy in his physical surroundings. He was equally blunt about the social realities of his environment. His letter in *Australian Bush Leaves* in December 1897 gives the picture:

I am now on my fifth bush trip, and am gradually getting to know the look of the country. The weariness and dullness of driving over these endless, dry, dusty, brown plains is indescribable: no hills, no streams, nothing to vary the monotony, and day after day you drive on without meeting any human being, nothing but the silly scampering sheep, and the staring kangaroo.²⁸

Although this is early days in his time in the west his opinion of the physical environment did not change and it may be taken as an example of the depth of cultural deprivation experienced by these early English priests. The reaction to the physical environment was reflected in the reaction to the social environment. Not all colonists were to greet these reminders of their home culture with open arms. One of Halford's early pastoral visits, his first, was to a family connected to the priestly class of England:

²⁷ As feed was dear and there was no grass for horses, the Brothers took to bicycles to travel the West, which marked them out from the locals, Waltzing Matilda on a 'velocipede'?

²⁸ G.D. Halford, letter published in *Australian Bush Leaves*, No.4, March 1898, The Bishop of Rockhampton's Auxiliary in England, Church House, Westminster, p.73.

Hitchings of Sherburn - father once Vicar of Sonning and Wargrave - man with Bible and Prayer Book, were cookless and McClarty away. Fed together and talked on verandah - talked plainly and expressed belief impossible - of my enthusiasm which would be different in a year's time - evidently feels religion has no power - a matter of artistic sensibility. Thinks it quite hopeless and wasted labour to try to influence people out here.... You cannot tell these men anything; they have no answering sympathy whatever.... there is a rooted disbelief in spiritual things and the power and glory of God.²⁹

One month to the day after his arrival in Longreach there sounds a note of despair, perhaps a realisation that the cultural gap is very wide and isolation is more than a matter of distance in the physical sense. The gulf was to remain. After fifty years his reaction to the people of the west was relayed to those gathered for the Jubilee of the Brotherhood movement in 1947 and published in *"The Bush Brother"* in December 1948.

For the first two years I never tasted milk or butter - only oil. Lester, my predecessor, who was a lone mission priest, was annoyed with me when I described the water as liquid mud.... After a first bush trip with Lester there was church gathering to farewell him and to welcome Perry and me, and I got my first impression which has never faded. I was speaking as I would have spoken in my Tyneside parish, of personal devotion to our Lord and of His Presence with us, when I sensed there was no answering sympathy, no response whatever in their hearts. It was as if I was speaking in an unknown tongue. A cold shiver went down my spine and I had to change the subject. All was blankness of understanding.³⁰

²⁹ G.D. Halford, Diary entry for 15 October 1897, A.A.

³⁰ R.A.F. Webb, *Brothers in the Sun*, (Sydney: Rigby, 1978), pp.84-85.

While the Brotherhood of St. Andrew had an initial impact on the Longreach area which appeared to be successful, its long-term survival was less successful. By 1915 the Longreach area was declared a fully-fledged parish able to support its own priest. Winton was also on the verge of gaining similar status and both would no longer be mission districts. The Brotherhood headquarters was moved to Aramac. The success lay in the fact that in twenty years both areas had gained self-sufficiency and were able to support a parish priest who was not a member of the Brotherhood, but this had been at the expense of the Brotherhood. There was only one priest left as a member of the Brotherhood. By this time Halford had succeeded Dawes as Bishop of Rockhampton in 1909 and the state of the Brotherhood was "a cause of concern" for him, which he expressed at the Synod of 1916. It had been, however, a solution for Dawes' pressing concerns of finance and staffing.

There was to be a revival of Brotherhood membership later in the 1930s which lasted until the supply of priests from England once again dried up during the Second World War. By 1918 with only one brother remaining in the Brotherhood of St. Andrew, Fr Walter Park, who resigned in that year and so, as one chronicler of the movement states, "it went like the Cheshire cat - slowly until only the smile was left."³¹ During this initial twenty-one years of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew not one Australian born priest was attracted to its ranks. There is no evidence that the west was too difficult for them but a combination of the English public school followed by Oxbridge ethos and small numbers of Australians offering for ordination probably were enough to ensure a one hundred percent English membership. Australians were to join later but not until the middle of the twentieth century and then not in

³¹ *ibid.*

enough numbers to stave off the inevitable demise which occurred officially in 1980.

Ruth Frappell, in her 1993 thesis on the Anglican Ministry to unsettled districts during the period under discussion, states that the Brotherhoods in general, and that of St. Andrew in particular, were unable to attract Englishmen of first quality in the period 1931 to 1948 and there were only four Australians included in the seven members during that period.³² The quality of the clergy seems to reflect that of the Roman Catholic clergy of the early days of the Diocese of Townsville who were described by Maguire as "second rate".³³ By contrast the Diocese of Bathurst by 1940 had a Brotherhood (Brotherhood of the Good Shepherd) staff of eight, seven being Australians locally ordained.³⁴

In spite of this social distance from the people they ministered to, the Brotherhood movement with its beginnings in Central Queensland was eventually to be extremely influential in the Australian Anglican Church and particularly so in country dioceses. From 1897 to 1944 Brotherhoods along the lines of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew were to be founded in Brisbane Diocese (The Brotherhood of St. Paul) in 1901, in North Queensland (St. Barnabas) in 1902, in Bathurst (Good Shepherd) 1903, Bunbury (St. Boniface) 1911, Adelaide (St. Aidan) in 1915, Willochra Diocese in the north of South Australia (St. Stephen) in 1928, Newcastle (The Brotherhood of St. Laurence, which differed from the others in that

³² R. Frappell, op. cit., p.186.

³³ J. Maguire, *Prologue: A History of the Catholic Church as seen from Townsville 1863-1983*, (Toowoomba: Church Archivists' Society, 1990), p.13.

³⁴ Frappell, op. cit., p.187.

it took its work to the urban poor) in 1940 and in Adelaide (St. John the Baptist) in 1944.³⁵

The pastoral methods and underlying theology of all these bodies was very much that of the English on overseas mission. Their field of ministry was to the European population in the outback areas they serviced and any contact with Aboriginal people was incidental to that work. No Brotherhood was ever responsible for any particular work among Aboriginals or Islanders. Their field of mission was, in many ways, a continuation of the mission to socially deprived workers in the slums of East London, or the industrial north of England, where most of the Brothers had served their curacies. These English priests were to discover, of course, that the white Australian bush worker was not similar at all to the people of the densely populated urban English parishes where they had worked, and from which they had come. With one or two exceptions, such as Fr Frederick Hulton-Sams, "the fighting parson", the Brothers found themselves much more at home with the owners and managers of the stations.

The personality and social background of the earlier Bush Brothers was that of the English upper middle class. Their education was for the most part in the Public Schools and in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. The itinerant bush worker of western central Queensland, the shearer, the fencer, the bore delver, the railway navvy and the white stockmen were a group who had no social connection with them. For men who had dined at table in the Oxford and Cambridge Colleges, the "outside" dining room on the stations would have been a culture shock of enormous proportions. They gravitated quite naturally to the "inside" table where

³⁵ Philp, *op. cit.*, p.18.

the owner's or manager's family and the jackaroos ate. These people would have been educated, perhaps not to high standards, in Sydney and Melbourne and some in England. It was not unusual to have English aristocratic younger sons in the ranks of the jackaroos on western and northern stations in the years before the First World War.

A disproportionate number of the Brothers were to become Diocesan bishops in the Australian Church. They were, in some cases, leaders in the struggle for autonomy for the Australian Church, a struggle which continued until 1961, not because of English opposition but because of internal Australian differences in ecclesiastical polity. Halford was the first consecrated in 1909, and by 1973 eighteen others had followed him in episcopal orders. Of the twenty-three dioceses in the Anglican Church of Australia, sixteen have had at least one bishop who was a former Bush Brother.³⁶ As almost all were of English background, this may be seen as a continuation of the English hegemony over the Church. As almost all were elected by Synods, the Australian clergy and laity were content to continue with an English hierarchy.

Tasmania is the only State of Australia in which Anglicans have not at some stage in this century had former Bush Brothers either as Archbishops or Diocesan Bishops. The influence of a particular group, in Anglican organisation and government, where the Bishop has the power of veto over any decision of the Synod and a very great deal of actual day to day power, had much to do with the direction taken by Anglicanism in country Australia and particularly in Queensland

³⁶ See Appendix 5 for a list of Dioceses with former Bush Brother bishops.

where every diocese has had at least one former Bush Brother at the helm during the first half of the twentieth century.

By the end of the First World War the romance of the frontier alone was not enough to encourage young men to join. Bishop Frodsham of North Queensland could issue a call during a recruiting drive in England in 1908 for:

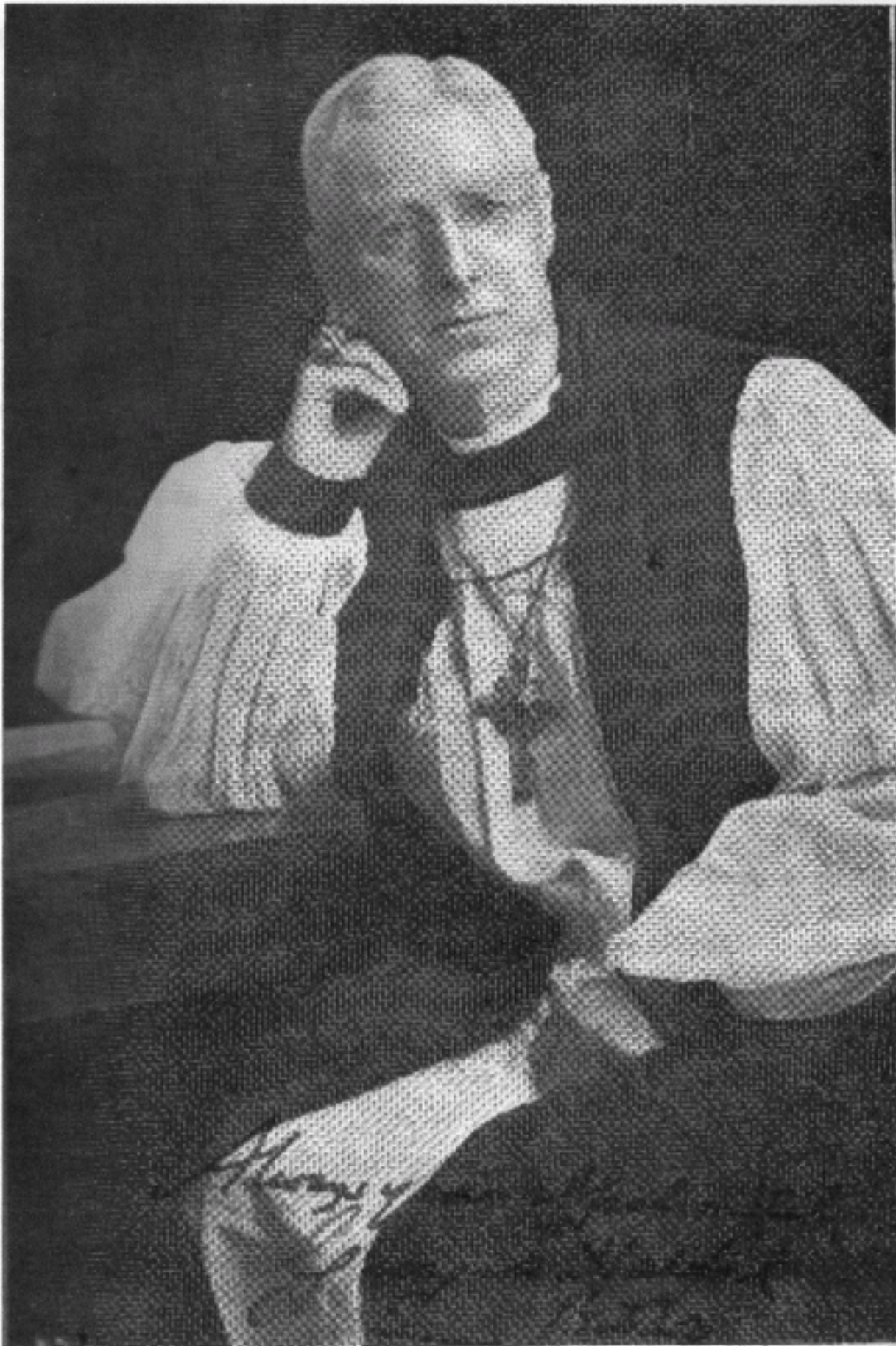
a band of men who will preach like apostles, ride like cowboys, and having food and raiment, will therewith be content.³⁷

The reality was that George Halford, first of the band in 1897, was of urban background and had to be taught to ride by the resident stock inspector at Longreach and was so unused to horses that a gelding of inferior quality could be substituted for a good quality mare he had been given, by an unscrupulous farrier. In any case the drought was so bad bicycles had to be substituted for horses for transport. The shadow and the substance of the mission were to be resolved in the next generation.

In May 1902 Halford had served his five-year term as head of the Brotherhood and returned to England. This was to coincide with the coronation of Edward VII. Before leaving Halford had been offered and accepted the parish of St. Paul's, Rockhampton. On his arrival in England his sense of isolation from the familiar

³⁷ R. Fraser, *A Historical Sketch of the Diocese of North Queensland*, Townsville, 1958, p.9. Frappell also quotes this passage and places its origin with Frodsham's letter to H.H. Montgomery, 27 April 1903, in which Frodsham acknowledges his debt to an American Bishop Whipple. Frappell, *op. cit.*, p.155. Frappell cites Rayner (K. Rayner, *op. cit.*, p.359, n.120) who places its origin with Frodsham's letter, etc.

while in central western Queensland was to be displayed in his reactions to the cultural, religious and physical environment of England. He wrote:



Then the week on the river, what a joy it was! And the divine exercise is an old story. It all was almost more than one could bear. Do you know that kind of feeling? And because there had been so much rain the trees and all the bushes were of the most heavenly shades of green.⁴⁰

George Dowglass Halford, Second Bishop of Rockhampton

1909 – 1920.

Source. AA, Rockhampton.

³⁸ Tomin, *op. cit.*, p.21.

³⁹ *ibid.*, p.19.

⁴⁰ *ibid.*, p.21.

while in central western Queensland was to be displayed in his reactions to the cultural, religious and physical environment of England. He wrote –

I can't tell you what a joy it is to be in London again. I'm glad I've lived in Australia. One's sense of beauty is increased tenfold... This morning I went to the Tate Gallery. I'll go off my head soon with the joy of beauty.³⁸

His reaction to the preparations being made in the Abbey for the coronation were in similar vein. His contrasting of the natural environment between the West of Central Queensland and England can be seen in two pieces of writing. The first to his supporters in England -

There are few things that eyes long for more out here than colour. Until quite recently there was no relief to the interminable bare brownness all around as far as the eyes could see - trees as brown as the rest of things - above the hectic sky, with seldom the relief of a cloud. There are no flowers, no pictures on the walls of houses, no wallpaper; ladies mostly wear white and the eyes pine for colour.³⁹

The second is contained in a letter back to Australia from England after his arrival in 1902, five years after the previous example.

Then the week on the river: what a joy it was! And the divine loveliness and beauty of it all was almost more than one could bear. Do you know that kind of feeling? And because there had been so much rain the trees and all the banks were of the most heavenly shades of green.⁴⁰

³⁸ Tomlin, op. cit., p.21.

³⁹ *ibid.*, p.19.

⁴⁰ *ibid.*, p.21.

Halford may have been more given to romantic expression than many others of the Brotherhood group but his reactions were no doubt shared if not aired by fellow missionaries. The Brotherhoods were to remain an essentially English expression of religious expansion into country Australia until the 1960s. The genesis of the movement was in Longreach with the embodiment of Dawes' idea and planning and with Halford as the prototype. Culturally the early Brothers were upper class well educated celibate Englishmen. Their *raison d'être* was the spread of the Gospel and the maintenance of English religious tradition in the far-flung post of Empire. They fervently believed, as did Westcott, that the English version of Christian civilisation was not necessarily the only one but certainly the best and therefore to be fostered in all parts of the globe.

The form of this English expression of Christianity which they brought to Central Queensland was monolithically Anglo-Catholic. Firmly rooted in the structures of the Church of England but uncompromisingly Catholic in terms of doctrine and outward ceremonial and ritual in worship. The basis of the Brotherhood's aim to live in community while engaged in mission was a result of the revival of the religious life in England as one of the platforms of the Oxford Movement. By the end of the nineteenth century the revival of religious orders suppressed by Henry VIII was a feature of Anglicanism and the Brotherhood of St. Andrew had accepted as part of its Rule the traditional monastic vows of poverty, chastity and obedience. Such a Rule indicated a loyalty to catholic expressions of Christianity.

The First World War was a watershed in the experience of a great number of people and the realities of the toll in human life were something that almost every household was to experience. The old verities of conquest and imperial expansion

were being questioned. Australia's relationship with England was also under scrutiny. This had an effect on recruitment for overseas mission. Not that clergy ceased to come to Central Queensland from England but the bonhomie and the sense of adventure and romance had lost its lustre. Hulton-Sams, the *enfant terrible* of the Brotherhood, the defier of convention and authority, the Boxing Parson, personified this romanticism and endeared himself to many of those living in the area served by the Brotherhood. Sams enlisted as a combatant and was killed in the trenches of Belgium. Guy Maude-Roxby, well connected and from a privileged background, his father was a Captain of the Royal Navy, had come to join the Brothers and had died of typhoid at Aramac aged twenty-six. The realities were harsh. Just a week before his death he had been present, as the priest in charge of the Aramac District, at the dedication of a small single skin weatherboard church complete with lancet windows of gothic style and English altar furnishings – a reminder to English settlers of “home” and a memorial to the realities of resistance to complete adaptation. The church building was dedicated under the patronage of St. George of England.

George Shaw⁴¹ has contended that the party divisions reflecting differences in churchmanship, which have haunted Australian Anglicanism over almost all its history are not so much the product of theological debate but the result of isolation of the parties from each other in their separate dioceses. This historical circumstance produced a group of clergy in each diocese, almost all of whom came from a similar theological perspective. This state of affairs applied to the Diocese of Rockhampton as much as any other and the beginnings of this can be

⁴¹ G.P. Shaw, 'Australia's Anglicanism a Via Media?', in J.A. Moses (ed.), *From Oxford to the Bush*, (Sydney: Broughton Press, 1997), p.259.

seen in the composition of the first stage of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew. The influence which the Brotherhood movement had on the country dioceses of the Australian Church has been mentioned. The influence of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew on the Diocese of Rockhampton was also profound; it, above all other influences, moulded and shaped the direction the Diocese was to take for the next seventy years. That direction was toward an Anglo-Catholic expression of both teaching and worship. This Anglo-Catholic direction was of the practical and pragmatic variety which would be found in most regional areas of Australia by 1942.

Frappell's opinion is that the brotherhoods changed the image of Australian Anglicanism in two ways. They pushed the pastoral ministry to the limits of travel within the continent and they were instrumental in promoting and nourishing Anglo-Catholicism. As Shaw commented above, she is in agreement that this move toward the Anglo-Catholic end of the ecclesiastical spectrum provided the background for the division of country Anglicanism from the metropolitan sees of Melbourne and Sydney. This division makes the Australian church unique in the Anglican communion.⁴²

Certainly the Brotherhood of St. Andrew was an instrument for pastoral care of the type mentioned above and a leader in the move towards the establishment of an almost monolithic Anglo-Catholicism in the Diocese of Rockhampton.

⁴² R. Frappell, *op. cit.*, p.221.

Frappell⁴³ also maintains that by lack of encouragement of all indigenous ministry in their areas and by denying laity an opportunity to minister, the brotherhoods became reactionary and were running against the tide of change. This contributed to their demise. This would seem to be confirmed in the experience of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew in the Diocese of Rockhampton.

⁴³ *ibid.*

Table 2**Length of Stay**

Parish	Foundation Year	Average Length of Stay (Years)
To 1902		
Barcoo (Blackall)	1892 (District of Mitchell and Brotherhood Headquarters 1897-1915)	2.25
Cathedral	1892	3.3
Clermont	1892 (with Springsure)	2.5
Gladstone	1892	3.3
Longreach	1892 (District of Mitchell)	3.3
Mt. Morgan	1892	2.5
North Rockhampton	1892	3.3
Springsure	1892 (with Clermont)	2.5
Westwood Mission District	1894	4
Winton	1892 (District of Mitchell)	5
	Average	3.22
To 1942		
Aramac	1921 (Brotherhood Headquarters 1915-1919)	6.6
Barcoo (Blackall)	1892	2.6
Barcaldine	1921	3
Cathedral	1892	3.6
Clermont	1892	3.6
Emerald	1911	2.8
Gladstone	1892	4
Keppel	1921	4.2
Longreach	1892	2.6
Miriam Vale	1932	1.6
Mt. Morgan	1892	2.8
North Rockhampton	1892	4.4
Park Avenue (Rockhampton)	1941	1
Springsure	1892	3.3
Wandal (Rockhampton)	1925	5.6
Westwood Mission District	1894	2.8
Winton	1892	3.6
	Average	3.53

Source – Clergy Lists, Rockhampton, A.A.

Chapter 5

The Influence of the Oxford Movement in Early Central Queensland

Anglicanism

“... a hot-bed and cradle of ritualism” in the Antipodes.¹

The Brotherhood of St. Andrew was a result of the Oxford Movement which began in 1833 in England and which influenced quite substantially the educated clergy. It was a Movement which emphasised the Catholic heritage and nature of the Church of England and which had, as a consequence of this universal perception of the Church rather than a narrow national perception, inspired many Anglicans to move out in missionary endeavour. This moving out encompassed both a social justice dimension and a geographic expansion along with Empire.

The founding bishops of the Dioceses of Newcastle and Brisbane, William Tyrrell and Edward Wyndham Tufnell respectively, were both influenced by the Oxford Movement and the clergy who came with them likewise came from the same motivation. The first priest in Rockhampton, Thomas Jones, was an outspoken advocate of catholic teaching and his successor, W.A. Diggins (1879-1890), inspired the quotation which is part of this chapter heading.

This chapter argues that the Diocese of Rockhampton from its inception followed the doctrinal direction of the Oxford Movement and that this practice and teaching was formative in the nature of the Diocese, and long-lasting covering the entire period of time canvassed in this examination of the first fifty years of its life as an independent diocese.

The Diocese's experience is somewhat different from many others in the Australian Church in this regard. Anglo-Catholicism was the universal doctrinal stance from the beginning whereas in other Dioceses it was a movement which gained ground after foundation, and usually with some opposition from within, as well as from outside the Diocese. In the Diocese of Rockhampton, the founding bishop was energetic in catholic teaching if not a thoroughgoing ritualist, the second was not shy of introducing ritual and ceremonial of the catholic variety as well as vigorous teaching, and the third consolidated these practices. The writings of Ruth Frappell in regard to country dioceses all over Australia² and of others such as David Hilliard³ in respect of the whole movement in Australia, Colin Holden⁴ in works on Western Australia and Melbourne, Stephen Judd and Kenneth Cable⁵ concerning Sydney and Alex Kidd⁶ in respect of Brisbane all indicate some lack of accommodation for catholic teachings and practice in those areas, if not outright hostility. There is no evidence for any significant conflict in the Diocese of Rockhampton.

¹ *Queensland Evangelical Standard*, 18 December 1880, cited in K. Rayner, *The History of the Church of England in Queensland*, (University of Queensland, Ph.D. Thesis, 1962), p.249.

² R. Frappell, '1933 and All That: The Oxford Movement Centenary in Australia' in J.A. Moses (ed.), *From Oxford to the Bush*, (Canberra: Broughton Press and S.P.C.K.A., 1997).

³ D. Hilliard, 'The Anglo-Catholic tradition in Australian Anglicanism', (Canberra; *St. Marks Review*, No.158, Winter, 1994).

⁴ C. Holden (ed.), *Anglo-Catholicism in Melbourne: Papers to mark the 150th Anniversary of St. Peter's Eastern Hill, 1846-1996*, (Melbourne: History Department, University of Melbourne, 1997); C. Holden, *Ritualist on a Tricycle: Frederick Goldsmith: Church, Nationalism and Society in Western Australia, 1880-1920*, (Perth: University of Western Australian Press, 1997); C. Holden, *From Tories at Prayer to Socialists at Mass: St. Peter's Eastern Hill, Melbourne, 1846-1990*, (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1996).

⁵ S. Judd and K. Cable, *Sydney Anglicans, A History of the Diocese*, (Sydney: Anglican Information Office, 2000).

⁶ A.P. Kidd, *The Brisbane Episcopate of St. Clair Donaldson, 1904-1921*, (University of Queensland, Ph.D. Thesis, 1996).

The Evangelical Revival of the eighteenth century provided the Church of England with a new reformation focus and a "low Church"⁷ profile which produced in its turn an enthusiasm for personal conversion and good deeds. These included the abolition of the slave trade, the education of the poor, better working conditions in factories, the abolition of press gangs, civil rights for Roman Catholics, prison reform and parliamentary reform. Alongside this was the persistent urge to take English Christianity to India. The East India Company had made no move to interfere with religious observances and customs such as the burning of widows - sati - the murder of unwanted female children, temple prostitution and the activities of the thugii who strangled strangers as a sacrifice to Kali. When such customs became known the move to claim India for English civilisation and therefore Christianity became urgent for evangelicals and even some sceptic Utilitarians such as Mill.⁸ This gave rise to the nineteenth century movement for overseas christian mission from Britain, especially to the foreign parts of Empire. Central Queensland was one such part. Both theological wings of the Church of England, catholic and protestant were affected by the overseas mission movement and the revival of catholic teaching and practice within the Church of England in what became known as the Oxford Movement extended via overseas mission to all parts of the British Empire. This became evident, as has been discussed, in the new Diocese of Rockhampton from its inception.

On 14 July 1833 in St. Mary the Virgin, in the High Street, Oxford, John Keble preached his sermon on National Apostasy and historians agree that this was the

⁷ Indicating a "low" doctrine of the Church. The Church is perceived as a human organisation, a collection of individuals who have been saved. In contrast to a "high" doctrine which postulates a divine institution, the Body of Christ on earth.

⁸ J. Mill, *History of India*, 1817, as cited in D.L. Edwards *Christian England Vol.3*, (London: Collins, 1984), p.92.

point at which the Oxford Movement within Anglicanism, was launched. This movement in the Church of England looked for its inspiration to pre-Reformation England and emphasised the Catholicity of the Church of England. Those who were caught up in the revival of a catholic understanding of the Church and its mission were known first as Tractarians because their chief method of trying to convince the population of the rightness of their cause was by the publication of tracts, "Tracts for the Times", as they were known. Later in the nineteenth century the appellation of Anglo-Catholic was attached to members of the Church of England who followed this persuasion.

There were many who were opposed to this direction of Anglicanism and even some who were prepared to invoke the secular courts to bring charges against those who were prominent in the move toward ritual practices. These practices were closer to the outward observances of the Church of Rome than that of the reformed church of England as they had experienced it since the demise of the Stuart dynasty. Clergy were convicted of deviating unlawfully from the rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer as interpreted at that time. The saintly and much loved Bishop Edward King of Lincoln, who was the champion of agricultural workers, was tried and convicted of "ritualism" under the Public Worship Regulation Act 1874 and sent to prison in the late 1880s - he had allowed the wearing of eucharistic vestments. His conviction, along with that of others', produced a Royal Commission in 1906 which reported that "the law of public worship is too narrow for the religious life of the present generation"⁹

⁹ S. Sykes and J. Booty, (eds.), *The Study of Anglicanism*, (London: S.P.C.K., 1988), p.43.

It was from this background that the first priests brought with them definite convictions along Anglo-Catholic lines for the expansion of the Church in their area of mission. In this they were following the trend set already in the foundation dioceses of Newcastle and Brisbane. The arrival in Rockhampton of the Reverend W.A. Diggins in 1879 was remarked upon as “a young man fresh from Oxford - the hot bed and cradle of Ritualism” by the *Evangelical Standard*.¹⁰ The *Standard* was, of course, implacably opposed to any actions or teachings which threatened the “protestant” perception of the Church of England held by many of the laity and by the other non-Roman Catholic Christian denominations in Brisbane.

The ritualism trials of the late nineteenth century in England had a concomitant outcome which may be rather unexpected, in the corporate life of the new Diocese of Rockhampton. When the Constitution of the Diocese was formulated in 1892 the Canons of the Diocese of Brisbane were accepted *in toto* with the exception that there was no reference to any appeal to the Privy Council. As Rayner remarks,

this is more than likely the result of unsatisfactory results from appeals (from the point of view of Anglo-Catholics) to that body back in England.¹¹

In the Australian colonies in the nineteenth century stark divisions developed between dioceses where clergy tended to cluster according to their theology of the Church either evangelical or Anglo-Catholic. Whole dioceses tended to be of one party or the other. The ability of the bishops to appoint clergy without the constraints of the English patronage system enabled them to engineer the clerical

¹⁰ Rayner, *op. cit.*, p.249.

¹¹ H.L. Clarke, *Constitutional Church Government*, p.141, cited in Rayner, *op. cit.*, p.257.

profile of their diocese to match whichever of the parties they favoured. This ability of the bishops remains, in large measure, to the present time.

The most obvious delineation along diocesan lines is the Diocese of Sydney which has had its own version of evangelical expression as a diocese since the first Bishop, Broughton, a Tractarian sympathiser, was replaced by an evangelical in 1854. Country Australian dioceses tended to be led by Anglo-Catholic bishops. In particular the dioceses of Queensland were led by bishops of this theological stripe.¹² The pattern of appointment along Anglo-Catholic lines began from the earliest time. Bishop Broughton chose Tyrrell to be Bishop of Newcastle and Tyrrell was of the Tractarian camp and Tyrrell's choice of Tufnell followed this same direction. Following the somewhat disappointing episcopacy of Hale the election of Webber was to restore the catholic stream to Brisbane. Dawes was through and through a Webber man and he brought with him his catholic sympathies when he was elected to Rockhampton in 1892.

Dawes had been identified as someone who was in sympathy with views of the Oxford Movement at an early stage of his career in Queensland, he was someone who was essentially conservative in both doctrine and organisation, and so the catholic revival in the Church of England with its emphasis on a conservative interpretation of the doctrine of the Church was attractive to him. However, he was no Romanising ritualist. J.S. Reed¹³ mentions, in his work on the cultural history of nineteenth century English Anglo-Catholicism, the existence of several societies for the promulgation of Anglo-Catholic doctrines and ideals, and two in particular are

¹² In the history of the Dioceses of the Province of Queensland, only one bishop, Hale of Brisbane (1875-1885) could be described as an evangelical.

¹³ J.S. Reed, *Glorious Battle: the Cultural Politics of Victorian Anglo-Catholicism*, (London: Vanderbilt University Press, 1996), p.85.

mentioned. They were the Society of the Holy Cross (S.S.C. – Societas Sancta Crucis) and the English Church Union. The S.S.C. was an entirely clerical society which had, as one of its aims, the spread of Anglo-Catholicism beyond Britain into the overseas mission field. The Church Union was concerned with the support of clergy threatened with legal action because of their ritualist practices or of mob violence for the same reasons. Both societies were set up for the purpose of spreading the Anglo-Catholic faith.

Reed mentions the existence of lists of clergy who belonged to the societies published in 1877.¹⁴ Dawes appeared on the list referring to the Society of the Holy Cross.¹⁵ His sympathies with the teachings of Anglo-Catholicism were not in doubt before he left England. His search for clergy who were of like mind to himself led him to those in the Church of England who belonged to the catholic end of the theological spectrum. It was among this group that suitable candidates for the Bush Brotherhood were to be found. The nature of the three-fold monastic vows especially the vow of celibacy was too redolent of Rome to be acceptable to clergy of Evangelical persuasion. The first Brothers introduced a brand of Anglicanism which was both masculine and catholic and this was to set the pattern for the Diocese for the next hundred years.

In England, one of the criticisms of Anglo-Catholic clergy was that they were accused of being “unenglish and unmanly”.¹⁶ So far as Victorian prudery allowed, they were regarded with great suspicion as being homosexual in their sexual preference. Pickering reports that homosexuality was commonly called ‘the Anglo-

¹⁴ *ibid.*, p.288.

¹⁵ W. Walsh, *Secret History of the Oxford Movement*, (London: Swan, Sonnenschein, 1897), p.53, quoted in K. Rayner, (University of Queensland, Ph.D. Thesis, 1962), p.252.

¹⁶ D. Hilliard as quoted in W.S.F. Pickering, *Anglo-Catholicism: A Study in Religious Ambiguity*

Catholic disease'¹⁷ when mentioned at all and in the early days of the movement hostile Protestants referred to Anglo-Catholicism as a sexual aberration. Pickering also gives an example from Evelyn Waugh's *Brideshead Revisited* of advice given to a young man shortly to go up to Oxford, 'Beware of the Anglo-Catholics – they're all sodomites with unpleasant accents'.¹⁸

In Australia the same suspicion was tempered by the location of the major adherents to the celibate life in the Bush Brotherhoods and, in the case of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew, no such accusation or hint of it was ever recorded. As Hilliard has mentioned in his St. Mark's Review article of 1994, in Australia Evangelicals often hinted at the 'sensitive' style of Anglo-Catholicism being inferior to their own 'robust' piety.¹⁹ In the Central Queensland experience of Anglo-Catholicism there were no overt references to the matter.

The idea of mission in overseas areas carried with it the notion of romance and adventure and the catholic revival was also a place where such notions were fostered. Frappell maintains that by 1933, the centenary of the movement, that Anglo-Catholicism in Australia was

without doubt, a clerical movement, introduced by an imported clergy and reluctantly digested by a predominantly low church laity; but by 1933 it had achieved a remarkable degree of penetration, at least in its milder mutations.²⁰

(New York: Routledge, 1989), p.191.

¹⁷ *ibid.*, p.189.

¹⁸ *ibid.*

¹⁹ D. Hilliard, *op. cit.*, p.16.

²⁰ R. Frappell, *op. cit.*

In other parts of Australia the outward ceremonial, vestments and other ecclesiastical bric-a-brac caused quite a deal of controversy between the largely high-church clergy and the laity who considered such things to be Roman and un-Anglican. There was public debate in the Diocese of North Queensland concerning the introduction of "Romish practices" in the Church of St. Paul at Charters Towers in 1880²¹, and in Brisbane All Saints Wickham Terrace was the focus for finding un-Anglican goings on. In the Diocese of Rockhampton there does not seem to have been much questioning of outward practices, the early eucharistic vestments which survive are designed in such a way as to resemble surplices unless close examination is made but only one controversy seems to have come down to us. It concerned the using of "incised crosses" on the pulpit in the Church of St. Paul when it was completed in 1883.²²

Reed mentions complaints made against crosses used as decoration in the 1840s and in the 1890s in England. He mentions some examples of the causes of complaint. "... a genuine cross of some inlaid metal, between the candlesticks ... the cloven foot of Romish teaching", of "cross bearing service books" in St. Paul's Knightsbridge in 1850 and of Newman's surplice adorned with 'a rich illuminated cross'.²³

Another "looking Romeward" embellishment viewed with suspicion in England was a sanctuary ceiling painted blue and decorated with gold stars. This in a Lincolnshire parish in 1842.²⁴ St. Paul's Church Rockhampton was exactly so

²¹ G.C. Bolton, *A Thousand Miles Away*, (Brisbane: Jacaranda Press, 1963), p.173.

²² R.H.H. Philp, *St. Paul's Cathedral, Rockhampton*, (Rockhampton: St. Paul's Parish, 1983).

²³ Reed, op. cit., pp.5, 45, 82.

²⁴ *ibid.*, p.26.

decorated and remains so. It seems to have excited no comment of a doctrinal nature. Its aesthetics have not always met with universal approval, however.

Anglo-Catholicism in the outback setting and in the provincial towns of Queensland was more acceptable to the laity because of the obvious sacrificial nature of the lives of the clergy who taught it. There was an absence of the major outward extravagances of worship and because of its association with the provision of education and the care of orphans. The outward trappings of six lights on the altar birettas and incense were balanced by the efforts to provide two schools and a home for unmarried mothers and their offspring in Rockhampton Diocese.

While the Reverend Thomas Jones at St. Paul's, Rockhampton was unequivocally of the catholic party of Anglicanism in the 1860s, the major influence which set the tone of Anglo-Catholicism in Central Queensland was the Brotherhood thirty years later. The influence of the Brotherhood was to be felt immediately after Halford had served his five year term. He became Rector of St. Paul's parish in Rockhampton in 1902 and was collated Archdeacon of the Diocese simultaneously.

This theological flavour was to be part of the entire ecclesiastical Province of Queensland from its inception in 1905. Indeed before the formal inception of the Province the dioceses of Brisbane, Rockhampton, North Queensland and New Guinea (which was part of the constituted Province of Queensland) all had bishops of the Webber school and the proposed province constituted such a formidable bloc of like thought in regard to churchmanship and administration that its

inauguration was feared by the conservative evangelicals of Sydney especially by the Primate Archbishop W. Saumarez Smith.²⁵

The doctrine of the Anglo-Catholics was essentially that of the Western Church of Europe centred on Rome. The teachings were those espoused by the Tractarians who gave a Catholic interpretation to the rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer and the thirty-nine Articles of Religion published in 1563. These latter were seen as capable of a Catholic interpretation and not a polemic against the Catholic religion in general. Pre-reformation Church of England beliefs in matters of doctrine and worship became the vogue, and continued to be until the 1960s.

The outward signs of this were to be found in the church buildings where holy tables had become unmistakably altars, on which candles were lit and priests presided in eucharistic vestments attended by acolytes, where the service was sung by robed choirs and where gradually the celebration of the Eucharist became the central act of worship on Sunday morning at an early hour, supplanting the recitation of Mattins at eleven o'clock.

By the time of Bishop Dawes' resignation of the See in 1908, this was the usual pattern in the parishes of the Diocese. The Parish of North Rockhampton was a little slower than others to conform but this may have been due more to the rivalry with the neighbouring Cathedral parish than innate conservatism north of the river.

Liturgical practices, such as those mentioned, and the use of furnishings with an overt catholic significance were much in evidence in all parish churches and other

²⁵ Rayner, *op. cit.*, p.275.

places of worship in the Diocese by the end of the Halford episcopate. Dawes allowed and Halford encouraged the use of these outward signs. The six points regarded as essential marks of catholic observance as detailed by Reed were all in place in all parishes in the Diocese by the end of Halford's episcopate. They were the use of eucharistic vestments, the eastward position of the celebrant at the altar, the use of altar candles, the mixed chalice, the use of wafer bread at communion and the use of incense. Of the six, the use of incense was the last to become common but its use on major festivals such as Easter, Christmas, Patronal Festival and Whitsuntide was usual. There was no public objection to these outward signs and their introduction does not rate a mention in the parish records, nor is there evidence of formal objection in faculty applications of the time.²⁶

Dawes did not wear the cope and mitre as Episcopal liturgical habit but Halford, in 1909, was consecrated in this vesture – the first in Queensland. The injection of well bred well educated and youthful clergy into the Diocese via the Brotherhood reinforced this establishment of a definite churchmanship style. The early foundations of it were, of course, laid by the Revd Thomas Jones at St. Paul's. Jones was a convinced Catholic and before he died in 1918 he wrote -

I am disappointed. The Church is losing her hold on the people, both here and in the old country. The mind of the Church of England is not yet moving in the direction of the Catholic Revival, and there is no hope for the church until she gets out of the groove she is in. Respectability has killed us; we are out of touch with the working man.²⁷

Clergy such as Jones, who returned to Brisbane in 1864 were introduced by the Bishops and Dawes was not backward in setting his mark, in this matter, upon the

²⁶ Faculty Records, 1909-1920, Rockhampton, A.A.

Diocese. As a follower of the Oxford Movement his concept of episcopal authority as had been Webber's and Tufnell's before him was that the bishop's authority was an indispensable part of Catholic doctrine and that the episcopate was of the essence of the Church. In Ignatius of Antioch's (35-107) terms "where the bishop is there is the Church". The bishop was of the *esse* of the Church and not just an administrator or moral guide nor even a civil servant nor part of the royal court as had been the case in English experience. Rayner maintains that ecclesiastical policy and churchmanship tended to harden along diocesan boundaries²⁸ because some clergy were keen to come to the colonies to see their particular form of Anglicanism established in the new environment. In Queensland this was, after the initial stages, a matter of clergy of the Anglo-Catholic persuasion being attracted on a Provincial basis. The Diocese of Rockhampton being part of that movement.

The extent of the English pattern and mind set concerning ecclesiastical policy on Central Queensland can be gauged from the fact that it took until 1928 for an Australian born bishop to be elected and the first Australian born priest to be ordained in the Diocese was in 1912 and in 1910 the Synod was told by Halford –

emphatic demand from every part of the diocese... is for clergy. All but one of the clergy working in the diocese have come to us from the old country. We are here to build up an Australian church; to create a national church of Australia within the Catholic Church - a church which will have its own characteristics and to which its people shall contribute of their own spirit.²⁹

²⁷ *Church Chronicle*, Brisbane, January 1908.

²⁸ Rayner, *op. cit.*, p.133.

²⁹ Presidential Address, *Synod Reports 1910*, Diocese of Rockhampton, p.16.

On the fourth Sunday of Advent 1912, the Revd Thomas Freeman was ordained to the priesthood and Percy Demuth, Halford's protégé, was made a Deacon. These men were products of the theological college at Nundah which had been established in 1907 following earlier efforts to educate and train clergy in the Diocese of Brisbane since 1897. This college was preparing candidates for examination by the Australian College of Theology set up by the General Synod of the Church of England in Australia and Tasmania in 1891. The College of St. Francis at Nundah and later at Milton prepared men for ordination from 1897 to the present, in the first one hundred years it has had only two Principals born in Australia. Canon Jim Warner, Principal from 1982 - 1988 was a native of Cairns with his priestly formation at Oxford and the Reverend James McPherson, a native of Canberra, from 1992 to 1999.

St. Francis' College was founded in the same year, 1897, as the Brotherhood of St. Andrew. Archdeacon David, as Administrator of the Diocese of Brisbane addressing the Synod, announced the establishment of a diocesan theological college which would train and prepare for ordination local candidates in an attempt to produce "a supply of clergy from its own resources".³⁰

The College was first known as The Brisbane Theological College and its aim was to prepare candidates for ordination from the Diocese of Brisbane. By 1907, when the new College was opened in Nundah and the Province of Queensland had come into being in 1905, and the Archbishop (St. Clair Donaldson) had completed a tour of the new Province, the College had become a Provincial College. In 1910

³⁰ Administrator's Address to Synod (of Brisbane), 1897 as cited in W. Stegemann, *Striving Together for the Faith of the Gospel, a History of St. Francis' Theological College 1897-1997*, (Brisbane: ATA – Riverside Graphics), p.2.

it was renamed St. Francis' College.³¹ Candidates from the Diocese of Rockhampton were sent to the College, the first being Percy Demuth in September 1909.³² The Diocese sent its candidates with the exception of Fred Paterson, mentioned later, exclusively to St. Francis' College for the remainder of the time under investigation in this study and until the mid 1980s.

At the top level of hierarchy and at the most influential positions of training and selection of clergy the Diocese of Rockhampton has had a foundation of English influence but rather less so than the other dioceses of the Province. The Diocese of Brisbane had the first Australian born bishop as an assistant before the turn of the century (Stretch 1895) but no Australian born Bishop or Archbishop of the Diocese until 1990, with the election of Bishop Peter Hollingworth. In Central Queensland the English hegemony continued until the election of Bishop Ash in 1928 and with one exception - Bishop J.B.R. Grindrod 1971-1981 - no other Englishman occupied the cathedra of the Diocese. This is not to say that English influences did not continue in the life of the Diocese, some very influential and long serving clergy were of English origin among them Archdeacon A.A. Fellows a priest of the Diocese for over fifty years and editor of the *Church Gazette* in his later years.

As referred to earlier in this Chapter, the Anglo-Catholicism of the latter part of the nineteenth century in regional Australia differed from the Anglo-Catholicism of England. By the end of the nineteenth century the movement in England was centred in urban and suburban parishes and in general there was an affinity in liturgical practice and outward furnishings and dress in those churches which

³¹ *ibid.*, p.6.

demonstrated this approach to continental catholicism. In the Australian colonies this was not so obviously the case. Anglo-Catholicism was essentially a rural phenomenon in Australia and while in England some parishes in each diocese were associated with it, in Australia it tended to be a whole diocese which claimed affiliation. Largely this came about through the influence of the diocesan bishops whose authority was supported by the understanding of the obedience due to the diocesan bishop on the part of the clergy. Also the existence of "parson's freehold"³³ in the Australian Church was at least debatable, and rarely put to the legal test, so that the bishops were able to exercise considerably more discipline in the ways in which their parishes and diocese functioned and what outward expressions of worship were encouraged. The bishops' choice of clergy to serve in their dioceses was also a means of ensuring that the right sort of clergy made up the bulk of those serving in the diocese. The system of nomination to parishes in the Rockhampton Diocese allowed for a veto by the bishop on any nomination to the office of parish priest.³⁴ Thus a uniformity of doctrinal and liturgical emphasis was established and maintained.

This Anglo Catholic reverence for the office of the Bishop derived from the teaching of the early and undivided Church and of the post Reformation Church of England that the bishop is of the esse of the Church and the visible centre of unity. The early Australian bishops had claimed this authority as derived from their Letters Patent and thus the authority was secular and derivative from the British Crown.

³² A.P. Kidd (ed.), *Halford, the Friar Bishop*, (Toowoomba: Church Archivists' Press, 1998), p.19.

³³ "Parson's Freehold" refers to the long established English situation where a parish priest, duly and canonically instituted and inducted, can retain his parish for life. He can only be removed after court action proving guilt of an indictable crime or of heresy. It was protection for the parish clergy against the whim of the bishop.

³⁴ *Constitution and Canons of the Diocese of Rockhampton*, Parochial Canon 1893. Part iv.

After the consecration of Dawes in 1890 without Letters Patent, this authority was claimed solely on ancient understanding of the role of a bishop in the church universal. Two matters illustrate this point. Australian bishops were careful to retain the title and style of "chief minister" in their cathedral churches. They did not follow the English custom of having this office filled by a Dean who had final authority over the regulation of the Cathedral and they ensured that religious orders working in their dioceses owed primary allegiance to them as diocesans and not to any outside authority. They were also, according to Frappell "the most domineering of diocesans,"³⁵ and very often ruled in a manner which reflected the doctrine of a monarchical episcopate as espoused by most Anglo Catholics. In the Province of Queensland this state of affairs regarding episcopal authority had begun with Tufnell, the first Bishop of Brisbane and had been somewhat eclipsed during the episcopate of the next bishop, Hale, but had been reinforced in a more dynamic fashion during the influential reign of the third bishop, Webber. Dawes, first bishop of Rockhampton, was through and through a "Webber man"³⁶ as was Frodsham in North Queensland. Thus the Anglo Catholic nature of the Province was established by the early 1900s.

There was little danger that the Anglo-Catholicism of the rural areas of Australia would follow the *ultra montane*³⁷ direction of the movement in urban England. Most of the bishops, including those of Rockhampton, and the influential clergy were what was described as "prayer book catholics", that is that while teaching catholic doctrine they believed that the Church of England was the ancient catholic Church

³⁵ Frappell, op. cit., p.142.

³⁶ K. Rayner, op. cit., p.229. "The Webber men" were priests brought to Brisbane by Bishop Webber who became administrators and organizers as was the Bishop himself.

³⁷ *Ultra Montane* is a term used to describe those who look beyond the mountains (the Alps) to Rome for direction and teaching.

of the people of England and that the Book of Common Prayer of 1662 along with the Articles of Religion of 1571 and the Canons Ecclesiastical of 1604 were capable of a catholic interpretation and were not at all contrary to the teachings of the universal and undivided Church. From their point of view the Church of Rome was but another part of the Church Catholic and that the aping of Roman Catholic customs in worship and clerical dress both liturgical and extra liturgical was unnecessary and somewhat gauche. This situation regarding outward forms was to gradually change so that by the middle of the twentieth century many outward marks previously considered Romish had been adopted and acclimatised in the Diocese of Rockhampton.

There were two elements in the wariness of adopting Roman outward forms being experienced in the Diocese along with other parts of the church in Queensland. One was the impact of the Papal Encyclical - *Apostolicae Curae* - published in 1897, which declared Anglican orders of ministry "absolutely null and utterly void"³⁸ and the other was the political situation between England and Ireland. In the Diocese of Rockhampton and especially in the see city this latter factor was of considerable importance as there was a preponderance of Irish Roman Catholic settlement in and around Rockhampton.

The impact of *Apostolicae Curae* was such that Anglicans of the Catholic persuasion, especially the clergy became almost paranoid in their defense of the validity of Anglican orders. The use of the word "catholic" was never used without the geographical adjective to describe catholics of the Roman obedience, phrases such as "Aunty" to describe the Roman Church while the Anglican ecclesia was

³⁸ *Apostolicae Curae*, as published in *Anglican Theological Review*, 78, 1 (1996), pp.137-137.

called "Mother". Children were taught quite firmly that they were Catholics first and Anglicans second in state school religious instruction.³⁹ When William Wand was elected to be Archbishop of Brisbane in 1934 the need to justify Anglican claims to orthodoxy in consecration of bishops was still at a high level. The bishops of the Province of Queensland petitioned the Archbishop of Canterbury to have Wand consecrated in England and they specifically asked for bishops of the Old Catholic Church⁴⁰ to be co-consecrators with the English bishops lest there be any ambiguity about the consecrators being in the unquestioned line of succession from the apostles.⁴¹

The impact of the Irish "troubles" of 1916 was also quite important as all Roman Catholics were seen as Irish and therefore likely to be not one hundred percent loyal to the British Crown. The percentage of Irish clergy and religious was quite high and the old myths of English Irish conflict were kept alive in parochial schools along with the "Nag's Head Tale"⁴² of Anglican episcopal consecration. The percentage of Anglican clergy of English origin was also high⁴³ and so the barricades were drawn on nationalist lines through the 1890s until the Second Vatican Council of 1962-65.

³⁹ Author's own experience in 1930s in Townsville.

⁴⁰ The Old Catholic Church was a collection of dioceses in the Netherlands and Germany which has separated from formal communion with Rome following the declaration of Papal Infallibility in 1870 they had retained their validly ordered ministry, and therefore apostolic succession.

⁴¹ Letter from J.O. Feetham as Acting Metropolitan to the Archbishop of Canterbury, copy in author's possession.

⁴² The Nag's Head was the London tavern where, Roman Catholic apologists maintained, Elizabeth I's Archbishop of Canterbury, Parker, was invalidly consecrated a bishop without Catholic ceremony or sacrament. This tale was never put forward from official sources but on the popular level it remained one of the "arguments" against the validity of Anglican priestly orders. The official objection to the validity of Anglican orders in *Apostolicae Curae* was based on a defect of "intention". This was answered in scholarly Latin by the two Archbishops of England in February 1897.

⁴³ There were no Australian born clergy ordained in the Diocese of Rockhampton until 1912 when Halford's protégé, Percy Demuth, was ordained. By 1940 there were 23 clergy in the Diocese and eleven were of English origin and training.

In spite of or maybe because of, these sectarian factors the outward forms of worship and the general accoutrements of the Anglican Church in the Rockhampton Diocese came to resemble those of the Roman Catholic Church quite closely. The Anglicans were anxious to “prove” their Catholic credentials. Apart from the liturgical language used, Latin in one and Elizabethan English in the other, the person in the pew would not have been able to tell which liturgy was in progress in the two traditions if they had missed the sign outside the Church on their way in.

During Bishop Dawes' episcopate contacts with England were maintained and the English clergy brought to the Diocese were of the catholic variety. Dawes himself had favoured this development. However, those who came soon found that the Anglo-Catholicism of urban England had to be acclimatised to Central Queensland conditions. It was not possible for itinerant Brothers to maintain all the disciplines and ceremonies of the urban catholic parish. Musical instruments and musicians were scarce, the vestments and hangings had to contend with insects and heat and the population in most centres was not numerous enough to recruit squads of servers and choirs. The ministry was much more one of maintaining catholic order and sacraments rather than regular displays of catholic ceremonial. In the more settled places there was the opportunity to use ceremony as a tool of evangelism rather like its use in the slum parishes of East London or in the industrial parishes of Northern England.

Not long after the arrival of the first Brothers and the spread of the Brotherhood idea into neighbouring Dioceses the search for a more proactive method of spreading the faith was being sought. The Brotherhood movement had, at its

beginnings, an identification with the poor and deprived. Bishop Westcott it was said had missed out on the See of York because of his perceived socialism. In 1890 the Conservative Prime Minister scotched the Queen's suggestion of him for this post, by drawing her attention to "the Socialist tendencies of the speeches he has made since becoming a bishop."⁴⁴ He was the president of the Christian Social Union and he had been asked to mediate between the predominantly Methodist miners of County Durham and their employers in 1892. He was successful in lessening the reduction in wages proposed. It was to Westcott that Dawes had turned when seeking a solution to his problem of manpower, and it was from the industrial parish of Jarrow in Westcott's diocese of Durham that Halford had come to be the first Bush Brother.

While enormous differences could be seen in the sociology of industrial northern England and central western Queensland one thread can be perceived to run through both situations. Poverty comes from deprivation and while the sons and daughters of miners in County Durham were poor because of the lack of work, they were also deprived of basic education which would have eased their lot. The same could be said for the sons and daughters of the pioneering grazing families and the itinerant station workers of Winton, Longreach, Barcaldine and Blackall. The opportunity for education was lacking in both cases.

The Anglo-Catholic clergy from England had, for the most part, a belief that the central act of worship of the Christian Church, the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, was a type of the ultimate drama in which justice would be distributed far more evenly among the deprived. With this spiritual basis the English clergy in Central

⁴⁴ D.L. Edwards, *Christian England Vol.3*, (London: Collins, 1984), p.216.

Queensland, and other parts, set about establishing opportunities for education for those deprived of it, for reasons of financial difficulty or geographical distance, as will be discussed in Chapter 7, in relation to the social conscience of Anglicans in Central Queensland.

Many individual informal efforts in tutoring were made by clergy but in the Diocese of Rockhampton some more formal places of education were founded. The first was a school building built in 1900 next to the Cathedral in William Street. This was a functioning day school and it was staffed by an order of nuns called the Order of the Servants of the Cross. These women were led by the improbably named Mother Mary Gloriana.⁴⁵ The next was a hostel built in 1913 at the corner of Agnes and Denham Streets in Rockhampton. This was known as St. Paul's Hostel and it was designed to cater for girls from the bush areas who needed accommodation so that they could attend the newly established Rockhampton Girls' Grammar School.⁴⁶ In 1919 a secondary boarding school for boys and girls was established in Barcaldine and named St. Peter's after the dedication of the Parish.⁴⁷ This school was staffed by secular clergy at first but by 1925 it was under the oversight of an English religious brotherhood the Oratory of the Good Shepherd, which at this time also staffed the Cathedral parish. Next St. Faith's School, a boarding school for girls, was established in Yeppoon in 1921.⁴⁸ This school was staffed and managed for the Diocese by the Society of the Sacred Advent, a community for women based in Brisbane. The community also managed girls' boarding schools in Herberton, Townsville, Charters Towers, Warwick and Brisbane. All these centres were headquarters of the various Brotherhoods of

⁴⁵ A.A. Fellows, *Full Time*, (Rockhampton: Diocese of Rockhampton, 1967), p.149.

⁴⁶ *ibid*, p.102.

⁴⁷ *ibid*, p.123.

⁴⁸ *ibid*, p.126.

each of the three dioceses, North Queensland, Rockhampton and Brisbane. The last surviving school in the Diocese of Rockhampton was St. Faith's which closed in 1967.⁴⁹

While education was a means of fulfilling the socialist ideal of moving towards equality of opportunity for the deprived, there were also other practical means of fulfilling the ideal of giving so much as a cup of cold water⁵⁰ to those deprived. In the last days of Bishop Dawes' time in the Diocese a rescue home known as St. Mary's was founded in Davis Street Rockhampton and staffed by the same sisterhood as had staffed St. Paul's School. St. Mary's Home became one of Bishop Halford's major concerns and there is a letter from Halford to his clergy dated 1907 in which he begs for support for the Home from the parishes. In his quaint English turn of phrase he asks help for "these poor girls who have fallen in the bush".⁵¹ This home was to be the foundation for St. George's Homes for Orphans functioning at Parkhurst by 1917.⁵²

At the time these efforts on behalf of the deprived were going on there was also much activity in the building of places of worship, and residences for clergy and new parochial areas were being founded, throughout the Diocese. The Anglo-Catholic clergy were not backward in furthering their cause in the way in which these buildings were ordered and furnished and in what ceremonies were conducted there but they were also politically active in ensuring that Halford was elected second bishop on Dawes' resignation of the See. This election in 1908

⁴⁹ Minutes of Diocesan Council, Diocese of Rockhampton, 1967, A.A.

⁵⁰ A reference to the Gospel of Matthew, 10:42.

⁵¹ *Church Gazette*, Rockhampton, March 1907.

⁵² Licence from Queensland Department of Child Care, 1917, Rockhampton, A.A.

guaranteed the Anglo-Catholic direction of Diocesan policy for the next eighty years.

The rather vague respectably low church mood of the laity was effectively counteracted by these works. It was one thing to complain or disapprove of ritualistic practices in worship or church furnishings and haberdashery which gave one uneasy feelings of being taken to Rome by stealth but quite another to appear ungrateful for the personal sacrifice and organisational skills which went with the provision of schooling at a reasonable cost - the alternatives were in Sydney or Melbourne - and housing and care for abandoned children. While not entirely approving of high church 'goings on' these could be regarded as matters which were peripheral when pastoral care was unstintingly given.

The arrival of the Oratory of the Good Shepherd⁵³ from England in 1925 to take charge of the Cathedral parish was the point from which, in Anglo-Catholic terms, there was no going back. The Oratory was a group of clergy who had a common rule of life including celibacy and who lived as a *quasi*-religious community. They came at the invitation of Bishop Crick, the third bishop. There were three priests in the first contingent led by Archdeacon Arthur Robinson who had been head of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew.⁵⁴ The other priests who accompanied him were The Reverend Leonard Poole and The Reverend Rex Malden. Robinson also brought a candidate for ordination, Henry Hannaford who was ordained priest in 1933 and some young laymen. These young men remained and their families became stalwarts of the Church in Rockhampton (Joe Green) and Townsville (Bill

⁵³ Fellows, op. cit. p.152.

⁵⁴ Records of Diocesan Clergy, Diocese of Rockhampton, A.A.

Huggett).¹ Robinson remained at the Cathedral until 1930 when he returned to the West and the headship of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew. Robinson had gone directly on his arrival from Jesus College Cambridge to Longreach in 1905.²

It was the priests of the Oratory who were responsible for the installation in the Cathedral of the tabernacle to house the reserved sacrament and the introduction of the Lady Chapel in the north aisle. Both these introductions in the Cathedral were regarded, at the time, as being "advanced" in churchmanship terms. They preceded the same introductions in St. James's Cathedral Townsville and St. John's Cathedral Brisbane by some years. There seems to have been little controversy in Rockhampton about such matters. Archdeacon Robinson's winning personality and transparent care for his people no doubt made vocal dissent difficult. The Anglo-Catholic nature of the Diocese was firmly established but the depth of feeling about Rome was intense. By 1934 Feetham as acting Metropolitan expressed it in a letter to Wand before he left England to be enthroned as Archbishop of Brisbane (see Appendix 8).

The same motivation which had caused the establishment of the schools and rescue home was the basis for other "missionary" works such as the mission to the South Sea Island people in North Rockhampton and work with aboriginal people at Woorabinda and numerous guilds and societies for the improvement of young people, women and the advancement of overseas mission. These missionary endeavours are discussed in more detail in subsequent chapters of this work.

¹ Fellows, *op. cit.*, p.152.

² Records of Diocesan Clergy, Diocese of Rockhampton, A.A.

Chapter 6

Leadership and the Laity

“Invariably men of importance in the colony”¹

The laity constitutes the majority of the Church in any place at any time. Without the *laos* there is no Church and while, in catholic teaching and Anglican practice, the episcopate is essential to the Church, the Church's mission depends upon the laity. The Diocese of Rockhampton was no exception to this rule and in this chapter the influence of the laity on the establishment and progress of the Diocese is examined. The origins of some of the more influential leaders of the laity and any class element in lay leadership, in relation to change in Diocesan policy as the result of these factors, is discussed. The evidence demonstrates that the laity were, in general, a conservative element while the clergy were those pushing for change. The laity saw in the Church a bulwark against the shocks of life in the new environment, the clergy were avid for transplantation of the institution from its English seedbed to its colonial setting. The clergy, especially the Brothers of St. Andrew, were in the Diocese on a temporary basis, they could afford to be somewhat less conservative, and more adaptable.

At the end of the nineteenth century the Anglican Church's mission in countries and colonies other than England was considered to be part of the responsibility of the laity and not just of the bishops and priests. After the American war of independence synodical government with episcopal oversight became the norm in the newly created United States of America in the Episcopal (Anglican) Church. In the Australian colonies, by 1850, the already discernible move by colonial

¹ S. Judd and K. Cable, *Sydney Anglicans*, Anglican Information Office, Sydney, 1987, p.37.

Anglicans to set up more democratic means of government of the Church and a consequent limit on the executive power of the Bishop was apparent. This was not entirely without episcopal support, Bishop Perry of Melbourne wrote

With regard to the Church in these colonies I am convinced in my own mind, that it will never gain a hold of the affections of the people, unless there be something of the popular element introduced into its constitution. Even now there are not a few who talk of what they absurdly call a free Episcopal church! I do not anticipate that this feeling will come to any sort of head here at present, but I feel assured that it would do so.... if the Bishop should retain the power of appointing ministers at his sole discretion, and exercising an indefinite authority over the clergy.²

Perry's insight into the developing psyche of Anglicans in the Australian colonies was correct. Within the next fifty years after his opinion was offered the establishment of a further eight dioceses was effected. All had constitutions which provided for Synodical government, which included, *ipso facto*, lay participation at the highest level. These constitutions placed restraints upon the action of the bishops in a way which had never been experienced in England. Rockhampton was one of those eight diocese established between 1850 and 1900.

The degree of influence upon Church law and regulation which the English laity exercised historically was confined to those laity who were either the Monarch or members of the two Houses of the English Parliament. It had been assumed that the members of the House of Commons, the only forum without clerical representation, who were all theoretically members of the Church of England,

²R. Sturmeay, 'Anglicanism and Gender' in A.W. Black (ed.), *Religion in Australia Sociological Perspectives*, (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1991), p.43 quoting A. deQ. Robin, *Charles Perry Bishop of Melbourne*, (Nedlands: University of Western Australian Press, 1967), p.64.

spoke for the laity. From the Emancipation Act of 1829 the Church of England had been more and more disenchanted with the members of the House of Commons being the *de facto* representatives of the laity in regard to legislation which had direct effects upon the Church.

Change in this state of affairs was extremely difficult to effect and in fact only limited change was brought about in the 1970s in England. A return to what was perceived as the primitive relationship between the bishops the clergy and the laity had its beginnings in the post independence American former colonies and spread quite rapidly to the overseas colonies, including those in Australia. David Galbraith underlines this fact when making a comment about the relators in the Bathurst Red Book Case of 1948. He uses a quote from Judd and states:

The laity were as much part of the Church of England as the clergy and the bishop, and their rights could not be flouted.³

This was true on the legal and canonical level but, in reality, the lead of the clergy and especially that of the Bishop has been the determining factor in the exercise of power in the Conferences, Consultancies and Synods of the Diocese of Rockhampton. Monarchical episcopacy as practiced in the Diocese, along with other Australian dioceses, means that the Bishop has the power of veto over Synod acts and resolutions as well as those of its committees and boards, and he can also, in Rockhampton, nominate and veto nominations of priests for the parishes.

³ D. Galbraith, *Just Enough Religion to make us Hate*, (Sydney University, Ph.D. Thesis, 1999), p.446.

Within eight months of its formal inception, on 30 November 1892 with the enthronement of the first bishop, the first Synod of the Diocese was summoned to meet on 27-30 June 1893⁴. The laity were represented in the proportion of ten lay members to seven clergy.⁵ In the Constitution of the Diocese which came into effect in 1893 and with the *Church of England Act 1895* (Qld), this representation thereafter was fixed at the level of three laity from each parish. This level of lay representation remains in 2002.⁶

As suggested earlier, the origins of some of the influential leaders of the laity in the Diocese of Rockhampton and the way in which the class element, as in lay leadership, may have changed in the period under review has been examined. The class element as in the change from English migrant laity to Australian born leaders in particular is evident. As would be expected, the members of the laity who met in Rockhampton in 1887 at the Church of England Conference were already "adherents" from the Central District all with close links with "home"⁷. Although "many ladies" were present the delegates to the conference and all the speakers were men⁸. The speakers, other than the clergy, from the Central District were representatives from Blackall and Gladstone, but the speakers were predominantly the clergy. The Conference resulted in the setting up of a committee to organise an appeal for funds to finance the proposed See of Rockhampton. The membership of that committee, other than clergy comprised laymen from Gladstone, Rockhampton, Calliungal - the pastoral area around Mt. Morgan, Waverley - the pastoral area centred on St. Lawrence, Clermont,

⁴ *Synod Reports 1893*, Diocese of Rockhampton.

⁵ *ibid.*

⁶ *Constitution and Canons, 1999*, Synod Canon 1893-1999, Diocese of Rockhampton, 1999.

⁷ Report of Church of England Conference, *Morning Bulletin*, Rockhampton, 27 October-1 November 1887.

⁸ *ibid.*

Springsure and Blackall. The centres of Rockhampton and Gladstone provided the majority of members of the Committee⁹. The members of the committee would be described, in today's terms, as belonging to the white collar and grazing occupations. There were politicians (Hunter of Gladstone) and storekeepers (Denne of Springsure) among the merchant representatives.

The principal centres of population at the time of the foundation of the Diocese were Rockhampton (including Mt. Morgan), Blackall (including the centres of Longreach, Winton, Aramac and Barcaldine), Clermont (including Peak Downs, Emerald and Springsure) and Gladstone (the Port Curtis District). These centres, according to the census figures for 1891, had total populations of Rockhampton 11,629, Clermont 5,288, Blackall 4,529 and Gladstone 3,306.¹⁰

Rockhampton was the major port and trading centre as well as being the focus for administration; Gladstone (Port Curtis) had been established as the centre of the Port Curtis District in January 1854, at the same time as the country to the west of the coastal ranges had been established as the Leichhardt District. Rockhampton, set up as a port for the pastoral industry, had the advantage of easier access from the pastoral runs on the Upper Dawson, which had been set up in the mid 1850s. Although Rockhampton was established in the Port Curtis District its population soon eclipsed that of Gladstone after the Canoona gold rush in 1858, and from then on held undisputed primacy as the centre of the District.¹¹

⁹ *ibid.*

¹⁰ M.E.R. MacGinley, *A study of Irish immigration to and settlement of Queensland 1885-1912*, (University of Queensland, M.A. Thesis, 1972), p.32.

¹¹ L.M. McDonald, *Rockhampton, A History of City and District*, (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1981), p.19-21.

By the 1880s, when the Church of England Conference was held, Blackall was the centre of the extensive wool grazing area west of the Dividing Range which, at this time, was the most influential single industry in Central Queensland. In the psyche of Central Queensland, grazing was, from its earliest settlement until the present, the premier industry and those involved in it carried great social status. The representatives at the Conference from the west were not unaware of this ascribed status and used their position to make their voices heard.

Springsure was, in 1887, the end of the branch line from Emerald south and thus directed the produce from that area to Rockhampton.¹² Rolleston, seventy-one kilometres south east of Springsure, was, by 1894, the site of the first attempt in Central Queensland to set up a “village settlement” after the style encouraged by the government for new agricultural development. In that year, 250 settlers set up a co-operative on 3000 acres (1214 hectares) in Rolleston, with government assistance. The Reliance Co-operative Group suffered the same fate as most such idealistic “socialism in our times” co-operatives did and by August 1899 the village was deserted.¹³ This attempt at closer and more intense agricultural settlement lent to Springsure a status different from other pastoral districts in Central Queensland.

It was the representatives from these centres who took leading parts in the discussion concerning the separation of the new Diocese of Rockhampton from

¹² *ibid.*, p.165.

¹³ *Morning Bulletin*, Rockhampton, 10 March 1894; *Morning Bulletin*, Rockhampton, 29 August 1899.

Brisbane. It was the lay representatives from Springsure and Blackall, in particular, who were vocal in supporting the foundation of a separate diocese.¹⁴

By the time of the first Synod of the Diocese in 1893 Mr H Mills of Gladstone was the only representative in the House of Laity, from the original committee set up as a result of the Conference¹⁵. At the Synod of 1900 there were thirteen lay members and fourteen clergy present,¹⁶ in 1910 the figures were twenty-two lay representatives and twelve clergy.¹⁷ In 1920 the proportion of laity to clergy was thirty-one to eighteen¹⁸. 1920 was the year of Bishop Halford's resignation and election synods were called in April and again in June of that year. The April session of the synod had nineteen lay members present and sixteen clergy¹⁹. This was the second occasion where elected lay representatives of the parishes of the Diocese took part in the election of the Bishop, and it was the laity who were responsible for the election at that session of The Revd Canon Ernest Hughes, Vicar of St. Peter's Eastern Hill, Melbourne as Bishop of Rockhampton. After several ballots the laity vote for Hughes over the rival nominations of D.H. Bountflower, Bishop of South Dorking, favoured initially by the clergy, and Halse, Head of the Brotherhood of St. Barnabas in North Queensland and later Bishop of the Riverina and Archbishop of Brisbane, prevailed. The final vote was

¹⁴ Report of Church of England Conference, *Morning Bulletin*, Rockhampton, 27 October-1 November 1887.

¹⁵ *Synod Reports 1893*, Diocese of Rockhampton, Rockhampton.

¹⁶ *ibid.*, 1900.

¹⁷ *ibid.*, 1910.

¹⁸ *ibid.*, 1920

¹⁹ *ibid.*, p.81.

	Clergy	Laity ²⁰
Bountflower	7	3
Halse	0	1
Hughes	8	15

which gave Hughes the necessary overall majority. However, Hughes refused the invitation and a second special session to elect a bishop had to be called²¹. This second session produced a ratio of eighteen laity to twelve clergy. The members overall had dropped but the proportion of laity over clergy had improved from the previous session. At this session both houses of synod voted not to proceed with the election of a Bishop and that the appointment "be vested in the Bishops of the Province of Queensland". As the original motion not to proceed to elections came from the clergy, the laity had no other choice but to concur,²² and the opportunity to exercise local control over the destiny of the new Diocese was surrendered to the Bishops of the Province. The laity had given up their strong preference to elect as was shown in the final figures from the first special session.

According to Sturmeay

supporting the Church of England was often part of an overall desire to create a cultured "English tone" in colonial society, and to express loyalty to the British Empire and monarch.²³

²⁰ *ibid.*, p.85.

²¹ *ibid.*, p.86. Although there is no direct evidence, local Rockhampton tradition affirms that the refusal to accept the invitation was Mrs Hughes' decision. She was loath to leave Melbourne. This has a very modern feeling about it.

²² *ibid.*, p.87.

²³ R. Sturmeay, *op. cit.*, p.42.

It would seem that this motive, combined with the desire to advertise the financial success of the most influential members of Central Queensland society, was present in the laity over the period covered by this thesis. It was somewhat tempered by the growing sense of Australian identity among the residents of Central Queensland, especially after the first World War, and the lack of a Church presence in many of the areas more remote from white settlement. Many settlers learned to get by without the Church and Anglicans who were not used to an individualised expression of Christianity fell victim to the absence of the Church in their immediate social environment.

Of the laymen present at the first Synod in 1893 one William Spier was a gem merchant responsible, with Dr S. Stuart, for consolidating the marketing of sapphires from the gem fields of the Emerald area,²⁴ another, Holyoake Woodd, was Secretary of Mt. Morgan Limited and a director of the Rockhampton Gas and Coke Company²⁵. The latter remained as Treasurer of the Synod until 1920 when he moved to Bowen²⁶. Harris, representing North Rockhampton, was a city of Rockhampton retailer²⁷. The centres of Gladstone, Barcaldine and Longreach, Aramac, Muttaborra and Winton, Clermont, Springsure and Blackall were all represented but not all by representatives from the areas mentioned as there was a custom of the outlying areas being represented by proxies resident in Rockhampton. The tyranny of distance was to have an effect on the actual participation in decision-making at Synod by the more remote parishes for many years. Actual representation by people from the country parishes rather than by Rockhampton proxies was not established until the 1960s. It was to be

²⁴ L. McDonald, op. cit., p.283.

²⁵ *ibid.*, p.514.

²⁶ *Synod Report 1920*, Diocese of Rockhampton, p.29.

²⁷ McDonald, op. cit., p.531.

Rockhampton and nearby people who represented the western parishes throughout the period of this study. The consequence of this was that the areas of the Diocese, west of the Drummond Range, have always had a character of their own and are regarded as a place apart within the Diocese. Special attention to “the West” is a feature of the collective consciousness of the Diocese. The influence of “the West” far outweighs its population, economic output and parochial strength proportional to the remainder of the Diocese. It could be argued that this is a residual “respect” for the West going back to the first Conference, and the later wool boom years.

During the formative years of the Diocese there is no evidence for a lay force similar to that which existed in Sydney during the 1880s and 1890s. In Sydney there were moves prompted by the laity to oppose any perceived deviation in liturgical practice which could be classed as ritualism. According to Judd and Cable, Sydney laity were anxious to defend the Church of England against the spectre of "Romanism without a Pope"²⁸. They describe Anglican laity in Sydney during those two decades as "yearning to keep their worship simple, Protestant and above all English"²⁹. If such yearnings were present among the laity of Central Queensland there is no evidence of it having any influence in the direction the Diocese was taking in its early years. The laity would have had opportunity to express themselves on these matters with their voice in Synod but their conformity with the wishes of the clergy in the Synods of this time in regard to the election of bishops, and the passage of motions such as the 1911 "Catholic use of the word"

²⁸ S. Judd and K. Cable, *op. cit.*, p.143.

²⁹ *ibid.*

motion³⁰ without apparent demur from the laity, indicate that they saw no conflict between Anglo-Catholic doctrine and ritual with their yearning for English expressions of worship. There was no equivalent in the Diocese of Rockhampton of the Church of England Association in Sydney diocese.

There does seem to be some readiness, at least on the part of the Anglicans in Gladstone, to accept the ministry of Protestant clergy in early days. A meeting of the Church Vestry on 31 January 1882 at which no clergyman was present passed the following motion -

That this meeting, being of the opinion that it was impossible for members of the Church to support a clergyman in this Parish, were they to invite one, it was thought desirable to join with the Presbyterians and invite a Minister (say a Wesleyan) to do duty in both Churches and to visit all Protestant homes in the district. That the Wardens with Mr W Moreley (Headmaster Gladstone State School) be requested to meet the Committee of the Presbyterian Church and endeavour to arrange for a Minister to be invited to take charge of both Churches.³¹

³⁰ *Synod Reports 1911*, Rockhampton, A.A.

Motion 8 – Catholic, Use of the Word

The Rev. E.H.B. Coulcher moved and the Rev. L. Stewart-Wall seconded –

“That this Synod place on record its emphatic disapproval of the practice too prevalent, even among Anglicans of applying the word ‘Catholic’ exclusively to the members of the religious denomination which acknowledges the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, and that the Synod would earnestly remind all Anglicans that such use by them of the term in question is inconsistent with well established historical fact, involves a surrender of a vital principle, and inflicts a grievous wrong upon the Church of their Baptism by implying that it is a non-Catholic and schismatical body.” *Carried*

³¹ W.R. Golding, *A Century of English Church Life Gladstone*, Parish of Gladstone, 1961, page not numbered.

This suggested course of action caused disapproval from Church authorities and as a result Rockhampton clergy began regular visits to Gladstone. It is an example of the laity's capacity to bring pressure to bear on the Church authorities rather than a genuine move toward ecumenical co-operation. It is also an example that the laity were not so fundamentally sectarian and denominational as was the case with the clergy. As the new diocese became established and consolidated into a unit distinct from other dioceses the role of the laity seems to have become less radical than was this early case in Gladstone and conformity to the leadership of the bishop and other clergy became the distinguishing feature of their *modus operandi* in the Synods.

As almost all the clergy in the first two decades of the Diocese's existence were of a fairly uniform English background³² of public school, universities of Oxford and Cambridge and with curacies in the industrial north or London slums, they constituted a sub-class of English migrant to Central Queensland and their values were thoroughly upper middle class. Later there were to be some connections with the families who had similar English roots and who settled the Central Queensland area. Streeten, who was precentor at the Cathedral from 1912 to 1920, married into the pioneering Archer family and therefore into the squatter class.³³ Archdeacon Rogers, 1907 to 1926, was cousin to the Rogers family of Torilla Station in the Broadsound area, and Stanage Bay in that vicinity is named for the ancestral lands of Stanage Park in Shropshire.³⁴ The families of "gentlemen" from England who settled Central Queensland were of the same

³² The first Australian born priest to be ordained in the Diocese was Percy Demuth, who was ordained priest in December 1913. He was a native of Thargomindah. He was Bishop Halford's protégé. See A.P. Kidd, *Halford, the Friar Bishop*, (Toowoomba: Church Archivists' Press, 1998), p.18).

³³ McDonald, op. cit., p.446.

³⁴ *ibid.*, p.53.

class as the clergy and their social homogeneity was demonstrated in these and other ways. Local candidates for ordination in the early years were chosen from the ranks of schoolmasters especially at the Rockhampton Grammar. The most obvious of these being The Revd A.H. Julius who taught at Central Boys' School until being appointed to the inaugural staff at the Grammar School in 1881 during the Headmastership of John Wheatcroft M.A. of St. John's College Oxford. Julius was ordained in 1886 and continued in the Diocese until 1903.³⁵ He went to his uncle's diocese of Christchurch, New Zealand.

Obviously English gentlemen were to be found in the early years in the pastoral industry and in education as well as in the ranks of the clergy. Not all families of English origin were open to social intercourse and membership of the colonial church. One of the surprises in store for Bishop Halford was the rejection of his priestly visit by a family on a property near Longreach in October 1897. He had gone full of hope of being received enthusiastically by the family who were from an English rectory where their father, Hutchings, was parish priest of Sonning and Wargrave.³⁶ They had come to escape from the Prayer Book and Bible which it was wrongly assumed they were missing. The connection with the grazing class was rekindled in the 1930s by the marriage of the widowed bishop (Ash) to the widow of Mr Watts of Evesham station between Longreach and Winton,³⁷ although by this time both participants in the marriage were Australian by birth.

In spite of these close social affinities the English gentlemen of the grazing families of the Diocese were, generally speaking, notable by their absence on

³⁵ Diocese of Rockhampton, A.A.

³⁶ G.D. Halford, Diary entry, 15 October 1897, A.A., Diocese of Rockhampton.

³⁷ A.A. Fellows, *Full Time*, (Rockhampton: Record Printing Co., 1967), p.132.

Church councils and especially at Synod. The proxy system of representation at Synod combined with the difficulty of travel over large distances made representation by this group most difficult and an easy way out was possible. Neither did the families of this social grouping supply the pool of manpower necessary to secure a supply of clergy. Bishops had dwelt at some length on the need for a priesthood from the local congregations, or, as they put it a "native" priesthood, but for the whole of the time under review in this thesis, no candidate from the local grazing families was offering for training to the priesthood. In the Dioceses of North Queensland and Brisbane this was to occur in the 1950s but it has never eventuated in the Diocese of Rockhampton.

From the author's experience the laity by the 1950s had grown used to the situation that the clergy came from outside, preferably from England, that they should be ignorant of the ways of station life and the bush in general and need to be "looked after", a reversal of the traditional pastoring role. In contrast to their parishes geographical situation almost without exception the membership of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew in the Diocese of Rockhampton from 1897 to 1944 was drawn, not from the local bush laity but from the English upper middle class. This applied also to the membership of the Oratory of the Good Shepherd in the Diocese. What vocations to the priesthood there were from the local laity came from the towns and Rockhampton itself.

The localisation of the Church, so far as clerical leadership went, came from southern Australia not from the ranks of the laity of Central Queensland. The leadership of the laity in Synod gradually increased as travel became easier and parishes began to realise that it was to their advantage to be directly represented

at Synod. It was not until the 1950s that these factors co-incided and parishes were represented by their laity directly.

Australianisation or indigenisation of the Synods came slowly but surely as the twentieth century progressed. The fact that the clergy were still numerically dominated by the English until the 1920s will be confirmed in the next Chapter and the gradual achievement of a majority representation by Australian born laity took much the same course and time frame.

Influential laymen whose obituaries were published in the 1930s were almost without exception born in England although some had migrated at a young age. They were men of the white-collar class merchants and administrators with a small group of professionals among them. It appears also that the Masonic craft was well represented among them and given the attitudes prevalent up until the end of the Second World War, the degree of resistance to perceived Roman Catholic dominance in some government departments and in social life was strong if covert. This does not, however, seem to have had a strong influence on the outward ceremony in worship. The clergy had the final say in how this was carried out and there is no evidence that the laity made any strong attempts to prevent what might have been seen as a Romanising trend in the outward forms of worship. By the end of the period canvassed by this thesis the full ceremonial of the Western rite was entrenched in the Diocese and no serious opposition had been raised during its introduction, certainly not by the laity. This contrasts with other dioceses such as Sydney and Adelaide although the outcome in each of those cities was quite different with Sydney eventually being uniformly evangelical without outward catholic ceremonial and Adelaide being predominantly Anglo-

Catholic. Both dioceses had strong lay involvement in the struggle to ascertain in which direction they would go.³⁸

There was no systematic attempt by the Church to settle Central Queensland with English families, as Father Robert Dunne, later Archbishop of Brisbane, had done with Irish immigrant families on the southern Darling Downs, while he was parish priest of Toowoomba between 1863 and 1868. To Dunne the land grab by Irish settlers was a "matter of life and death" and Irish catholic selectors were supported by their compatriot and co-religionist storekeepers and publicans.³⁹ Anglican authorities in Central Queensland were by no means so positive in their attitude to migration by English Anglicans. This, if course, did take place and a majority of these were Anglicans of the class which came as free settlers and took up land for grazing. There was in the 1920s and 1930s a migration of young Englishmen to the Dawson Valley where they worked on the extension of the railway from Rannes to Thangool. Bishop Halford found his "Tyneside boys" whom he had left behind when he came out from Jarrow in 1897 when he made his headquarters at Wowan and Rannes after his retirement from the Bishopric in 1920.

These migrants were part of the arrangement between the British government and the Australian in an attempt to more closely settle Australia and relieve Britain of an oversupply of industrial workers." As Crowley has stated, Australia wanted people, Britain needed markets, so the transfer appeared mutually beneficial."⁴⁰

³⁸ See Judd and Cable, op. cit. for the Sydney experience and J. Scarpe, *The Diocese of Adelaide (and the West)* in B. Porter (ed.), *Colonial Tractarians*, Joint Board of Christian Education, Melbourne, 1989, for the Adelaide experience. These two dioceses were by no means alone in their struggles, they are chosen merely as illustrations.

³⁹ N.J. Byrne, *Robert Dunne, Archbishop of Brisbane*, University of Queensland Press, 1991, p.81.

⁴⁰ F. Crowley (ed.), *A New History of Australia*, (Melbourne: William Heinemann, 1976), p.362.

Many of these supported Halford in his ministrations in the Dawson and Callide Valleys.

I love these eleven o'clock gatherings of the Biloela Sunday. We have quite a lot of English immigrant boys around here – nice boys, all of them, and I am happy that these have all got good homes with nice kindly people. Those within reach come to their communion.⁴¹

The Queensland Government, with the passing of *The Upper Burnett and Callide Land Settlement Act 1923*, began the division of large property holdings in the Callide and Dawson Valleys as well as districts in the Upper Burnett River in Brisbane Diocese. The major towns for this closer settlement in Rockhampton Diocese were Biloela, Thangool, Jambin and Rannes. The most ambitious scheme was the Dawson Valley Irrigation Scheme based on the especially constructed town of Theodore (Castle Creek). The size of blocks for settlement varied from 160 acres to 500 acres and surface water was almost non-existent. In the Dawson Valley irrigation Scheme the projected size was to be 5000 farms with 2000 dry blocks attached. Water was to be supplied from a dam on the Dawson River and an hydro-electricity station installed. The dam was never built and by 1927 the Scheme had come to virtually nothing with people walking off their farms.⁴²

Disastrous floods in 1928 and 1931 put paid to many settlers hopes. A Royal Commission in 1933 recommended larger areas of 1000 acres for dry farming with

⁴¹ G.D. Halford, Diary entry, 26 December 1930, Rockhampton, A.A.

⁴² A.P. Kidd, op. cit., p.95.

40 acres of irrigation from smaller weirs constructed on the Dawson's tributaries.⁴³

Closer settlement by migrants in that area proved disastrous for many of the initial settlers; however, some survived to become stalwarts of the Anglican church in the parishes of Dawson Valley (Baralaba, Moura, Theodore, Rannes, Banana and Cracow) and Callide Valley (Biloela, Thangool, Goovigen, Wowan and Jambin). Many of those who survived to become farmers and settlers began as navvies on the new railway line, and farm labourers. The Church, and the retired bishop, became tangible and symbolic talismans of "home" for these Englishmen but the Church became involved in this immigration by co-incidence rather than by plan. There is, however, evidence of the opening of a home for immigrants in 1892. Bishop Dawes blessed and opened the house which was situated in North Rockhampton and it had been secured by The Reverend Francis Pritt.⁴⁴ This seems to have closed when the government receiving depot for immigrants was opened in South Rockhampton shortly after. The co-incidental close association with migrants in the Valleys mentioned earlier was the only other attempt at a positive outreach to this group, who provided the bulk of lay support in the early stages of the establishment of the Diocese of Rockhampton and, in later times, their descendants who constituted a large proportion of laity.

There is no significant evidence of the Church through its clergy playing any role in the seminal industrial disputes in the shearing and grazing industries of Central Queensland at that time. These disputes gave rise to the birth of the Australian Labor Party in Barcaldine and the Australian Workers' Union. The Church was largely supported financially by the grazing class and the overt objective of the

⁴³ L. McDonald, *op. cit.*, p.73.

⁴⁴ Fellows, *op. cit.*, p.101.

clergy in the 1890s was to bring the gospel to the colonists - the colonists being English settlers and not necessarily Irish or German catholic workers, these like the Aboriginal and Chinese population would have been "lesser breeds without the law."⁴⁵ There were exceptions among the clergy, Hulton Sams⁴⁶ being the most obvious, but by and large the Church related to the managerial and proprietorial class rather than the workers.

The industrial disputes mentioned were centred in the Diocese, in the western areas of Barcaldine, Longreach, Winton and Blackall. The shearers' strike of 1891 seems to have gone by unremarked in the records of the Diocese. The Diocese, of course, did not come into being until the following year and the energies of its leaders were concentrated on that object but the major industrial dispute which led to the establishment of a major political party seems not to have caused a ripple in church circles. Many laity must have been involved but their involvement was not perceived as being part of their Anglican affiliation or calling. The limitation placed on the English clergy by their conditioning of service in the Church of England with its particular cultural ethos was also a limitation on the laity who were products of the Church of England at least in the first three decades of the life of the Diocese of Rockhampton. The Church was part of the fabric of government in England and, even if that situation had not been so in the experience of Queensland, it was treated as if it were by clergy and laity alike until the 1930s.

Laity belonging to the professional class were few in numbers overall in Central Queensland and an examination of the holders of positions in the law in

⁴⁵ R. Kipling, 'Recessional' in *The English Hymnal*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1906), p.721.

⁴⁶ Frederick Hulton-Sams, member of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew 1908-1915. Known as The Fighting Parson.

Rockhampton from 1892 to 1940 show few Anglicans in positions of leadership. The first Central Judge of the Supreme Court established in Rockhampton in December 1895 was The Honourable Virgil Power who was of good Irish catholic lineage.⁴⁷ Of the nine judges who have been designated "Central Judge" only two Campbell J and Kelly J were Anglicans and both came to that position well after the scope of this thesis. Mr Ewan Palmer of the law firm Rees R and Sydney Jones was a leader of the Rockhampton legal fraternity and a practising Anglican in the latter years of this study but no other practitioner of the law is in evidence.

The medical profession, on the other hand, had some contacts with the Church from early days. Before the Diocese came into being the parish priest of Gladstone in 1860 John Sutton was a trained physician and although not one of the laity he practised his profession simultaneously with his duties as priest. He was one of the original clergy to come to Queensland with Bishop Tufnell.⁴⁸ One of the significant medical practitioners of early Rockhampton was Dr William Callaghan who came to Rockhampton in 1861 where he was appointed Coroner and District Medical Officer. His wife Aimee Henrietta was the second daughter of The Very Reverend William Cowper, Dean of Sydney, and therefore, they were members of the Anglican Church. Callaghan was in Rockhampton from 1861 until his death in 1912 and was extremely influential in the town's medical fraternity as well as that of the Rockhampton Jockey Club.⁴⁹ Dr Vivien Voss who has been mentioned in connection with the establishment of St. Mary's Home and the Women's Hospital was a very staunch supporter not only of the Church's welfare

⁴⁷ A.G. Demack, *To Reside among Us*, a history of the Supreme Court in Rockhampton, paper delivered January 1986.

⁴⁸ Golding, *op. cit.*, p.364.

⁴⁹ Mc Donald, *op. cit.*, p.364.

work but of parish life at the Cathedral. His son Dr Paul Voss continued that tradition after his father's death in 1940.⁵⁰

There were many others not members of those particular callings who were stalwarts of the Church in their time and a few of their lives are used as examples of how the Englishness of those who were influential members of the Diocese gradually gave way to an Australian character over time. This change was also largely a result of the "Australianisation" of the clergy from Bishop Crick's time on. Crick's episcopate in Rockhampton came to an end in 1928. The following vignettes are of laity chosen from the earliest times of Diocesan life to the end of the period under examination - 1942.

William Henry Rudd was one of the Rockhampton contingent present at the Church of England Conference of 1887 and from the report of the conference one of its most vocal participants. Rudd spoke with conviction about the people and places of the west of Central Queensland pointing out that it was the incompetence of the clergy in the West which had caused the Roman Church to prosper while the Anglican had great difficulty attracting financial support. What was needed were "men of education who had the ability and the will to do their work thoroughly and well."⁵¹ Rudd was admonished by the presiding bishop, Dr Webber, for apparently denigrating the clergy but Rudd's experience as a salesman, drover and shearing shed hand was much superior to that of the Bishop, when it came to the society of Central Queensland.

⁵⁰ *ibid.*, p.366.

⁵¹ *Morning Bulletin*, Rockhampton, Report on Church of England Conference, 27 October-1 November 1887. p.6.

Rudd was born in Sheffield of a family involved in the ownership of a cutlery firm in 1855 and he emigrated to Australia arriving in Rockhampton in 1879.⁵² After knocking around the Central Queensland bush he accepted the offer of Walter Reid as a western traveller. He was to become Chairman of Directors of Walter Reids one of Queensland's great merchant firms with its origins in Rockhampton and branches in Brisbane and Sydney. He was a powerful figure in the mercantile and pastoral world of Central Queensland and his descendants are still, in 2002, regular communicant members of the Anglican Church in the Diocese.

Joseph Lennon Denne was born in London in 1847 and emigrated to Brisbane at the age of 15. He arrived in Rockhampton in 1865 and remained in Central Queensland for seventy years. Denne was a manager of the general merchant firm of Thompson and Co in Springsure. He later bought out the owners and conducted a successful business and grazing career in that town. He moved to Rockhampton and was a member of the first Synod in 1893, a member of the Diocesan Council and the Parish Council of St. Paul's Cathedral as well as superintendent of the Sunday School at Allenstown for many years. He was prominent in the early life of Springsure and a foundation member of the Loyal Springsure Lodge.⁵³ His descendants are also communicants of the Anglican Church in Rockhampton Diocese in 2002.

By 1915 the representation of the laity in Synod was mainly that of Rockhampton people. The proxy system was in full swing with men such as T.W. Kingel,⁵⁴ a Rockhampton born mayor of the city, newly elected at that time, representing

⁵² McDonald, op. cit., pp.504-505.

⁵³ *Morning Bulletin*, Rockhampton, 25 June 1936.

⁵⁴ Synod Reports 1915-1933, Diocese of Rockhampton, Rockhampton.

Aramac. At that Synod North Rockhampton was represented by a businessman extremely well known and respected in the city, Edward Seymour Lucas. Lucas arrived in Rockhampton in 1863 and became the original partner of James Stewart in the major drapery business of that name. He founded his own drapery business in 1880. Stewart was a strong supporter of the Presbyterian faith - the breakaway variety - and Lucas of the Anglican. Lucas' home *Rockonia* was situated on the western foothills of the Berserker Range,⁵⁵ so he was a resident of the North Rockhampton Parish but his family loyalties seem to have been at the Cathedral, where later his direct descendant Mr Ken Lucas is still honorary vergers at the age of eighty-eight in 2002. E.S. Lucas was a member of the Synod, the Diocesan Council, the Financial Board, an Assessor under the Tribunal Canon and a member of the Diocesan Book Depot Committee in 1915. He held these positions until 1932.⁵⁶

The Diocese had a definitely homegrown product, as an influential layman, in Theodore (Theo.) Kingel. As mentioned before Kingel was born in Rockhampton and the first native born mayor. He was born in 1868 in Quay Lane and he was an original student at the Rockhampton Grammar.⁵⁷ Kingel represented the transition from "English born and bred" to local leadership among the laity. He was a member of the Synod from 1915 to 1936, representing in the earlier years the Parish of Aramac and for the bulk of the time St. Luke's Parish at Wandal.⁵⁸ Kingel's descendants, the McKeague family, are also communicant members of the Diocese in 2002.

⁵⁵ McDonald, op. cit., p.502.

⁵⁶ *Synod Reports 1915-1933*, Diocese of Rockhampton, Rockhampton.

⁵⁷ McDonald, op. cit., p.130.

⁵⁸ *Synod Reports 1915-1936*, Diocese of Rockhampton, Rockhampton.

By 1930 the member of the laity who were Australian born had increased and their number in the House of Laity at Synod had correspondingly increased. The presence of an Australian born Bishop had also added weight to the Australian influence in the decision-making processes of the Diocese. The financial difficulties inherited by Bishop Ash from his English predecessors had thrown a burden on the laity around the Diocese and Ash was not one to shirk his own responsibility to stabilise the financial affairs and to call for help in doing so from the laity.

Members of the Diocesan Council - the ongoing executive between annual sessions of Synod - in the early 1930s contained such names as Pierce, Wilkinson, Williams and Ward from Rockhampton, James from Blackall, Golding from Gladstone all of whom were Australian in origin compared with Verney and Huggett who were English born, six Australians to two English. By 1940 the proportion of Australian born in the lay representation of the same Council was seven to one. The corresponding proportion in the clergy on the same Council in 1940 was five Australian born and two English born. The transition to "native born" decision makers in the Diocese had taken place although the senior clergy, the Archdeacon and Canons, still had a majority of Englishmen, the Archdeacon and two of the Canons out of four were English born.⁵⁹

Kenneth Dempsey,⁶⁰ while making comment on the relationship of the laity to organised Christianity in a small country town, which he names Smalltown, suggests that laity expect the church to be a source of comfort rather than one of

⁵⁹ Ibid., 1940, p.2.

⁶⁰ K. Dempsey, 'Country Town Religion', in A. Black and P. Glasner (eds.), *Practice and Belief*, (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1991), p.35.

challenge. His surveys of Smalltown indicated that laity wanted their clergy to stop challenging them about such issues as wealth, landrights for Aboriginal people, and human rights issues in general. He also suggests that laity, in consistency with the preceding finding, also wished that there be no radical alteration in either the organisational or worship components of their denominational groups. Dempsey claimed that the Anglicans in Smalltown were perfectly happy with the parish priest's pronouncement that he was an unrepentant mediaevalist and that all spiritual matters were his province. His successor as parish priest had encouraged lay participation in pastoral care of parishioners and a few women had responded positively but the vast majority, including all the men, supported the motion that this pastoral care is really the priest's prerogative and his duty.⁶¹

Dempsey was reporting on a Victorian country town in the 1970s but he may well have been writing of any of the towns of Central Queensland during the period under examination. Ruth Sturmeay writing on Anglicanism and gender in Australian Society in Black's *Religion in Australia* also contends that

suburban family life, and the socio economic and gender arrangements that undergirded it, became the new base to which the Church contracted most of its authority. From there it sought to spread its beliefs and values throughout Australian society and maintain its own economic viability. Thus the Church of England gradually accepted that the public sphere operated on secular criteria.

This belief suited its laymen in particular, because it left them free to operate on these principles. There developed the modern Christian habit of aligning the increasingly separate sphere of "work" and public life (of men) with the "secular", while the private

⁶¹ *ibid.*, p.37.

and family world (of women) is regarded as the legitimate haunt of the sacred. This habit, though worldwide, is particularly strong in Australia.⁶²

Sturmey was writing of the period between 1870 and 1914 when the large Australian cities were in their major growth periods. Nevertheless, the application of suburban principles to the smaller provincial towns and cities of Australia can be seen; and Rockhampton, Gladstone and Mount Morgan were no exception. The Brotherhood of St. Andrew was the exception to this rule and while the original intention in its founding was to find a new pastoral method for the sparsely populated "bush", it conformed to Sturmey's opinion in so far as it divided the sacred and secular neatly into two. During its history there was no provision for lay membership and no organisational method whereby lay involvement was possible in its governance.

The period of time suggested by Sturmey covers the first half of the period of this study but the suburbanisation of the methods of pastoral care continued at least up until the Second World War in Central Queensland. While the ethos of the Brotherhood was to provide a different model the reality was that the scattered communities of Central Queensland were to be set up as parishes after the English and suburban model as soon as possible. The more ancient Benedictine model of settlement and gradual expansion which was present in the early stages, and which involved lay participation, never really was established. Parishes came into being in the several towns, and organisations resembling very closely the suburban model came into being. The laity settled comfortably, especially as the English born began to diminish from the ranks of the laity and the Australian born

⁶² R. Sturmey, *op. cit.*, p.45.

proportion increased, into the sharp division between the sacred and secular. The laity became the guardians and carers of the material matters in the parishes and the clergy were kept - often quite willingly - in the realm of the sacred. The laity were "in their place" and quite content it would seem to be there. Mr Henry Mills of Gladstone speaking at the Church of England Conference in Rockhampton in 1887 pleaded for a system of evangelisation whereby lay evangelists and catechists would be employed to care for Anglicans and others as well as (fewer) clergy. While his motive appears to be one of economics – the lay stipend was much lower than that of a clergyman – Mills' model had been used in the slums of London and in the industrial north of England, it was one which involved the laity in the sacred sphere. It was never warmed to by Diocesan bishops and up until the 1960s never tried. The laity were to support the clergy but in their quite carefully defined area of operation in the secular sphere.

The "ladies" who were present at the Conference of 1887 and their successors during the time under study had no canonical place in decision-making but their influence was exercised in a different sphere and by different methods. These methods were those of support for and influence on their husbands and male family members who were the decision makers. The rescue work which evolved into St. Mary's Home bears the marks of this influence and it was staffed exclusively by women, and there were women members of the committee. By and large, however, their roles were confined to those of patronesses, fundraisers, unpaid curates and leaders of guilds and the Mothers' union, as suggested by Ruth Sturmeay in her study of women in the Anglican Church in Australia.⁶³ They

⁶³ R. Sturmeay, *Women and the Anglican Church in Australia*, (Sydney University, Ph.D. Thesis, 1989), pp.151-155.

were part of the laity and the roles they filled, both collectively and individually, and the influences they brought to bear are discussed more fully in Chapter 11.

Chapter 7

Australianisation – 1892-1942

“...there really is a great deal that is pleasant in this country when one is willing to see it, though I can never understand people liking it better than dear old England.”¹

There is some debate among commentators on Australian society as to whether or not there is a distinctive Australian identity. It cannot be claimed that by 1942 the Anglican Church in Central Queensland had assumed a recognisable Australian character to the exclusion of English traits and characteristics. However, an evolutionary process had begun with the establishment of the Diocese of Rockhampton in 1892 and gradual changes in the English norms and values had taken place in the intervening fifty years. The indicators for the evidence of these changes may be found in the areas of governance, liturgical norms, proportions of English born clergy to Australian born clergy, the local election of Bishops rather than delegation outside the diocese, the training and education of the clergy, immigration and moves toward a formal separation of the Australian Church from the Church of England to form a national entity – an Anglican Church of Australia. This Chapter discusses these topics as signs of the gradual growth away from the purely English form of Anglicanism into the beginnings of a more Australian expression of that part of the Christian Church. That change did not take place overnight nor by plan or formal design, nor did it take place without residual English expressions of Anglicanism remaining in the doctrines, worship, titles and

¹ Rachel Henning, letter to her sister Etta in England, 19 July 1861, as cited in *The Letters of Rachel Henning*, (Sydney: Bulletin Newspaper Co., 1952), p.36. The Hennings were the original holders of Marlborough Station north of Rockhampton and products of the English rectory.

architecture of the Anglican Church in Central Queensland. There had been an Australian born Bishop in place for twelve years, all four members of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew were Australian born and more than half of the incumbents of the thirteen parishes were Australian born.

The ethos and culture of Central Queensland society from the beginning of the twentieth century may be described in the terms used by George Shaw in relation to Australian society in general, in an article published in *The Australian Journal of Politics and History*, describes Australian society at the beginning of the twentieth century as having achieved for its members “a political culture which guaranteed that Australians lived in the most democratic and egalitarian of all British settlements”.² He postulates that the achievement of this state of affairs may be explained in three different ways. First, by the theory held by the very small colonial intelligentsia that it was the result of the British genius for constitutional innovation after self-government was granted in 1856. Secondly, that Australia was virtually re-founded after the gold discoveries of the 1850s and subsequent immigration of settlers with different backgrounds than those of the convicts. These immigrants were free settlers with awareness of the new liberalism of Europe and English Chartism in particular. The third explanation, proposed by Shaw, was that the Irish immigrants brought with them the ‘democratic temper and egalitarian character’ which was to mark Australian life later.

Central Queensland society, at the beginning of the twentieth century, was one which could be described in the above terms. There had been no convict past, nor had there been any strong history of the dominance of an English elite in terms of

² G.P. Shaw, ‘Themes in Australian Historical Writing’, in *The Australian Journal of Politics and History*, Vol.41, Special Issue, 1995, p.4.

landholding, as was the case of the plantation society of coastal North Queensland and on the Darling Downs, nor of Scottish capitalists retaining a stranglehold on the commercial life of the area. There were English and Scottish families with grazing interests on predominantly leasehold land and some of these families were supporters of the Anglican Church. The Canoona gold rush of 1858 introduced a mix of immigrants from Britain in the general commercial life of the district. There were significant minorities of Irish, Scots, Scandinavian and German settlers³ in and around Rockhampton, who all added to this social mix and contributed to the social outcome as described by Shaw. By mid-twentieth century many of the descendants of these immigrant settlers, with the exception of the Irish, were members of the Anglican Church: the Archers of Gracemere; the Olssens and Johansens of Wowan; the Kuhns and Keles of Pink Lily; and the Mortensens of Byfield were all of Scandinavian or German origin and all were staunch Anglican families. This population mix in various areas helped move the cultural emphasis from Englishness to a more Australian cultural mode.

In the early years of settlement the yearning for home on the part of English settlers was to provide motivation for the transplanting of the social institution of the Church to Central Queensland. The Church was a tangible reminder of the attitudes and values which had been part and parcel of their Englishness. It is not surprising that this nostalgia provided an impetus for expansion of the Church in the area. Transplantation gradually gave way to assimilation to Australian conditions and attitudes and by the end of the fifty-year period under study in this thesis, the Church had adapted, in many ways, to the local geographical, cultural

³ L. McDonald, *Rockhampton, a History of City and District*, (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1981), p.536. McDonald records the arrival of the *Charles Dickens* in 1879 with five hundred immigrants, mostly Scandinavian and German nationals. See also Table on places of birth from 1891 Census, in the Introduction.

and moral environment in which it was set. It never became completely cut off from its English roots but the difference between the original transplanted institution and the Anglicanism of Central Queensland in the 1940s is obvious as this Chapter demonstrates. A glimmer of the connection between the Australian landscape and the spiritual dimensions of Anglicanism can be seen in the quote from Rachel Henning's letter in the title of this Chapter.

The Anglican Church in Central Queensland, as has been demonstrated in Chapter 2, was seen as an outpost of Empire and, even while the Australian nation was being brought to birth at the turn of the century, and through the trauma of the First World War, the English nature of the Church in Central Queensland was not questioned. The 1920s, however, did see a beginning of the end to this clinging to Mother England. There is some evidence that while the processes of adaptation and assimilation were advanced by the growing Australian component within the Church they were also aided and abetted, and sometimes initiated, by the English clergy.

One major influence in the process of change was the education and training of the clergy and while the local men were slow to hear any call to the ordained ministry it was not for lack of the challenge being an issue. As early as 1895 Bishop Dawes was pointing out in his pastoral address to Synod that

we cannot yet obtain a supply of clergy from our own colony. The more populous Dioceses in the southern colonies are becoming more and more able to do so, some very able men, colonially born and bred, are occupying high positions in the Australian

Church. But in this young missionary diocese we must for some time to come look to the old country for recruits.⁴

His major influence was directed to recruiting in “the old country” and the result was the Brotherhood of St. Andrew’s advent into the Diocese two years later. Little seems to have been done or suggested for putting any challenge for ordination training before local men at that time.

The last major influx of English clergy was in 1926 when the Oratory of the Good Shepherd was invited by Bishop Crick to staff the Cathedral parish. A former head of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew, Archdeacon Arthur Robinson was asked to come as Rector of the Cathedral as he was a member of the Oratory. Two priest brothers Fathers Leonard Poole and Rex Malden and three students Joe Green, Bill Huggett and Bob Ford accompanied Archdeacon Robinson to the Cathedral. Soon after, in 1927, Poole and Malden went to staff St. Peter's School in Barcaldine. In both the Cathedral parish and in the far west at Barcaldine, where they had pastoral care, the influence of the Oratory was significant. They were a quasi-religious order bound by vows of celibacy and obedience and they worked as a team. Archdeacon Robinson stayed for many years and eventually died in the Diocese.⁵ The Oratory was, in many ways, a re-birth of the Brotherhood which had gone into abeyance in 1916, as detailed in the previous Chapter.

⁴ Holyoak Woodd, *Proceedings in Connection with the Synod of the Diocese of Rockhampton during the Episcopate of the first Bishop of the Diocese, the Right Reverend Nathaniel Dawes D.D. 1893-1908*, (Rockhampton: Argus Press, 1909), Presidential Address to Synod 1895, p.2.

⁵ Clergy Records, Diocese of Rockhampton. Robinson died in 1953 and is buried in the North Rockhampton cemetery.

The Brotherhood and the Oratory with their rules of life derived from the monastic rule of St. Benedict were extremely influential in planting and nurturing the seeds of Anglo-Catholicism in the Diocese and their influence, not only in outward ceremonial and observance of worship, but also in their reference to England for the basis of such attitudes and teaching was undeniable. This was of major significance in the process of transplanting the institution but not necessarily in the process of its Australianisation. Both orders were staffed almost entirely by English priests and laymen and most returned to England after their tour of duty.⁶

Until its revival in the 1930s, the Brotherhood of St. Andrew never had a member who was Australian born. The first Australian born priest ordained in the Diocese was Percy Demuth, Halford's protégé, who was made a deacon in 1912 and ordained priest the following year as previously mentioned. Father Demuth remained a priest in the Diocese for twenty years before moving to the Diocese of Brisbane where he took the parish of St. Alban Wilston, where Halford had settled in retirement. Demuth resigned that Parish in 1937 and took furlough in England, returning to Dalby as assistant curate.⁷

The foundation of St. Francis College in Brisbane in 1907⁸ meant that men could be trained for the priesthood locally and that the Church was, in theory, no longer dependent upon English clergy to staff the parishes. In reality the volume of local candidates for ordination was a long way from fulfilling demand. Right up until the 1960s men were being brought from England. The "ten quid pom" was a familiar

⁶ See list of members of the Brotherhood and the Oratory, Appendix 4.

⁷ Clergy Records, Diocese of Rockhampton. See also A.P. Kidd (ed.), *Halford, The Friar Bishop*, (Toowoomba: Church Archivists' Press, 1998) for more detail of Demuth's and Halford's relationship.

⁸ W.C. Stegemann, *Striving Together for the Faith of the Gospel, A History of St. Francis' Theological College, 1897-1997*, (Woolloongabba Q'ld: ATA Riverside Graphics, 1997), p.6.

figure among the clergy in the Diocese. The most notable of these was John Grindrod, who came as a migrant under the ten pound assisted scheme in the early 1960s to the parish of Emerald. He later became the eighth bishop of the Diocese and subsequently Archbishop of Brisbane and Primate of Australia. From the 1920s on however, the proportion of English clergy began to lessen and Australians began to fill the leadership positions in the parishes. Australian born clergy were also preferred to senior positions within the diocesan structure. J.R. Norman was appointed Archdeacon of the Diocese in 1931. After his appointment almost all Archdeacons were either Australian born or had been resident for decades. Archdeacons A.T. Robinson, S.J. Matthews (N.Z.), J.B.R. Grindrod and R.M. Murphy (N.Z.) were the exceptions. Administration was being transferred to Australian priests.⁹

A report from the Ordination Candidates Committee of the Diocese at the end of Bishop Halford's episcopate indicates that there were fourteen candidates for ordination for the Diocese, some at the University and some at St. Francis' College Nundah, and two at Oxford.¹⁰ In his report to Synod in 1922 Bishop Crick, on behalf of the Ordination Candidates Committee, felt it his duty to "urge that the need for an Australian Ministry should be kept before any possible candidates and their parents."¹¹ In tandem with this *cri de coeur* for an Australian Ministry there is a constant search for English clergy to come to the Diocese. Bishop Crick in another synod report states

⁹ Clergy Records, Diocese of Rockhampton.

¹⁰ *Synod Reports 1920*, Diocese of Rockhampton, p.15.

¹¹ *Synod Reports 1922*, Diocese of Rockhampton, p.44.

My commissaries in England write of the possibility of four priests coming to the Diocese, three for the Bush Brotherhood and one for educational work.¹²

The result of this searching for clerical recruits in England was the arrival in the Diocese of Archdeacon Arthur Robinson, one of the commissaries mentioned, and his fellow members of the Oratory of the Good Shepherd.

While the desire for an Australian Ministry was frequently given voice at synod level there is little evidence of any sustained recruiting effort at the local level in parishes. When candidates did offer for training it was assumed that such selection and training for ordination would follow the English pattern. In the writer's experience, the English, particularly Oxford, pattern continued as the benchmark at St. Francis' College until the late 1960s. The mentors of young clergymen were, almost without exception, English. Theological college principals, bishops, parish priests, examining chaplains, and spiritual guides, had been trained in English universities and theological colleges. This English experience continued as the norm for the initial training of clergy. Academic theology and spirituality in the training situation were the province of the English born clergy and practical pastoralia that of the Australian born Rectors in the parishes.

This did not mean that they all envisaged the Australian Church as the Church of England in the antipodes. The organic link with England was there and it remained there until 1962 when the Constitution of the Church of England in Australia was finally passed by the General Synod. However, from early in the twentieth century some influential members of the English clergy were quite

¹² *Synod Reports 1920*, Diocese of Rockhampton, p.14.

outspoken and active in the quest for a Church in Australia which would be independent of the Church of England. This degree of independence was interpreted as being based on a legal and constitutional separation from the Church of England. It was never conceived as being a break with the essential faith, doctrine, and ceremonies of the mother church. The long road to final independence¹³ and the even longer road to a change of name (which really only Latinised the geographical term from “England” to “Anglican”) was the outcome of internal struggles within the Australian Church, not imposed by a reluctance on the part of the Church of England to let go. The process was essentially evolutionary.

J. Maguire, in his history of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Townsville, gives a picture of a struggle to secure a non-Irish or Australian base for clergy recruitment as was being experienced in the Anglican Diocese of Rockhampton to secure Australian clergy. Maguire gives a picture of North Queensland society in his history of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Townsville. In many ways this picture parallels that of the society of Central Queensland. The major difference between the two was the presence of a large Italian migrant component in the coastal areas of the North, which was lacking in Central Queensland. These pioneering societies called for qualities in the clergy which were not always in accord with the Church’s hierarchical model and, while they had to contend with, in Maguire’s words, “secularism all round”¹⁴, their qualities of toughness and individualism were called forth in daily survival.

¹³ J. Davis, *Australian Anglicans and their Constitution*, (Canberra: Awlin Press, 1993), p.18. Davis gives the best account of the process to an eventual national constitution for the Australian Church.

¹⁴ J. Maguire, *Prologue: A History of the Catholic Church as seen from Townsville, 1863-1983*, (Toowoomba: Church Archivists’ Press, 1990), p.14. The Roman Catholic Diocese of Townsville was, until 1930, part of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Rockhampton and the Anglican Diocese of Rockhampton shared a sizable area of territory with it.

While the Italian enclaves of North Queensland were always somewhat uneasy with the dictates of the Irish hierarchy, in Central Queensland this was mirrored in the fact that some of the Anglicans, and quite often the English clergy, rejoiced in being away from the forms of authority that the Church represented in England. They were also inclined, especially the Brotherhood of St. Andrew, to be somewhat outside the diocesan authority structure. Several members of the Brotherhood exhibited a streak of eccentricity or even larrikinism in the person of Hulton Sams, which made ministry to the society described above more easily effected. These traits were to be found even more easily in the native born. It is also quite possible that because Australian priests had these qualities, in the main, they were not attracted to the ordered life of the priesthood as expressed in the Brotherhood or that the Bishops found these qualities disturbing.¹⁵

Halford, in a letter dated 27 October 1917, says of Percy Demuth – ‘Percy is developing into a very fine type of Australian priest, and being Australian, he gets to grips with these people in much less than half the time it takes us to do so.’¹⁶

The distance and separation factor in the development of Anglicanism in Australia as cited by Border¹⁷ and Davis¹⁸ had, by the turn of the century, caused the development of autonomous diocesan structures and *ethoi*. These separated dioceses were also doctrinally monochrome or at least much more so than was the experience of the home Church. The bishops tended to encourage this local diocesan authority and autonomy. The system of synodical government also had

¹⁵ Halford had difficulties with Hulton Sams concerning Episcopal authority and order. Sams is the most remembered of the early Brothers and has a church dedicated in his memory at Jundah. See also R. Philp, George Douglass Halford, An English Bishop in the Queensland Bush, (University of New England, Litt.B. Thesis, 1982).

¹⁶ Kidd, op. cit., p.86.

¹⁷ R. Border, *Church and State in Australia*, (London: S.P.C.K., 1962), p.25.

¹⁸ Davis, op. cit.

an effect of cementing this separateness.¹⁹ Frappell makes the point that the diocese became the most important unit of government in the Australian church by the 1880s, because of the cost and difficulty of travel and the dominance of the larger centres of population, especially in the southern dioceses. By the time of the foundation of the Diocese of Rockhampton, travel was certainly a major factor.

There was no rail link with Brisbane until 1903 and then there was suspicion of the link being part of the plot to bring Central Queensland under the centralist thumb of Brisbane. The domination of the larger centre was not really possible, even in Church affairs. Once the break was made in 1892 the influence of Brisbane on the Diocese of Rockhampton was minimal until the setting up of the Province of Queensland in 1905. Autonomy was expected in both administration and in relationship with other parts of the Church.

Such separation was especially noticeable when comparing the largest, most populous and most economically secure, Diocese of Sydney with other Australian dioceses. This separation was also one of a differing theology of the Church and the shape of its earthly manifestation. This difference in the expression of Anglicanism between the various colonies in the nineteenth century was a reflection of the secular differences over policies ranging from railways to education.²⁰ The secular authorities managed to achieve federation fifty years before the establishment of the General Synod under its present Constitution by the Australian Anglicans.

¹⁹ R. Frappell, '1933 and All That: The Oxford Movement Centenary in Australia', in J. Moses (ed.), *From Oxford to the Bush*, (Adelaide: Broughton Press and S.P.C.K. Australia, 1997), p.136. Frappell cites "diocesaniam" as exposed by the centenary celebrations of 1933.

²⁰ Davis, op. cit., p.16.

The arguments concerning the effect of Letters Patent on diocesan bishops in New South Wales and Victoria and whether or not Anglican dioceses in those colonies existed by legislation from their respective colonial parliaments did not have much impact on Queensland Anglicanism before the end of the nineteenth century but the Queensland bishops and others were among those who, in the early twentieth century, spoke out for and worked for an autonomous Australian Church. These Queensland bishops and priests were expatriate Englishmen and not firebrand colonials, seeking freedom from the English ecclesiastical apron strings.²¹ It may be said that the constructive moves for an autonomous Australian Anglican Church had roots in the Province of Queensland. Frustration with the lack of speed at which moves for a National Church were progressing produced in the ecclesiastical Province of Queensland a Constitution of the Province of Queensland. This Province was constituted under the leadership of the Archbishop of Brisbane (Donaldson) in 1905. It included the Dioceses of Brisbane, Rockhampton, North Queensland, Carpentaria (in which was included the Northern Territory) and (British) New Guinea. The representatives, bishop, clergy and laity, of each diocese meeting together could legislate for the Anglicans of the Province and the Constitution of the Province was binding on each. This move was in direct contrast to the Victorian model - now defunct.²² Thus Queensland with the leadership of Donaldson provided a model of Provincial organisation, which could have been used by the national church. There was however, one essential difference in Queensland and that was that there were no conflicting or contrasting doctrinal stances in the Province, which was by no means the case in the national forum.

²¹ This opinion is also shared by Rayner – K. Rayner, *A History of the Church of England in Queensland*, (University of Queensland, 1962, Ph.D. Thesis), p.378.

²² Davis, *op. cit.*, p.39.

While Donaldson as Archbishop of the Province was a strong supporter for autonomy and he was generally backed by the clergy of Queensland, the laity and some of the clergy saw any breaking of the nexus with the Church of England with alarm. Kidd²³ maintains that Donaldson's reasons for supporting strongly the move for autonomy was because he saw it as an extension of his belief in a strong Empire comprised of strong independent nations bound together by love of the Mother country. It was Donaldson's contention that the separate nations comprising this Empire could only be strong if they each had their own national church as was the case in England.

In our own England, the invisible bonds of the Christian Church had bound the nation together before political organisation had begun at all. And here, too, in Australia the Church has a great part to play. The young nation is growing up and is beginning to feel its strength. Like a young man it lies open to the temptations of its environment - its present moral life is a danger, its moral future in jeopardy. It is the power of religion which will be its safeguard.... The Australian race will live if the Australian Church bears witness to its true life.²⁴

Donaldson also expressed his view to Davidson, Archbishop of Canterbury that "a Church of Australia and not the Church of England in Australia is our true objective"²⁵ this expression of opinion made in 1905 did not find fulfilment until 1977.

In the Diocese of Rockhampton the cause of an autonomous Church for Australia was one of the twelve matters considered to be of "supreme importance" for the consideration of the Pan Anglican Conference of 1908. Archdeacon George

²³ A.P. Kidd, *The Brisbane Episcopate of St. Clair Donaldson*, (University of Queensland, Ph.D. Thesis, 1996).

²⁴ *Year Book 1905*, Diocese of Brisbane, as cited in Kidd, op. cit., p.230.

Halford as corresponding secretary appointed by the Synod, with the organisers of this Conference timed to take place just before the Lambeth Conference of 1908 lists this aim as number eight of the twelve: "The development everywhere of independent national Churches and the principles involved: Is one Prayer Book possible for all?"²⁶

While these sentiments were expressed two years prior to the Conference, when the Conference was held in June 1908 the Rockhampton contingent comprising among others the Bishop and Archdeacon Halford were involved in discussions which centred around "the Church's missions in Christendom," and Halford produced a paper for his discussion group on "the Church's work among white settlers in Christendom."²⁷ The concept of a mission to the colonists was very much part of Halford's thinking and motivation. The mentality of the need to preserve the faith among English expatriates far from "home" are evident all through Halford's long association with the Diocese of Rockhampton.

In 1910 an English priest, Fr Farnham Maynard, came to the Diocese of Rockhampton as Vicar of Mt. Morgan.²⁸ Maynard was a radical priest with strong socialist ideals. He resigned as Vicar of Mt. Morgan in 1920 and worked *in cognito* in the Mt. Morgan mine before directing the St. George's Homes for orphans in Rockhampton. He went to the Brisbane Diocese and in 1922 was inducted as incumbent of All Saints' Wickham Terrace, leaving that position to become Vicar of

²⁵ Donaldson to Davidson Archbishop of Canterbury, as cited in Kidd, *op. cit.*, p.233.

²⁶ *Church Gazette*, Rockhampton, May 1906.

²⁷ *Church Gazette*, Rockhampton, June 1908.

²⁸ Clergy Records, Diocese of Rockhampton, Rockhampton.

Eastern Hill in Melbourne in 1926.²⁹ Both All Saints' and St. Peter's are notable Anglo-Catholic parishes. Maynard was Vicar of Eastern Hill for thirty-eight years and he became a champion of the Catholic party within Australian Anglicanism. During his time in Central Queensland he forged strong ties with the Queensland expression of Anglicanism. Through the 1920s when the debate in General Synod was concerned with the constitution of a national church, Maynard was the chief guardian of the Catholic understanding of the Church and its government. During the 1920s when it seemed that almost all the Australian dioceses and bishops were convinced of the "rightness" of the cause of breaking the nexus with the Church of England it was the Queensland Anglo-Catholics, using Maynard as their spokesman, who, along with the Sydney conservative evangelicals, opposed the draft Constitution of 1926 and caused its failure. The Sydney evangelicals' opposition was based on their perception that the draft was not sufficiently rigid and Maynard and Canon J.R. Norman, later Archdeacon of Rockhampton, were objecting on behalf of the Anglo-Catholics that the draft was "unalterable."³⁰ Thus Rockhampton Diocese, albeit at one removed, was represented very influentially by two of its most able clergy in the fifty year struggle to find a constitutional way through the maze in the search for an autonomous Anglican Church in Australia.

Maynard was an Englishman but Norman was originally from the Diocese of Tasmania and so an Australian, Norman was Archdeacon of Rockhampton and Rector of the Cathedral parish from 1930 to 1935. Both were extremely influential in the Australian Church, Maynard as a hero of Anglo-Catholicism in the south and

²⁹ D. Pear, 'Pulpit Socialist or Empire Wrecker, The Rev. Farnham Maynard of All Saints' Wickham Terrace', in P. Brickridge and B. McKay (eds.), *Queensland Review*, Vol.3, No.1, April 1996. See also C. Holden, *From Tories at Prayer to Socialists at Mass: St. Peter's, Eastern Hill, Melbourne, 1846*, (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1996) for more detail on Maynard.

³⁰ Davis, op. cit., p.67.

Norman as a local priest-scholar. Norman was a liturgist of note and held degrees in Classics, History and Law.³¹ These two priests were arguing quite strongly for a more flexible constitution that would allow liturgical practices regarded as essential to the outward expression of catholic doctrine. Such liturgical practices had been common in England but there had been legal difficulties. These same liturgical practices would have been anathema to representatives of the Diocese of Sydney. In the end Sydney agreed to an inflexible constitution and the possibility of catholic expression became a matter of separate diocesan regulation.

The major indicator of change from English to Australian attitudes is that of the birthplace and training ground of the clergy as indicated elsewhere in this thesis. The proportion of English to Australian born clergy began to change after the First World War. In the decade up until the end of the century in 1900 there was only one 'native' priest, the *Year Book* of 1898 cites The Reverend C.E. Curtis who was in the Diocese from 1897 to 1901 as "colonial by birth" but educated at Cambridge and having served a curacy in the Diocese of London. During this time there had been thirty-one English born and trained clergy on the Diocesan staff.³² In the decade between 1900 and 1910, Australian born clergy numbered three and English born, nineteen. From 1910 to 1920 the decade which saw the first Australian born local man ordained in the Diocese in 1912, the proportion was Australian born nine and English born thirty. From 1920 to 1930 Australians working in the Diocese numbered fifteen and Englishmen nine. During this decade Bishop Ash, himself Australian born, was elected Bishop. Ash took over the Diocese from Crick in 1928. Ash's recruitment of Australians was more successful than had been the case before. From 1930 to 1940 Australian priests in the

³¹ J. Feetham and W.V. Rymer (eds.), *North Queensland Jubilee Book*, (Townsville: McGilvray & Co., 1929), p.69.

Diocese outnumbered English for the first time since the Diocese had been formed in 1892. That decade had twenty-seven Australian compared with fourteen English clergy. The change had been effected and it marks the beginning of the period when the “Australianisation” theme of this thesis can be seen to be taking effect.

Table 3
Table Showing Change of Proportion of English born to Australian born clergy in the Diocese of Rockhampton 1892-1940³³

Decade	English Born	Australian Born
1890-1900	31	1
1900-1910	19	3
1910-1920	30	9
1920-1930	9	15
1930-1940	14	27

Another indicator of change was the way in which Bishops were elected. The Synod of the Diocese had failed to elect a successor to Halford who would accept the position and the appointment of a bishop for Rockhampton was assigned to the Archbishop of Canterbury. This occurred in 1920 and it was a measure of the prevailing Englishness of the Diocese. Philip Charles Thurlow Crick who was appointed was a Cambridge don and popular chaplain to the Tank Corps in the First World War. His popularity with the Tank Corps was not reflected in his episcopate in Central Queensland. His Englishness was patent and even while the clergy were prepared to delegate their right to elect the bishop to the Archbishop of Canterbury the laity were rather more difficult to convince that this was a good course of action and subsequent developments were to justify their apprehension.

³² Clergy Records, Diocese of Rockhampton, Rockhampton.

³³ Figures taken from Clergy Records, Diocese of Rockhampton, A.A.

His inability to mix with local people and to gain the trust of his clergy, along with other concerns, and his being accused of having a problem with drink³⁴ led to his early resignation

Crick had a great enthusiasm for education and he immediately set about establishing church secondary schools. The first was to be situated in the west at Barcaldine. It was named St. Peter's after the Parish and was established after consultation with local graziers who wanted their children educated to secondary standard. This was in 1919. His enthusiasm extended to the setting up of another school at Yeppoon, for boys only, in 1924. This did not eventuate but St. Faith's School for girls opened there in 1923. Both the schools established were financial failures, St. Peter's closed in the 1930s and St. Faith's in the 1960s.

Bishop Crick brought the Oratory of the Good Shepherd to the Cathedral parish in 1925. During their tenure of the Parish, under Father Arthur Robinson, the type of worship and general ministry ethos changed from being what might be described as Prayer Book Catholic to a more latinised ultra montanism. There was a short-lived congregational demonstration against this trend and Halford complains of the Oratory's objective of 'the mass, confession, benediction' in a letter dated 20 November 1926.³⁵

Halford's comments in the same letter gives one of the few frank assessments of Crick extant. He describes the state of affairs in 1926:

Poor old Philip of R'ton. I am sorry for him. He's such a physical giant and a mental giant with his 2 or 3 firsts, but he has no judgement, is wildly impetuous, and tho' I

³⁴ Letter from Ash to Bishop Feetham of North Queensland, undated 1934, Rockhampton, A.A.

know he wants to be friend and big brother to all his priests, yet he has contrived to fill them all with suspicion. They all feel that he never says the straight thing to them, that he has something else, the real thing he is after, up his sleeve.³⁶

Halford had been single and Crick was also single. Both had been supported to some extent in their episcopal households by their respective unmarried sisters. There had been no married bishop and his family in residence in the Diocese since Dawes' departure in 1907. Crick's episcopate continued until he was translated to Ballarat in 1928. While in England in 1927 he received a letter from the Diocesan Council suggesting that he not return to the Diocese. He sought advice from his mentor the Archbishop of Canterbury and returned nevertheless. Later that year he received an invitation to be Bishop of Ballarat in Victoria, which he accepted.

After Crick's departure, the Synod of the Diocese elected Fortesque Leo Ash, Rector of Warwick in the Diocese of Brisbane, who was Australian born and trained as the next bishop. Ash was from a well-to-do Sydney family of lawyers and he had been ordained deacon in Sydney Diocese in 1908 and priest in 1910. He was forty-six years of age and had been a chaplain in the AIF in the First World War. He had served a curacy in the Diocese of Southwark after his first curacy in Strathfield Sydney and then worked as a parish priest in North Queensland at Ravenswood, Bowen and Mackay.³⁷ These periods of experience in the northern diocese had fitted him well for his time in Central Queensland. Ash remained Bishop of Rockhampton until 1947. His remains the longest tenure of the See

³⁵ A.P. Kidd (ed.), *op. cit.*, p.114.

³⁶ *ibid.*

³⁷ Feetham and Rymer, *op. cit.*, pp.34-35.

since its foundation. With one exception, his successors have all been Australian born and the ratio of Australian born clergy to English born has increased steadily. In 1927 on Ash's election it was twenty-seven Australians to fourteen English; by 1947 when Ash left the Diocese the ratio was twenty-one Australian born to six English born.³⁸

Ash's election was a significant point of departure from English norms for the Diocese of Rockhampton. The change did not have any apparent effect on the other Dioceses of the Province. Ash was acceptable to the English born bishops of the Province and in Australia generally because of his curacy served in England and his public (private) school education in Sydney. In spite of this the Englishness of the Queensland bishops was still apparent when Wand was elected Archbishop of Brisbane in 1934. Feetham, Bishop of North Queensland, as acting Metropolitan, writing to the Archbishop elect on behalf of the Queensland bishops, expressed their firm conviction that he should be consecrated a bishop in England before leaving to work *in partibus infidelium* and that there should be Old Catholic bishops involved in his consecration. The first request seems to have been based solely on social custom and a preference for English consecration of an Archbishop. This was based, in his letter, on the fact that the social position of an Archbishop elect would be obscure and the captain of the ship on which he was to travel would be insecure about what to do with him from a social point of view. There would also be Royal approval of an Archbishop who would be invited to lunch at Buckingham Palace before leaving for overseas. Obviously, Archbishops elect - in priest's orders - would receive no such recognition.³⁹

³⁸ Clergy Records, Diocese of Rockhampton, Rockhampton.

³⁹ Letter from Feetham to Wand, 4 January 1933, Rockhampton, A.A.

The second request reflects the insecurity of the Queensland bishops concerning the validity of Anglican orders at that time. The debate about the genuine catholicity of Anglican orders which came to a head in the papal pronouncement *Apostolicae Curae* in 1896 was still very current in Queensland and the bishops were asking that no chances be taken in Wand's consecration. The English authorities agreed to the first but not the second request. It is noteworthy that when Feetham wrote making these requests he had been in Australia for twenty-seven years of which twenty-one had been spent as Bishop of North Queensland. Davies, Bishop of Carpentaria, had been in that remote and huge diocese for twelve years, and Ash in Rockhampton for six years, yet the security of having the Metropolitan consecrated in England carrying with him the imprimatur of having been consecrated at the hands of the English hierarchy was still extremely important in the Queensland Anglican setting. The links with the English church were still strong and even organic.

In the years following Ash's election, the Australian character of the Diocese of Rockhampton was gaining a foothold in the Australian soil. The movement for autonomy for the Australian Church had by this time gained ground. Feetham, in spite of his English attachment, said in 1933 in a Synod Charge that state interference had not ceased in England; as had been demonstrated by the defeat of the Prayer Book Measure of 1928 in the House of Commons but that Anglican churches in all the British Dominions except Australia "have claimed their liberty. It would not be long before that would be the case here, too."⁴⁰

⁴⁰ *Church Standard*, 8 September 1933, p.1, as cited in Frappell, op. cit., p.140.

The disappointment of the Anglo-Catholic section of the Australian Church over the defeat of the Prayer Book Measure was equal to that of the corresponding group in England, and in Queensland this was addressed on a diocesan scale. The revised liturgy of the Eucharist from the Deposited Book of 1928 began to be used in the Diocese of Rockhampton in place of the liturgy of the Book of Common Prayer of 1662, as had previously been the case. While formal episcopal permission for these departures from the official liturgy were not sought nor given, disapproval was not obvious either and gradually the "Interim Rite" as the eucharistic liturgy of the revised but not accepted Prayer Book was known, became the norm in Sunday worship. This was not confined to Australia nor was it necessarily a sign of Australian departure from English norms but it was a demonstration of how Australians and more particularly the Australian clergy, were prepared to go their own way and the rather casual regard held by them for the letter of English Canon Law. In this they were covertly supported by the bishops. The liturgy at St. Paul's Cathedral underwent this change from the advent of the Oratory of the Good Shepherd in 1926 onwards until by the 1940s the congregation would, if asked, describe the rejected liturgy of 1928 as "The Prayer Book Service", and the liturgy of Holy Communion or the Lord's Supper as provided in the Prayer Book of 1662 became almost unknown throughout the Diocese.

In his discussion of the origins of the order of service for Holy Communion in the Bathurst 'Red Book', David Galbraith mentions a brown covered book in use in Bishop Reginald Halse's diocese of Riverina, on which the Red Book order was

closely modelled.⁴¹ Halse was translated to Brisbane in 1943. Galbraith also cites Archdeacon J.R. Norman of Rockhampton as one of those to whom Bishop Wylde of Bathurst turned for help in compiling the 'Red Book'.⁴² Norman was sub-Dean of St. James' Cathedral Townsville from 1918 to 1922⁴³ and subsequently worked in Rockhampton Diocese as Archdeacon from 1931 to 1935.⁴⁴

Halse introduced to the Diocese of Brisbane a green covered book known as *Adoramus*. *Adoramus* was produced by the Australian Church Union in 1946 and was the successor to the Bathurst Red Book. Its introduction to the Diocese of Brisbane and to the other mainland dioceses of the Province gave some order to the widespread custom in the parishes of Sunday eucharistic worship based on such disparate sources as the Book of Common Prayer of 1662, the rejected Book of 1928 and the Interim Rite of London Diocese – all with or without the insertion of the Roman Canon. By 1948, *Adoramus* had achieved widespread acceptance and was in use in all parishes of the Rockhampton Diocese. As well as the order for Holy Communion, it also contained rites for Holy Unction and Sacramental Confession.⁴⁵ The almost universal use of the *Adoramus* rite also introduced a feeling of distance from the authorised rites of the Church of England and consolidated the growing Australian nature of the Church, which had been developing up to the 1940s.

⁴¹ D. Galbraith, *Just enough Religion to make us Hate*, (University of New South Wales, Ph.D. Thesis, 1999), p.63.

⁴² *ibid.*

⁴³ J.O. Feetham and W.V. Rymer (eds.), *op. cit.*, p.69.

⁴⁴ Clergy Records, Diocese of Rockhampton.

⁴⁵ For more detail concerning the relationship between the Bathurst Red Book and *Adoramus*, see Galbraith, *op. cit.*, pp.393-394.

As mentioned earlier in this Chapter, the Australian born and trained clergy were products of the Australian theological colleges, more especially those of St. Francis in Brisbane and St. John in Morpeth in the Diocese of Newcastle. They were, as products of those two institutions, schooled in the Anglo-Catholic way of expression and doctrine and, as they became the majority of those holding parishes in the Diocese of Rockhampton, so the Anglo-Catholic flavour of the Diocese consolidated up to the beginning of the Second World War and for the next two decades. Outward externals of the Anglo-Catholic expression of Anglicanism became more commonplace in the Diocese of Rockhampton during this time. Eucharistic vestments were universally worn, six lights and a tabernacle became usual on altars and cassock and biretta the common outdoor dress of the clergy. Services such as Benediction, the Three Hours' Devotion on Good Friday, the liturgical commemoration of the *Triduum Sacrum* (Three Holy Days) in Holy Week before Easter, the use of oils for baptism, healing, confirmation and ordination, became unremarkable events even though none were sanctioned in the Prayer Book. Alongside these additions came the omissions such as Services for the Accession of the Monarch, the Churching of Women, Communion on Ash Wednesday and the public recitation of Mattins or Morning Prayer. These Prayer Book Services were either neglected or ignored, as the Church in the Diocese began to determine the nature of Anglican outward expression as this was to be practised in Central Queensland.

As the proportion of English born laity began to diminish in the population of the Diocese, so such practices and the doctrines supporting their use became the norm for those claiming to be members of the Church of England in Australia. They became the benchmarks of Anglican identity and Anglicans from "the south"

who were strangers to such things were suspected of being outside the true fold. All of this became unself-conscious and “normal” and gave rise to a brand of regional Anglo-Catholicism which treated with equal suspicion the ritualistic habits of worship in such urban strongholds of Anglo-Catholicism as All Saints’ Wickham Terrace and St. Peter’s Eastern Hill.⁴⁶ The difference between urban and rural Anglo-Catholicism as cited by Frappell was as strong as the difference between English and Australian expressions of Anglicanism. This was a version transplanted to the antipodean Central Queensland environment but one which had taken on some quite distinctive local traits.

⁴⁶ For detail of the ritualism of St. Peter’s Eastern Hill see C. Holden, *From Tories at Prayer to Socialists at Mass: St. Peter’s Eastern Hill, Melbourne, 1846-1990*, (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1996).

Chapter 8**The Church and Politics 1892-1920**

“the measure of nothing too much – *aurea mediocritas*”¹

The Church of England in England is an integral component of the national political entity. This has been so for the greater part of English history and it is not surprising that members of the English nation, not least those who are members of the Church, should have had conceptions and prejudices about how the body politic should work in other parts of the British Empire. In nineteenth century Queensland this was amply demonstrated by the attitudes of the clergy of the Church of England in the Colony and in other Australian colonies. In this chapter these attitudes are examined in relationship to the political causes which were joined during the period from declaration of the Colony in 1859 to the end of the First World War. While many such causes were part of the social fabric of the time some were more notable than others in Central Queensland and particularly as they impacted upon the Anglicans of the Diocese of Rockhampton. On examination, the clergy, particularly, were more interested and involved in the politics of the Empire than in local issues. This began to dissipate after the 1920s with Halford's retirement, when the effects of Australia's involvement in the First World War had taken their toll on his effectiveness as the Bishop of the Diocese; Synod had difficulties in electing his successor. The first glimmerings of a questioning of English leadership began to be seen in the laity, as mentioned in the previous Chapter.

¹ S. Sykes and J. Booty, *The Study of Anglicanism*, (London: S.P.C.K., 1988), p.326.

From the point of view of the Australian nation, Federation of the colonies was, without doubt, the major political event which took place during that period but in Anglican circles throughout Queensland, and Central Queensland was not exempted from it, the great political cause was that of the Bible in State Schools. The political positioning and wrangling over this particular issue from an Anglican point of view appears to have over shadowed the shearers' strike of the early 1890s, the birth of the Commonwealth in 1901 and conscription during the First World War. It was a cause which consumed a great deal of time and energy and one which occasioned political lobbying on a scale which would not have been contemplated in England. The force and vehemence of the arguments for having bible teaching as part of the state school curriculum were without parallel elsewhere in the political sphere and indicate a desire to continue the English experience in Queensland, and a deep-seated desire to replicate, in the Colony and State, the conditions enjoyed by the Established Church at Home. The battle for religious education in State Schools is one of the birth pangs involved in the transfer of the institution of Anglicanism from England to the antipodean colony.²

The debate about having Bible teaching in State Schools ran from the 1870s and 1880s when state subsidies were withdrawn from religious schools forcing the various denominations to realise that in the Colony no one denomination was favoured,³ but Anglicans were left clinging to a belief, however unrealistic, that they were still part of the Established Church or, at least, had a special relation with the State,⁴ until the passing of the *State Education Act Amendment Act* in 1910.

² A.P. Kidd, *The Brisbane Episcopate of St. Clair Donaldson*, (University of Queensland, Ph.D. Thesis, 1996), p.116.

³ *ibid.*

⁴ *ibid.*

This Chapter will demonstrate how the hierarchy and the clergy of that time fought hard and long for the introduction of the Christian religion into the State School System. It was a cause which involved enormous amounts of time, energy and financial resources – there was a full-time organiser in Canon Garland – and a cause which involved an assumption that the Church had a very strong position in society. The lay reaction in the number of voters turning out for the voluntary referendum when it was eventually held in 1910 was less enthusiastic than the clergy had assumed it would be. The process of separation of attitudes and mentalities, on the part of the laity, at least, from those of Anglicans in England, had begun.

Public education for all classes had begun in England with agitation from High Church laymen in the early nineteenth century.⁵ Joshua Watson, a wine merchant of Hackney, was responsible for the foundation of a voluntary society, appropriately named, the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church, in 1811. The Society encouraged Anglican parishes to start their own schools and although without government help until 1833, it was responsible for the education of a million children by 1835.⁶ This was the English background from which all the Anglican clergy in Queensland came, including those of Central Queensland, in the latter part of the nineteenth century. It was an education system from primary level to tertiary level seen as part of the Church's duty of mission to the nation and an education system where the Church had such input as to be in control. The situation in colonial Queensland was quite different. The colonial government had, by 1875,

⁵ D.L. Edwards, *Christian England*, Vol.3, (London: Collins, 1984), p.103.

⁶ *ibid*, p.104.

abandoned its dual system of education where denominational schools were funded alongside State Schools. The *State Education Act* of that year provided for free, secular and compulsory education by 1880.⁷ Anglicans and Roman Catholics were opposed to this legislation but non-conformity was in favour. The passing of the Act of 1875 caused the closure of six Anglican schools in Brisbane.

The Act of 1875 provided for religious education out of school hours which proved to be impracticable for the clergy and this arrangement contrasted with the provision in the neighbouring colony of New South Wales for religious education in school time. It meant that if Anglican children did not attend Sunday School, they received no formal religious instruction in their school years. Bishop Webber had experienced, at first hand, the difficulty of getting religious teaching in non-Board schools in England and he headed the move to have the word "secular" defined in the *State Education Act of 1875* as allowing "general religious teaching as distinguished from dogmatical or polemical theology" as the corresponding Act in New South Wales allowed. To this end the Bible in State Schools League was founded in October 1890. At that time Dawes had been Assistant Bishop of Brisbane for three years and had just moved to Rockhampton to live. He brought with him enthusiasm for the cause of religious teaching in State Schools. The new diocese of Rockhampton, formed two years later, was to have this struggle with the State as central to its life for the next twenty-one years, the struggle was to consume large amounts of energy and time. The eventual result was not all that the English trained clergy were hoping for. Their expectation was that they would have essentially the English parochial school system with doctrinal teaching allowed.

⁷ A.E. David, *Australia*, (London: Mowbrays, 1908), pp.179-180, as cited in Kidd, op. cit., p.116.

An article reprinted from the *New York Churchman* appeared in the March 1897 issue of the Rockhampton *Church Gazette*. It was an article bemoaning the spread of secular education likening the crippling of children in factories to the spiritual crippling of children when at school were deprived of instruction about God and spiritual matters. Examples of agnostic teaching about the state of heaven and prohibition against the recitation of the Lord's Prayer are luridly described. Appearing in the first five years after the establishment of the Diocese, the article gives a forecast of the central position in the life of the Diocese which the debate was to assume.

In September of that same year another article appeared in the *Church Gazette* quoting an address on "Federation" by Sir Julian Salomons of Sydney in which he issues the warning that

education without religion is like putting a sword into the hands of a savage

and reached the conclusion that

any one of the branches of the great Christian religion ..., although they may differ in their theological forms, is better than no religion. Just as the twig is bent the tree is inclined.⁸

This outburst is the result of living near a state school which he had substantially endowed under the impression that religion would be part of the curriculum. Another such article appeared in the February 1898 issue of the *Gazette*, this time

⁸ *Church Gazette*, Rockhampton, September 1897.

from the pen of the Speaker of the New South Wales parliament, Sir Joseph Abbott stating that

education without religion was absolutely worthless. Education without religion produces scepticism, doubt and unbelief.⁹

Such articles appeared in issues of the *Gazette* regularly and frequently from this time until the next year 1899, when the first mention of the Bible in State Schools League appeared in the March issue. In this issue the letter sent to all candidates for election to the Legislative Assembly in the elections for that year asked for their answers to two questions, the first asking the candidate to attest to his willingness to press for amendment to the *State Education Act 1875* or failing that assurance to support the provision of Religious Instruction in School hours. The editor admonished his readers:

We can not do better than press *all Christian* people to ask their candidates for an answer to these questions before they either promise or record their votes, and to steadfastly refuse their support to all candidates who are frankly irreligious, remembering that "it is righteousness that exalteth a nation."¹⁰

The battle was joined much more forcefully during the early part of the twentieth century when the four dioceses of Queensland joined forces and the Rector of Charters Towers, and Archdeacon of North Queensland, The Venerable David Garland, was appointed General Secretary of the Bible in State Schools League in April 1906¹¹. Garland had been successful when a priest in Western Australia in

⁹ *ibid.*, February 1898.

¹⁰ *ibid.*, March 1899.

¹¹ Kidd, *op. cit.*, p.120.

getting the New South Wales provision for religious instruction into the State School system in that colony in 1899¹². He came to North Queensland in 1902 and was Rector of Charters Towers until he moved to Brisbane to prosecute the cause of the Bible in State Schools League in the capital city. Garland's relationship with the bishops was uneasy. He was convinced of the rightness of his cause and he brooked no interference from bishops or others. The Bishop of North Queensland Frodsham was relieved to learn of Garland's relocation to Brisbane but somewhat bemused by the fact that Garland had not resigned his Charters Towers appointment before doing so, not to mention his archidiaconal role in the Diocese of North Queensland.¹³

With such a firebrand as the public face of the movement the League was soon in the forefront of the battle. The Roman Catholic Church was not in favour of the move to have religious teaching in State Schools as it had built its platform of parish schools on the basis that religious instruction was absent from the alternative State system and also that the Church had no control over the appointment or dismissal of teachers. It was the contention of Robert Dunne, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Brisbane, that Catholic children should come under the influence of Christian teachers "whose lives as much as their words were a profession of faith".¹⁴ Dunne had also described his opposition to the movement in a letter to The Reverend Alfred Richards the earlier secretary of the League in January 1890:

¹² *Church Chronicle*, Brisbane, 1 December 1899, p.67.

¹³ Frodsham, Bishop of North Queensland to Donaldson, 12 April 1906, Diocesan Archives, Brisbane.

¹⁴ N.J. Byrne, *Robert Dunne*, University of Queensland Press, 1991, p.221.

It is impossible for us to assent to anyone, child or adult of our fold receiving instruction in religion from a person not authorised ad hoc by the Catholic Church, and, in this matter, completely subject to her appointment and dismissal.

Hence we cannot approach the idea of the State School Teachers, as such, reading or teaching the Bible etc to catholic children.¹⁵

Dunne had given this opinion in the context of remarks about the favourable climate of ecumenical amiability between Roman Catholics and Anglicans. However, another more virulent opponent of the movement was the Roman Catholic Bishop of Rockhampton, James Duhig. Duhig wrote offensive articles in the *Sydney Catholic Press* fulminating against the League's attempts to "Protestantize the schools of the country".¹⁶ Archbishop Dunne's strategy was to say little or nothing in public for fear of "bonding the Protestants"¹⁷. Duhig had not only taken the opposite action to Dunne but had succeeded in goading the Kidston government to mount a referendum on the matter in 1910. As the majority of voters in the State were protestant its result was a forgone conclusion. Dunne's opinion was that Duhig's Rockhampton episcopate had been marred by his outspokenness on this matter but not enough for him not to favour Duhig's appointment by Rome as his successor, in Brisbane.¹⁸

Duhig issued a pastoral letter to his flock which was read in St. Joseph's Cathedral Rockhampton on 27 March 1910¹⁹ in which he attacked the proposals for religious teaching in State Schools. This was timed a fortnight before the referendum was

¹⁵ *ibid.*

¹⁶ *ibid.*

¹⁷ *ibid.*

¹⁸ *ibid.*, p.229.

¹⁹ *Brisbane Courier*, 28 March 1910.

to be taken. Duhig's letter also called for State aid for Roman Catholic schools in the State and this call provoked more sectarian bitterness than did the Bible in State Schools issue. The Rockhampton Anglican *Church Gazette* has no mention of this matter in its contemporary reports. However, two months later in the May issue of the *Gazette* there is a note of disappointment in the Bishop's Notes and Notices, in regard to the outcome of the referendum:

Central Queensland might have done better. The poll in Rockhampton certainly did not represent our strength, nor even the number of our promised supporters in the town. And we have had adverse votes in some districts. We must not relax our efforts until the Act is brought into Parliament and passed. There has been manifestation of strong hostility from more than one section of the community. We must keep our organization together and show our representatives in Parliament that there is a strong body of people who will never let the matter drop until religious education in the schools is an established fact. The women worked splendidly in the cause - all honour to them - and who shall say that their womanly instinct in the matter is not the true and right one.²⁰

The reference to strong hostility from more than one section of the community may well be a veiled reference to Roman Catholic opposition, but no direct criticism of Bishop Duhig appears. By August however, there is mention again in the Bishop's Notes and Notices of the Bishop's "sadness" in seeing "devout Roman Catholics in league with secularists to deny fellow Christians a measure of religious training which they desire for their children"²¹. This preceded a strong condemnation of "my Roman Catholic brother" as "savage and most unfriendly and un-Christian".²² All of this as the Bill was being debated in Parliament, and a direct call to prayer for

²⁰ *Church Gazette*, May 1910.

²¹ *ibid.*, August 1910.

²² *ibid.*

the passage of the Bill was made. On 24 November 1910 the *State Education Act Amendment Act* received royal assent, the prayers of the Anglicans and most non-conformist bodies in Queensland had been answered.

The opposition to the Bill voiced in Parliament came from both sides of the House and from members of different denominations not just those of Roman Catholic persuasion. There was a feeling that the passage of the Bill was a capitulation to minority pressure groups, the Anglican Church and Garland in particular.²³ The matter of the religious instruction in State Schools did not end there but it was the point of departure for an even more acrimonious debate and sectarian division on the question of State aid for Catholic schools championed by Duhig and opposed by almost every other denomination. This argument continued during the years of the First World War and after.

While the answer to the prayers of the Anglicans and most Protestants was in the affirmative regarding the possibility of the reading of passages of scripture in State Schools, it can be contended that the Anglican clergy in particular had more than this in mind and that it was their right of entry into State Schools and while there to be able to give religious instruction of a doctrinal nature was their goal. In early discussion of the matter in *Church Gazette* articles, the New South Wales example is cited. The editor's comment in the September 1906 issue states:

The Act of New South Wales provides that the Bible History shall be taught in the ordinary school course, and that further, it shall be lawful for any minister or an accredited teacher, by arrangement with the head teacher, to have access to the

²³ Kidd, *op. cit.*, p.132.

school to teach the children of his own Church according to the principles of his Church.²⁴

Similar sentiments pervade the propaganda through the *Church Gazette* and in Synod reports right up until the referendum and the passage of the Act in 1910.

It is not surprising that the Anglican clergy with their exclusive experience of the English system should have imagined that the right to teach Anglican doctrine should have been a *sine qua non* along with the reading of the Bible in the State School system. An English parish priest had the right of entry to his parochial schools on a daily basis for an hour. The Anglicans in Queensland as a result of the Act gained the right of entry for one half hour per week. This was hardly the English system transposed to Queensland. In reality the teaching of doctrinally oriented matter persisted until the present time where the reading of passage of scripture faded, in practice, fairly early on. It would seem to a reader of the articles in the *Gazette* that by 1910 the major aim was to gain entry to the Schools for the purpose of giving doctrinal teaching. The Bishop's Notes and Notices of the January issue that year leave no room for ambiguity. The specific mention of the Will of God, the teaching about sin and redemption and the work and power of the Holy Spirit are hardly just Bible stories but more properly they could be described as interpretations of Scriptural passages and the interpretations, in turn, springboards for quite specific doctrinal teaching which would not be acceptable to all forms of Christianity.²⁵ The attitude to the status of Scripture itself has a doctrinal component which is not universally agreed to by all who describe themselves as Christian.

²⁴ *Church Gazette*, Rockhampton, September 1906.

²⁵ *Church Gazette*, Rockhampton, 1 January 1910. See Appendix 6 for full text.

This rather covert agenda on the part of the Anglicans did not go entirely unnoticed or at least suspected by other denominations. Dunne, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Brisbane, and Duhig his more pugnacious successor were not unaware as has been discussed earlier. The Protestant denominations were also not entirely one hundred percent behind the movement because of similar suspicions. The non-conformist bodies had a deep mistrust of Anglican motives born no doubt from their English experience of the Established Church. All brands of non-conformity had been active in bringing about the Education Act of 1875 which enshrined the notions of "Free secular and compulsory." "Secular" had been interpreted strictly, so much so that all reference to the Deity or Christ was expunged from the State Schools reading primers.²⁶ This strict interpretation had caused an about face on the part of most leaders of non-conformity and by 1890 when the Bible in State Schools League was formed many - but certainly not all - joined forces with the Anglicans in the movement. This was at the initiative of the Brisbane Anglican Synod in 1889. At this time only the Methodists gave the League their strong support. The Presbyterians remained divided and the Baptists rallied only very sluggishly and most Congregationalists remained opposed.²⁷

The ancient status of the Church of England and its quasi-established nature in the Colony also gave some pause to contemporary politicians who were shy of any hint of the "establishment" of any denomination. The move to reintroduce religion into the State School system was not entirely therefore seen as an advantage for a government in the electoral environment. Premier Robert Philp was an adroit sidestepper of the issue. Bishop Webber sent Frodsham with representatives of

²⁶ *Year Book 1890*, Diocese of Brisbane, as cited in R. Lawson, *Brisbane in the 1890s*, University of Queensland Press, 1973, p.293.

²⁷ *Year Book 1890*, Diocese of Brisbane, p.61.

the Methodist, Baptist and Presbyterian Churches as a deputation to the Premier concerning the issue in mid 1900. Philp was rather vague and commented that he had heard little if anything of the League in the ten years of its existence and that perhaps it was for the parents to decide the matter. Webber himself went as head of the next delegation of Anglicans and this time Philp stated that the government would not give support for a referendum but it would help the Churches conduct their own referendum. The referendum was a success for the Churches - 21,101 for the proposals of the League and 1,437 against with 372 refusals to answer, and 3,222 papers not returned - there was no immediate political result. Philp stated twice in the House that while the Churches had expectations that he would act as a result of referendum, he had made no such undertaking and he knew little about the whole matter.²⁸ Some politicians saw implementation of the League's demands as government support for non-Catholic denominations. The *Brisbane Courier* also opined that this could be interpreted by Catholics as state aid to religion.²⁹

While much of this activity had taken place in Brisbane the Church in Central Queensland was extremely active in its support for the League and its objects. No other issue had provoked such an investment in hard-earned cash and energy nor the volume of political rhetoric which the Bible in State Schools did in the Diocese of Rockhampton. It was a statewide movement which attracted the minds and pockets of the Anglican laity as well as the clergy. From the vantage point of the 1990s however, it is difficult to see it as an entirely successful movement. The aim of the Anglican clergy to reproduce the parochial education system with its

²⁸ *ibid.*

²⁹ *Brisbane Courier*, 28 July 1891.

privileges for Anglicans, who constituted the majority in the State at that time, was seen for what it was by the Roman Catholic Church, which set up its own system of parochial education, and it only attracted hesitant support from the Protestant denominations, for much the same reasons.

The result of the whole exercise was like the curate's egg, looking well on the outside but not standing up to closer examination. The good being overshadowed by the unsatisfactory when seen with the advantage of hindsight. The Anglican Church in Queensland has been unable, in the main, to keep its part of the arrangement with religious education in State Schools being one of the almost impossible tasks of the average parish priest. This has been so in the State Primary Schools but especially so in the State High Schools. Anglican clergy received very rudimentary training in religious educational methods and since the 1970s many have received no training whatsoever in this discipline. All in all, it is a matter of some conjecture as to whether the Bible in State Schools League achieved what it set out to achieve. Its efforts from 1890 to 1910 were, however, a major factor in the life of the Diocese of Rockhampton.³⁰

As already mentioned the struggle for the Bible in State Schools was the precursor to a much more vehement battle about State aid to denominational schools and this was to affect the relationship between Anglicans, and particularly, Roman Catholics and, to some extent the "non-conformist" bodies as well. In 1912 the Roman Catholic Bishop of Rockhampton, James Duhig, was translated to Brisbane by the Vatican to be co-adjutor Archbishop of Brisbane. Duhig had been

³⁰ Garland, having gained the victory in Queensland as he had previously done in Western Australia, was sought by the New Zealand Church to organise a similar movement there. He moved to New Zealand from Brisbane after the 1910 victory and returned again in 1914.

outspoken while in Rockhampton against the movement for bible teaching in State Schools labelling such an addition to the secular curriculum as "unacceptable to Catholic minority" and proclaimed his Church's conscientious objection to such a move.³¹ Duhig maintained that his schools were doing a very valuable job providing religious education at no expense to the State, and as such were entitled to some relief at tax-payers' expense for the maintenance of Catholic schools.

Such sectarian aggravation was avoided by Robert Dunne, Duhig's predecessor as Archbishop of Brisbane who hoped that the Irish and German Roman Catholic migrant settlers would be integrated into the population of Queensland, the majority of whom were Anglican.³² Duhig was not impeded by such objectives and he added fuel to the sectarian bonfire by proclaiming at the opening of St. Joseph's Christian Brothers College in Rockhampton in October 1911 that "the (State) schools have now gone from bad to worse so far as Roman Catholics are concerned, because they could not accept the nondescript form of religion introduced into them" and went on to say that "the schools have been captured for the Protestant religious bodies."³³

This outburst brought a swift reaction from the Bible in State Schools League via Garland in Brisbane. However, locally there was only an obscure editorial comment in the November *Gazette* rebutting English statistics regarding conversions from the Church of England to that of Rome. In the January 1912 issue of the *Gazette* Garland's letter was printed in full. This letter from Garland, while defending the Bible in State Schools outcome, also has passages which deal

³¹ Kidd, op. cit., p.136.

³² Byrne, op. cit., p.222.

³³ Kidd, op. cit., p.137.

with the prospect of State aid to denominational schools. Garland takes Duhig to task for suggesting that a "Protestantised - as it is vulgarly termed -" school system has been brought into being and for using terms such as "colourless lessons from a mutilated Bible."³⁴ Soon Garland's rhetoric maintains that the introduction of religion via bible readings and lessons was a move approved by over 80,000 people voting in the referendum of 1908. He maintains that Duhig's proposals are to obtain endowment for schools from the State but that the people of Queensland will have no control over such schools which will remain in the control of the Roman Catholic Church exclusively. Garland refers to Duhig as a representative of

that minority which asks the State to endow schools in which their religion can be freely taught. And, moreover, shall all this be done without the people voting for it?³⁵

Archbishop Dunne's fear that a controversy such as this would cause sectarian animosity was well on its way to fulfilment and its final realisation was to be seen in the 1950s split in the Labor Party of Queensland. The identification of the Roman Catholic Church in Queensland with the Irish and with the Australian Labor Party was finding firm foundation. Duhig's translation to Brisbane from Rockhampton in 1912 shifted the locus for the controversy to the capital and therefore Rockhampton to a large extent was able to watch events unfold from the distance.

A thoroughly congregational Service at which a solemn *Te Deum* would be sung was advertised for New Year's Eve 1900 at St. Paul's Cathedral to ask God's blessing on the inauguration of the new Commonwealth of Australia. The service

³⁴ *Church Gazette*, Rockhampton, 1 January 1912, p.8.

³⁵ *ibid.*, p.10.

was to be one of Thanksgiving and would last "not more than an hour." It was scheduled to begin at 11.30pm.³⁶ Not much other mention is made of this historic occasion in the months preceding the 1 January 1901, in the official organ of the Diocese. The Bishop (Dawes) had made a lengthy statement on the subject in his Pastoral Address to Synod in June 1900. Dawes' expressed the hope that the coming Federation of the Australian Colonies would be achieved and continued by a professedly Christian people.³⁷ From his address Dawes presents himself as an ardent proponent of Federation and he admonishes his audience to "labour and consolidate and develop a great Commonwealth as part of a great Empire" and that they may "seek to promote not the ambition and pride of man, but the sovereignty and praise of God."³⁸

It was obviously an expatriate Englishman of the early twentieth century speaking but Dawes continued to express his sentiments for the new country right up to and after his departure for his country of origin. In 1907, the year of his return to England, he again addressed Synod and he likened the Australian State, to the Greek Colonies, which were

the workshops of the Hellenic mind, recreating material which was sent from the Mother State and sending it back renewed and revived³⁹

Some rebuke of English attitudes to former colonies is contained also in the 1907 Synod Address:

³⁶ *Church Gazette*, Rockhampton, 1 December 1900.

³⁷ *Synod Reports 1900*, Diocese of Rockhampton, Rockhampton.

³⁸ *ibid.*

³⁹ *Synod Reports 1907*, Diocese of Rockhampton, Rockhampton.

We have attained to nationhood and mean to work out our own destiny. The home authorities are beginning to understand the altered conditions. There is no desire on our part for separation, we are prepared to treat the old mother with love and loyalty, and to stand by her when attacked; but the daughter must be mistress in her own house. The true relationship must be recognised if the Empire is to become a living organic whole. Great Britain is *primus inter pares*, we concede to her primacy, but not supremacy, we admit partnership but not dependence.

In 1908 there was, among the words of appreciation from the laymen addressed to Bishop Dawes, special mention of the guidance given in regard to Australian Federation.⁴⁰ After this time the matter is taken for granted and silence descends in Diocesan publications and Synod addresses.

The First World War was an event of cataclysmic proportions for almost everyone. The impact of such severe loss of life on the political outlook of Anglicans in Central Queensland, in relation to England changed subtly, if not dramatically, from that time. The First World War has been described by Edwards as the end of the Post-Reformation phase of English Christianity and an event which forced the more perceptive Church leaders in that country to acknowledge that there was an end of the old order "for here was a horror to which conventional morality seemed largely irrelevant."⁴¹ This also applied to Central Queensland.

This outcome was not perceived in Central Queensland at the time. The Anglicans along with the rest of the community were fiercely patriotic and loyal as were their relatives in England. While the outbreak of war caught most by surprise in August 1914, in the months preceding this there is no hint in any Church publications of

⁴⁰ *Church Gazette*, 1 August 1908, Rockhampton.

⁴¹ Edwards, op. cit., p.358.

any such possibility. The Bishop - Halford - was requested by the Diocesan Council to go to England for a holiday after five years of episcopal work and also to recruit men and raise money.⁴² On 15 July he set sail from Sydney and on 2 August England was considered to be at war with Germany. A letter written from the *Oriana* by the Bishop makes mention of the "fragmentary and very alarming reports (which) come through the Marconi wires" and that he "refused to believe that the whole of Europe is at war where no really great principle is at stake"⁴³ An editorial in the September issue of the *Gazette* contained a lengthy argument for the rightness of the cause engaged in by the "Mother Country" and Empire.

the Church like her Master, is sent to the help of a world as it is, where the millennium has already come. Our Country cannot shirk the task laid upon her by divine Providence to minister justice to more backward races and to protect the weaker nations from the stronger. We believe in all humbleness that Britain has not declared war out of a spirit of greed of money or dominion, but to fulfil an obligation which she could not evade without unfaithfulness and dishonour. And in the hour of the peril of our Mother Country the Church has her task laid upon her.⁴⁴

There is obviously no separation in the editor's mind between Church and State nor of Australia and the Mother Country.

Very little news or opinion is offered concerning the War in the *Gazette* in following months. The Registrar of the Diocese, Colonel D. Dawson, was posted to Europe

⁴² *Church Gazette*, September 1914. Halford returned in Holy Week 1915 without extra money and by August 1915 only two of six priests who promised to come had not withdrawn from their commitment. Kidd, op. cit., p.76.

⁴³ *ibid.*

⁴⁴ *ibid.*

as second in command of the 25th Battalion of the Commonwealth Defence Force in May 1915.⁴⁵ It seems to have been taken entirely for granted that the cause of Empire is right and that young Anglican men would volunteer as a matter of course. By July 1916 the editorial in the *Gazette* was concerned with compulsory military service and the entire text of Halford's sermon preached in St. Paul's Cathedral on Sunday 14 May on the text 1 Peter, 11:13. "Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake." The sermon was full of references to the need to equate Christian discipleship with patriotism and how the sacrifice of life offered on behalf of others is a reflection of Christ. More significantly, the sermon contains specific apologia for compulsion to serve in the army.

We cannot avoid the conclusion that compulsion is necessary to support law and right in a sinful world. It remains when it is right to apply it. In the first place it must be applied by the will of an united people inspired with a spirit of genuine self sacrifice. If it is to be applied here, it must be by a national dedication of ourselves as a whole for the good of our Empire, our allies, and mankind at large.

This sermon was delivered in response to a threat made at the "conferences of unions" to force a general strike in protest against compulsory service at the war.⁴⁶

There was reference to the controversy which "will effect all directly or indirectly."⁴⁷

A resolution of the Brisbane Synod of 1916 was printed which supported the "nationalisation of the manhood of Australia, so that Australia takes a full share of responsibility in the present fight for home and liberty."⁴⁸ This is as close as the

⁴⁵ *Church Gazette*, May 1915, Rockhampton.

⁴⁶ *Church Gazette*, July 1916, Rockhampton.

⁴⁷ *ibid.*

⁴⁸ *Church Gazette*, October 1916, Rockhampton.

Diocese of Rockhampton got to making statements about the raging controversy concerning conscription for war service. A resolution before the Rockhampton Synod that year was mainly concerned with the need for six o'clock closing of bars as a positive aid to the war effort. This motion was passed with one dissenting vote.⁴⁹

Mother Country, Empire, Mother Church, the people of Central Queensland all seem to be held together in a patriotic enthusiasm of which the glue is the particular Anglican attitude to defence of one's country embodied in Article XXXVII of the Book of Common Prayer, dating from 1543:

It is lawful for Christian men, at the commandment of the magistrate, to wear weapons, and serve in the wars.⁵⁰

The Archbishop of Brisbane - Donaldson - was much more proactive in his promotion of recruitment of troops from Queensland and as well as forming committees for the purpose he lobbied for a *levee en masse* as had been the case in England.⁵¹ In Rockhampton the energy for backing the cause of Empire was channelled by the Bishop into spiritual areas such as days of intercession and daily prayer for peace (victory) and those at the front.

John Moses, in an article on Australian leaders and the Great War, states that Anglican leaders in Australia were not detached from concerns about European militarism and of Australia's relationship to the "mother country" in any conflict in

⁴⁹ *ibid.*, June 1916.

⁵⁰ *Book of Common Prayer*, Oxford University Press, London.

⁵¹ Kidd, *op. cit.*, p.202.

which Britain may become involved.⁵² Moses also points out that at the time of the outbreak of the first World War all but three of the diocesan bishops in Australia were British born. This fact did not preclude, in the Anglican leaders, an appreciation of a separate and unique Australian identity. In the Diocese of Rockhampton, Bishop Dawes, as is detailed elsewhere in this thesis, was well aware of that identity. His successor, Halford, who presided over the Diocese in the war years and during the debate concerning conscription, was also aware of this identity but not so wholeheartedly approving of the Australian identity as was Dawes.⁵³

Remarks by Halford relating to the conscription issue are mostly to do with the sectarian antagonisms surrounding it. He attacked the 'Romans' for forbidding their men to enlist⁵⁴ and describes Mannix, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Melbourne, as "a firebrand of the most disloyal description".⁵⁵ Halford is also of the opinion that those who volunteered for war service were 'magnificent fellows' and that those who did not were "the refuse ... the selfish, shallow, the really bad".⁵⁶ He saw in the Central Queensland Roman Catholic opposition to conscription an attempt to gain political control: "They (the Romans) are making a big bid for power in Australia".⁵⁷

⁵² J.A. Moses, 'Australian Anglican Leaders and the Great War, 1914-1918: The "Prussian Menace", Conscription, and National Solidarity', in *The Journal of Religious History*, Vol.25, No.3, October 2001, p.309.

⁵³ Halford, in a letter dated 27 October 1917, explains that he has only three personal friends who are Australians. "It is rather awful and doubtless my own fault, but I don't feel able to trust them (the Australians) and I believe the reason is because there is no depth of religion". Kidd, op. cit., p.85.

⁵⁴ *ibid.*, p.81.

⁵⁵ *ibid.*, p.86.

⁵⁶ *ibid.*, p.85.

⁵⁷ *ibid.*, p.81.

The effects of the War were to manifest themselves within the Diocese in more personal ways than in any movement toward a political solution. There is no evidence of any lessening of the attitude that patriotism was an emotion directed first to Mother Country and then to Empire with Australia being taken for granted. Halford was particularly affected emotionally by the casualty lists and a warrior chapel was furnished in the Cathedral where he prayed daily, and he was reported to have wept daily for the souls of those killed in battle. He became immersed in the theology and spirituality of sacrifice and it became a word and action close to his centre from 1916 on.⁵⁸ This particular focus had a liturgical architectural outcome throughout the Diocese. One way in which, in English liturgical theology the eucharistic sacrifice is symbolically expressed in church architecture is that a rood screen is erected at the entrance to the choir. On this screen is mounted a large crucifix supported by the figures of St. Mary the Virgin, St. John and St. Mary Magdalen, during the time of Edward VI the crucifix was supplanted in some churches by the Royal Arms.

The liturgical significance of this construction was that those receiving Holy Communion at the altar steps had to pass under or through the representation of the sacrifice of Christ. This piece of representational furniture was, after the First World War, placed in many Churches throughout the Diocese. St. Paul's Cathedral, St. Mark's Allenstown, St. Mary's Mt. Morgan, St. Peter's Barcaldine, St. Mark's Jericho, St. George's Aramac and the Bishop's Chapel all were furnished in this way. Most were dismantled in the rash of reconstruction and alteration to suit new fashions in liturgical practice in the 1970s and 1980s. Halford never really got

⁵⁸ R.H.H. Philp, *George Douglass Halford, an English Bishop in the Australian Bush*, (University of New England, M.Litt. Thesis, 1982).

over the trauma of the carnage of the War and his retirement in 1920 was a result which was without precedent at that time when Bishops died in office or were removed for reasons of mental incapacity.

One glimmer of an independent Australian spirit which emerged in the 1920s from the Diocese was an individual's reaction to English superiority toward colonials. Fred Paterson, a young protégé of Halford offered as a candidate for training for Holy Orders and after obtaining an Arts Degree from Queensland University was awarded a Rhodes Scholarship to study theology at Oxford. Crick reports to his Synod in 1922 that Mr Paterson is doing well at Oxford and is expected to return the following year for ordination. This did not eventuate. There are many theories as to why this plan for a "native Australian" trained in England returning to take up a priestly vocation in Central Queensland went wrong. The most plausible is that he was treated as a 'colonial' by his fellow students at Oxford. Whatever the reason, Paterson returned a thorough going atheistic communist and he later gained notoriety as the only communist elected to a seat in an Australian parliament as the State Member for Bowen in 1944.⁵⁹

By the end of the 1920s, the English influence on Central Queensland Anglicans shows signs of being absorbed into the Australian culture. After a somewhat disastrous episcopate by an Englishman appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury to succeed Halford in 1920 - Crick, the Diocese elected its first Australian born bishop - Ash - in 1928, he had a successful episcopate which

⁵⁹ Paterson was born in Gladstone in 1897 and was educated at Rockhampton Grammar and Brisbane Grammar Schools and Queensland University. On his return from England he sat and passed the Bar examination and practiced as a barrister in Townsville. I.Moles, *A Majority of One, Tom Aitkens and Independent Politics in Townsville*, (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1979), p.58.

continued until 1947. Ash's episcopate was to set the tone of Anglicanism in Central Queensland for the rest of the time under study in this thesis.

Chapter 9

The Social Conscience of Anglicanism in Central Queensland

“quickenened with the same Christlike spirit and by careful study of social economics”¹

The fact that there was little controversy, in the early years of the Diocese of Rockhampton, in regard to the strong delineation with Anglo-Catholic teachings and liturgical expression has been referred to in Chapter 5. It is suggested that one of the strong reasons for this lack of opposition is the fact that alongside the overt catholic flavour of the outward expressions of Anglicanism went good works of various sorts. The face of Anglicanism in Central Queensland was never “high and dry” but one which, at some cost to the new Diocese, tried to come to terms with the social needs of the community in which it was set. It is hard to stage credible opposition to those who are caring for the less fortunate even if their habits of worship and belief are different from those left behind in England. Caring for single mothers and orphans in a society, where a pioneering set of values prevailed, made for good public relations, even if unconsciously adopted. The main social welfare activities entered into by the Diocese were in the spheres of rescue work and education. These were expressions of the urge for a social dimension of mission within the Diocese of Rockhampton. This chapter concerns itself with the expressions of social conscience in operation in the Diocese and their origins in English expressions of Christianity in the latter quarter of the nineteenth century and into the first half of the twentieth.

¹ N. Dawes, Presidential Address to Rockhampton Synod 1894, *Synod Reports* Diocese of Rockhampton, Rockhampton.

Mention has been made of the "socialism" of Westcott and the influence this may have had on Dawes and Halford. A more detailed analysis of the social mores of the English Church during this period attempts to explain the motives of those early Bishops and priests of the Diocese. Paul Elmen² in his essay on Anglican Morality maintains that one of the major recoveries in the Oxford Movement was that of moral theology. He also goes on to point out that there is no uniform "Anglican" morality, in theory, much less in practice. In spite of this lack, morality has been a pre-occupation of Anglicans and in each century Anglicans have contributed to the search for the understanding of the unending ambiguities of translating God's love into some sort of concrete action or appropriate specific decision. He refers to these contributions over the ages as adding to the goal of *via media*, or the establishment of an identity, both Catholic and Reformed but specifically neither, for the Church. The middle ground between authority and liberty.

Another contribution worth mentioning is the insistence of the priority of *praxis* over *theoria*. This pre-eminence of experience over speculative insight was not particularly nor peculiarly Anglican; it appears in varying degrees in all religions but the British temperament was especially receptive to such ideals. The motto of the Royal Society is *Nullius in Verba*, or nothing in mere talk. This ideal was translated in Anglican understanding as the power resident in every human being enabling them to do what they needed to do in order to be saved. Every action could be seen to have a spiritual significance. The best-known example of a

² P. Elmen, 'Anglican Morality' in S. Sykes and J. Booty (eds.), *The Study of Anglicanism*, (London: S.P.C.K., 1988), p.325.

Caroline translation of theory into praxis is George Herbert's 'The Elixir' a hymn composed in the seventeenth century and still sung often in Anglican churches.

Teach me my God and King,
 In all things thee to see,
 And what I do in any thing,
 To do it as for thee...

A servant with this clause
 Makes drudgerie divine;
 Who sweeps a room, as for thy laws,
 Makes that and the action fine.³

The sustained supranaturalism of the Evangelicals, whose first concern was for the inward emotion and personal holiness and the goal of individual salvation, offered few resources for the healing of social ills. Anglo Catholicism, the other product of nineteenth century revivalist sentiment, seemed to be more interested in the authority of the Church and the revival of liturgical practices. Those pioneer Anglo-Catholics did not, in their early years, grasp that liturgy was celebrated in order to send people into the world to practice love. A much more pragmatic approach to social problems had been reached by the Anglo-Catholics by the time the Rockhampton Diocese was founded. Practical social action had become an indispensable part of their mission.

The triumph of *praxis* over *theoria* in English religion was demonstrated by the Evangelicals who reformed prisons, abolished the slave trade, supported the

³ George Herbert, 1593-1632, 'No 485, Teach me my God and King', in P. Dearmer (ed.), *The English Hymnal*, Oxford University Press, 1906, p.632.

factory laws and started charities whose aim it was to aid the inhabitants of the new urban slums resulting from the industrial revolution. Also, the second generation of Tractarians such as Father A.H. Mackonochie of St. Alban's Holborn famous for his refusal to leave his parishioners during a cholera epidemic were not just interested in church ritual but in the charitable concomitant of such ritual acts. From this background the new mood of Anglo Catholics toward the social discriminations of the latter part of the nineteenth century was to emerge.

Movements within Anglicanism which emerge in the last half of the nineteenth century and which have as their aim the betterment of members, of the community, especially those deprived of opportunity, came into being within the overarching bounds of the Church. Many of these were translated into the Central Queensland environment, but, more importantly, they were powerful influences on the English clergy who made up one hundred percent of the clerical complement in the Diocese of Rockhampton up until 1912, and at least half of it until the 1950s.

It has been mentioned that Dawes major adviser and helper in England was the Bishop of Durham, B.F. Westcott, who seemed to be influenced in turn, as were many of his peers, by the theology of F.D. Maurice who has been described as "the greatest moral and social prophet to arise within the Victorian Churches."⁴ Maurice was the founding father of a group which were later described as Christian Socialists. The word "socialist" was not used in the sense in which it is understood today and those who followed Maurice's lead would not recognise the modern usage. A modern understanding of the word as used by Maurice and his

⁴ D.L. Edwards, *Christian England Vol.3*, (London: Collins, 1984), p.196.

followers may perhaps be comprehended in "community." The basis of the teaching was that the sacrament of Holy Communion was the sign and symbol of all human sharing. It is in the theological tradition of Maurice that Westcott moved,⁵ and it is from that tradition that the first and second Bishops of Rockhampton came. While the Oxford Movement began in a rarefied academic milieu it was a movement of the spirit as well as of the mind and men and women who came under its influence were to be found in the slums of east London the industrial drabness of the north of England and in overseas mission in the colonies. They went because they believed that individual salvation was caught up in the salvation of all, and service to their fellow human beings was a necessary concomitant to that belief.

As discussed in Chapter 4, there was also a parallel belief, especially toward the end of the century, that English civilisation which had at its centre Christianity was a gift to the world from God and the spread of English Christianity was a divine vocation. It was a form of ecclesiastical rather than social Darwinism. This school of thought was shared by Westcott, who believed that 'the Church educates and inspires society, which moulds the State.'⁶ It is therefore, not too improbable that those who came to the Colony of Queensland with his blessing and as a result of his choosing would have held similar views and the service of fellow human beings and the spread of English Christianity was a priority in their lives. As almost all the early clergy held Anglo-Catholic views such theological foundations for their work in Central Queensland was to be expected. What may, in the present time, be termed welfare work would have been a *sine qua non* for their liturgical and pastoral work.

⁵ See also O. Chadwick, *The Spirit of the Oxford Movement – Tractarian Essays*, (Cambridge: 1990) and G.R. Treloar, *Lightfoot the Historian* (Tübingen: 1998), Chapter 9.

⁶ D.L. Edwards, op. cit., p.216.

The welfare work of the Church in England was of venerable origin and a sense of responsibility for the whole community was taken for granted. The pastoral responsibility or "cure of souls" in a geographical area was handed by the Bishop to a priest at his induction into a Parish and it covered all those in that geographical area of the Parish whether they were devout worshippers at the Parish Church, Dissenters in the local chapel, condemned felons in the prison or seafarers making occasional land fall. This assumption that all came within the pastoral jurisdiction of the priest of the Established Church in his parish had been centuries in the developing and it endured the transplanting of the institution to foreign and colonial parts. It followed that the Anglican clergy should deem it their duty to seek ways to rectify social injustice without rocking too many establishment boats. These attitudes were apparent in the welfare efforts of the clergy and laity of the Rockhampton Diocese.

In 1892, as was mentioned previously, a home was opened in North Rockhampton as a staging post for immigrants and continued for some years until the Government Immigration Depot was opened. Thus the welfare work of the Diocese was in place before the formal establishment of the Diocese. The house was opened and blessed by Bishop Dawes on 2 February 1892 and the Diocese came into being in November of that year.⁷

Mention has already been made of rescue work and, by 1907, a home for single pregnant girls awaiting confinement was set up in Jessie Street and staffed by the

⁷ A.A. Fellows, *Full Time*, (Rockhampton: Record Press, 1967), p.101.

Order of the Servants of the Holy Cross led by the legendary Mother Mary Gloriana. By 1910 a more spacious home was purchased in Dawson road.⁸

The sisters of the Holy Cross left Rockhampton in 1911 and their work in St. Mary's Home was taken up by the sisters of another religious community from England, the Order of the Divine Compassion in March 1912. They continued to staff the Home until 1920 when they returned to England and the Home closed for lack of trained workers in 1921.⁹ Although Archdeacon Rogers was chaplain to the Home and gave valuable support, the day-to-day work was undertaken by the laity. The sisters managed and organised the day to day arrangements and Dr F.H.V. Voss, a Cathedral parishioner, confined the women in his private hospital in West Street at no cost to the Home or the women.

One of the obvious outcomes of such an enterprise was the placing of the children. The social mores of the time would have prevented their being kept by their mothers, most of whom had come to Rockhampton with the express intention of concealing the pregnancy. Many babies were adopted but others had to be cared for. Again the laity came to the rescue. Mrs J. Chambers the wife of the General Manager of the Central Queensland Railways took many of the children in to her home where they were cared for.¹⁰ There was some disquiet about the Home being situated in the prime residential area of Rockhampton and when the remaining children were moved to a home in Berserker Street North Rockhampton the property was sold. The situating of these twenty-one children

⁸ *Synod Reports 1910*, Diocese of Rockhampton, Rockhampton.

⁹ *ibid.*, 1922.

¹⁰ Fellows, *op. cit.*, p.102.



Boys of St. George's Homes with Superintendent A. A. Fellows and Mrs. Fellows, 1932.

Source. A .A., Rockhampton.

in Berserker Street was the beginnings of the major welfare exercise of the Diocese which became known as St. George's Homes for Children.

In 1917 St. George's Homes for Orphans¹¹ was licensed by the Department of Child Welfare in Queensland as a receiving depot for children who were in need of care either admitted privately by their parents or guardians or by order of the Children's Court. By the nineteen seventies when this work was modified, to conform with government policy regarding child care, away from residential care to group homes, the Parkhurst institution was home for up to one hundred and twenty boys and girls at a time. Contemporary society regards such large institutional care of children as less than ideal and there are many stories and accusations about the evils inherent in such situations. At the time however this was the accepted way of dealing with a crisis in the lives of young children when there was an absence of parental care for whatever reason and those, usually the clergy and their wives, who managed such places saw such work as a tangible expression of the theology which had its more recent roots in the theology of the Christian Socialists and roots in the ancient responsibilities of the Church of England for all people within its ambit. St. George's Homes was one of these "orphanages" in Rockhampton the others were St. Joseph's Home at Neerkol run by the Sisters of Mercy and the Government Receiving Depot in Quarry Street, Biralee. Apart from a small Government orphanage in Townsville the Rockhampton institutions were the only such institutions for the care of children north of Brisbane.

¹¹ The term "Homes" was used for the institution from its inception. There were separate buildings for boys and girls and each was designated a "home".

Those who were admitted to the Homes were not all Anglican. After 1919 the Homes were open to "Protestant children, not Church of England, whose mothers specially desire admission"¹² and for the most part the children were not orphans but those whose parents could not afford to keep them either for reasons of financial shortage or of circumstances where one or other parent had died and the other had insufficient extended family support. Some of the more poignant reasons for admission during the late 1920s and 1930s were those where financial failure of farming on soldier settlement blocks was cited. Most of these came from the Callide and Dawson Valleys.¹³ The Homes ceased to provide residential care in 1982 and the aims and objects of the Homes were taken over in the work of Careforce Central Queensland which is the current welfare arm of the Diocese. Careforce works with families and children in a preventative mode and, in 2001, one thousand children and their families were assisted. The role of the Diocesan clergy is now confined to membership of the Management Committee, if appointed or elected.

The other area of mission through social outreach exercised by the newly formed Diocese was the provision of schools. All the clergy and many of the laity were the products of a Church school system and, as mentioned in Chapter 3, the setting up of such a system in the Diocese was one of the aims of Dawes' Church Society. A Church run system of education in opposition to the already existing State and independent school systems was deemed necessary in order to provide a Christian setting for education.¹⁴ The first educational effort was the opening of the day school at St. Paul's Cathedral in a purpose built schoolroom in 1901.¹⁵ It

¹² Letter from State Children's Department, 19 February 1919, A.A.

¹³ Admission Roll, St. George's Homes, A.A.

¹⁴ *Church Gazette*, 1 March 1906, Rockhampton.

¹⁵ Fellows, op. cit., p.149.

was staffed after 1907 by the Order of the Servants of the Holy Cross.¹⁶ It was founded for the primary education of both boys and girls and the buildings were to be used for the Sunday School as well. This day school functioned until 1912 when the Sisters left Rockhampton and there was not sufficient support from Anglicans to sustain it.

Next, St. Paul's Hostel for girls was opened in 1913¹⁷ on land opposite the Rockhampton Girls' Grammar School. It was designed as an alternative boarding accommodation for the Girls' Grammar where "girls who go away to school can be brought up in principles of the Church to which they belong, and where they may live in the Church's atmosphere."¹⁸ The hostel closed in 1922, again for lack of support from the Anglicans of Central Queensland.¹⁹ It was the last attempt in the city of Rockhampton to have a school run by the Anglican Church.

Crick was very enthusiastic about the place of schools in the evangelistic effort of the Diocese. It was during his time that St. Peter's School in Barcaldine was founded. In 1919 St. Peter's, named after the Parish, began to take in boarders, both boys and girls.²⁰ It was supported by local grazing families and after a period of management by the Diocese was taken over by the newly arrived Oratory of the Good Shepherd in 1925. The same eventual outcome as that of the day school at the Cathedral and St. Paul's Hostel due to lack of support overtook St. Peter's and it closed in 1932.²¹

¹⁶ *Church Gazette*, 1 October 1907, Rockhampton. See also F. Stacy, *The Religious communities of the Church of England in Australia and New Zealand*, (Sydney: 1929).

¹⁷ *Church Gazette*, July 1913, Rockhampton.

¹⁸ G. Halford, Bishop's Notices and Notes, in *Church Gazette*, 1 May 1913, Rockhampton.

¹⁹ Fellows, op. cit., p.102.

²⁰ Fellows, op. cit., p.123.

²¹ *ibid.*

In 1921 the Diocese purchased land at Yeppoon with the objective of building a girls' boarding school. This school, St. Faith's, opened its doors in June 1923.²² This school, under the management of the Sisters of the Society of the Sacred Advent from Brisbane until 1944, continued until the same story of lack of support caused it to close in 1966. No subsequent attempt to have Church Schools in the Diocese has occurred.²³

The neighbouring Dioceses of North Queensland and Brisbane both had successful Church School systems during the time of Rockhampton's failures in this field. These failures are a measure of the small population base of the Diocese and its proximity to Brisbane, where more prestigious schools were available. Also, the Anglicans of Rockhampton city were not convinced that the "Christian atmosphere" of the local Grammar Schools was lacking to the point where Anglican schools should be built in opposition to them.

Both the outreach efforts of the fledgling Diocese, rescue work and Christian education, were, in welfare terms, comfort for the needy rather than attempts to address social justice issues at the root cause. This also applies to the work with Melanesian and Aboriginal people which has been addressed in the next chapter.

Hollingworth²⁴ makes the comment that

²² *ibid.*, p.24.

²³ An attempt to have an Anglican day school was made in 1998 in Gladstone, it failed to get Diocesan support and was sold to the Anglican Catholic Church in 1999.

²⁴ P. Hollingworth, "Showing mercy and doing Justice" seminar paper cited in B. Porter (ed.), *Colonial Tractarians, The Oxford Movement in Australia*, Joint Board of Religious Education, Melbourne, 1989, p.130.

the Anglican expression of the Catholic faith, with few exceptions, has emphasised the value of mercy rather than justice, comfort rather than challenge, the homely rather than heroic, the hearth rather than the city

as the reason for Anglican complacency about social justice. He is writing for a largely southern Australian urban leadership and about social justice in the urban context. It is possible to discern in the early efforts of the Anglican clergy and laity in Central Queensland discomfort, heroism and distance from the hearth in an individualistic urban sense in the pursuit of the goal of bringing the Faith to their part of the world. The fact that this absorbed most of their time and energy may help to explain the apparent lack of interest in social justice but the writer believes there were other value systems in place and in a higher priority for most of these early Anglicans. This priority was to gain support from the Anglican population for expansion and consolidation of the Church of their forbears. The pioneering values of self-reliance and stoicism did not sit well with social justice advocacy.

Showing mercy was part of the English tradition of pastoral care in a situation where the Church was an organic part of the State Establishment and where the Church was not a free association of like minded individuals. The poor in the countryside and the cities were part and parcel of the parish responsibilities of the priest of the Church of England and the secular laws were in place as part of the God given nature of the relationship between Church and State. Dissenters could move more freely outside the confines of both the law and culture of the English establishment. Picking up the pieces of social injustice was much easier and perhaps more possible for the Anglican clergy than was the political task of attempting reform of the cause of such injustice. Not that social reform was not attempted by Anglicans in England but very little social reform was the result of

direct clerical action. This value system was brought to Central Queensland by the English clergy. Their establishment of a school first, echoes the social background from which almost all of them came. Public (Private) school education was a social reality for the first three bishops up until 1928. This also applied to the majority of their clergy during that period of time. This public school education led to places in the Universities of Oxford or Cambridge for almost all of them. Showing mercy in this regard was to give those deprived by distance an opportunity to have such a start in life. It could not be exactly replicated but an approximation could be attempted.

The rescue mission work as exemplified by the foundation and maintenance of St. Mary's Home from 1907 to 1921, was an extension of the style of work undertaken in the cities of England where Religious Communities of women undertook this specialist work, the Community of the Compassion of Jesus in Oxford was one such order and Bishop Halford's Oxford connections were responsible for this order sending sisters to care for the Home in the nineteen twenties.²⁵ This work was showing compassion and mercy in concrete terms and with methods and personnel entirely congruent with the English experience. The rescue work was to result in a major welfare undertaking for disadvantaged children, which now does have a social justice component in its work. This agency which began as St. Mary's Home and became St. George's Homes for Children from 1917 until 1982 and then Careforce from 1982 until 1998 when it became, in conformity with all other Anglican welfare agencies, known as Anglicare worked continuously for all that time for the welfare of disadvantaged children.

Another major contributing factor in the apparent lower priority of social justice in the early endeavours of the Church in Central Queensland was the imperative of establishing the Anglican expression of the Catholic Faith in Central Queensland.

In common with other parts of Anglicanism which had embraced the Anglo-Catholic path its fundamental tasks of mission, after which all other activity had to take second place, was the worship of God in the "beauty of holiness"²⁶ and this was no easy task in the cultural and geographic new environment. This imperative for a splendid setting for worship was accompanied by the need to establish the *episcopate* of the bishop as more than an administrative advantage. The most obvious way to combine these two basic teachings was in the building of a cathedral. Rockhampton already had, from its Brisbane Diocese background, an elegant and worthy, if not overly large and impressive, church building which became the Cathedral. While there was no need to build, there was the need to secure dynamic clergy who would lead the worship along Catholic lines and so, much energy was directed to this end. Social welfare of the showing mercy variety was possible under such circumstances while "doing justice" was desirable but socially and, from the point of view of assigning scarce resources, risky and would have to wait for a more opportune moment in history to become elevated to a higher priority in Diocesan affairs. Adaptation of English social values was to take time in the Central Queensland cultural milieu.

²⁵ Fellows, op. cit., p.101.

²⁶ *English Hymnal* No.42, op. cit., p.67.

Chapter 10

The Anglicans of Central Queensland and Race Relations 1892-1942

“it would be easy to conclude that the Anglican response to the Lazarus at their gates had results largely in pious platitudes and hypocrisy”¹

The English newcomers to Central Queensland from the 1860s on had to contend with many differences in the physical environment. Adding to these adjustments was the fact that the area was not monochrome in terms of the racial origins of the population. There was no significant part of the population, and particularly the Anglican portion of the population, who had experienced living in a racially mixed human environment. The fact that Central Queensland was racially mixed was cause for a major adjustment and adaptation for Church members. Nor was the background and experience of the clergy one which equipped them to deal with matters of race practically or theologically. For these reasons the Church's input to the general attitudes to race in the social milieu of Central Queensland in the first fifty years of Diocesan life, was one of almost complete silence. There was one major exception to this observation – the matter of the forced repatriation of Melanesian labour in the early part of the twentieth century. This chapter surveys the prevailing attitudes of Anglicans in Central Queensland and the mentalities undergirding these attitudes during the time examined.

There were three major racial groups resident in Central Queensland during the formative years of the Diocese of Rockhampton apart from those of Anglo-Celtic origin. They were, in order of importance from a numerical aspect, the Aboriginal

¹ N. Loos, 'The Australian Board of Missions, The Anglican Church and the Aborigines 1850-1900', in *The Journal of Religious History*, Vol.17, No.2, December 1992, p.205.

people, the Melanesian labour force on the stations and in the cane fields and a not insignificant presence of people of Chinese origin. In general, the Chinese were not seen as a threat and their children were accepted into the Anglican Schools.² The Melanesians, known as Kanakas at this time, were products of an active Anglican mission in their home islands and were accepted as fellow adherents but were given their own quasi-parish (The Kanaka Mission), as well as being supported in their struggle for recognition as citizens. The Aboriginal inhabitants were, however, either pitied or ignored until the late 1920s. It was as if they were one of the topographical features of the area but not particularly notable. The mission to both Melanesian people and Aboriginal inhabitants is the subject of the rest of this Chapter.

An early initiative, in what may be described as the mission aspect of the Diocesan life, was the “Kanaka Mission”, centred on the Parish of North Rockhampton. The murder of Bishop Patteson of Melanesia in 1871 as payback for the kidnap of Islanders sent shockwaves through the Church.³ Patteson was the protégé of G.A. Selwyn, the Bishop of New Zealand. Selwyn, in turn, was extremely well connected in England and the Melanesian Mission had been functioning since 1849 without adverse reaction from the Islanders. Patteson's murder drew immediate attention to the South Sea Islander Labour Trade in Queensland and eventually this, along with workers' agitation, led to moves for its abolition.

² In the results of the Scholarship examination of 1906 from St. Paul's Day School, Bertie Sue Yek is listed as winner of the Lower Division. *Church Gazette*, March 1906.

³ For a full account of Bishop Patteson's murder see D. Hilliard, *God's Gentleman, a History of the Melanesian Mission 1849-1942*, (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1978), Chapter 3, pp.54-78.

The first South Sea indentured labourers were landed at Redbank near Brisbane on 15 August 1863. This group was transported to Townsville as they had been recruited by Captain Robert Towns, the founder of that settlement.⁴ It was intended that they should be engaged in the “light work” of cotton growing on Towns’ plantations.⁵ The Brisbane *Courier* described them as ‘cheap coloured labour’ immediately.⁶ South Sea Islanders were first brought to Central Queensland in 1867.⁷

At the beginning of the period of transportation many South Sea Islanders were working on the pastoral properties of the inland, but by the time of the foundation of the Diocese of Rockhampton the great majority of them were working in the sugar and other agricultural areas. The table below illustrates this move from the western areas to the coastal. In the Diocese of Rockhampton, the only intensely farmed agricultural areas were situated around Rockhampton and Yeppoon (Westwood and Rockhampton on the table) by the early 1890s.⁸

⁴ E.W. Docker, *The Blackbirders, The Recruiting of South Sea Labour for Queensland, 1863-1907*, (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1970), p.11.

⁵ *ibid.*, Towns’ open letter to missionaries in the ‘immediate adjacent islands’.

⁶ *ibid.*, p.12.

⁷ C. Gistitin, *Quite a Colony*, (Brisbane: ÆBIS Publishing, 1995), p.1.

⁸ All figures are taken from the Census Reports of QVP, 1872, 1882, 1892 as cited in K. Saunders, *Workers in Bondage, The origins and bases of unfree labour in Queensland 1824-1916*, (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1982), p.48.

Table 4
Distribution of Melanesians in Queensland, 1871-1891
With reference to centres in Diocese of Rockhampton⁹

	1871	1881	1891
Aramac	--	10	5
Blackall	--	30	2
Clermont	11	50	7
Gladstone	21	36	29
Mitchell (Longreach)	42	--	--
Peak Downs	31	3	1
Rockhampton	36	23	10
Springsure	28	39	13
St. Lawrence	16	39	3
Westwood	12	56	131

There was never the concentration of South Sea Island labour in Central Queensland as there was in the sugar growing areas to the north – from Sarina and the south – from Bundaberg, after the move out of the pastoral industry.¹⁰ Nevertheless it was in the Diocese of Rockhampton and in particular in the parish of North Rockhampton that the first initiative was taken in the Diocese to minister exclusively to these people.

Melanesian labour was employed at the Farnborough (Yeppoon Sugar Co.) and at Alton Downs (Pandora Plantation) sugar plantations. In 1900 the Yeppoon Sugar Co. employed 200 people, 'mostly Islanders'.¹¹

⁹ All figures are taken from the Census Reports of Q.V.P., 1872, 1882, 1892 as cited in K. Saunders, *Workers in Bondage, The origins and bases of unfree labour in Queensland 1824-1916*, (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1982), p.48.

¹⁰ The total of Melanesians in the Central Queensland districts in 1891 was 211, whereas in North Queensland it was 2,897. Figures from 1891 census as cited in K. Saunders, *Workers in Bondage, The origins and bases of unfree labour in Queensland 1824-1916*, (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1982), pp.48-49.

¹¹ L. McDonald, *Rockhampton: A History of City and District*, (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1981), p.209.

Clive Moore, in his history of the Melanesians in Mackay,¹² mentions the comparatively harsh employment conditions under which the South Sea Islander workforce existed. They were subject to the *Masters and Servants Act* and the *Pacific Island Labourers Act*, which provided gaol terms for offences such as refusal to carry out an order and absconding from hired service. Penalties of over thirty days imprisonment as a result of non-payment of fines, handed down in Mackay, had to be served in Rockhampton gaol.

The attitude of the Churches toward Melanesian labour was, on the whole, one of institutional indifference at the beginning.¹³ By the 1880s, however, there were moves to Christianise the Melanesian workforce. In 1884 Mary Goodwin Robinson, the wife of a planter at Marian, outside Mackay, had begun Bible Reading classes for the workers on her husband's estate.¹⁴ This was met with approval by fellow planters and by the mid-1890s both indentured worker and master were involved in the conversion of their Melanesian workers.¹⁵ In Rockhampton support for Melanesian Christians had been under way since 1890.

Saunders states that –

The major denominations displayed little concern for the spiritual or temporal welfare of the Melanesians, and like the establishment of missions to the Queensland

¹² C. Moore, *Kanaka: A History of Melanesian Mackay*, (Papua New Guinea: Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies, 1985), p.190.

¹³ Saunders, op. cit., p.119.

¹⁴ *ibid.*, also J. Feetham and W. Rymer (eds.), *North Queensland Jubilee Book, 1878-1928*, (Townsville: McGilvray and Co., 1919), pp.64, 65.

¹⁵ Saunders, op. cit., p.119.

Aborigines, initiative emanated from dedicated, often zealous, individuals amongst the clergy.¹⁶

The support for Melanesian Anglicans by Anglicans of English origin is one of the distinctive mission initiatives of the Church in Northern and Central Queensland, and in the Diocese of Rockhampton it can be claimed as an initiative which, in race relation terms, had popular support and approval. It must also be seen in contrast to the lack of moves toward the Aboriginal people as a group. The Ford Street mission to the South Sea Islander community in North Rockhampton began because of the missionary zeal of one priest – Francis Pritt. Pritt had independent means and he came to the Diocese as an unattached priest in 1890.¹⁷ His major purpose was to minister to the South Sea Islander group. Being unattached meant that he had no specific parochial responsibilities and that he was, therefore, able to devote his time and energy in a more focused way to the group to whom he chose to minister. Another important and positive factor in his attention to his chosen sphere of mission was that, having independence from a parochial source of financial support, he was able to form his own policy directions and management decisions regarding the mission. It is doubtful if the Diocese as an entity would have had the singleness of purpose to achieve this result without Fr Pritt's free spirit. Pritt was to continue his mission to Islanders in and around Rockhampton until 1893, when he went to the lower Herbert in the Diocese of North Queensland and founded the Gairloch Melanesian Mission.¹⁸

¹⁶ *ibid.*

¹⁷ Clergy Records, Diocese of Rockhampton, A.A.

¹⁸ J. Feetham and W. Rymer, *op. cit.*, p.43.

Pritt's and later the Parish of North Rockhampton's championing of the South Sea Islander people was a risky venture in terms of public appeal. The Islander people were resented in the earlier years of South Sea Island indentured labour and those who remained after the repatriation in 1908 were forced into a social ghetto where poverty prevailed and guaranteed a dependency upon the white parish for ecclesiastical survival.

Gistitin¹⁹ maintains that "after the 1880s the Church of England became the principal agent of cultural change among Islanders,"... The deliberate outreach to South Sea Islanders began in 1890 and was directed to the group settled at Moore's Creek in North Rockhampton. There is record of a Christmas service in a chapel on the Kalka Road at which twenty Islanders were present out of a congregation of forty-five.²⁰ Nine of those twenty were from the sugar mill at Farnborough on the Keppel coast. There is also record of a Mota language service conducted at St. Barnabas' North Rockhampton on the afternoon of 24 January 1899, the day the Church was dedicated.²¹ On 25 May 1912, the foundation stone of a small church in Ford Street, North Rockhampton, for the Kanaka Mission was laid by Bishop Halford. This Church of St. John was built close to the settlement at the end of Ford Street on the banks of Moore's Creek and it is still in regular use by an Islander congregation. Gistitin²² also chronicles the subdivision of land in the Kanaka Town around Ford and Simpson Streets on the banks of Moore's Creek in 1888 and the building of a Mission Room in Kanaka Town in 1896 following Pritt's mission. The diocese bought a block of land in Ford Street in 1910 with the intention of building a church to replace the

¹⁹ Gistitin, *op. cit.*, p.47.

²⁰ North Rockhampton Service Register, December 1896, A.A.

²¹ *ibid.*, 1899.

²² Gistitin, *op. cit.*, p.45.

white ant ravaged Mission Room at Moore's Creek and the Church of St. John was built and dedicated in November 1912.²³ This occurred during the episcopate of George Halford.

While the Islander people themselves maintained the financial support for the Church building and the social undergirding for the assimilation process into Central Queensland mainstream culture, which was centred on Church activities, the Diocese does not seem to have provided support of this sort. The Mission became part of the parochial ministry of the Parish of North Rockhampton and any resourcing of it either with finance or manpower was to come from the parish. This state of affairs was not too divergent from the Anglican norm, where land was usually provided for a newly emerging congregation but the erection of buildings and the financing of the stipends of the clergy was seen as a local responsibility.

Bishop Dawes made comment to his Synod in 1904 about the forced repatriation of South Sea Islanders from Queensland. It was to the effect that the policies of the new Commonwealth government and particularly the *Pacific Islands Labourers Act 1901*, which he described as "a flagrant act of injustice"²⁴ had brought discredit on our Statesmanship, and gone far to make us a laughing-stock in Europe.²⁵ Dawes characterised the first Act of the new Federal Parliament as "hasty and reckless". Dawes obviously was concerned for those Islanders who were part of his flock and there were many. He sympathised with and understood, to some extent, "the policy of a White Australia"²⁶ but maintained

²³ *Church Gazette*, March 1913, Rockhampton.

²⁴ *Synod Reports 1904*, p.11, Diocese of Rockhampton, Rockhampton.

²⁵ *ibid.*

²⁶ *ibid.*

that while a policy may be right in theory it could defeat itself by being “forced forward without regard for justice and the comity of nations”. Dawes’ concern was for those Islanders who made the transition from South Sea Island tribal ‘paganism’ to the culture of late nineteenth century and early twentieth century Queensland with its emphasis on industriousness, land-ownership, honesty, sobriety and respectable marriage all undergirded by the Christian faith.²⁷

Again, in 1906, Dawes reminded his Synod that nothing had happened in the intervening two years to change his forecast that provisions of the *Pacific Islands Labourers Act 1901* would be inhumanely carried out. He places the blame for this on the new Commonwealth government, stating that:

Were it left to the Government of Queensland, the State chiefly affected, I believe that the deportation would be effected without discrimination, and without cruelty, but I do not in this respect trust the Federal Authorities, unless public opinion is brought to bear upon them. They are far off in Melbourne, and will not witness the sufferings of those who are victims to a political fad, and they appear to have less regard for humanity dealing with coloured races than for political partizanship and creed. However, there is some hope that the harsh provisions of the Act will yet be mitigated, as the result of the Queensland government appointing a Royal Commission of enquiry, and the leader of the Opposition in the Federal Parliament, the Hon. G.H. Reid, demanding fair play. For the credit of the Commonwealth may this hope be fulfilled!²⁸

²⁷ *ibid.*

²⁸ Bishop’s Address, *Synod Reports 1906*, Diocese of Rockhampton, Rockhampton.

It would seem that Dawes was referring to the Labour Party loyalties of the Federal politicians when he makes mention of political partisanship and to Roman Catholic adherence when referring to creed. These two alliances did not seem to be areas where Pacific Islanders were to be found in any numbers. They had, in the main, associated with English cultural norms and, certainly in regard to their Christianity, they had by this time in Central Queensland and north, made strong attachments to the Church of England.²⁹ According to Gistitin a large proportion of brides of Islander men were white and many of them English in origin.³⁰

Table 5³¹
Marriage Amongst Melanesian Males in 1906, Queensland
Melanesian males married/cohabiting with –

European women	40
Aboriginal women	1
Melanesian (same island)	89
Melanesian (other island)	81
Other nationalities	3

Total 214

At this time also, the fight against compulsory repatriation was vigorously enjoined by the Anglican rectors of North Rockhampton. Canon Julius backed the initial moves by Islanders to oppose compulsory deportation and The Reverend Joseph Brocklehurst appeared before the Royal Commission when it took evidence in Rockhampton in 1906,³² to support the Islanders' plea for exemption.

²⁹ Gistitin, *op. cit.*, p.9

³⁰ *ibid.*, p.67.

³¹ See also Table above from Saunders, *op. cit.*, p.103.

³² *ibid.*, p.69.

It appears that the Anglican Church regarded the South Sea Island community as part of their flock and were prepared to go into political battle on their behalf. No such efforts are obvious in the area of Aboriginal rights at this time. There is no mention of Aboriginal people in any of the Synod statements. For instance, the Synod addresses in 1897 contain no reference to the *Aboriginal Protection and Sale of Opium Act* of that year. This act was the first of its kind in Australia and served as the model for other such Acts in other colonies. The preoccupation of the Diocesan Synod in that year appears to have been the incorporation of the Synod. The Aboriginal people did not possess the cultural attributes which were valued by the English and, as the clergy of the diocese were entirely English at this point, the Aboriginal people were, as a racial group, ignored. Individual Aboriginal people were cared for but there is no evidence of any recognition of them as a racial group, nor of any justice issues pertaining to them. South Sea Islanders were culturally closer in ethos to Europeans and especially English models of respectable industry. They were more suitable as objects of the clergy's sympathy and efforts to assimilate them into the mainstream of Central Queensland society.

The South Sea Island people were, in their island environment, a people living in an agricultural and fishing economy and governed hierarchically. This meant that the transition from their island background to the Queensland cane fields was not such a huge cultural jump and it was possible for British settlers and administrators, especially those in the frontier societies of Central and North Queensland, to respect their industry as it came from a similar social construct as their new masters. There was still a deep-seated prejudice concerning skin colour but so long as a black race showed signs of industry within accepted

economic parameters it was deemed praiseworthy, or at least blameless. The fact that the only endeavour in the agriculture or pastoral industries open to Islanders was as wage labourers, and this was acceptable to the land owner and manager class, it proved to be the rock on which, for the most part, their continued presence in Queensland was to founder. In the lead up to federation of the Australian colonies it was organised white labour and newspapers such as the *Bulletin*, the *Worker* and the *Boomerang* which opposed bitterly the continuation of a South Sea Island presence in Queensland, and most of this vocal opposition came from the south.³³ The social and cultural values of the South Sea Island population of Central Queensland were acceptable to the Church and the Church declared itself publicly opposed to compulsory repatriation. The opposition expressed by the Church through Bishop Dawes and the parish clergy of North Rockhampton was based on humanitarian grounds on social justice and, it should be said, on pastoral concern for those they regarded as part of their flock.

The Rockhampton *Morning Bulletin* picked up this concern:

A number of these Kanakas have been resident in the town for long periods, but, probably through ignorance of the law, they have not provided themselves with exemption tickets – though entitled to hold these freedoms. It would be a piece of gross injustice and cruelty to attempt to drive them out of the district now. They have married and settled among us, and their comparative affluence proves that they must have been both industrious and thrifty. We may regret that such a settlement should be formed here, but the Queensland Government and people are responsible for that. It was on their invitation that the men came to this colony, and the determination of the present Government – like the last – that the labour trade

³³ K. Saunders, op. cit., p.xix.

shall cease, is no justification for any repudiation of the moral obligations we have incurred under our own statutes.³⁴

No such demonstration of concern nor of public opposition was shown when Aboriginal people were, by Government decree, moved from their land to reserves. This was the case through the 1890s and up to the late 1920s when Woorabinda was established. The contrast in Church attitudes is stark. It is not hard to see that the starting points of acceptance of Aboriginal social mores by Anglo-Celtic settlers were quite different and, from a late nineteenth century point of view, deficient from those operating in regard to South Sea Island people. The perception of “industry” present in almost all the defences of the South Sea Islander group is not apparent when it comes to Aboriginal acceptance.

With Aboriginal people there was the vivid memory on both sides of frontier war. The Hornet Bank and Cullin-la-Ringo massacres were within living memory and both had occurred within the Diocesan boundaries. The Fraser family were murdered by Aboriginal people at Hornet Bank on the upper Dawson near Taroom on 27 October 1857³⁵ and the Wills family met a similar fate at Cullin-la-Ringo near Springsure on 17 October 1861.³⁶ Both killings had sparked punitive and reprisal massacres of Aboriginals, including many women and children.³⁷ This frontier racial violence, named the “squatters’ crusade”³⁸ had provoked no outcry from the Church at the time. It is, of course, impossible at the remove of

³⁴ Rockhampton *Morning Bulletin*, 23 August 1885, p.5.

³⁵ R. Evans, K. Saunders and K. Cronin, *Exclusion Exploitation and Extermination, Race Relations in Colonial Queensland*, (Sydney: Australian and New Zealand Book Co., 1975), p.71 and H. Reynolds, *Indelible Stain*, (Ringwood: Viking, 2001), p.121.

³⁶ McDonald, op. cit., p.190 and Reynolds, op. cit., p.122.

³⁷ *ibid.*, p.187.

³⁸ G. Pearce-Serecold, to *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 November 1857, as cited in Evans et al., op. cit., p.128.

one hundred and fifty years to fairly judge the attitudes and mores of that time on the part of the white settlers but it does seem that the Aboriginal inhabitants were regarded, as a group, to be little more than agricultural pests and this attitude was shared or, at least, ignored by Church leaders.

The Aboriginal people showed none of the outward signs of Christian civilisation; they shared with their Anglo-Saxon contemporaries none of those marks of industry, nor of agricultural and hierarchical social norms which would have made their society intelligible to European eyes. In concert with the prevailing utilitarian philosophies of the nineteenth century and pre World War 1 twentieth century, Aboriginal social organisation was seen to be non-existent and its values seen as non-utilitarian if they existed at all. The Church and the Anglicans of Central Queensland did not appear to have a contrary view to that prevailing at the more humanitarian end of the Anglo-Celtic spectrum. The acceptance of the proposition put forward by Archibald Meston in his report to the Colonial Parliament in 1896 that Aboriginal people needed protection from the worst elements of white society and that the way to achieve this was to remove them to safe and inviolable reserves was accepted and publicly supported.³⁹

The notion that any missionary effort was best spent with the South Sea Islander group prevailed and the usually understood implication was that the Aboriginal people were dying out as a race and, therefore, kindness and compassion were more in keeping with the situation than active evangelisation. The plight of Aboriginal people in general was hardly commented upon, however, reference

³⁹ *ibid.*, p.345.

was made by Bishop Halford in his 1911 Synod Address⁴⁰ to the four principles enunciated by the Archbishops and the Bishops of Australian Church at the General Synod of 1910. These principles were issues “in the name of Christ and of justice and mercy” as measures which should govern the treatment of Aboriginals. They were -

First the principles of inviolable reserves or segregation camps; second the training of the able bodied in agricultural or pastoral work, both as a means of support and as tending to habits of discipline and self-respect; third, arrangements for definite moral and spiritual influence through Christian missions; fourth, special reformatory reserves for wild and lawless blacks.⁴¹

All of these principles fit neatly with the prevailing policies of governments at the time and while all the other dioceses of the Province of Queensland had missions to Aboriginals by this time, the Diocese of Rockhampton did not. It seems that the government settlement at Woorabinda, over which the Parish of Dawson Valley had pastoral care and the Anglican Diocese sole religious visiting rights, may have been seen as sufficient involvement, and the earlier established Fraser Island mission gave precedent for this line of thought. Whatever the reason the Diocese had no official church mission to Aboriginal people.

Aboriginal people were moved by government agents to various reserves and in 1902 a letter from the Bishop of Brisbane appealing for financial help for the Fraser Island Mission, where one hundred and seventy Aboriginal people were sent, and which had been put in the care of the Church of England and of

⁴⁰ *Synod Reports 1911*, Rockhampton, pp.9-10.

⁴¹ *ibid.*

Brisbane Diocese, was published with an editorial comment that the mission was for both Central and South Queensland, in the *Church Gazette*.⁴² Fraser Island was a reserve founded and subsidised by the State Government but given over to the Church to manage and as a base for mission to Aboriginals.⁴³

Neither Church nor State displayed any understanding of the existence of Aboriginal religion and this is amply demonstrated by the willingness to remove Aboriginal people from their tribal lands and the basis of their religion. For some Christian missionaries to the Aboriginals this would have been a necessary, or at least fortuitous, first step to deculturation but deculturation would not have been a universal tenet or prerequisite for Christian mission. Deculturation was an established fact in most parts of Queensland and well before the turn of the century in Central Queensland the tribal groups had been dispersed, dispossessed of their land and the remnant continued to live as outcast fringe dwellers without contact with their former culture. It was for these people that John Gribble set up at Yarrabah and it was to this same gathered and displaced group that his son Ernest continued his mission at Yarrabah, Fraser Island and Palm Island. The government policy of dispossession and deliberate exile to foreign parts of the State made deculturation an already existing state of affairs for missionaries along the east coast of the State. Even if they had been so inclined, the missionaries were not able to use any part of Aboriginal religion in their efforts to Christianise.⁴⁴

⁴² *Church Gazette*, March 1902, Rockhampton.

⁴³ C. Halse, 'The Reverend Ernest Gribble: a Successful Missionary?' in B.V. Dalton (ed.), *Lectures on North Queensland History No.5*, (Townsville: James Cook University, 1996), p.236.

⁴⁴ C. Halse, op. cit., pp.236-7.

By the time the Diocese of Rockhampton was set up in 1892, there had been no active 'dispersal' of Aboriginal people for twenty years.⁴⁵ There is no doubt that some of the early settlers of the 1850s and 1860s had what Dirk Moses describes as 'exterminatory attitudes'⁴⁶ toward the Aboriginal inhabitants of Central Queensland and that extermination was effected with the direct involvement of the Native Police under colonial government policy.

Moses also argues that the attacks on colonists and their stock, and the failure of civilizing experiments, had convinced the settlers that the natives were inferior and beyond redemption, to be linked with other pastoral vermin and exterminated.⁴⁷ This attitude is demonstrated in the 1866 article in the *Peak Downs Telegram*, in which the author states that "the black man and the wild dog were practically on the same footing", both were "destructive and irreclaimable and both were deserving of and doomed to speedy destruction".⁴⁸ As Moses goes on to claim, there was a progression because of this state of open warfare and the resulting extermination of the majority of Aboriginal people to a state of justification for the fact that they had largely disappeared. This justification took as its *raison d'être* the theory of evolution as propounded by Darwin and applying it to the survival of the fittest race rather than organism as originally proposed by Darwin. The conflict had been the "natural" result of the superior (civilized) race overcoming and ousting the inferior.⁴⁹ Henry Reynolds puts the number of Aboriginals killed in this frontier war at 20,000.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ L. McDonald, op. cit., p.189.

⁴⁶ A.D. Moses, 'An antipodean genocide? The origins of the genocidal moment in the colonization of Australia', in *Journal of Genocidal Research*, Vol.2(1), (New York: 2000), p.92.

⁴⁷ *ibid.*, p.96.

⁴⁸ *Peak Downs Telegram*, 11 September 1866.

⁴⁹ Moses, op. cit., p.96.

⁵⁰ H. Reynolds, *The Other Side of the Frontier*, (Townsville: James Cook University of North Queensland, 1981), p.99.

The theory of social Darwinism seems to have been accepted by the Church in the latter years of the nineteenth century. The Anglicans of Central Queensland were not alone in this complacency. Maguire details a plan on the part of the Roman Catholic Church to establish a Vicariate of Queensland with responsibility for all Aboriginal people throughout the Colony, before 1894. This did not eventuate and Robert Dunne, the bishop in Brisbane, was well pleased that it did not.⁵¹

By the turn of the century most Aboriginal people, while physically present, had become culturally invisible in Central Queensland and by 1911 the Church was convinced that protection in “inviolable reserves” was all that could or should be done. This contrasts strongly with the extensive efforts to help South Sea Islander people retain their resident status. During this time from the late 1890s until well into the twentieth century the Diocese was caught up in enthusiasm for overseas missions, especially those in Melanesia and in New Guinea. There was an officially “adopted” boy in the Melanesian Mission in Norfolk Island from 1895⁵² and, although the first two years after Diocesan foundation were taken up with local concerns, the reports of every subsequent Synod contain references to the need for support of the New Guinea, Melanesian and Bellenden Ker (Yarrabah) missions. There is a brief mention of the debt of Christian service owed to the “aboriginal tribes whose land we occupy ...” in the Bishop’s Address to Synod in 1894.⁵³ Very little more is mentioned subsequently about Aboriginal Mission.

⁵¹ J. Maguire, *Prologue: A History of the Catholic Church as seen from Townsville, 1863-1983*, (Toowoomba: Church Archivists’ Society, 1990), p.32.

⁵² *Synod Reports 1895*, Diocese of Rockhampton, Rockhampton, p.26 and *Church Gazette*, 1 July 1906, Rockhampton.

⁵³ *Synod Reports 1894*, Diocese of Rockhampton, Rockhampton.

A.T. Yarwood has used a phrase which has now found its way into the consciousness of most historians. That phrase is “invisible luggage”.⁵⁴ By this is meant that people carry with them prejudices, many of which are subconscious, into their daily living and that these prejudices have an impact on the way in which they respond to people and situations about them. This “invisible luggage” may be discerned in the way in which white settlers reacted to the black skins of the Aboriginal occupants of the land they settled and of the South Sea Islanders who provided the workforce in many places.

For countless generations northern Europeans had in their folklore and mythology equated evil with darkness and goodness with light. This applied no less to the European expressions of Christianity and to the Church of England. Some examples come readily to mind. In the Old Testament story of the conception and birth of the progenitor of Israel (Isaac)⁵⁵ there is a parallel story of the rejection of an earlier born son of Abraham sired on an Egyptian slave woman. This son born of a slave from another country (Ham) has been associated in Western Christian teaching as the father of the dark skinned races and that these races were condemned to be “hewers of wood and drawers of water”. This argument, based on somewhat shaky Biblical grounds, was used to justify enslavement of African negroes by white Europeans in the New World and, in later times, to justify the doctrine of apartheid in South Africa.

If the argument of “invisible luggage” is sustained then it is very reasonable to suppose that the clergy of Central Queensland were products of a set of cultural

⁵⁴ A.T. Yarwood, *Race Relations in Australia: a history*, (Sydney: Methuen, 1982). Max Crawford, in his work on Australian immigration, coined the phrase “invisible luggage”.

⁵⁵ Genesis 21:1-21.

norms, which included the suspicion of anything and anyone black. It may be in part co-incidental but an official photograph of the bishops assembled for the Lambeth Conference of 1920 shows only one black (Negro) bishop and he in the place of least honour.⁵⁶

It would be surprising if the Anglicans in Central Queensland during the period covered by this study were not carriers of this type of “invisible luggage”. All the clergy before 1912, and a large majority of them after that date, were English by birth, education and ordination. Many of the laity too were immigrants from England directly to Central Queensland. Some of those who were influential came from other colonies of the Empire where slave ownership was only one generation removed. By the time that the majority of clergy and laity in the Diocese were Australian born, the 1930s, the old plantation society of the cane growing areas had given way to closer Australian settlement and the large pastoral holdings had been divided into smaller units with Australian born owners and managers, and racial attitudes had become less inflexible.

The Anglican Church’s attitude, at least as demonstrated by public utterances of the Bishop and by Synod, during the period of this study, indicate a situation where the care of Aboriginal people and South Sea Island people was not neglected but was carried out by one or two clergy as a mission outside the major thrust of the Church’s work. After the period of compulsory repatriation was over, the South Sea Island community at Kanaka Town had a Church built for them and after its dedication by Bishop Halford in 1912 silence descends. The Parish of North Rockhampton does continue with the supply of clergy and

⁵⁶ A.A. Rockhampton.

services but the overseas missions of Melanesia and New Guinea attract almost exclusive attention. The Melanesians and Aboriginals living in the Diocese receive scant notice.

According to Carey⁵⁷ it would not be until after the Second World War that more adult notions concerning Aboriginal religion would surface. This was the result of the major anthropological work undertaken in Northern Australia by A.P. Elkin, himself an Anglican priest, and his daughter and son-in-law, the Berndts, after him. The notions of mission to Aboriginal people underwent a change at that time. Training of missionaries by the Australian Board of Missions (Anglican) at Elkin's persuasion included anthropological and cultural input.⁵⁸ By this time the Diocese of Rockhampton had the Woorabinda settlement within its boundaries and until 1970 the Anglicans enjoyed sole residential rights as a Church at Woorabinda. The mission during this time was the responsibility of the Parish of the Dawson Valley and not until 1974 did the Diocese assume responsibility.⁵⁹

Mission was thought of as being to those in foreign climes, under the palm tree and on the coral strand. This is an attitude carried over from the English experience of most of the clergy. The consciousness of being part of a social environment which was multi-racial is not something which came to Central Queensland Anglicans quickly. Early burial records for Aboriginal people were not kept. There is some evidence for the burial of at least one Chinese person

⁵⁷ H.M. Carey, *Believing in Australia*, (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1996), pp.38-43.

⁵⁸ A.P. Elkin, *Aboriginal Men of High Degree*, (Sydney: Australasian Publishing Co., 1946). Elkin's study of Aboriginal shamanism gives insights into religious faith and its application. Also his *The Australian Aborigines: how to understand them*, (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1970) is a later influential publication.

⁵⁹ Clergy Records, Diocese of Rockhampton, Rockhampton, Appointment of Canon J. Warby as Chaplain to Aboriginal and Islander People, A.A.

from the Cathedral in the latter part of the nineteenth century⁶⁰ and others for Melanesian people from North Rockhampton up until the end of the 1920s, but no record at all for the burial of Aboriginal people.⁶¹ By the 1940s the Church's rites and Sacraments were offered without any prejudice concerning racial origin and more than half the residents of St. George's Homes were of Aboriginal descent. It was a gradual recognition of the universal nature of the Christian gospel and a slow adaptation on the Church's part to the realities of Central Queensland society. There are, in 2002, very few representatives of the three racial groups discussed above who are part of Anglican Church life in the Diocese, in spite of the continued mission and the Diocese having had Torres Strait and Aboriginal clergy included in its clerical workforce since 1973.

A postscript may be added that, after the Second World War, the South Sea Island congregation gradually disappeared from Anglican worship. In 2002, the number worshipping at St. John's Ford Street is numbered at six to eight, with funerals attracting three or four hundred. This exodus from Anglicanism to Pentecostal churches may, in the author's opinion, be due to an increasing emphasis on literacy and liberalism in doctrinal (especially Biblical) teaching, since the 1940s. The South Sea congregation was attracted to learning by rote and firm Biblical interpretation accompanied by "simple" hymnody. These could all be found in the Pentecostal churches to which they have turned.

⁶⁰ Cathedral of St. Paul, Parish Burial Register, 1896, "John Chinaman", A.A.

⁶¹ Parish of North Rockhampton, Parish Registers, A.A.

Chapter 11

Women and the Church in Central Queensland

“and palaver the women into being good”¹

J.S. Reed, in his work on the politics of Anglo-Catholicism in Victorian England, makes a point that the motivation driving some women into joining the Sisterhoods was to escape the domination of their fathers or, in some cases, to gain opportunity to pursue a career path not open to them in society in general.² While this may have been true in the English setting, the Australian experience allowed little escape for women wishing to engage in church work to do so other than in settings which were male dominated. Ruth Teale (Frappell) makes this point in her article in *Women, Faith and Fetes*, where she puts the situation for women church workers in the latter part of the nineteenth century as that of obedient matrons, exercising their influence through their husbands.³

the wives of clergy had to accept a very subordinate role ... she would play the organ, conduct the choir and the Sunday School, get up tea meetings, visit the parishioners: in short she was the unpaid curate of the parish.⁴

There was no easy escape into sisterhoods in Australia and certainly not in the more remote areas, such as the pioneering society of Central Queensland. This Chapter discusses the roles which women were to play, within the confines

¹ Thadeus O’Kane, in *Northern Miner*, 28 April 1887, cited in G.C. Bolton, *A Thousand Miles Away*, (Canberra: Jacaranda Press, 1963), p.172.

² J.S. Reed, *Glorious Battle: The Cultural Politics of Victorian Anglo-Catholicism*, (Nashville, Tennessee: Vanderbilt University Press, 1996), pp.208-209.

³ R. Teale, ‘Matron, Maid and Missionary, The Work of Anglican Women in Australia’ in S. Willis (ed.), *Women, Faith and Fetes: Essays in the History of Women and the Church in Australia*, (Sydney: Australian Council of Churches and Dove, 1977).

⁴ *ibid*, p.119.

of the restrictions mentioned, in the transplantation and nurture of the Anglican Church and the Diocese of Rockhampton.

It was only in the early years of the twentieth century when Central Queensland society had passed through the early settlement stage and out of the immediate needs of every day survival, which is a necessary part of pioneering, that women were able to exert their influence on the growth of the Diocese and its values and ideals.

The struggle to escape male domination was not confined to Anglican women. Maguire, in his history of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Townsville, notes the difficulty encountered by women religious pioneers in North Queensland, where they were required to minister where there were few women and in a 'male dominated frontier world'.⁵

Much attention is given, deservedly, to the Brotherhood of St. Andrew and to the Oratory of the Good Shepherd in any history of Anglicanism in Central Queensland. Both were quasi-religious orders whose members shared vows of celibacy and ascetic ideals. These sources give the impression that this was the only basis for mission in the new diocese of Rockhampton and they may divert the focus from equally pioneering and influential mission effort by clergy who were married family men and from the sacrificial nature of the lives of their wives and families. This chapter examines the impact the women of the Diocese had on its establishment and progress. There were women who were influential in

⁵ J. Maguire, *Prologue: A History of the Catholic Church as seen from Townsville, 1863-1983*, (Toowoomba: Church Archivists' Society, 1990), pp.15 and 196-197.

community affairs as well as being churchwomen. Some of these, in their own right, some as the wives or sisters of clergy or influential laymen, made their mark on the Diocese of Rockhampton and on the various communities of Central Queensland in which they lived. While Miss Halford, Miss Crick and Mrs Dawes all come to mind as supporters of their episcopal menfolk, there are others such as Mrs Eliza Hall and Mrs Lottie Voss who, while married to influential husbands, could claim, in their own right, to have furthered the cause of Christian welfare works in the community of Central Queensland.

Ruth Sturmeay and others have pointed out that in Australian church history, women, as individuals, have been largely neglected and that almost all biographies have been concerned with significant males as subjects – not surprising in a Church which is diocesan centred with male bishops as leaders.⁶ The Anglican women of Central Queensland, during the time period of this study, fitted very well the categories detailed by Sturmeay in her doctoral thesis as patronesses, fundraisers, unpaid curates and leaders of guilds and the Mothers' Union.⁷ In such roles they attained an almost invisible status in the policy and organisation of the Diocese.

Women did not achieve the possibility of being ordained as priests and *de jure* congregational leaders of Anglicans in the Diocese of Rockhampton until December 1992. It will be impossible for women to be elected, consecrated and enthroned as bishops in the Anglican Church of Australia until, at least, the year

⁶ Australian Religion Review, 2, in *The Journal of Religious History*, Vol.25, No.1, February 2001, (Oxford: Blackwells, 2001), pp.61-6.

⁷ R. Sturmeay, *Women and the Anglican Church in Australia, Theology and Social Change*, (University of Sydney, Ph.D. Thesis, 1989), pp.151-155.

2004.⁸ This is far from saying, however, that women lacked influence in the founding and sustaining of the Diocese in its early years and up until the 1940s.

There has been a recurrent theme in commentary about religion and the nature of Australian Society and particularly of men, that religion was associated with a lack of masculinity and that organised religion was something for the "women and kids". This culture is epitomised by the statement of Thadeus O'Kane sub-editor of the *Rockhampton Morning Bulletin* (1865 to 1872) who as owner and editor of the Charters Towers *Northern Miner* opined in 1887

We look upon all Christian ministers as a kind of moral police to keep the kids straight and palaver the women into being good⁹

This robust rejection of religion by working men was no doubt present in the culture of Central Queensland as much as it was in the northern goldfields but there is little evidence of outright public rejection, such as was voiced by the editor of the *Northern Miner*.

Religion for the working man in Central Queensland was equated with love of one's fellow worker and the struggle for justice for the worker, or trade unionism. This can be observed in the statement of the editor of the *Worker*. Commenting on the trial of the Barcaldine Strike Committee, at Rockhampton in 1891, he uses quasi religious terms:

⁸ Result of deliberations of General Synod of the Anglican Church of Australia in Adelaide, February 1998. The matter was taken further at the session of the General Synod in Brisbane in July 2001.

⁹ O'Kane, op. cit.

Those who love people are doomed to suffer. And when our time comes as theirs has come, may we be as they are, patient, courageous, and fearless, ready for the worst that can be done to us, comforting ourselves with the sure and certain knowledge that we prepare the way for those who will triumph in the end. And surely when the People's Jubilee has come, when Labor shakes off its fetters, when Wrong and Misery and Poverty are rolled away like clouds before the wind, surely then men will give a thought to the martyrs who have made redemption possible, surely here in Australia men will remember those who stood their trial for Labor's sake at Rockhampton in 1891.¹⁰

Not all working men in Central Queensland were striking shearers from Barcaldine nor were they as eloquent as the editor of the *Worker* but it is not unlikely that formal religion was valued only for its edifying effect on the women and children of society.

The Anglican Church continued to function in the newly formed Diocese in much the same way as it had in the Dioceses from which it derived, Brisbane, Newcastle and Australia. In so far as women were concerned the words of one, Beth McDonald, quoted in Carey:

There was Church every Sunday, and of course there was the Red Cross in the war. That used to be a meeting once a week, and we all sewed and knitted and worked like fury for the Red Cross. There was no Country Women's Association in those days. Apart from the Red Cross and the Church, I don't think there was any other outside interest.¹¹

¹⁰ William Lane, founder and editor of the *Worker*, organiser of the New Australia movement, as cited in W.G. Spence, *Australia's Awakening*, Chapter 13, Sydney, 1909.

¹¹ C. Watson (ed.), 'Boots and All, an Oral History of Farming in Victoria', Friends of the Earth, Melbourne, 1984, p.80, as cited in H. Carey, *Believing in Australia*, (Melbourne: Allen and Unwin, 1996), p.111.

This was the experience of many women in regional and country Australia until the end of the Second World War.

This world of Church, charitable works and home making was perceived as the boundaries within which middle class women lived and the Church afforded opportunities for expression which were denied them in other public or private spheres. There is a school of thought which represents the Church as providing unique opportunities for women during the period covered by this thesis, which were not offered by any other social institution.¹² For those women who were able to take advantage of these opportunities for leadership and influence this was of great benefit.

There is a contrary view that religion in general, and the Christian church in particular, have played a major part in the subordination of women.¹³ It is true that for many Australian men the attitude expressed by Thadeus O'Kane was shared with him, and that formal religious observance was seen as women's business and the Christian soldier, as the parody puts it, was happy to be 'represented by his wife'.¹⁴

Some major achievements in the early years of diocesan history were either initiated or sustained by the women of the Diocese. In 1905 the founding of the

¹² F. Moloney, *Women, First among the Faithful: A New Testament Study*, Dove, Melbourne, 1994.

¹³ M. Lake, A. McGrath, P. Grimshaw, *Creating a Nation 1788-1990*, Ringwood, Victoria, 1994, pp.202-203. Also Carey, op. cit., p.111.

¹⁴ H. Mol. *The Faith of Australians*, (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1985), p.68.

In the world's great field of battle,
In the bivouac of life
You will find the Christian Soldier
Represented by his wife.

Order of the Servants of the Holy Cross,¹⁵ a religious order for women, made possible the genesis of the system of church schools which were a feature of the Diocese's outreach until 1967. They also were responsible for the establishment of the rescue work among unmarried mothers. This developed by 1917 into St. George's Homes for Children which, in turn, became the foundation for the very extensive social and welfare outreach of the Diocese, which in 2002 is known as Anglicare Central Queensland. It has hundreds of families throughout Central Queensland under the care of a staff of over sixty.¹⁶

The two Bishops who followed Dawes were both bachelors, but in each case their unmarried sisters resided for some time in the Bishop's house and acted as hostess for their respective brothers. They also provided an example of attention to Church work in the community of Rockhampton. Miss Kate Halford, who lived at Lis Escop during her brother's episcopate 1909-1920, was also responsible for running a Sunday School in the episcopal residence, or rather under it, during Bishop Dawes' time. She revived the Sunday School in 1905¹⁷ which before that had been run by Bishop Dawes' daughter, Agnes. Miss Halford died in England at the age of ninety in 1966. Apparently the hospitality of the episcopal residence was well known in her time especially to the single curates of the Cathedral parish in Rockhampton.¹⁸

¹⁵ The Servants of the Holy Cross began with two members in Rockhampton in 1905, they went to New Zealand in 1911 and, on the death of Mother Gloriana, disbanded. They reformed again in the Diocese of Bathurst in 1922 and were known as The Bush Sisters. F. Stacy, *The Religious Communities of the Church of England in Australia and New Zealand*, (Sydney: 1929), pp.31-34. Also mentioned in P. Anson, *The Call of the Cloister*, (London: S.P.C.K., 1964), p.588.

¹⁶ *Annual Report of Anglicare C.Q. 2001*, Rockhampton.

¹⁷ A.A. Fellows, *Full Time*, (Rockhampton: Record Printing Co., 1967), p.103.

¹⁸ *ibid.*

Miss E.A. Crick, the sister of the third bishop, was the hostess at Lis Escop during the episcopate of her brother from 1921 to 1927. Crick was Warden of Clare College, Cambridge, when elected to Rockhampton and his chief interest was in the establishment of Church schools in the Diocese. His sister was of similar mind and she is remembered for her keen interest in St. Paul's Hostel in Denham Street. The Hostel was home to girls from the outlying areas who attended the Girls' Grammar School. It functioned from 1913 until 1922. The Hostel was next door to Lis Escop and Miss Crick was "mother in Israel" to many of the girls, and to Matrons and staff, during her time.

These women were, of course, remembered because of their relationship with the bishops and, as many of the senior clergy were unmarried during this time, they acted as a focus for the role expected of a clergyman's wife. Other women fell into two categories during the time under review. They were, in the case of the Anglican Diocese of Rockhampton, from the middle class and they carried out works of charity and education in the community. This was the situation in both city and country. The second group represented the recipients of such charity and education and were almost invariably from the 'lower' classes. Thompson,¹⁹ in his *Religion in Australia*, draws attention to the fact that this was a trait of English Protestantism transplanted in the Australian Colonies and Carey²⁰ remarks that doing "Church work" for women involved such activity in the community.

The vehicles through which the first group ministered to the physical needs of the less fortunate were the Rockhampton Benevolent Society – a non-

¹⁹ R.C. Thomson, *Religion in Australia, A History*, (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1994), p.27.

denominational body – St. Mary’s Home and later St. George’s Homes for orphans. The educational focus, with some emphasis on moral uplift, was to be found in such areas as The Mother’s Union, The Women’s Temperance League, Sunday Schools, St. Paul’s Day School, St. Paul’s Hostel and St. Faith’s School. There was also a very strong demand for the nurture role of women in the financial support of the parish structures. Every parish had its Guild and the major purpose of such a Guild was to raise funds for the upkeep of the parish buildings and the priest’s stipend.

At the parish level the debate between the Bishop and the Chancellor at the Synod of 1907 as to whether women should be admitted as Parish Councillors has been referred to earlier and the outcome was in favour of their admission, which was the Bishop's wish, at that date.²¹ During the debate the Bishop was able to affirm that women were capable, according to the Canon Interpretation Canon, of being nominated for and elected to the position of Churchwarden in the various parishes. This had presumably been in place as part of the body of Canons assented to in the Constitution of 1893. This would mean that women were able, even if they did not actually take advantage of the facility, to achieve the highest exclusively non-ordained position in the Diocese. Churchwardens, of which there are two to each Parish constitute, with the Parish Priest, the only legally recognised entity within a Parish and therefore are officers of the Diocese. Parish Councils on the other hand are committees of advice to the Priest and Wardens and have no executive power.²² The debate in 1907 was about the legal capacity of women to be members of a body - The Parish Council - when a

²⁰ Carey. Op.cit., p.111.

²¹ *Synod Reports 1907*, Diocese of Rockhampton, Rockhampton.

²² *Parish Canon, 1893-1997*, Part viii, Section 53, Diocese of Rockhampton, Rockhampton.

greater power was theirs existing under the Constitution of the Diocese. The legal ability for women to be elected or appointed Churchwarden was not exercised until the 1970s. Whatever the legal status or ability of women until the 1940s, no woman took advantage of it. The status quo, as it applied in most Australian dioceses, where men were one hundred percent of the membership of the decision making bodies, remained intact in the Diocese of Rockhampton during the period of time examined in this study.

As mentioned, there were three major groupings into which women can be assigned in any examination of their role in diocesan life. These categories are the women of the middle class who were churchwomen and who saw works of Christian charity as a means of mission to the community and at the same time a worthy, respectable and legitimate outlet for their talents as leaders and organisers in civic affairs. There were limited opportunities and the good works of the Church provided most of these. The second grouping may be described in a general way as their clients or the recipients of the good works. This group came from the socially deprived, the poor, the neglected and the uneducated. The third group were the professional religious women, the wives, sisters, and daughters of the clergy and the women who belonged to the religious sisterhoods and deaconesses. Examples from the first grouping can be cited as people such as Mrs Lottie Voss whose efforts, alongside those of her husband Dr Vivian Voss, did much to help cut through the prevailing notion of help being available for the "deserving poor" only. She was a protagonist for the setting up of the women's hospital after years of collaborating in her husband's charitable work in

the confinement of single mothers - who were not perceived as deserving of such charity, by many others in the Rockhampton community.²³

These single mothers were cared for in their ante-natal and post-natal periods by the Community of the Servants of the Holy Cross. Mrs Voss was also very instrumental in the founding of the Y.W.C.A. in Rockhampton and the Benevolent Society.²⁴ There is a memorial stained glass window in St. Paul's Cathedral to Dr Voss and his wife. Another such example is Mrs J Chambers, wife of the General Manager of the Central Queensland Railways, whose home became the lying in ward for the unmarried mothers from St. Mary's Home until the completion of the Women's Hospital.²⁵ This work of caring for single mothers and their babies was not approved of by many Rockhampton citizens, especially those in whose vicinity the Home was situated, but the social status of the women mentioned who played an active part in its establishment was enough to muffle disapproval for the most part.²⁶

Examples of the second category are (for obvious reasons) much more difficult to give. However, moves to educate women with less opportunity for social advancement were made and the most successful of these efforts in social education was an organisation which was an organic part of the Church of England transplanted or acclimatised from England to Australia and Central Queensland - the Mothers' Union. The Mothers' Union, in spite of its quaint

²³ L. McDonald, *Rockhampton; A History of City and District*, (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1981), p.365.

²⁴ *ibid.*

²⁵ Fellows, *op. cit.*, p.102.

²⁶ *ibid.*

name, is deemed to be one of the more successful women's auxiliaries which enjoyed a degree of independence from male clerical control.²⁷

The aims of the Mothers' Union, which came to Australia to the Diocese of Tasmania in 1892, were to -

1. Uphold the Sanctity of marriage
2. To awaken in mothers of all classes a sense of their great responsibility as mothers in the training of their boys and girls (the future fathers and mothers of the Empire)
3. To organise in every place a band of mothers who will unite in prayer, and seek by their example, to lead their families in purity and holiness of life.²⁸

The official centenary history of the Mothers' Union in Australia records the organisation as beginning in Rockhampton Diocese in 1911 with a branch being established in Blackall and Mrs F.A. Gibson being the Enrolling Member (President).²⁹ By 1929 the *Mother* magazine records five branches in the Diocese, three in Rockhampton and one each in Clermont and Blackall.³⁰ There are Diocesan records of a debate at the Synod of 1907 where the virtues of the Mothers' Union, as an organisation eminently suited for the women of the Diocese and perhaps as a substitute for membership of Parish Councils, which was also debated at the same Synod, was canvassed. This debate followed a paper presented by the Rector of Gladstone (The Rev'd W.J.B. Scott).³¹ The founding of the Mothers' Union in the Diocese was 'heartily endorsed' by all

²⁷ Carey, op. cit., p.124.

²⁸ *Mothers in Australia*, Vol.1, No.1, September 1917.

²⁹ A. Matheson, *A History of the Mothers' Union in Australia*, Mothers' Union, Toowoomba, 1992, p.27.

³⁰ *ibid.*

³¹ *Church Gazette*, August 1907, Rockhampton.

members of the Synod who, at this time, would all have been male, but the organisation earned their support.³² There is also a report in the March 1908 issue of the *Gazette* of branches of the Mothers' Union to be inaugurated at Clermont and Capella as well as Gladstone with Mrs McLean to be president of the Capella branch.³³

The 1907 debate concerning the role of women also included mention of the Girls' Friendly Society. The editor of the *Gazette* thought that the two organisations should be combined under a less exclusive sounding title. It would appear that the establishment of both of these organisations for women and girls were in the process of being brought about from the top down. The Rector of Gladstone (Scott) was one of the founding Bush Brothers who had returned to the Diocese. The Mothers' Union, in particular, was perceived to be safely part of the establishment and it had a very high approval rating in Church circles in England. In Australia it was slow to give up its close connection with the English Church and did not publish its own magazine until 1917.³⁴ As the objects of the organisation indicate, there was also a strong degree of imperial sentiment and the organisation of branches overseas included countries such as India, Canada, Gibraltar, Malta, South Africa, West Indies and New Zealand by the time the first Australian branch was begun in Tasmania in 1892.³⁵ The organisers and initial membership in most of these outposts of Empire were the wives of expatriate English clergy and officials of Empire such as army officers and colonial administrators. Right from the beginning the Mothers' Union was seen by the Central Queensland hierarchy as a bastion of respectability and moral armament

³² *ibid.*

³³ *Church Gazette*, March 1908, Rockhampton.

³⁴ Carey, *op. cit.*, p.124.

³⁵ Matheson, *op. cit.*, p.10.

against what was perceived as a decline in community values and standards. In 1907 the Archbishop of Brisbane, Donaldson, had, in his presidential address to Synod, scrutinised the writings of the socialist and eugenicist HG Wells and expressed his concern about the effect Wellsian principles might have on society.

Donaldson saw the inauguration of the Mothers' Union as going a good way to countering this perceived slide in community values.³⁶ The Mothers' Union in Brisbane was inaugurated in 1906 with the encouragement of Lady Chelmsford who called the first diocesan meeting at Government House.³⁷ No doubt the Rockhampton move in 1907-1908 was associated both in motive and action with the developments in Brisbane.

There is no direct evidence that the Rockhampton branches were embroiled in the struggle which began in 1910 between the two factions of strong opinioned and uncompromising women as to whether the Mothers' Union should remain exclusively Anglican or whether it could be 'non-denominationalised' and open to women of other Christian groupings. This was quite a large issue and strongly contested on both sides in Brisbane. The Archbishop eventually came down on the side of those seeking to retain sole Anglican control and membership.³⁸

The Mothers' Union was one of the major outreach groups for women within the Church to encourage and educate those with less social opportunity in the ideals and practise of the responsible task of training up a child in the way he should go.³⁹ It would not be described as a 'grass roots' movement as it was distinctly 'top down' but its influence was extensive and eventually grass roots members

³⁶ A.P. Kidd, *The Brisbane Episcopate of St. Clair Donaldson*, (University of Queensland, Ph.D. Thesis, 1996), p.99.

³⁷ Matheson, *op. cit.*, p.18.

³⁸ Kidd, *op. cit.*, p.100.

³⁹ Mary Sumner, founder of the Mothers' Union, cited in Matheson, *op. cit.*, p.9.

were greatly influenced as were the policies of dioceses in which this quaintly named nineteenth century organisation for women flourished. The Diocese of Rockhampton was one case. One matter which was a discipline of the Church and on which the Mothers' Union in the Diocese of Rockhampton, as in most other dioceses in the Anglican communion, placed great emphasis on, was that of refusing marriage in Church to those who had a previous spouse still living. This rule was much more rigidly enforced by the Mothers' Union than by the Church itself and bishops' wives who were members of Mothers' Union had an influence as to how the rule was enforced in a diocese. The opposition to the remarriage of divorcees began with the change in English law in 1857 when matrimonial causes were removed from the ecclesiastical courts and placed under secular jurisdiction. It continued in practical form until 1981 when legislation allowing for the marriage of divorced people with previous spouses still living was passed in the General Synod of the Anglican Church of Australia.⁴⁰ This rule denying marriage in Church to those divorced and with the previous spouse still living was enforced rigorously in the Diocese of Rockhampton and supported by the Mothers' Union until 1981. It is an example of the influence of this women's organisation on Diocesan affairs while the organisation had no formal nor legal status in the Diocese.

The third group of women described as those having 'professional' status in the Church was composed of the members of the women's religious orders, female parish workers where they existed and women in the households of the bishops and clergy. The formation of the Order of the Servants of the Holy Cross has already been referred to as has their pioneering work in education and the

⁴⁰ *Canon 7, 1985, of the General Synod of the Anglican Church of Australia, Marriage of Divorced Persons Canon 1981-1985.*

physical care of women and children. Founded in Rockhampton in 1905 this group took over the organisation and running of St. Paul's day school in 1905 and the Rescue Home (St. Mary's) in 1907. They left the Diocese in 1911 and their work in St. Mary's Home was undertaken by an English religious order for women, the Order of the Divine Compassion.⁴¹ In regard to educational work and especially that for girls another women's religious order, the Brisbane-based Society of the Sacred Advent, had great influence on Diocesan directions. The order took over the management of St. Faith's School at Yeppoon in 1932 and continued until 1944⁴² when the supply of Sisters was such that they could not continue. The school was founded, as mentioned earlier in this thesis, in 1923, it was a secondary boarding school for girls designed to cater for the educational needs of the young women of Central Queensland. It never succeeded in gaining the patronage of the western grazing community who for the most part sent their daughters south for schooling. It was the farming communities of the Dawson and Callide Valleys who provided the bulk of those enrolled and many of these parents could not afford the fees charged. The Diocese subsidised the education of many girls during the period 1923 to 1967.

The women's religious orders were responsible for much of the pioneering effort of establishing the work with and for women and children but eventually both areas of work reverted to Diocesan management. The educational work continued until 1967 when St. Faith's School was closed and the buildings and land auctioned. The work begun as a rescue for 'girls who had fallen in the

⁴¹ Fellows, *op. cit.*, p.101.

⁴² *ibid.*, p.124.

bush', to quote Bishop Halford,⁴³ continued to grow through the period under examination and by 1940 a full scale 'orphanage' housing over one hundred children was in operation at Parkhurst just to the north of Rockhampton. This institution cared for children who were either abandoned or who were sent by their parents to be cared for. The reasons were many for their being sent but, during the depression years, it appears from records of the Homes that quite a proportion were sent when farming ventures in the Dawson and Callide Valleys and in the immediate Rockhampton area became financially non-viable and one or both parents left in order to make another start.

This work continues today, no longer involved in residential care but in preventative social and welfare work among families and children in risk of family disintegration. It is now known as Anglicare Central Queensland and has branches in all the major towns of the Diocese, from Winton to Yeppoon and the other coastal towns. The work of education and 'rescue' were very much the models of outside work for women religious of both the Roman Catholic and Anglican persuasions since Catholic Emancipation in 1829⁴⁴ and the revival of Anglican religious orders for women beginning in 1845⁴⁵ following the Oxford Movement's origins in 1833. It was a Counter Reformation model where female religious were no longer enclosed, as was the case in the medieval church, but

⁴³ Halford, Ad Clerum March 1907, and *Church Gazette*, March 1907, Rockhampton.

May I earnestly ask the clergy throughout the Diocese to plead in towns and on stations and selections for annual subscriptions, however small, toward the Diocesan Rescue Home. The need is great. Rockhampton receives the sorrow-laden girls who have fallen in the bush or smaller townships; they too often drift here, perhaps, as being the biggest place in Central Queensland in which to hide themselves, and we, as a Christian community in this diocese, are doing nothing at present to recover the fallen. Surely it is a scandal to our Christianity?

⁴⁴ R. McGinley, "Irish Women Religious and Australian Social History: An Aspect of 19th Century migration", paper presented to Australian Catholic Historical Society, 14 April 1996, p.58.

⁴⁵ P.F. Anson, op. cit., p.220.

going about their spiritual tasks in conjunction with works of education of girls and mercy. Rescue work was particularly the forte of the Anglican Sisters of the Order of Divine Compassion in England. It was this Order who sent from England two of their sisters to take charge of St. Mary's Home after the Sisters of the Servants of the Holy Cross left the Diocese in 1911. They continued to manage this work until the close of the Home in 1921.

Thus the work of women in religious orders in the Diocese of Rockhampton was modelled along the same lines as was in vogue in England at that time, and is evidence of the English influence prevailing in the early years of the twentieth century. It was necessary, if women religious were to be accepted by Anglicans in the pew, that their works be visible and directed toward the poor, 'deserving' or not. By 1944 there were no longer any resident female religious in the Diocese of Rockhampton but an auxiliary working for the financial and spiritual support of the Society of the Sacred Advent is still active in 2002.⁴⁶ In this group of 'professional' women in the Church milieu, the wives, daughters and sisters of the bishops and clergy make up a considerably influential component. They are behind the scenes and their overt influence on the male members of their families can be discerned in some of the directions taken in Diocesan policy.

The Sunday School was a phenomenon which had its origins in the Industrial Revolution and it derived from the needs of dissent to secure a living for the minister by teaching school during the week and preaching on Sunday. By the middle of the nineteenth century the education provided by such ministers for their middle class adherents had shifted to an emphasis on philanthropic work

⁴⁶ *Year Book 2001-2002*, Diocese of Rockhampton, Rockhampton, p.14.

with the poorer class centred on the Sunday School.⁴⁷ This school provided secular education on the one day of the week when many of the children employed in factories were available. At first the schools were non-denominational but this was a cause for concern especially to the clergy of the Church of England. The Evangelical wing of the Church of England had motivation to spread the use of the Bible to the poorer classes but first they had to be taught to read. As literacy became more common the Sunday School became a tool for denominational instruction not only in the use of the Scriptures but in doctrinal areas also for the young. It is an Anglican requirement that a candidate be able to recite the Lord's Prayer, the Creed and the Ten Commandments before admission to Confirmation and communicant status.

The learning of these formularies and the elucidation of their content formed the basis for Sunday School teaching in which many ladies of the Church were engaged, Miss Halford being one such. With no entree to the State Schools for any form of religious instruction until 1911 the clergy were anxious to make the most of any opportunity to instruct the young. The actual instruction in Sunday Schools was most often left to the women of the congregation although there were exceptions such as Mr J. Denne who was superintendent of the Sunday School at St. Mark's Allenstown for many years.⁴⁸ Sunday Schools retained their popularity until the mid 1960s where a much greater mobility and freer weekends lured many families away from Sunday observance.

⁴⁷ D.L. Edwards, *Christian England Vol.3*, (London: Collins, 1984), p.112.

⁴⁸ Obituary, *Morning Bulletin*, 25 June 1936, Rockhampton.

Miss Crick's close association with St. Paul's Hostel has already been mentioned and as mentioned in Chapter 9, the motivation for this apparent duplication of boarding facilities was that the Girls' Grammar, as other Grammar Schools, was seen by the Church hierarchy as a 'State' school and therefore unable by its constitution to provide a Christian and Anglican home 'for the sons and daughters of Churchmen, when they leave their own homes to go to school'.⁴⁹ The provision of hostels for housing children of out of town Church families was part of a ten year plan for the Diocese and provided the foundation of a Diocesan Home Mission Fund under the organisation of the Rev'd Alan Wyrill.⁵⁰ The Hostel for girls was to be the first experiment to get local support for the various projects proposed under the ten year plan. Hostels for boys were also envisaged as were Church buildings, 'parsonage houses' and money to help pay for the passages of clergy from England.⁵¹

In keeping with the general direction of work with women and girls, Bishop Halford looked to England for a suitable person to be Matron of the new Hostel and a Miss Bachelor who had been a Housemistress in the schools in South Africa of the Community of St. Mary the Virgin or Wantage Sisters was appointed. Again, a woman with strong connections with the English Womens' Religious orders was involved. The Hostel was closed at the end of 1922 when the third Bishop - Crick - had indicated the policy to build a girls' boarding school at Yeppoon and a co-educational boarding school at Barcaldine.⁵²

⁴⁹ *ibid.*

⁵⁰ *ibid.*

⁵¹ See Appendix 5.

⁵² *Year Books 1913 and 1914*, Diocese of Rockhampton, Rockhampton.

Throughout the period under examination, the work and influence of women on the community expression of its basic Christianity by the Diocese, can be seen in the rescue work, the orphanage and the schools, all of which were large drains on the very limited financial resources of the Diocese. This financial cost was alleviated to some extent each year while Mrs Eliza Hall was a force to be reckoned with in the affairs of the Walter and Eliza Hall Trust. Walter Hall was a major shareholder in Mt. Morgan Limited and on his death a philanthropic trust of one million pounds was set up in Sydney in 1913. The Trust was to have a target for its philanthropy to the three eastern states. New South Wales would receive half of the annual grants and Victoria and Queensland a quarter share each. Each year from 1913 to 1941 entries appear in the Diocesan Synod accounts of sums in excess of one thousand pounds being given for various Diocesan objectives but the bulk directed towards the work for women and children.⁵³ Walter Hall was responsible for generating the money but it was his widow who included the Church in the Diocese of Rockhampton in the dispersal of its bounty.

There is a strong legend which has been current in the Diocese of Rockhampton for many years, but for which absolute proof is not available, that the Halls offered to endow the Diocese to the extent of one million pounds but that Bishop Halford took fright at the extent of the proposed amount of money and that, after the removal of the Halls to Sydney and Walter's death, Mrs Hall sought and accepted the advice of R.G. Casey (father of Lord Casey) that a Charitable Trust should be set up.⁵⁴

⁵³ *ibid.*

⁵⁴ McDonald, *op. cit.*, makes reference to the advice of R.G. Casey Snr., p.331.

While not confined to the Diocese the influence of women in the temperance movement must also be noted. The temperance movement was the direct result of agitation against the supply of alcoholic beverages in England towards the end of the nineteenth century. There is mention of a Church of England Temperance Society in Mount Morgan in 1898. There was to be 'a social in the Church Schoolroom ... there will be temperance speeches, songs, recitations and refreshments'⁵⁵ Such 'socials' and 'conversaciones' were invariably arranged and catered for by the women of the Parish. We find very little mention of temperance ideals in official quarters compared with the emphasis and energy expended on the notion in Brisbane Diocese up until the State referendum on the issue of prohibition was held on 30 October 1920.

The Archbishop of Brisbane (Donaldson) had brought with him from England a concern for the problem of excessive alcohol consumption and a Diocesan Temperance Committee was established in 1915⁵⁶ In Brisbane the Synod of the Diocese called for various measures and set up an Anti Shouting League in the years between 1908 and 1920.⁵⁷ This activity for the cause of temperance, which really meant total prohibition, is not reflected in Rockhampton Diocesan Synod records nor in the Church Gazette during these years. Bishop Halford did however include the sin of intemperance and the 'power of drink' in his Pastoral Address to the Synod of 1917.

Think of the purpose of God and the Will of God in regard to the tremendous power of great vices. There is the power of drink. Some have seen it with bitter pain, in

⁵⁵ Kidd, op. cit., p.91.

⁵⁶ *ibid.*

⁵⁷ *Reports of Synod 1917*, Diocese of Rockhampton, Rockhampton, p.12.

their own friends. All of us have seen it in the story of military training of our men in this awful period of war. We have seen it in the old country in the pitiful failure to deal with the traffic. We have seen it here in the refusal of the government of our own state to move in the matter of early closing. We see it in another aspect in the silly habit of shouting. The Church must make against this evil a corporate stand.⁵⁸

A motion to set up a committee consisting of three clergy and two laymen to report on the questions of the national vices of impurity, gambling and drunkenness was elected at the same Synod.⁵⁹ This select committee reported to the Synod of 1918 and made several recommendations about how to address the problem of national vices, all of which were adopted except a clause which called for the 'abolition of barmaids'. The recommendations effectively passed the problem on to the Provincial Synod of Queensland.⁶⁰ The temperance movement had become highly politicised in Brisbane⁶¹ and this may be the reason why its promotion as a cause occupied nowhere near the priority as the Bible in State Schools cause had before it. It may be that it was seen as a problem to be dealt with between the Archbishop and the politicians in Brisbane or it may be that the Diocese, as separate from the Bishop, was not convinced. Whatever the cause for a comparative lukewarm reaction from the male Synod, women were part of the considerable community effort to deal with the problem. Alongside and in addition to these more public and community based activities on the part of women there was the ever present demand for the nurture role of women in the financial support of the local parish and its structures. Every parish had its Women's Guild or Auxiliary and it was often due to their efforts at fetes,

⁵⁸ *ibid.*, p.32.

⁵⁹ *Reports of Synod 1918*, Diocese of Rockhampton, Rockhampton, p.52.

⁶⁰ Kidd, *op. cit.*, p.93.

⁶¹ *ibid.*

bazaars, street stalls and other means of fundraising that clergy stipends and diocesan assessments were met.

During this time the Aboriginal women of Central Queensland struggled under a dual yoke, as Raymond Evans terms it, of extreme racism and sexism.⁶² Male Aboriginal people had become part of the landscape and the women even more so. In the general community away from the missions and government settlements, there are no records of the imposition of white Christian standards on Aboriginal women, nor any record of their membership in women's organisations. Outside the time constraints of this thesis the only exception to the above is Sister Muriel Stanly of the Church Army, who was stationed at Woorabinda in 1966. Sister Stanly came from Yarrabah outside the Diocese of Rockhampton and had been appointed a Liaison and Guidance Officer with the Department of Native Affairs.⁶³ Aboriginal women have been absent from any official groups in which other women were represented in the Diocese since its foundation to the present.

Carey⁶⁴ maintains that Australian Christianity managed to maintain its masculine gender image until 1900, and that from 1900 to 1945 the Christian religion in Australia underwent a profound process of feminisation. In terms of the energy expended on Diocesan projects of a caring and nurturing nature this would appear to have also been the case in the Diocese of Rockhampton. However, it was not until the 1960s that legislative changes were introduced, such as female membership of Synod and all Diocesan and parochial committees and other

⁶² K. Saunders, 'Aboriginal History' in J. Moses (ed.), *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, Vol.14, Special Issue, 1995, p.25.

⁶³ Fellows, op. cit., p.144.

⁶⁴ Carey, op. cit., p.112.

decision-making bodies, to enable the overt changes of feminisation to become explicit.

Women were over-represented in such groups as Sunday School teachers, Guilds, most of which were for women, and social committees. Most of the Parish activity was concerned with matters to do with women and children and, while there were groups for men such as the Church of England Men's Society, parochial activities as contrasted with parochial and diocesan administration were oriented toward women and children. This was also reflected in the proportion of males to females in the administration of the Sacrament of Confirmation - the only sacrament with records, other than Baptism, where males may be distinguished from females. At Mt. Morgan in 1906 there were eight male candidates presented to the Bishop and twenty-five female candidates.⁶⁵ This proportion was not unusual. Carey's⁶⁶ point about the feminisation of the Church was to be seen in Central Queensland Anglicanism and foundations were laid for its acceleration in later years. There is no sign in 2002 of any reversal. Men continued to hold the reins of administration and decision making until the 1970s but the majority of people in the pew at the turn of the twentieth century were women and this phenomenon promises to be even more in evidence at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

⁶⁵ *Year Book 1907*, Diocese of Rockhampton, Rockhampton.

⁶⁶ Carey, *op. cit.*, p.112.

Chapter 12

Anglicanism and the other Christian Denominations

“Not Angels but Anglicans”¹

One of the features of the transplanted institution was that from the earliest days of the Colony of New South Wales, and even after the passing of the *Bourke Act* (7 William IV No.3)² in 1836, Anglican clergy and laity behaved as if the Church was in fact established in law. A pattern of privilege and exclusiveness had grown up and was accepted by Anglicans thirty years before Bourke's Act came into effect. The Act had attempted to bring all Christian denominations into a situation of equality in the Colony. So far as Anglicans were concerned they held a place of supremacy over the other denominations. This attitude was slow to diminish and during the first fifty years of the life of the Diocese of Rockhampton it was still evident. The Anglicans considered themselves, and were considered by many in secular authority, to be 'more equal than others'. The Anglican Church's relationship with and reaction to other Christian denominations in Central Queensland, now known as ecumenical relations, is the object of scrutiny in this Chapter.

It is difficult to avoid a late twentieth century perspective or prejudice when examining late nineteenth century events and giving a value judgement based on present expectations and mores rather than those current at the time of the event.

¹ W.C. Sellar and R.J. Yeatman, *1066 and All That*, (London: Methuen & Co., 1930), p.7.

Noticing some fair-haired children in the slave market one morning, Pope Gregory, the memorable Pope, said (in Latin), "What are those?" and on being told that they were Angles, made the memorable joke – "Non Angli, sed Angeli" ("not Angles, but Anglicans") ..."

The correct translation is of course, "not Angles but angels".

It is hard to imagine the intensity of competition when seeking to convince others that a particular body had the "true faith" from a perspective of tolerance or relative accommodation of other opinions which has been the norm since Vatican II in 1963. Vatican II introduced a new attitude to what were termed "separated brethren". It did not go so far as to suggest that those separated from Rome were on equal doctrinal ground but it freed up a formerly stand apart position between Rome and non-Roman denominations.³ As might be expected, this new situation produced better relationships between the Roman Catholic and Anglican Dioceses of Rockhampton and, in time, with the Protestant Churches. This situation did not pertain in the time before 1942, however, which is the extent of this Chapter's purview.

The next largest religious denomination in Central Queensland at the time of the erection of the See of Rockhampton in 1892 was the Roman Catholic Church. Anglican numbers in Queensland still predominated at that time but Roman Catholic adherence was not far behind⁴ and Bishop Quinn of Brisbane had begun planning for a separate Roman Catholic diocese for Rockhampton as early as 1862.⁵ In the midst of turmoil involving Anglo-Irish and Anglo-Italian loyalties following Quinn's death, the new Diocese of Rockhampton (Roman Catholic) came into being under the Italian priest Giovanni Cani, at the same time as the Anglo-Irishman Robert Dunn became Bishop of Brisbane.⁶ The year was 1882, ten years

² *H.R.A. Series 1, Vol.XI, p.250*, as quoted in R. Border, *Church and State in Australia 1788-1872*, (London: S.P.C.K., 1962), p.56.

³ Vatican II, for the first time, referred to non-Roman Catholic separated Churches and Ecclesial bodies as "separated brethren" rather than schismatic or heretical. Decree on Ecumenism, Vatican II, text in Walter, M. Abbott, *The Documents of Vatican II*, (London-Dublin: Geoffrey Chapman, 1966), pp.341-370.

⁴ N. Byrne, *Robert Dunne, Archbishop of Brisbane*, (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1991), p.55.

⁵ *ibid.*

⁶ *ibid.*, p.127.

before the foundation of the Anglican diocese. The prevailing attitudes of the Roman Catholic clergy and most of the laity, in spite of the leanings of their bishops were those of Irish Catholicism rather than a truly universal expression of the Catholic faith.

By 1892 when the first Anglican bishop was enthroned, the Roman Catholic See of Rockhampton was occupied by Giovanni Cani the Italian missionary priest who had been in Warwick and after Quinn's death, administrator of the Diocese of Brisbane prior to his appointment to Rockhampton. Cani was not in sympathy with the by now floodtide of Catholicism,⁷ to use Byrne's words, meaning substantially Irish settlers and clergy in Queensland. Cani died in March 1897 after sixteen years as Bishop of Rockhampton unmourned by the Cardinal in Sydney (Moran) and by the rest of the Irish faction. Cani had ignored the advice of Dunne to appoint a coadjutor from outside the Irish faction before he died and so Bishop Joseph Higgins one of Moran's auxiliary bishops was appointed to Rockhampton. He presided over the Roman Catholic Diocese for seven unhappy years⁸ before his translation to Ballarat in 1905.

The election process for a successor to Higgins was a "long and revealing process".⁹ Long because of the requirements of the Vatican regarding such elections and revealing because there was no Queensland candidate thought worthy of nomination in 1898 on Cani's death but in 1905 all candidates for election were Queenslanders. They were Bishop Murray of Cooktown, Father Walsh of Townsville and Father James Duhig. Duhig had taken part in the rescue

⁷ *ibid.*, p.168

⁸ *ibid.*, p.220.

⁹ T.P. Boland, *James Duhig*, University of Queensland Press, 1986, p.83.

of passengers from the wreck of the SS Aramac off the Central Queensland coast, while on holiday some years earlier, but had secured only two votes in the nomination process in Rockhampton.¹⁰ Nevertheless Duhig was eventually the choice of the Vatican and he was enthroned as third Bishop of Rockhampton in St. Joseph's Cathedral on 10 December 1905. Duhig was a remarkable bishop and in spite of his Irish background, generally urbane and understanding toward Anglicans. This attitude was tested in his early days especially in regard to his 1910 "sectarian" pronouncements about State aid to denominational schools. The 1906 Synod Presidential addresses of the Anglican Bishop of Rockhampton make no mention of Duhig's advent and settlement in the city.

Duhig's penchant for drama and spectacle were viewed with some misgivings by the English Anglican clergy. There is on record the account of Duhig's progress from Railway Station to the cathedral on 7 December three days before his consecration. He arrived by train with an entourage to suit the occasion:

He had with him three bishops who were to consecrate him, and a large party of priests, friends and relations from Brisbane and Ipswich. They were met on the platform by the cathedral administrator Joseph Shiel, who was to succeed him, and a contingent of the local clergy. Congregated around the station was "a vast body of the faithful." They moved off in procession through the streets to the cathedral. At the head marched the school children, followed by the Hibernians in their regalia. Then came the episcopal carriageconsidered the most remarkable equipage in

¹⁰ *ibid.*, p.84.

Queensland. ...Following the carriage, with every opportunity to admire it and its occupant, were the clergy and "a large cortege of the prominent Catholics of the city".¹¹

Such a spectacle making silent but not covert claim to position and strength in the disputed field of catholic doctrine and tradition must have filled the Anglican observers, who were used to Roman Catholics having a much more restricted public image in England, with alarm as well as with some distaste. The response, at least in official documents, was silence.

While Duhig was a Queenslander by later schooling and upbringing, and the youngest bishop in the world at the time, he was a protégé of the Irish *combriccola* (gang) mentioned by the English Benedictine Archbishop Vaughan of Sydney in his dispatches to the Vatican¹² in reference to the struggle for power within Australian Roman Catholicism. Duhig was to remain Roman Catholic Bishop of Rockhampton until 1912 when he was appointed coadjutor Archbishop of Brisbane with the right of succession to Dunne.¹³

Relationships with Roman Catholics were distant from the beginning but this distance was increased to a point where it was replaced by outright polemic with the promulgation of the Apostolic letter *Apostolicae Curae* in 1896. This pronouncement from Pope Leo XIII dealt with the question of validity of Anglican orders (those of bishop, priest and deacon). The conclusion arrived at by Pope Leo was:

¹¹ *ibid.*, p.86, quoting from a manuscript held by the Sisters of Mercy, Rockhampton. There is a very similar account of a procession to welcome Duhig to Hughenden in North Queensland. On this occasion it was "in the wake of a great circus car brought to welcome me to town" in J. Maguire, *Prologue: A History of the Catholic Church as seen from Townsville, 1863-1983*, (Toowoomba: Church Archivists' Society, 1990), p.50.

¹² Byrne, *op. cit.*, p.129.

On our own initiative and with certain knowledge, we pronounce and declare that ordinations performed according to the Anglican rite have been and are completely null and void.¹⁴

The claim was made on the basis that the Anglican rite was defective in the area of *porrectio instrumentorum* or the physical passing of the eucharistic vessels to a priest at ordination. In the Anglican rite this had been replaced with the passing of a copy of the scriptures. The English metropolitans, Canterbury and York, sent a scholarly reply in meticulous Latin entitled *Saepius Officio*, refuting the logic of the alleged impediment and pointing out that the passing of eucharist vessels at ordination had not been part of the Roman rite in antiquity and that the omission of the passing of the instruments did not impair the intention to ordain a priest who would preside over the celebration of the eucharist.¹⁵ They maintained vehemently the orthodoxy of the Anglican rite of ordination.

The debate was, of necessity, one which was couched in theological and ecclesiological terms, which were not in themselves of great interest to the 'average' Anglican or Roman Catholic, but in practical everyday life the debate was grounded in the populist polemic between the rival 'Catholic' faiths of Central Queensland. The papal letter of 13 September 1896 was of especial disappointment to Anglicans of the Anglo-Catholic variety which included the Bishop and clergy of the Diocese of Rockhampton. While there was no direct evidence of any desire to "swim the Tiber" and join the Roman Church organically, there was at stake the recognition by the parent (Rome) of the legitimacy of the offspring (Anglicanism). Much of the claim of the Church of England to be the

¹³ *ibid.*, p.114.

¹⁴ J.A. Moses (ed.), *From Oxford to the Bush*, (Canberra: Broughton Press, 1997), Appendix 11, p.325. English translation of *Apostolicae Curae*.

¹⁵ R. William Franklin (ed.), *Anglican Orders*, (London: Mowbray, 1996).

Catholic church in every respect but of a national and English expression rested on the transmission of valid orders in the apostolic succession and this was now decreed by the Patriarch of the West as, at best, a chimera and at worst a deception.

The practical outcome was a populist teaching by Irish nuns in Roman Catholic parochial schools, and priests from the pulpits, that Anglican orders were invalid because of the invalid consecration of Queen Elizabeth the First's Archbishop of Canterbury, Matthew Parker. Parker was alleged to have been consecrated in a tavern near Lambeth Palace in London known as The Nag's Head. It was said that he had a Bible placed on his head instead of episcopal hands and that all Anglican orders derived from him were therefore equally invalid.¹⁶ The tale was scurrilous and untrue but it had credence in the local forum. The retailing of this as an historical fact to school children and congregations did not cease until the new breath of co-operation and respect came with Vatican II in the 1960's.

Anglicans were also prone to consider all Roman Catholics as potentially disloyal to the Crown and England. The Irish political situation was never far from the consciousness of either Roman Catholics or Anglicans and the division of public opinion around the conscription debate during the First World War only helped to entrench prejudices on either side of the denominational divide. Central Queensland was not immune to these influences. Mannix's utterances during the

¹⁶ Since the Anglican-Roman Catholic discussions of the post-Vatican II era much work has been done on the debate about the validity of Anglican orders. J.J. Hughes' two works, *Absolutely Null and Utterly Void*, (Washington-Cleveland: Corpus Books, 1968) and *Stewards of the Lord*, (London and Sydney: Sheed and Ward, 1970) and R.W. Franklin (ed.), *Anglican Orders*, (London: Mowbray, 1996) are essential reading on the subject.

First World War and the growing influence of Catholic Action after *Quadragesimo Anno* was promulgated in 1931, seen as coming from Irish sympathies in Trade Union areas, were both causes for the suspicion.¹⁷

The implications of *Apostolicae Curae* went without remark at the first Anglican Synod of 1897 but in 1898 the Bishop's Pastoral Address contained a long section on church unity. The Apostolic Letter and the Church of Rome were not mentioned directly but the Bishop was at pains to underscore the fact that the Church of England was Catholic, using references from the eucharistic liturgy to justify his claim. He continues that when a larger survey is made (of the Catholic Church):

Alas our hearts are saddened by the disunion and discord which prevail. We cannot, as some effect to do, find any warrant for the belief that a mystical, interior unity may co-exist with actual dismemberment. On the contrary, we are assured that 'the Divine purpose of visible unity among Christians is a fact of revelation'. It is for this that we ought to struggle, and 'pray unceasingly for the peace of Jerusalem'¹⁸

He then goes on to quote at length a resolution of the Lambeth Conference regarding organic unity of the Church, which finishes with the words:

May He grant us (in Bishop Jeremy Taylor's words) uniting principles, reconciled hearts, and an external communion in His own good season.¹⁹

¹⁷ R.C. Thompson, *Religion in Australia, A History*, (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1994), p.75.

¹⁸ *Synod Reports 1898*, Diocese of Rockhampton, Rockhampton, p.15.

¹⁹ *ibid.*

The Pastoral Address of the 1899 Synod links the move for Provincial organisation in Queensland to the fact that the (Anglican) Church needs to be able to 'speak with one voice and act as one body in all matters of common interest'.²⁰ The local reaction to what was a major setback to moves toward unity in England was less than clamorous and this probably indicates an attitude that the colonial church did not need to bother with international matters even when they impinged upon her own mission and relationships. It may also indicate a misplaced sense of security in the minds of Englishmen which was inculcated through centuries of privilege and power, where Roman Catholics were originally persecuted as traitors and had reached a situation contemporaneously where, through the repeal of the Test Acts and Corporation Acts in the 1820s, they were just tolerated in English society. Anglicans did not have to prove anything about their social or religious place in the scheme of things.

The outburst of criticism of Duhig by Bishop Halford in August 1910²¹ was in connection with the referendum on the Bible in State Schools issue. Duhig's biographer Boland mentions that Duhig's 'exuberance ran away with his discretion'²² and he earned not only Halford's admonition but caused him conflict with two premiers. It was this matter rather than matters of doctrine which caused any overt criticism between the two denominations claiming to be catholic in Central Queensland.

There was further discord concerning education matters in Townsville between Duhig's successor as Bishop of Rockhampton, Bishop Joseph Shiel, and the

²⁰ *Synod Reports 1899*, Diocese of Rockhampton, Rockhampton, p.21.

²¹ *Church Gazette*, August 1910, Rockhampton.

²² Boland, op. cit., p.103.

Anglican Bishop of North Queensland, John Oliver Feetham, in 1917. The confrontation was about girls from Anglican families who were boarders at the Strand Convent in Townsville. It was alleged that these boarders had been prevented from attending Anglican services on Sundays. The convent school was a ministry of the Sisters of Mercy and Shiel, in return, had accused Anglican clergy of “harassing interference with our nuns”.²³ The matter was eventually resolved to both bishops’ satisfaction, but when a very similar problem had emerged at the Range Convent in Rockhampton two years earlier it had been much more amicably settled between Shiel and Halford.²⁴ Perhaps, for Halford, the earlier altercation with Duhig had taken some of the heat out of the interaction.

Another papal decree issued in 1908 caused considerable friction between the two denominations. *Ne Temere* made Roman Catholic marriage law in Australia conform to the legislation of the Council of Trent, requiring that all marriages of church members be solemnised before a priest if they were to be regarded as valid. Some Anglicans such as Feetham, Bishop of North Queensland, saw this as an advantage which would cause conversions from Rome to Anglicanism.²⁵ His was a minority view. The Synod of the Diocese of Rockhampton (Anglican) of 1911 carried a motion to the effect that the making of such a declaration should be punishable by Statute Law.

That this Synod requests the Lord Bishop of the Diocese to bring before the Australian Episcopate the situation created by a widely-prevalent declaration that certain marriages solemnised by the English Church are null and void; and inasmuch as the

²³ J. Maguire, *op. cit.*, p.62.

²⁴ *ibid.*

²⁵ Letter from Feetham, acting Metropolitan, to Wand, Archbishop elect of Brisbane, 4 January 1933. See Appendix 6.

before-mentioned declaration is made against all so-called mixed marriages to which one party is a Roman Catholic, except those solemnised before or by clergy owing obedience to the Bishop of Rome, and thus becomes of much-widened concern; is insulting to many religious bodies and to the State; and is working great harm and distress in general society; that, therefore, in the opinion of this Synod, the making of such declaration should be made punishable by Statute Law.²⁶

The same Synod passed a motion disapproving of the use of the word 'Catholic' to denote Roman Catholics. The relationship between the two denominations was at its lowest ebb. This is somewhat ironic as the Anglican diocese had its most 'advanced', in terms of outward Catholic practice, bishop in the episcopal seat. The two motions mentioned were moved by clergy and upheld by the laity in a body where lay votes outnumbered those of the clergy.

That this Synod place on record its emphatic disapproval of the practice too prevalent, even among Anglicans of applying the word 'Catholic' exclusively to the members of the religious denomination which acknowledges the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, and that the Synod would earnestly remind all Anglicans that such use by them of the term in question is inconsistent with well established historical fact, involves a surrender of a vital principle, and inflicts a grievous wrong upon the Church of their Baptism by implying that it is a non-Catholic and schismatical body.²⁷

The prickly nature of the relationship between the two denominations did not visibly lessen until after the Second World War, and then the old controversies of *Apostolicae Curae* and *Ne Temere* were buried in the new enthusiasm for ecumenical dialogue, following Vatican II in the 1960s. However the doctrinal

²⁶ *Synod Reports 1911*, Diocese of Rockhampton, p.27.

²⁷ *ibid.*, p.29.

issues surrounding them are at the present time (2002) still present albeit ignored. Neither decree has been repudiated or modified.

English non-conformity had by tradition been somewhat suspect as being non-English but increasingly tolerated since the Evangelical revival of the eighteenth century and the rise of Methodism in England. Foreign Protestants had been given sanctuary and special privileges as compared with their English counterparts since the Huguenot refugees arrived in England in the reign of the first Elizabeth, but English dissent was regarded with suspicion. Anglo-Catholics were constantly put in touch with the tribal memory of the Protestant regime of the Commonwealth and the execution of King Charles I for opposing Presbyterianism in English government. The Prayer Book in use in the 1890's in the Diocese of Rockhampton still contained the Calendar which included 31 January as the day of commemoration of the royal martyr. Anglo-Catholics regarded episcopacy and monarchy as mutually inclusive and essential elements of the English expression of Catholicism. Non-conformity was, as its name indicates, a departure from that norm and as such not quite English. The opposition to Rome evidenced in non-conformity and in Anglicanism made for some accommodation in terms of practical co-operation between the two especially in the constraints of colonial church life, but the absence of episcopacy was, and is, a major point of distance between the two church systems.

In the Central Queensland setting, the migration of German and Scandinavian settlers in the late nineteenth century meant that non English Protestantism was well represented in the area. McDonald refers to the arrival in Keppel Bay in 1879

of five hundred German and Scandinavian immigrants.²⁸ There had been “harmonious co-operation between the early non-conformist churches”²⁹ in the infant Rockhampton but by the 1890s all the English divisions of non-conformity were represented.

From what evidence there is, it would seem that the laity as contrasted with the hierarchy were more inclined to overlook the lack of a bishop as a major stumbling block, the shared distrust, and fear of Rome and the shared membership of the Masonic and other Lodges in the case of the men, made practical co-operation possible. The use of church buildings by both sections was, in spite of a disastrous start, fairly common on a temporary basis. Joint lobbying for the Bible in the State Schools movement, and for a while the Women's Temperance movement, are areas which are examples of this co-operation.

The clergy were less at ease with co-operation and they were more conscious of the doctrinal divide. Clerical reactions to the reading of Scripture in schools on the Anglican side, were closely wedded to the teaching of doctrine of the Anglican episcopal variety and it was assumed by them that the Creeds were of equal importance with the Scripture reading as part of the curriculum in religious instruction in State Schools. This was not an attitude shared by the ministers of the Protestant denominations. Anglican clergy, while careful to show Christian charity toward the ministers of other denominations, kept rather aloof. It was not until the 1980s , that Anglican clergy were to be found as members of ministers'

²⁸ McDonald, *op. cit.*, p.536.

²⁹ *ibid.*, p.395.

fraternals in the larger towns; by then the Roman clergy had also become members.

The first church building to be used by Anglicans in Rockhampton was originally shared with Presbyterians, but on the occasion of the first visit of the Bishop of Brisbane - Tufnell - dispute arose about its joint use. The small school house - church had been built by public subscription in 1859 but Bishop Tufnell "gave such offence by his abusive language and narrow prejudices, telling the people that the schoolhouse was his property, and that he would not allow it to be used for any other purpose except a church",³⁰ on his arrival in 1860. The nature of the attitude of the Anglican clergy in these very early days may be gauged from Captain Hunter's observations of the Bishop's charge to the Anglicans on this occasion. After promising to send a clergyman immediately to Rockhampton, Tufnell told the people that "they had hitherto done as they pleased, but now they had a bishop, they must do as they were told".³¹ The Bishop had also maintained that the Presbyterians must be excluded because the building was on Anglican ground.³² The original Deed of Grant issued in 1867³³ did in fact enjoin exclusive use by the members of the Church of England. Some of the 'fat was pulled from the fire' by the destruction of the building in a storm before the Bishop's ship left two days later, and eventually by the appointment of The Reverend Thomas Jones, who was very popular with his flock and others.

Another cause for Anglican clerical concern was the use of the word 'Protestant' to denote all non-Roman denominations. While no Synod motions similar to that of

³⁰ McDonald, op. cit., p.389, citing Captain Hunter's Journal, 24 November 1869.

³¹ *ibid.*

³² *Morning Bulletin*, 8 June 1893, Rockhampton.

³³ Rockhampton, A.A.

the 1911 Synod concerning the use of the word 'Catholic' are extant, there is evidence from other places that Anglican clergy of the Anglo-Catholic school were vehement in their disavowal of this adjective in relation to the Church of England. The local clergy would have been in sympathy with the principles of southern clergy, such as Bishop Short first Bishop of Adelaide, who in the midst of ritualist controversies in his diocese "refused to use the word Protestant in connection with the Church of England"³⁴ and the laymen coming to the defence of ritualistic clergy in the same diocese who claimed:

the Church of England claims the name of 'Catholic'...she insists upon the 'Catholic faith' and she knows nothing of the title Protestant ... she repudiates it, and it never occurs once in her articles or formularies³⁵

The Anglo-Catholic and High Church emphasis was on episcopacy being of the esse of the Church and episcopal ordination as a *sine qua non* for ministerial authority. This made the Church of England, as represented by the Bishops and clergy of the Diocese of Rockhampton, wary of any easy doctrinal accommodation with those denominations, who found no difficulty in wearing the title Protestant. The distance between them became wider until the effects of the new ecumenism began to be felt in the 1950s.

The prevailing view until that time was that organic unity was the will of Christ for His Church and that translated itself into an attitude held by most church adherents on all sides that eventual reunion meant that all other denominations should

³⁴ J. Scarfe, 'The Diocese of Adelaide (and the West), in B. Porter (ed.), *Colonial Tractarians, The Oxford Movement in Australia*, Joint Board of Religious Education, Melbourne, 1898, p.98.

³⁵ *ibid.*, p.99.

become 'like us'. After a great paean of praise for the Church of England, Bishop Halford, in his President's Pastoral Address to the Synod of 1911, enjoined Anglicans of the Diocese of Rockhampton to take note, in their seeking for unity with other Christians.

On the one hand is a one-sided Catholicism making immense claims which are warranted neither by Scripture nor history. On the other are bodies of Christians, different in origin, but more and more approximating to each other by the process of omitting those doctrines about which there is any difference of opinion; producing, as has been said, a form of religion "in the interests of those whose convictions are fewest"³⁶.

The Synod Reports of the next two bishops during the 1920s and 1930s are concerned with local or national church affairs, and relationships with other churches are not mentioned. The greatest co-operation between Anglicans and the Protestant denominations was between 1890 and 1910 with the battle for the right to have the Bible used in State Schools. Just after this right was achieved was the lowest ebb in the relationship between the Roman Catholic Church and Anglicans. The letter from Feetham to Wand - see Appendix 8 - indicates the depth of distrust and scant respect dating from this time, even though it was not expressed so forcefully until the 1930s.

As the numerical predominance of English born clergy began to decline and with the election of an Australian born bishop in 1928 the attitudes of belonging to the Anglo-Saxon ascendancy began to decline also. While such attitudes began to decline they did not disappear into some sort of amorphous middle of the road Christian denomination of the middle class. The ties with England were still very

strong and while bishops may not have said so, they expected preferential treatment in government and social gatherings up until present times. In fact if not in theory the Anglican bishop came before his counterparts of Rome or Non-conformity, in precedence tables for such events. It may be said that this merely reflected the demographic fact that for the first six decades of this century the Anglican Church was numerically the largest denomination in Australia. With the increase in Central and Southern European migration in the post World War II era, this changed until the 1996 census showed a Roman Catholic majority of 25.2% Roman Catholic to 23.6% Anglican.

In all of this nothing has been said of the relationship between Anglicans and the Eastern Orthodox. Feetham's letter of 1933 (Appendix 6) makes reference to a close if infrequent cordial friendship with the resident Greek prelate in Australia and this reflects a doctrinal closeness between Anglo-Catholics and the Orthodox. The difficulty in the relationship was that of the cultural divide. The divide was not so wide or deep between those of English descent and White Russians who were Orthodox. Because of the scattered nature of the Orthodox believers, even in a scattered population such as that of Central Queensland, the visits of an Orthodox bishop or priest - Greek or Russian - was, by no means, an everyday event. The pastoral needs of the Orthodox were, in the main, attended to by the Anglican clergy. These clergy, for the most part, knew almost nothing of Orthodox liturgical practice and certainly nothing of Koine Greek or Old Slavonic, the liturgical languages of the Greek settlers and Russian refugees in their parishes.

³⁶ *Synod Reports 1911*, Diocese of Rockhampton. P.11.

Up until the 1950s, almost all Greeks in Central Queensland were married in Anglican Churches - for the more affluent by their own priests - and the White Russian communities who arrived in Central Queensland in the early 1930s via Manchuria associated with and were, to a large extent, absorbed by the Anglican congregation in Biloela. Their ikons brought with them in their exile remain in Saint Gabriel's Church in that town and their children and grandchildren are mostly Anglicans and Roman Catholics. The reminder of the Greek presence is in the form of ikons in Saint Paul's Cathedral and the Church of Saint Mark at Allenstown, Rockhampton. They now, in 2002, have their own Church of Saint Nectarios but, as yet, no resident priest in Central Queensland.

The relationship between the Orthodox and Anglicans was made easier by the fact that eastern forms of liturgy were not Romish and there were numerically very few Orthodox people in the area, thus providing no numerical threat to Anglicans. There was no history of political antipathy with religious overtones as there was with those of Irish or English dissenting backgrounds. There was a common rejection of the papal claims of being *primus super omnia* rather than *primus inter pares* which both Churches accepted for their Metropolitans, and both Churches had an episcopal organisation derived, they believed, from the apostles in direct succession. The Anglicans of Central Queensland found these points of common agreement and the non-threatening nature of Orthodoxy (after all they had learned to live for four hundred years under the domination of Islam) attractive and a warm relationship developed between the two Churches in Central Queensland as it did in North Queensland. This was all to come undone in the 1990s with the (Anglican) ordination of women to the priesthood.

The discussion of the ecumenical stance of the Anglican Diocese of Rockhampton and its relationship with the other Christian denominations represented in Central Queensland would not be representative of the real position without some discussion about the overall Anglican position in Australia. Central Queensland, after the movement of Duhig to Brisbane in 1912, and the heightening of Anglo-Catholic thinking, outward ceremonial, and spirituality under Bishops Halford and Crick from 1909 to 1928 on the Anglican side, did not produce any notable champions of reunion between the Churches. Toward the end of the period under review in this thesis, that is up to 1943, there were significant champions of this *rapprochement* in the background. They included Halse of Riverina who became Archbishop of Brisbane following Wand in 1943 and who had been Warden of the Brotherhood of Saint Barnabas in North Queensland Diocese from 1913 until 1925,³⁷ and Wand himself, Halse's predecessor in the See of Brisbane.

Father John Moses editor of a recent (1997) collection of essays on the impact of Anglo-Catholicism in Australia³⁸ and, a product of the Halse influence on the Diocese of North Queensland, has examined these influences in his essay *The Centenary Essays and Anglican Self-Perception*.³⁹ While neither Halse nor Wand were directly connected with the Diocese of Rockhampton both were influences upon the Anglicans in the ecclesiastical Province of Queensland, from 1933 to 1963 and Anglicans in the Diocese of Rockhampton looked to them for leadership. Both were Englishmen of the Anglo Catholic persuasion of Anglicanism and of Oxford scholarship. Moses maintains that they both adopted a position where they

³⁷ J.O. Feetham (ed.), *North Queensland Jubilee Book*, (Townsville: McGilvray & Co., 1929), p.32.

³⁸ J. Moses, *op. cit.*

³⁹ *ibid.*, pp.172-212.

were not intimidated by the claims of Rome to be the "measure of all things Catholic" and were thereby able to accommodate the notion that non-episcopal denominations could be approached in discussions about unity from a position that the Reformation had a "Catholic substance" under the presenting face of non-episcopal Churches.⁴⁰ These two prelates exerting the influence of scholarly and able leaders of the Church in Queensland helped to dismantle some of the inherent distrust between Anglicans and Christians of other denominations both Roman and Protestant. Wand by scholarship and authority, Halse by a mixture of scholarship and warm pastoral contact over a long period, with Christian leaders of other persuasions, particularly Duhig, his fellow Archbishop of Brisbane, and fellow Senator of the University of Queensland.

The preoccupation of the Bishop of Rockhampton during the 1930s when these reactions were being experienced in Brisbane and other parts of the Church in the south was that of financial survival and such matters, however important, were left to the Archbishop of Brisbane. The Synod Reports of the Diocese of Rockhampton are, during the period 1928 to 1947, dominated by the worries of the Bishop (Ash) and Diocesan authorities about the parlous financial state in which the Diocese found itself following the failure of Saint Peter's School at Barcaldine and bad seasonal conditions and the financial world wide depression which had badly affected commodity prices. Ecumenical co-operation and conversation about the unity of the Church was not mentioned in spite of the setting up and failure of the conversations between almost all the non-Roman denominations in 1937 in Sydney, the National Missionary Conference. This resulted in a task being given to Halse to devise, on behalf of the Anglican bishops, a so-called Mutual

⁴⁰ Ibid., pp.182-183.

Formula for the reconciliation of the non-episcopal with episcopal forms of ministry.⁴¹ The outcome of which was to have international significance as contributing to the eventual basis for the setting up of the Church of South India in the 1950s.

However the declaration of war in 1939 produced another difficulty for the Diocese of Rockhampton, and for many other institutions, in the form of a shortage of manpower to adequately staff the parishes as well as the pre-existing difficulties with money. The ecumenical movement would have to wait for the impetus of the Lambeth Conference of 1948 and Vatican II before any discernible progress was made.

In relationships with other Christian denominations the Diocese of Rockhampton, during the period under discussion, followed a pattern which showed it to be somewhat on the defensive with the Roman Catholic Church and off-hand in its dealings with the non-conformists yet generous and accommodating to the Orthodox. This reflects the underlying stance of the Oxford Movement in regard to doctrine, especially that of episcopacy without papacy.

⁴¹ *ibid.*, p.197.

Chapter 13

Conclusion

The transition of the Anglican Diocese of Rockhampton from a thoroughly English social institution of demonstrably English origins but with an Australian ethos and *modus operandi* has been the focus of this thesis. Such a transition was imperative if the Anglican Church was to serve its ministry effectively in this new environment. Vovelle's proposition that cultures change over time as do social and physical environments is evidenced in the period studied for this thesis. He further suggests that while such change occurs, for the members of that community, core mentalities or underlying values do not change radically or rapidly. There is, then, a period of 'culture lag' between these two factors – social and physical change and the adaptation of psychological and attitudinal aspects. This has been demonstrated in this study.

This transition was essentially effected within the first fifty years of the establishment of the Diocese. The election of Bishop Ash in 1928 was the point at which essential change became evident. The change began with what has been described in the first two Chapters of the thesis, as a transplantation of the institution from English to Australian soil. The full force of its adaptation to Australian conditions was, however, not realised until the early 1940s. The nurturing of this adaptation was at the instigation of the pioneer clergy. From the very beginning though, the laity had the power to prevent change. In Central Queensland the laity elected to be part of the change and not only to passively receive such change at the hands of the clergy but to actively participate in its implementation to some degree. Australianisation took place gradually and surely,

rather than as a phenomenon imposed from on high, or which occurred because of some particular catalyst. The gradual and incremental change was addressed in Chapter Seven.

In its early stages the Diocese was seen as part of the Church of England in the colonies and, since most of the clergy and those to whom they ministered were English born and educated, the attitudes and mores of the institution remained those of England. The theological and social position of the Bishop and clergy were expressed in the prevailing English social model. This was reinforced by the overwhelming theological stance of clergy from the Anglo-Catholic wing of Anglicanism. From this ecclesiological perspective the rule of the Bishop was of divine ordering for the Church and therefore the direction in which the Diocese was taken by the Bishop was not seriously questioned. In the case of the Diocese of Rockhampton, this meant that Bishop Dawes' attitudes and inclinations were of utmost importance to the future. Fortunately Dawes was an organiser and "practical man". He sought solutions outside the English norms and thus allowed adaptation to begin. Chapter Four described his innovative responses to the way the Church met its ministry. It was Dawes who founded the Brotherhood of St. Andrew.

Dawes provided the Central Queensland solution to the chronic shortage of finance and manpower which plagued all but the metropolitan diocese from the earliest days of the colonial Church in the form of the Bush Brotherhood. It was Dawes' ability to think outside the usual parameters of ecclesiastical organisation which enabled this experiment to become one of the most influential movements in the nineteenth and twentieth century Church in Australia. It was the major claim to

fame of the Diocese of Rockhampton. The Brotherhood was a direct outcome of the missionary thinking of English luminaries such as Lightfoot, Westcott and others who understood English Anglo-Catholicism as having a duty to evangelise the Empire as well as England itself. What began as a search for ways to bring to the colonists the comforts of the religion which has been left behind, developed into an influential instrument of pastoral care in the whole Australian Church.

In conjunction with the adjustments necessary to establish an effective method of pastoral ministry in the vast geographical frontiers of the Diocese there were attempts to come to grips with the social and communal needs of parishioners in the more settled areas on the coast. The Diocese was, along with the Diocese of Brisbane, the Anglican presence in the non-government childcare welfare area. St. George's Homes for Children situated in Rockhampton was a major Diocesan welfare work from the beginning of the twentieth century. This work with abandoned and disadvantaged children was to be one of the defining identities of the Diocese not just for Anglicans but for the population of Central and North Queensland.

The Diocese had, from its inception, an identity as a diocese with an Anglo-Catholic ethos. The Bishops and the clergy were all of that particular persuasion within Anglicanism and there was very little serious opposition to Anglo-Catholic ceremonial and teaching from the laity. It has been argued that this was due, in part, to the welfare work mentioned above. As an Anglo-Catholic diocese, Rockhampton was in the main stream of the Anglican Church in the Province of Queensland and country Australia as well. The solidarity of the Province of Queensland in regard to the evolution of the Constitution of the Anglican Church of

Australia would not have been possible without the wholehearted support of the Diocese of Rockhampton. The united and integrated constitutional status of the Province was a result of the fragmented nature of the Australian church as a whole, especially in its search for an agreed constitution. This was one of the major adaptations, as discussed in Chapter Five, to Australian conditions for the Diocese in its transition.

The change from the English system of governance to a synodical system was already in place in the Australian colonies when the Diocese was formed, but for all of its incoming clergy until 1912, it was novel. Alongside this novelty was the theological conviction of the Anglo-Catholic clergy, as documented in Chapter Five and further in Chapter Twelve, that the Bishop was of the *esse* of the church and therefore the fact of episcopal government through the Synod was accepted and encouraged by them. This, in turn, gave the Bishop much more power than would have been the case in an English diocese. The negative effect of such episcopal power was that, as the Bishop had at his command the *de facto* right of appointment of clergy to parishes, diocesanism was a result. Clergy who thought and acted as the Bishop did, made for a monochrome and impenetrable barrier for any difference in attitude. Thus the Diocese became the unit to which allegiance was given and not the wider national Church. This reflects the Vovelle theory of the retention of core mentalities in the face of physical and geographic change.

It was not difficult to regard the Diocese as a discrete unit within the wider unit of the Province especially after the rhetoric of the new State movements of the 1870s and 1880s. These called for separation of the colony into three areas roughly co-terminus with the Dioceses of Brisbane, Rockhampton and North Queensland.

However, from the evidence, provided in Chapter Three, it would seem that the positive moves to establish a new diocese from Brisbane came from the Bishop of Brisbane, Webber, and the co-adjutor bishop in the northern end of the Diocese of Brisbane – Dawes. The Church of England Conference of 1887 was a forum where these two bishops were able to enthuse the laity with their vision for a separate diocese. The lay enthusiasm did not extend to wholehearted financial support, and financial difficulties continued to plague the newly established Diocese for the rest of its time. Coming to terms with this shortage of necessary finance to adequately mount the mission was an adaptation of monumental proportions from the English experience. It was never completely accomplished.

Attitudes to such social institutions as education, the law and polity followed along English lines as did the attitudes of the general population, with the recent memory of its experience of England. One major adaptation for the English born clergy, as described in Chapter Eight, was that of accepting a thoroughly secular public education system. Huge amounts of time, energy, and finance were expended on the fight to have the Bible read in State Schools. The clergy were the chief protagonists in this fight and it appears that they were aiming to have the same rights and privileges as were enjoyed by the State Church of England in England, introduced in Queensland. In short an automatic right of entry by parish clergy for doctrinal teaching. In spite of an apparent victory the English style rights were never adopted. The right to read the Bible was all that was achieved and this never proved to be satisfactory. Again, a clinging to core mentalities and resisting the change within a different environment.

Chapter Ten focused on the mixed reactions in the Diocese to the presence of comparatively large numbers of Aboriginal and South Sea Island people. The South Sea Island (Melanesian) labourers were given extensive pastoral care which extended to advocacy in regard to the right to stay in Queensland when wholesale repatriation was underway and provision of a place of worship dedicated solely for their use. The Aboriginal population, on the other hand, were largely ignored until the late 1920s. It has been argued that the Melanesian people approximated more closely in their social organisation to English ideals of industry and hierarchy than did the Aboriginal people, and this resulted in the more favourable reaction to them. This, of course, is a true reflection of the idea of “mission” – a mentality in keeping with the ingrained English model.

Women were not encouraged to take positions of leadership, although as early as 1907 there was debate about their right to do so. In Chapter Eleven, the position of women and their “place” in the Church has been examined. While unable to represent their parishes in Synod and therefore in the decision-making bodies of the Diocese, women were, however, very influential in the social welfare work and in education. There was a locally raised religious community for women which worked briefly in these areas.

Relationships with other Churches were outlined in Chapter Twelve and the stresses of the change from the Anglican hegemony of England to the theoretical equality of the denominations in Australia was described. The expectation that Anglicans would be regarded as more equal than others took many years to subside. Indeed it could be argued that it never really has. This was one of the more difficult areas of adjustment and adaptation.

Vovelle's theory that many aspects of culture change over time with social and physical environmental change, however, communities nevertheless retain core mentalities or attitudes which do not undergo radical change and to which members of a community may revert in times of stress is highlighted. Evidence for this has been demonstrated in the progress towards Australianisation in the Diocese of Rockhampton. Gradually the external attitudes and forms of government of the Church changed and modified but the essential English character of the Diocese remained. The inbuilt power of the Bishop to rule in a monarchical fashion; the conduct of the ceremonial of the Sunday services; as well as the expectation that Anglicans would take precedence on State occasions are all outward reminders of the English past. These were part of lay expectation as well, or even more so, than those of the clergy.

The Diocese of Rockhampton from 1892 until 1942 underwent many changes toward Australianisation, none were entirely radical, none were sudden nor were they changes of faith or order. They were adaptations and accommodations to the changing environment both physical and political in the journey of the Diocese from being a transplanted English social institution to being an Australian institution with an English core and on the way to complete adaption to its Australian environment. The journey continues.

‘Steel All Through’

The Church of England in Central Queensland, Transplantation and Adaptation 1892-1942

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Appendix 1
(also Table 1, p.xxv)

Population figures for census districts in the Diocese of Rockhampton in 1891 (the year before establishment of Diocese) giving place of birth if born outside the colony and in British Isles.

District	Total Population	English Born	Irish born	Scots born
Blackall	4,529	882	590	267
Clermont	5,288	1,335	688	279
Gladstone	3,306	559	442	214
Peak Downs	314	59	36	10
Rockhampton	11,629	1,527	1,633	681
Tambo	886	151	99	43
Total	25,952	5,513	3,488	1,494

Expressed as percentages of total population:

English born21.2%
Irish born 13.4%
Scots born5.7%

The remainder of the population was, with the exception of a very small percentage of those born in other European countries, some Chinese and South Sea Islanders, born in other Australian colonies and Queensland.

Appendix 2

Report on Financial Position of New Diocese 1892.¹

This report is the first produced which shows the absence of any significant funds for endowment of the Bishopric.

¹ Report of the Provisional Diocesan Council, presented to Synod June 28, 1893. Together with Statements of Accounts from December 1, 1892 to March 31, 1893. *Synod Reports 1893*, diocese of Rockhampton, A.A.

Report on Financial Position of New Diocese 1892

Up till the end of the Church year, on the 31 March 1889, there was no money in hand; but twelve months later there was £2498/8/7 added and the 31st of the same month of the present year yet another £280/3/10; deduct the expenses from this, and there is left the sum of £359/10/8; but £50 has been lost for the time by the suspension of the Queensland Deposit Bank, fifty shares in which were made as a present to the fund, so that there is finally left £309/10/8, which has been carried to the capital account. The present state of this account is as follows:-

1892	£.s.d.	£.s.d.
To contributions (as per list)	10,325.11.1	
less unpaid	<u>-102.15</u>	10,222.16.5
Interest (net balance) as above		<u>309.10.8</u>
		£10,532.07.1
By amount invested as endowment capital to produce income for the Bishop		10,000.00.0
Carried to Bishop's House account		<u>532.07.1</u>
		£10,532.07.1

A residence for the new bishop has been purchased in Rockhampton. The cost was £2000; but to that has to be added £41.15.11 for conveyance, insurance and other charges. Towards the payment of this sum, aggregating, altogether, £2041.15.11, a total of £280.15.6 has been subscribed, and is included in the surplus of £532.7.1 above the minimum endowment fund of the diocese, which has all been devoted to this purpose. There therefore remains to be collected £1509.8.10.

Another duty of the church must face will be the raising of the balance of £5000 required to complete the endowment capital, and the £1000 odd needed to pay off the debt on the Bishop's house.

Appendix 3

A Letter of Suggestion to Bishop Westcott of Durham from some of his younger clergy undated 1896.¹

This letter is a response from some of the younger clergy of the Diocese of Durham to Westcott who had been urging clergy to offer for overseas missionary service. It was written on behalf of thirty younger clergy, of whom Halford was one, by the four who signed it.

¹ Halford Papers, Rockhampton, A.A.

**A Letter of Suggestion to Bishop Westcott of Durham from some of his
younger clergy undated 1896**

To some of us, pondering over the ceaseless cry for Colonial and Foreign Missionaries, met with 'increased interest' and 'overflowing meetings' but never yet by any appreciable movement among the clergy of the Church towards a united personal response, it has seemed that the difficulty is only one phase of that singular degree of independence which is at one the safeguard and the danger of us English clergy. In four cases out of five an English priest goes to work where he chooses, not where he is sent by his leaders. However devoted he may be, his choice must naturally be based on knowledge of the spheres of work open to him; and how many men at the time of their ordination know enough about any missionary post of work even to consider it? And then, when once at work, it is natural to the best workers to initiate no move for themselves till called to it definitely.

It would be most unfair to assume that backwardness to go means want of self-surrender. But the right sort of man, whilst unfortunately all too ignorant about missionary needs and claims, is nearly always engrossed and happy in his work. He is not likely to throw it up and go out on a self-elected mission.

So that in the normal current of events the reasonable and proportionate supply of men for Foreign Service will not be found by waiting till a sufficient number of individuals are spontaneously moved to go.

But might it not be by those in authority undertaking to *send the men who are*

willing to go?

We see that the cases are but few in which the Inward Call comes in a shape independent of outward voices, to demand that break with present circumstance which is not the normal characteristic of the guided life. And we may think that the appeal of Societies, whether in print or made to us personally, is not made with sufficient knowledge of us and our present work to amount to an authoritative call.

But if one, who is not only our Bishop, but one in whose knowledge of the posts he recommended and of the men he spoke to (or at least in whose caution where he had not that knowledge) we had a happy confidence, were to say, 'X, I have considered your powers, and I think that they are such as are still more needed by the Church in India, or in the Colonies, or elsewhere,' - then some of us, we are sure, would be found most glad to go just as we would to any other post in the Diocese or in another part of England.

We recognise that it is not possible even for those who might wish it to transfer to the shoulders of Authority the burden of their personal responsibility; and it is not expected that these proposals should be applicable to the clergy at large. But we do ask leave for *some* to volunteer for a higher measure of personal direction than could be applied to *all*. And we believe there are many of us younger clergy, at present untrammelled by domestic ties, willing to go if our Bishop sent us; *and as a matter of fact to this letter and the general principle*

here asserted more than thirty of the present or late junior clergy of Durham have given their written assent.

Will then your Lordship, we would deferentially ask, consider whether in any way men can be encouraged to intimate either unitedly or individually, but privately, to their Bishop that they wish to be at his free disposal if occasion shall arise for Home or Foreign Service, *at least until further notice?* Would your Lordship be willing to keep some such confidential list of names as that we indicate, and from time to time definitely to invite your younger clergy to face the question volunteering?

Such an offer might, we presume, be accompanied by any limitations as to sphere or term of service that GOD may have already made plain to the offerer; indeed it is just to find guidance where these fail that this scheme is proposed.

We say that we cannot judge for ourselves the comparative needs of the Foreign and Home policies of the Church. We note that it is not expected of the private soldier in an earthly army to select his own post and his own manoeuvres. We do not think that it should be always left to private soldiers in the Divine army of aggression to do so. We think that those who stand on the Church's watch-towers may be willing to organise and direct us if they are once convinced that we are willing to obey orders and thankful to have them to obey.

And as we gratefully recall what we have learnt, from the lips of our leaders and Fathers in GOD, as to the true place of Missionary work, and also the practical

stimulus given to our recognition of it, we are encouraged to hope that we shall not be mistaken in making this definite response and appeal.

On behalf of our thirty friends,

Your lordship's obedient Sons,

CH BOUTFLOWER

LP CRAWFURD

George L KING

WM Teape

Appendix 4

Membership of the Brotherhood of Saint Andrew 1897-1942 and of the Oratory of the Good Shepherd 1925-1929

Membership of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew

Wardens:

G.D. Halford 1897-1902
 T. Chapman 1902
 W.J.B. Scott 1903
 A.T. Robinson 1904
 C.M.E. Hicks 1911-1915
 A.T. Robinson 1931
 E.A. Wight 1930-1942

1897

HALFORD, George Douglass (1865-1948) born, London; died, Brisbane. Educated: Felsted, Keble College, Oxford (B.A. 1888, M.A. 1893); Leeds Clergy School; d. 1890 Newcastle on Tyne; p. 1891 Durham. Head 1897-1902.

PERRY, Alexander (1867-1920) born, Scotland; died, Kilmartin Scotland. Educated: St. Paul's College, Birmingham 1895, University of Durham (B.A. 1902); d. 1897, Edinburgh for Rockhampton; p. 1898 Rockhampton. Returned to Scotland for reasons of ill health 1899.

1898

CHAPMAN, Thomas (1866-1943) born, Orton, Birkenhead; died, United Kingdom. Education: Christ's College, Cambridge (B.A. 1890, M.A., 1931); d. 1891, p. 1892 Durham. Head 1902.

SCOTT, Walter John Baliol (1875-1953) born, Harrow on the Hill; died, London. Educated: Merchant Taylors, London: St. Augustine's College, Canterbury 1894; d. 1898 Rochester for Rockhampton, p. 1899 Rockhampton. Head 1903.

1899

HOWES, Percy Graham (1873-1964) born, Stoke Damarel, Devon; died, Charmouth. Educated: Keble College, Oxford (B.A. 1896, M.A. 1905); Leeds Clergy School; d. 1897, p. 1898 Ely.

1900

BURBRIDGE, William (1871-1961) born, in United Kingdom; died, in West Australia. Educated: Emmanuel College, Cambridge (B.A. 1889, M.A. 1896); Leeds Clergy School 1896-1897; d. 1897, p. 1898 Ripon.

1904

ROBINSON, Arthur Tuke (1870-1953) born, Bradford, Yorkshire; died, Rockhampton. Educated: Jesus College, Cambridge (B.A. 1892, M.A. 1896); Assistant Master, Dover College 1893-1895; d. 1896, p. 1897 London. Head 1904.

1908

HULTON-SAMS, Frederick Edward Barwick (1882-1915) born, Emberton, Bucks.; died, July 1915 (Killed in Action, Flanders). Educated: Harrow; Trinity College, Cambridge (B.A. 1904); Leeds Clergy School 1904; d. 1905, p. 1908 Birmingham.

1910

STREETEN, Edgar Robert (1881-1943) born, Ealing, Middlesex; died, Barcaldine. Educated: Choir School; Kings College, Cambridge (B.A. 1904, M.A. 1916); Cambridge Clergy School; d. 1905, p. 1907 London.

ROXBY, Guy Josselyn Maude (1886-1913) born, United Kingdom; died, Aramac. Educated: Queen's College, Cambridge (B.A. 1908); Cambridge Clergy School; d. 1909, p. 1910 London.

1911

HICKS, Charles Maurice Evelyn (1880-1957) born, Seething, Norfolk; died, in United Kingdom. Educated: BNC, Oxford (B.A. 1902, M.A. 1906); d. 1903, p. 1904 London. Head 1911-1915.

1912

BOHUN-COULCHER, Evelyn Holt (1880-1944) born, Kent; died, India. Educated: University College, Oxford (B.A. 1905, M.A. 1914); Cuddesdon College 1905; d. 1905, p. 1907 London.

PARK, Walter James (1881-1968) born, Norwich; died, The Grange, South Australia. Educated: St. Wilfrid's College, Tasmania; d. 1911, p. 1912 Tasmania.

1931

ROBINSON, Arthur Tuke (1881-1953) – see above.

HANNAFORD, Henry Sydenham (1897-1975) born, Gloucester, United Kingdom; died, Ballarat. Educated: Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge (B.A. 1925); d. 1925 by Rockhampton in England; p. 1926 Rockhampton.

1935

REDLICH, Vivian Frederick Barnes (1905-1943) born, Pietermaritzburg, Natal; died, August 1942 at Buna Beach, one of New Guinea Martyrs. Educated: Chichester Theological College; d. 1932, p. 1933 Wakefield.

FORD, Robert Holden (1906-1983) born, Rochester, United Kingdom; died in Victoria. Educated: St. Francis' College, Nundah 1928; d. 1931 Rockhampton; p. 1933 Grafton for Newcastle.

LAVENDER, Cyril Norman (1901-) born, Birmingham, United Kingdom; died, United Kingdom. Educated: Stroud Grammar School; St. Augustine's College, Canterbury; d. 1935 Sarum for colonies; p. 1935 Rockhampton.

WHEATLEY, James Edward (1903-1964) born, Bridgeport, Notts. United Kingdom; died, Mackay. Educated: St. Francis' College, Nundah 1935; d. 1935, p. 1938 Rockhampton.

IDE, Selwyn: A member of the Brotherhood of St. Barnabas (NQ) who came to Rockhampton in 1935 as Rector of North Rockhampton when he joined the Brotherhood of St. Andrew.

1936

ULLOCK, Edward(1908-1962) born, Dalton in Furness, Lancaster; died, Rockhampton. Educated: St. Boniface's College, Warminster 1926-1928; d. 1934 York for Wakefield; p. 1935 Wakefield.

1938

SMITH, Alfred Cecil (1906-1993) born, Sydney; died, Mackay. Educated: Cleveland State High School; Th.L. 1937; d. 1938, p. 1939 Rockhampton.

1939

WIGHT, Edgar Allan (1887-1958) born, Sydney; died, Sydney. Educated: University of Sydney (B.A. 1919); Bishop's College, Cheshunt 1928; Engineer in NSW Railways; d. 1929, p. 1930 London. Head 1939-1942.

SYER, George Vivian (1911-) born in United Kingdom. Educated: King's College, London (ACK 1939); Th.L. (ACT) 1956; d. 1939 by Guildford for Canterbury for colonies; p. 1942 Canterbury.

1940

DUNN, Donald Kingslake (1914-1988) born Rylstone, NSW; died, Mt Morgan. Educated: St. Francis College, Brisbane (Th.L. 1938); d. 1938, p. 1940 Rockhampton.

Membership of Oratory of Good Shepherd working in Diocese of Rockhampton
1925-1929

ROBINSON, Arthur Tuke. See above, p.xi. Rector of Cathedral parish 1926-1930.

MALDEN, Reginald Giles. Trinity College, Cambridge, B.A. 1921; Ely Theological College 1922; d. 1923, p. 1924; St. Paul's Cathedral Rockhampton 1925-1926; St. Peter's Barcaldine 1926-1928. Returned to Diocese of Carlisle.

POOLE, Arthur Leonard. Clare College, Cambridge, B.A. 1922; Ely Theological College 1922; d. 1922, p. 1923. Rector Barcaldine and Head of St. Peter's School 1926-1928. Chaplain Royal Navy 1929.

HANNAFORD, Henry Sydenham. See above, p.92. All Saints' College, Cambridge, B.A. 1925; d. in St. Michael's Church Cambridge by Bishop of Rockhampton, 30 August 1925, p. 1926; St. Paul's Cathedral Rockhampton 1926-1930; Mt. Morgan 1930; m. Brotherhood St. Andrew 1931, Winton 1931, Longreach 1932. Left to work in diocese of Riverina at Leeton 1933.

FORD, Robert Holden. See above, p.92. Ford came as a student with the members of the Oratory, was made deacon in Rockhampton in 1931 and priest by Grafton for Newcastle 1933. He worked with Fr. G. Kennedy Tucker of the Brotherhood of St. Lawrence while in Newcastle, returned to Diocese in 1935 and joined Brotherhood of St. Andrew.

Sources –

Clergy Records, A.A. Rockhampton.

Crockford's Clerical Director for Year 1933, (London: Oxford University Press, 1933).

Appendix 5

Australian Dioceses with former Bush Brother Diocesans

Adelaide	B.P. Robin (BSB), 1941-1956 K. Rayner* (BSJE), 1975-1990
Bathurst	A.L. Wylde (BGS), 1936-1958 E.K. Leslie (BGS), 1959-1980
Brisbane	R.C. Halse (BSB), 1943-1962
Bunbury	H.T.V. Jamieson (BGS), 1984-2000
Carpentaria	S.H. Davies (BSP), 1922-1949 W.J. Hudson (BGS), 1950-1957 H.T.V. Jamieson (BGS), 1974-1984
Kalgoolie	W.E. Elsey (BSBon.), 1919-1950
Melbourne	K. Rayner* (BSJE), 1991-2000
North Queensland	J.O. Feetham (BGS), 1912-1947 W.B. Belcher (BSB), 1948-1952
Northern Territory	K.B. Mason (BGS), 1963-1983
North West Australia	J. Frewer (BSBon.), 1929-1958
Perth	R.W.H. Moline (BSB), 1947-1962
Riverina	R.C. Halse (BSB), 1926-1943 B.R. Hunter (BSP), 1971-1992.
Rockhampton	G.D. Halford (BSA), 1909-1920
The Murray	G.H. Walden (BGS), 1989-
Wangaratta	T.M. Armour (BGS), 1943-1963
Willochra	R. Thomas (BSB), 1926-1958

See over for abbreviations of Brotherhoods

* Rayner was a member of the Brotherhood of St. John in Dalby in the Diocese of Brisbane 1955-58. This was not an official Bush Brotherhood but it was similar in ideals and objectives.

Abbreviations for Brotherhoods –

BGS	Brotherhood of the Good Shepherd (Bathurst, NSW)
BSA	Brotherhood of St. Andrew (Rockhampton, Queensland)
BSB	Brotherhood of St. Barnabas (North Queensland)
BSBon.	Brotherhood of St. Boniface (Bunbury, WA)
BSJE	Brotherhood of St. John the Evangelist (Dalby, Diocese of Brisbane)
BSP	Brotherhood of St. Paul (Brisbane, Queensland)

Appendix 6

The Bishop's (Halford) Views on the Referendum on Religious Instruction in State Schools.¹

Halford made this appeal, which reveals his firm conviction that to teach doctrine in state schools is the will of God, in 1910. This was the year in which Halford opposed the Roman Catholic Bishop of Rockhampton (Duhig) and labelled Duhig's opinion "sectarian".

¹ The Bishop's Notes and Notices, *Church Gazette*, Rockhampton, 1 January 1910, A.A.

The Bishop's (Halford) Views on the Referendum on Religious Instruction in State Schools

The work to which we first have to set our hands is obvious. It is now decided that the Referendum on religious instruction in State Schools shall be taken on the same day as the Federal elections, and these are announced for Wednesday, April 6th. We must leave nothing undone that can be done during the next three months to ensure the success of the cause of Bible teaching. It can no longer be said that we are taking too long a run for our leap – there are but three months. The question to decide is simple. Do you wish your children to have Bible lessons and religious teaching in their schools? Or do you think it would be for good or ill that selected lessons from Holy Scripture should be included among the subjects taught to our children at school? I hope that no Churchpeople will show indifference on the matter. In every Parish let all Churchpeople count it their duty to vote in this Referendum. We must prove our earnestness by the largeness of the vote. I call upon all Church members of the committees in the different Parishes to set an example of enthusiastic energy for the cause during these next three months. Enlist more workers, go through the electoral rolls systematically and secure promises of votes. Don't let us have the mortification of realising after the Referendum that we might have done better if only we had been a little more alive.

Sunday, January 30th, is appointed as a day of prayer and teaching on the Bible in State Schools. I will issue a little later on some suggestions for the use of that day. At present I only wish to say this. To us the question is entirely a religious one – it is a matter of the Will of God. I believe it to be quite contrary to the Will of God that all teaching about Himself, and His Will, all teaching

about sin and redemption through the Blood of Jesus Christ His Son, all teaching on the work and power of the Holy Spirit should be withheld from baptized children in our schools. It lies with us to alter this; the introduction of this teaching is *promised* if there is a sufficiently large majority of people who desire it; and if we believe that it is not God's Will that His children should be kept in ignorance of these deepest truths – we must set about accomplishing His Will in His own way – committing the matter daily in prayer to Him – praying before and after each step we take to accomplish it – before and after all we say on the matter. Let the Church in this Diocese set about this work in the Spirit of Christ, and we shall win; and even if we don't win we shall be conscious that we have done our best. In this Spirit we shall avoid all personalities, and all bitterness of speech – for we shall be working for and with our Lord.

Appendix 7

Halford's Appeal for Capital Funds.¹

Bishop Halford had plans for expansion of the Diocese's work in education and welfare work with orphans and this appeal was launched, with the approval of the Diocesan Council, in 1913.

¹ *Church Gazette*, 1 May 1913, Rockhampton

Halford's Appeal for Capital Funds

24

CHURCH GAZETTE.

May 1, 1913

Diocese of Rockhampton.

HOME MISSION FUND

Appendix B
What is Wanted

For extending the work of the Church in this Diocese.

A. A CAPITAL SUM OF £13,150 for the following objects:—

1.—Land, Buildings, and Furniture for a Hostel for Girls	£4,000
2.—Land for Church and School sites	2,000
3. Building Rectories at Baccaldine, Longreach, and Winton	2,000
4.—School Buildings	5,000
5. -Two Temporary Portable Churches	150
	<hr/>
	£13,150

B. AN ANNUAL INCOME OF £1,200 for the following purposes:—

1.—To Supplement Moneys raised locally for Building New Churches	£250
2.—To Supplement the Stipends of the Clergy in the poorer Districts	300
2.—To assist the Training of Candidates for Holy Orders	150
4.—Cost of Organisation	250
5.—Towards Passages of Clergy and Workers coming to the Diocese	150
6. Interest, Insurance, Rates, and Upkeep of Girls' Hostel	200
	<hr/>
	£1,200

Appendix 8

Letter written by Feetham, Bishop of North Queensland, as acting Metropolitan,
to Wand, Archbishop elect of Brisbane in January 1933.¹

Feetham was writing to convince the Archbishop elect that he should be consecrated in England with Old Catholic co-consecrators in view of the Roman Catholic claims of the defects in Anglican orders. The letter also displays, in ways seldom made public, the attitudes held by the Anglican hierarchy regarding Rome in Queensland at the time. This letter had the approval of the other bishops of the Province, Rockhampton, Carpentaria and New Guinea.

¹ Copy in Diocesan Archives, Rockhampton, A.A.

**Letter from Feetham, Bishop of North Queensland, as acting Metropolitan,
to Wand, Archbishop elect of Brisbane in January 1933.**

From the Bishop of North Queensland,
Bishop's Registry,
Townsville,
4 January, 1933.

My dear Archbishop-Elect,

I was very glad indeed to get your "Beam" this morning to say that you had accepted the Arch-bishopric. I cabled in reply welcoming your decision and observing that the Press will report on Monday (not before). I have wired all the Queensland Bishops and the Coadjutor-Bishop and the Dean of Brisbane asking that proclamation may be made from all our Cathedral altars on Sunday morning December 31st. That, I think, is the right way to allow the world to know what the Church has been doing. The Press, as I mentioned in my former letter, was a nuisance at the time of the Election. I am taking care that the faithful are the first to be informed of your acceptance of Brisbane.

You will, I expect, prefer to be consecrated in England. The rank of an Archbishop-Elect travelling across the world would be somewhat indeterminate. Also I think the King likes to entertain Archbishops before they go away to live 'in paribus'. But you will of course do as think best. Sydney will soon have a new Archbishop, H.W.K. Mowll from Western China, but he will not necessarily be Primate of Australia. The Acting Primate is Henry Le Fanu, Archbishop of Perth. If you wished to be consecrated in Australia, he would have to preside, and would, I suppose, come to Brisbane to do so. After your arrival (so I understand)

we shall proceed to elect a Primate. It must be one of the four Archbishops.

I have one suggestion to make, which you will, I'm sure be kind enough to consider. It is that, assuming you are consecrated in England, a Bishop with old Catholic Orders should be asked to assist as a Principal Co-Consecrator. Jerusalem, Gibraltar and Kensington have now Old Catholic Orders, and Deventer and Haarlem seem to be ready to help when desired.

Rome has done some good work and much harm in this country. She has flocks of Nuns who do noble work in Hospitals and work of some value in education. Most of them are Saints. She has many worldly and some saintly Priests, but her methods on the whole are unscrupulous. She raises her money by gambling and has demoralized Australians by her shameless example in that respect. She is sufficiently powerful in numbers to cast off the restraints she observes in England and be her real self - crafty, tortuous and deceitful. The numerical proportions in Australia are Anglican 45% Roman 21% Presbyterian 13% Methodist 12%, others 10% (1933 census). In Queensland the proportion by the 1921 census was Anglican 42%, Roman 25% etc, etc., (1933 figures are not yet available). The Queensland figures in 1911 were Anglican 36%, Roman 25% etc. The interesting fact is that in Queensland, in the ten years `11-`21, we Anglicans went up by 6% of the whole population and Rome, who has been pouring out money, incurring colossal debts, gambling furiously, importing Nuns by the boat load and proselyting with all her might, remained stationery. In the last twelve years she has redoubled her efforts. The 1933 figures for Queensland should soon be known. I await them with some anxiety.

Rome, as St.C. Sarum will tell you, has for many years been a most sinister

influence in Queensland politics. She makes her 25% vote solid, and has been in alliance with Labour, not from conviction but for convenience. We had in succession, Ryan, Theodore, and McCormack, all Romans, as Premiers - all most dishonest men. The last two were found "guilty of fraud and dishonesty" by a Royal Commission in 1930. If Rome could reach a higher proportion she would go far to ruin Queensland. Her professed ambition is to make it what she calls a 'Catholic' state. It is only within the last thirty years, roughly speaking, that Queensland Anglicans have thought of themselves, or ventured to describe themselves, as 'Catholics'. Before that time, for the most part, they believed that Orange Protestantism was the only defence against the Roman menace. Sydney and Melbourne still suffer from illusions of that kind. The Catholic Revival has taken wide effect in Queensland. We are now about where England was in the 'eighties. So it is that our Church in Queensland with a positive Creed and with faith in the Sacraments, is assailed with increasing vigour by Rome, who see her chance steadily getting less. The Roman Press speaks with growing acrimony of "non-Catholics" and sizes every opportunity of sneering at the Church of England, and insulting her Orders.

The "Ne Temere" decree was, of course, a bid for power. I think the Pope gained by it at first and still does in the Protestant parts of Australia. But in Queensland we win the contest in the case of mixed marriages fairly often. Our boys and girls who know they are Catholics are not going to be bluffed. I receive a good many Romans into our Communion.

But Rome of course here, as elsewhere, continues to treat Anglican Orders with contempt. It would not be without importance that you should have and transmit Orders which even a Roman controversialist cannot deny. What causes the greatest searchings of heart to Rome in this country is our cordial relation with the Easterns. We lend them our Churches and when the Archbishop of Oceania - Timotheos Evangelindis - comes here he stays with me. He is a fine man and is beginning to talk English.

Duhig, - the Roman Archbishop of Brisbane -, is an extremely able, but quite unscrupulous man. The Bishop of Salisbury will tell you about him. He will also tell you that one of our most powerful instruments for good is the Society of the Sacred Advent, which has now about 36 Sisters, running no less than eleven Institutions. Their Schools for Girls are the most visibly effective of all their works.

He will also tell you of the Bush Brotherhood of Charleville, which has had many good men, mostly English. Bush Brotherhoods are never large enough; mine (that of St. Barnabas') has twelve Priests of whom five are Australian. They are a great power in the West and other wild areas. We always want more. Possibly some of the young men you have known at Oxford will be ready to come out with you for the Charleville Brotherhood. They have only four or five men.

Queensland has, for some years, been robbed of many of her best Priests to go and be Bishops and Deans in other part of Australia. Our intellectual calibre is now, I'm afraid, pretty low. The standard for ordination has, by St. Francis' College, been slowly and surely improved, but there are many Priests who are very lacking in education.

This letter has grown to some length, but I think most of it will interest you. It was a great relief to me to get your cable this morning.

Yours very sincerely,

P.S. There is a Co-adjutor, Horace Dixon aged 65 - a fine old fellow. He was a School Master for 28 years at Southport and has educated most of the important men of our Faith in Queensland. The Bishop of Salisbury will tell you about him. He has had all the work to do since last May and has been hard pressed. I hope for his sake and for ours that your Consecration may be as soon as possible.

P.S. 2 I am asking the Registrar of the Diocese of Brisbane to send you whatever documents are needed to attest your election. They will have to reach England before your Consecration, I think.

Appendix 9

Parishes of the Diocese of Rockhampton and their dates of Foundation

Aramac (now attached to Barcaldine)	1882
Barcoo (Blackall)	1885
Barcaldine	1897
Callide Valley (Biloela)	1951
Cathedral	1860
Clermont	1888
Dawson Valley (Moura/Theodore)	1958
Emerald	1911
Frenchville (Rockhampton)	1967
Gladstone	1860
Gracemere (now attached to Park Avenue)	1991
Keppel (Yeppoon and Emu Park)	1921
Longreach	1892
Middlemount/Dysart (now attached to mobile ministry)	1983
Moranbah (now attached to Clermont)	1972
Mount Morgan	1889
North Rockhampton	1894
Park Avenue (Rockhampton)	1960
Springsure	1885
Wandal (Rockhampton)	1925
Winton	1899

“Steel all Through”

Abbreviations

A.A.	Anglican Archives Rockhampton
A.B.D.	<i>Australian Dictionary of Biography</i>
C.Q.U.L.	Central Queensland University Library
H.R.N.S.W.	<i>Historical Records of New South Wales</i>
J.C.U.L.	James Cook University of North Queensland Library
M.B.	<i>Morning Bulletin</i> Rockhampton
Q.V.P.	<i>Queensland Votes and Proceedings</i>
S.P.C.K.	Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge
S.P.G.	Society for the Propagation of the Gospel